Heritage Tourism and English National Identity

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to investigate the influence of heritage tourism on the creation and maintenance of English national identity. How this industry utilises the material and symbolic resources of this nation's cultural heritage is thus a primary focus of this work. More specifically, it is concerned with examining the components of Englishness and the social processes by which these are communicated and understood.

This investigation focuses upon three sites, Battle Abbey in East Sussex, Hever Castle in Kent and Chartwell, also in Kent. The primary research methods are ethnographic. A triangulation of methods are employed including: the review and analysis of books, documents, published and unpublished material relating to each site, tape recorded interviews with site employees, managers and other relevant individuals and groups, covert observation of visitors and tape recorded interviews with a random selection of visitors. Two hundred visitors were interviewed in total.

In all three sites the language and symbolism of nation-ness is shown to be central to the way in which identity and belonging is both constructed and communicated. A key finding relates to the studies of visitor behaviour which reveal the many ways in which attachment to the nation is understood and internalised. For example, the intermingling of phrases and images of home, family, kinship, ancestors and common blood, with expressions of emotion and feeling connect individuals to the wider nation. In addition, from the analysis of the three sites certain key thematic threads are highlighted which bind the sites together, namely, religion and patriotism. These, whilst not the only aspects of Englishness to emerge from the sites, are considered central to the formation of Englishness in this instance. Overall, then, in the language of heritage tourism the three sites claim to symbolize fundamental aspects of English nationalism. Battle Abbey is *our* way of life, Hever Castle is *our* ancestral line and Chartwell is Churchill, *our* honorary relative. The sites thus present the nation as a family. As a group of relations with a common history, a common set of values and beliefs and as possessing common basic characteristics. It is these felt kinship ties that are said to bind individuals to the wider nation.

This thesis has contributed to the study of Englishness and its relationship with heritage tourism. It is one of the few studies to examine this concept in terms of what individuals, as both employees and tourists, actually say, feel and how they behave.

Acknowledgement

Well where do I start. In the beginning it was difficult to imagine reaching the end, but it has finally come and there are so many people who have helped me a long the way. First, I must thank my supervisor Professor Tom Selwyn. Tom, I really cannot say how much you have helped me, but this thesis has benefited beyond measure from your support and guidance. You have both challenged and inspired me with our numerous conversations over the years. These have always been stimulating. I should also like to thank my second supervisor Professor Michael Hitchcock whose helpful comments enabled me to clarify and refine my thoughts on a number of issues.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Context

This work investigates the relationship between heritage tourism and aspects of the formation of English national identity. While it is accepted that Great Britain comprises a number of distinctive nations, regions and ethnic groups for example, England, Scotland, Northern Ireland, Wales, the Isle of Man, the Channel Islands and Cornwall, it is not the intention to investigate each of these inter-related, yet at the same time, separate identities. This would be neither practicable nor achievable. As such, this study concentrates on one of these, that of English identity.

The theoretical framework for this study lies primarily within that concerned with the birth of nations, nationalism and the emergence of national consciousness. Although this field provides a rich source of material for discussion and debate it also raises as many questions as it does answers. Indeed, questions of identity and belonging rarely, if ever, produce answers that can be applied to all people and to all situations. As Dawson (1997: 328) illustrates by reference to Great Britain, 'more than ever, it is misleading to suggest there is, if there ever was, such a thing as a single British character or personality, rather than a variety of welcomingly different and potentially collaborative cultural identities' (see also the edited book by Cohen, 1982a on this point). Despite this Horne (1984: 165) is right when he states 'nationality can be one of the principle colourings of the tourist vision'. The focus of attention here thus rests upon an examination of the foundations upon which this 'vision' is based, so that a better understanding can be gained of both the components of identity, and the social processes by which these are communicated and maintained. This investigation will focus on three sites Battle Abbey, Hever Castle and Chartwell.

As stated above, a national identity is not reducible to a single element, it is invariably a combination of elements such as, culture, political affiliation, language, sport and religion and the relative importance of each will not be the same for all. Thus, one person may have a very clear idea about their national identity whilst another may find it a confusing and unresolvable puzzle. As Darcus Howe and Sir Peregrine Worsthorne discovered as they travelled throughout England talking to various people about aspects of Englishness (see England, my England, 1998). Indeed, although two people may describe themselves as British, or French, or German their understanding of what this means may be very different. This is because definitions of identity are affected by such as personal experiences, age, gender and race. Thus, a Sunday Times poll of teenagers and parish council members found that age significantly affected definitions of British national identity. The majority of the council members (mostly over 50 years of age) identified with the national anthem and the bulldog, whilst the majority of teenagers identified with football, Coronation Street and Eastenders (Norton, 1997: 11). Differences such as these prompted the British Tourist

Authority to produce an alternative vision of Britain. A marketing strategy specifically designed to appeal to younger visitors by emphasising more contemporary aspects of British cultural life, such as curries, raves, Britpop and fish and chips (Evans, 1997).

Furthermore, an individual's understanding of the foundations of their identity may change over time. Thus, the Sunday Times' teenagers may give a very different account of their sense of nation-ness when they reach middle age. As Howard illustrates:

> As a child I had no idea that 'spotted dick' was my heritage, I just thought it was food. Only now, when it is difficult to find and I am more cosmopolitan in my habits, does it become heritage. Only now, as many middle class English people travel widely and think of themselves primarily within a European culture, does the semi-detached house of the 1930s begin to feel like an important part of English heritage, (English rather than British I think) recognised by French tourist brochures. (1994: 71)

This makes any attempt to define the foundations of identity, at one and the same time, a stimulating and frustrating endeavour. Indeed, this difficulty extends to definitions of the nation as a whole since Britain's official name is the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Island, yet this is different to the popularly held view that Northern Island is a part of Britain. Furthermore, one of the difficulties to be encountered when discussing aspects of national identity is the dominance of the English within the make-up of the United Kingdom (Haseler, 1996). A dominance frequently referred to as the English presumption. However, recent discussions in the media on the subject of English identity have indicated that this dominance is under threat (Heffer, 1998a, 1998b; Newsnight, 1998; Starkey, 1998a). Despite this it is a subject that cannot be ignored.

The English Presumption

The juxtaposition of English and British, this English presumption, has become something of an occupational hazard awaiting to ensnare anyone who writes on the subject of English/British identity. Authors such as Billig (1995), Haseler (1996), Storry & Childs (1997a) all state that, in most cases, English is seen as synonymous with British. For example, newspaper placards proclaiming the outbreak of the first world war in 1914 read 'ENGLAND DECLARES WAR ON GERMANY' (Grainger, 1986: 50). More recently Clive Aslet, the architectural historian and editor of *Country Life* magazine, published a book about the meaning of Britishness entitled *Anyone for England? A search for British Identity* (1997). Likewise, the journalist Richard Littlejohn (1997: 11) has stated 'actually when we talk about British, we really mean English. You will never hear a Scot, a Welshman or an Irishman describe himself as British - except when it comes to the politics of sectarianism'. Notwithstanding the irritation this frequently causes to the other nations and regions of Britain, this juxtaposition highlights the point made earlier that questions of identity are neither straightforward nor uncontested.

Indeed, the difference between English identity and British identity was shown to be a hotly debated subject by the 1995 radio 'phone-in' programme, hosted by the journalist Nick Ross. This programme dealt with the call by Dr Nick Tate, the government's chief advisor on the school curriculum, that schools should teach British cultural identity. However, his interpretation of British identity was heavily reliant on an English view of nationhood:

> I think people in this country are part of the British state....but they're also English, people living in England are part of a community which goes back at least 900 years and it has all sorts of cultural traditions....we (need) to give due place to the mainstream, or majority culture, which is European and Christian and English.
>
> (Call Nick Ross, 1995)

This view of identity is not only exclusive and limited it also generated a variety of interesting and often contradictory responses. Another series of radio programmes by David Dimbleby (1995a), *The Disunited Kingdom,* aimed to discover how people felt about the union, about the separate countries which make-up the union and about their sense of identity. These, too, revealed not only the irritation that the Scots and the Welsh felt at the 'English presumption', but also the difficulty of defining Englishness, Britishness and the boundary between them. Dimbleby's conversational interviews with people revealed expressions of Englishness based on character, history and landscape. As the following examples illustrate:

> English people have a reputation for fair play and a sense of honour. If an Englishman shakes hands on a deal that is it, they can rely on that to be carried through, which isn't necessarily so with every nation in the world. An Englishman just doesn't let people down...the English on the whole are more conscientious perhaps.

> I was just knocked out by seeing things like, the beautiful Cotswolds, if you like the Shakespeare land at Stratford, but there were things like falconry centres and cider mills and vineyards and fortified manor houses and castles. That's what Englands all about, it's a fabulous country and I'm very proud to be part of it.
>
> (Quoted in Dimbleby, 1995b)

However, these were not the only interpretations available, as Dimbleby (1995b) states, 'the clearest definition of what Englishness is about comes from those who aren't English'. The following comments by British Asian women illustrate this well:

> our perception of English is white, they think they're rich, they're superior, they think they are punctual....their house is their castle....but they never invite you at home so they are never welcoming, not open people at all.

> ....I am of an Indian origin because my parents are Indian and I have been living in

this country for twenty-six years....I am Indian because of my values, the way I dress, the food I eat, the language I've got, my culture... Indian is my culture, British is my nationality.   (Both quoted in Dimbleby, 1995b)

A final example, illustrating the complexities involved in attempting to define contemporary English identity comes from a man born in Africa who came to live in Britain when he was a boy:

> I think of myself as a black English person and that's somewhat provocative because I'm well aware that the way that the majority of people think of the concept English, excludes being black...I don't think you can define an English person by race anymore....an English person is a person who lives in the United Kingdom, who has certain rights by agreement with the government and the society and who has certain responsibilities to the nation that they feel they belong to. That's an English person.
> (Quoted in Dimbleby, 1995b)

The contested nature of English / British nationalism has also been highlighted by several academic studies, such as that by Graham (1994), Pitchford (1995), Eade (1997) and Walker (1997). All of these support the view that definitions of identity are not the same for all. Moreover, Eade (1997) makes the important point that nationalist discourses frequently fail to take account of contemporary interpretations of identity. Preferring instead to rely on references to a mythic past as the primary definer of national consciousness. In his study of Bengali interpretations of Britishness Eade argues that, for many people, identity is as much about where and how they live in the present as it is about what might of happened in the past. As the following comment from a Bengali illustrates, "British' I use when I am applying for jobs or applications, or whatever, because my status is a British citizen. I also put a stroke in and put 'British/Bengali' so people know that I am not an original British person and I have got an identity as a Bengali' (Quoted in Eade, 1997: 156-7).

This is interesting as it highlights the fact that individuals often have more than one identity depending upon their personal experiences. These interweaving multiple-identities are like hats that can be changed to suit both the occasion and the mood of the person wearing them. As Howard again illustrates:

> I have a whole range of identities, which I can wear all at once. First I am from Broadclyst, but a second identity is Devonian, a third is the Westcountry as a whole, and therefore someone who comes to the Highlands in summer to get away from the tourists! Of course I have the slight problem of the English with national identity, English or British? The truth is both of course, English when at Twickenham or Murrayfield, but British enough when hearing a pipe band playing when abroad.
> (1994: 70)

Markers of identity

It is clear from the above discussion that defining the foundations upon which a national identity is based is not as easy as it may at first seem. Indeed, the contributors to Storry &

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Childs' book *British Cultural Identities* all highlight the extent to which contemporary Britain is above all a multi-cultural society. Yet despite this the most widely used images of Britishness and Englishness are those relating to the landscape, national character and the fact that the British are an island race. What Storry & Childs' (1997b: 10) refer to as the '...traditional ways of understanding Britishness and Englishness'. Or as Dawson (1997: 327-8) states '...the kinds of things that films make use of: bowler hats, umbrellas and pinstripe suits (think of Steed in the *Avengers*), twin-sets and pearls (as worn by Vivienne Leigh), Scottish kilts (as in *Four Weddings and a Funeral*)'. It is the seeming disappearance of such images of Englishness that prompted Clive Aslet to write his book *Anyone for England?*

> Traditionally, the English have presented themselves as a nation of country people. Our emblem, still alive in the pages of the tabloid press, is John Bull: a stolid, stout, no-nonsence sort of individual of yeoman stock, in the robust, unfashionable clothes of a farmer. His virtues are reflected in the bull dog that accompanies him: a tenacious, aggressive creature associated with a particularly brutal country sport.
> (1997: 169)

While Aslet accepts that cultures change and evolve over time his main concern is that the nation's slide into multi-culturalism has caused its shared traditions to disappear. It is fine to welcome people from other homelands and to assimilate aspects of their culture into ours, as long as it does not result in our traditions becoming marginalised:

> no one could expect a country's sense of itself to remain constant forever. Naturally, it evolves with history. Nevertheless, it must share some common values or it will fall apart. In the past, the inclusion of most people into the common whole meant the exclusion of others. Blacks, women, homosexuals and Jews have at different times been excluded. Today's challenge is to support ideals to which as many of the population as possible can subscribe. But the danger may not be that the British are too excluding of those who display divergent tastes and attitudes, but too inclusive....the assumption of shared standards....(has) become elusive. (1997: 11)

Aslet's shared standards are examples of the images that Storry & Childs (1997b) argue are traditionally used to represent the nation. When seen alongside the 'alternative' views of nation-ness presented by such as Eade and Dimbleby they illustrate the difficulties in defining Englishness in terms of a set of common values and traditions shared by all. What Bhabha (1996: 53) refers to as '.....the absurd notion of an uncontaminated culture in a single country...'. Indeed, Bhabha describes minority cultures within a nation as being rather like foreign bodies, the outside of the inside, the part of the whole. Although these 'culture's in-between' belie the existence of a homogeneous, national culture, they are important because they represent the connective tissue, the boundary between past and present identities (Bhabha, 1996). As Stuart Hall illustrates:

.....identities are constructed through, not outside, difference.....every identity has at its 'margin', an excess, something more.....(national) unity...is not a natural, but a constructed form of closure, every identity naming has its necessary, even if silenced and unspoken other, that which it 'lacks'. (1996: 4,5)

Thus, the sense of Englishness under investigation here represents more *a process of closure*, the point at which alternative, contested definitions of identity are excluded, than it does a unified whole. It is about one particular articulation of nation-ness, that of heritage tourism. Which is not meant to imply that it is fixed and immovable, as all cultures interpret their past in the light of current pre-occupations, values and beliefs. This is an articulation limited to a specific time and space. It is how one industry chooses to interpret Englishness in the late twentieth century.

In this respect the three sites under investigation are examples of what Hitchcock (1996; 1998) refers to as situational constructions of nationalism. Here identity is not seen as a fixed entity, as a set of primordial givens, but rather as a set of social processes and relations that can be manipulated according to both context and intent. Situational perspectives are useful here because they highlight the need to take account of the many and varied social situations in which nationalism - in this case Englishness - is manufactured. The value and importance of such a perspective has also been highlighted by the contributors to Wallman's (1979) text on the relationship between ethnic identity and work. For example, Flett (1979) reveals how a local authority department allocated its housing resources partly upon the basis of an informally constituted articulation of Englishness. What Flett (pg.143) refers to as '...traditional English moral values expressed within the constraints of a bureaucratic context'. Hence applicants deemed deserving of accommodation were those whose values, attitudes and behaviour were considered compatible with those of the staff responsible for allocating the accommodation: staff '....recognise(d) in them a shared set of values - the sense of 'us' that can be called ethnicity' (pg. 151). Thus identity becomes a resource that can be intentionally mobilised to suit the needs of a particular group.

As such, this study investigates three examples of what Hitchcock (1998: 5) has described as the creation and re-creation of ethnic identity through 'intentional agency' - which in this instance is represented by heritage tourism. This is not identity as a primordial given but rather as a set of processes and relations that can be manipulated within a variety of social / tourist situations. Having said this one of the interesting aspects of this study is the extent to which the characteristics of Englishness communicated frequently impute the belief that they are founded upon the premise that they are in someway primordial. That there are fixed and unchanging aspects of the nation's identity that can be handed down from one generation to the next. As illustrated by Aslet's (1997) assumption that the nation possesses shared traditions and standards that are both understood and accepted by all. Yet in reality the sense of identity on display is merely one view from amongst a variety of competing and often contradictory interpretations.

Overall, then, this study examines what Hitchcock (1996:11) has referred to as one of the most obvious manifestations of identity communication, the use of material culture as a visual expression of identity. The three sites thus represent the symbolic, material resources of a particular ethnic group, the English. Moreover, the history's and contents of the sites are presented rather in the manner of theatrical 'performances'. These performances are organised by heritage groups and managers who form part of the people and processes that have been referred to as 'brokers of ethnicity' (Adams, 1984; Hitchcock, 1998). Such groups or 'brokers' promote their version of identity as if it were accepted by all. In this sense the symbolic discourse that takes place between the three sites and the tourist is designed to highlight the boundary between 'us' the English and 'them' the none English. Hence those that identify with the version of identity on display are, like Flett's housing officers, recognising the shared set of values which distinguish 'us' as English.

Cultural symbols

As indicated above an examination of the ways in which a nation's cultural heritage underpins its national identity cannot ignore the fact that cultural icons, practices and artefacts have a symbolic as well as a physical function (see Malinowski, 1944). For Clifford Geertz (1973) this symbolic function is central to the interpretation of meaning. As illustrated by his understanding of the concept of culture:[1]

> the concept of culture I espouse....is essentially a semiotic one. Believing with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be these webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning.
>
> (1973: 5)

Geertz's definition is important here because it highlights the experiential, rather than the deterministic component of culture. As Anthony Cohen (1982b: 4) points out viewing culture as being purely determined by learned behaviour fails to capture 'what it feels like' to belong to a culture. Moreover, there is a boundary to this sense of belonging, a point at which the individual becomes aware of another culture, another way of behaving, of there being an us and a them (see Barth, 1969). Thus we might conclude that one of the primary experiential senses of culture is that it is *our* culture, and that it differs from others' (Cohen, 1982b: 5).

Recognition of *our* culture is thus a recognition of ourselves as an identity, as a separate ethnic group, region, tribe or nation. Thus symbolic representations of a culture are central to its perpetuation because they remind individuals of the foundations upon which their sense of belonging is based. As Hitchcock (1998: 5) argues the manipulation of symbols enables the boundaries of and between a cultural identity to be defined and maintained.

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1. For a useful discussion of the general concept of culture see Goody (1993).

The importance of symbolic representations of belonging has been recognised by numerous scholars as being central to the formation and perpetuation of a nation (Smith, 1986, 1991; Anderson, 1991; Connor, 1993; Selwyn, 1995, 1996a). As Smith illustrates:

> to turn a motley horde of people into an institutionalized nation, to give them a sense of belonging and identity, to unify and integrate them, to give them a sense of authenticity and autonomy and fit them for self-rule, all require a symbolic framework in and through which they can be mobilized and stabilized.
>
> (1986: 200-201)

This concept of a symbolic framework is important because it is argued that the three sites under investigation provide just such a framework for interpreting the nation. A framework that comprises not only the brochures and the guide books, but also the physical structures of the sites themselves, the landscapes in which they are set and their internal layout. As Bender (1998: 6) states landscapes permit questions about heritage and identity, they allow people to *place themselves*. Thus the ways in which these frameworks operate to symbolically guide visitors (and employees) towards an understanding of what are considered to be the core values of the nation, in other words to *place themselves*, is one of the key issues to be addressed by this work.

This symbolic guiding of people towards a sense of nation, a sense of place, necessarily involves triggering memories of the past that link people to the nation's ancestors. As Smith (1986: 2) states without memory there can be no identity since recognition of the existence of a common historic past is part of what makes a nation. Indeed, Rowlands (1996) argues that landscapes, objects, images and words can elicit forms of remembering that emphasise continuity and tradition. Moreover, written records are particularly important as they provide a '....greater insight into how bodies, artefacts and places are used to stimulate memory and establish continuity in cultural transmission' (Rowlands, 1996: 8). Thus what is important is not only the symbolic content of the sites, but the extent to which the memories evoked enable individual's to link their own personal memories to those of the wider nation. To recognise the individual and the collective as being part of an integrated whole. As Rowlands (1994: 130) has also argued 'for cultural heritage to be significant it must therefore be unifying and transcendent and be constitutive of personal and group identity'.

Cultural context

This work is located within an existing field of enquiry best illustrated by Ireland's (1989, 1990) studies of the cultural uniqueness of Cornwall, and of the meaning of what is arguably its most famous landmark, Land's End.[1] Through his analysis of visitor

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1. See also the text by Bender (1998: 8) on Stonehenge where she states, among other things, that this prehistoric landscape and monument are central to our sense of national identity.

questionnaires at Land's End Ireland (1990) discovered that, for most people, a visit to the promontory heightened and reinforced a sense of national identity. This was based upon the landmarks function as a psychological and geographic reminder of the nation's physical boundaries. Thus the proposed sale of Land's End in the 1980's resulted in a chorus of public and political concern that a piece of the nation could fall into foreign hands. A debate at the time in the House of Lords was conducted on the basis of three identifiable themes:

> First, to prevent the sale of Land's End to a non-British individual through the use of Government aid, if necessary. Secondly, to make the Government aware of public concern over the sale, as expressed in the Press. Thirdly, to highlight the symbolic importance of such a sale (to a foreigner) as a mark of national decline and a threat to nationhood!   (1989: 297)

Consequently, Ireland's work has implications in terms of the symbolic importance of the three sites as both markers for, and definers of, English identity. If Land's End symbolically reminds visitors of their nationhood then can the same be said of these three sites? Again what is important here is not only whether they do symbolically represent the nation, but also what they 'say' about the nation and how they communicate this to the visitors. As Geertz's definition and use of the term 'symbol' illustrates:

> ...symbols, or at least symbolic elements.....are tangible formulations of notions, abstractions from experience fixed in perceptible forms, concrete embodiments of ideas, attitudes, judgements, longings, or beliefs.....Cultural acts, the construction, apprehension, and utilization of symbolic forms, are social events like any other; they are as public as marriage and as observable as agriculture. (1973: 91)

Indeed, tourism, as a symbolic framework, is a very public social event and one which John Urry (1990) describes as being typified by a particular type of gaze. Urry's concept of the tourist gaze owes its inception to Michel Foucault's discussion of the ways in which doctors and other medical clinicians *gaze upon* their patients. For Urry the tourist gazes at sites and attractions in a similar way to the medic. This gaze maybe of a different order yet, like the medical gaze, it '....presupposes a system of social activities and signs which....one can use.....to make sense of elements of the wider society....' (Urry, 1990: 2). The implications of such a gaze as regards identifying the mechanisms by which identity is communicated and understood will be considered in subsequent chapters.

Urry further argues that just as the medical gaze is supported by professionals and justified by institutions (ie hospitals), much the same can be said about the tourist gaze. This, too, employs professional experts who help to construct and develop the gaze of the tourist. Consequently, any discussion of the relationship between heritage tourism and national identity must take account of those who are responsible for collating and displaying the

symbols of the nation for the tourists to gaze upon. As Rowlands (1994: 136) argues the reason why heritage monuments often represent modern nationalism is because 'the past as property means ownership of what constitutes unity in a chosen sense of place'. In this respect it is important to analyse the part played by those organisations who own the three sites, as well as that of the individual site managers and guides.

A good example of 'gaze construction' is to be found in the work of Hamilton (1997) who analysed the ways in which post-war French photographers actively set out to depict a particular vision of the cultural aspects of Frenchness. In other words what made France *French*. This intentional construction of specific national images has been referred to by Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) as the invention of tradition. Hobsbawm (1983) defines such a tradition as a set of practices of a ritual or symbolic nature which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour. These values and norms are not only meant to provide a link with the past generally but with a *suitable* historic past. Hence Hamilton argues that images of Frenchness in the years 1945-60 were meant to symbolically re-define a nation that had experienced invasion, occupation and collaboration:

> these experiences had fractured or even dishonoured prevailing conceptions of French identity....in the work of humanist photographers, a new consensus about....what it means to have a French identity is in the process of being forged. It is built around certain themes or 'sites' - *la rue* (the street); children and play; the family; love and lovers; Paris and its sights; *clochards* (homeless and marginal characters); *fetes populaires* (fairs and celebrations); *bistrots*; *habitations* (housing and housing conditions); work and craft. Representations of these themes served to reconstruct Frenchness as a unifying identity in a period of major social, political, economic and cultural change. (1997: 145-6)

As Urry states above such images enable people to make sense of elements of the wider society, to gaze upon aspects of themselves. Indeed, Hamilton (1997: 148) argues that these 'typical' images of Frenchness have widespread appeal today, 'nostalgia for such photographs may express hopes for a return to a time when work and economic conditions were more secure'. Furthermore, photographs of 'typical' French streets and houses, of lovers kissing in Paris, of men playing *boules* and of people riding bicycles bedecked with strings of onions and French bread, are key images on tourist postcards. As redolent of Frenchness as postcards of beefeaters, royal palaces and London Bridge are of Britishness.

The constructed tourist gaze is thus one more interpretation of what it means to be English. Yet this to some extent belies its importance. It is important because the images are specifically selected to depict the basic cultural values of Englishness. Aspects designed to reflect the existence of some form of communal agreement about the way the majority of people see themselves. Furthermore, tourism's images of Englishness are used to represent the nation to 'others', they thus highlight what are considered to be the core elements of 'our' identity. Yet, as previously stated, this is only one view among many. It is, therefore,

important to investigate the tourism industry's role in the selection, display and promotion of these basic cultural values so that a better understanding can be gained of how these affect interpretations of Englishness.

Conclusion

It is clear from the above discussion that what is under investigation here is merely *one aspect* of English identity, rather than *the* aspect of identity. It is about the particular interpretations of Englishness promoted by heritage tourism; Storry and Childs' (1997b) 'traditional conceptions of Englishness'. Specifically it concentrates on three different tourist sites, Battle Abbey, Hever Castle and Chartwell. Battle Abbey was chosen because of its association with 1066 and the Battle of Hastings. This battle represents the last time this country was invaded and is thus frequently referred to as the origin of a nation, in both books (see Phillips, 1989) and tourist promotions. Hever Castle's inclusion is based upon its association with the Tudor period generally, and with the romance between Anne Boleyn and Henry V111 in particular. Indeed, the Tudor period is often taken to be the start of modern England (Elton, 1974). Thus notions of what it means to be British and English, conceptions of a national identity, are often rooted in Tudor times (Storry & Childs, 1997b: 10). Finally, Chartwell was chosen because of its association with recent history, with World War Two and Winston Churchill. An event and a person intimately bound up with notions of patriotism and the foundations upon which such a sentiment is based. If men and women were prepared to die for their country then there must have been some understanding of what it was they were trying to protect. It is the implications of all these issues, as regards the maintenance and communication of a sense of English national identity, that is of interest here.

As such, the analysis of these three sites is concerned with discovering what they have to say about English identity and how this is communicated and understood by those who work at the sites and those who visit them as tourists. In other words the construction of a gaze of Englishness. In this way it is hoped that a better understanding will be gained of the mechanisms by which people make sense of who they are and where they belong.

The thesis is presented in ten chapters. Chapter two is organised into two sections. Section one examines the theoretical framework within which the investigation is set, namely theories of nationalism and national identity. In this respect the work of key writers and scholars will be analysed and the implications of their views discussed. For example, Kedourie (1960), Kohn (1961), Smith (1983, 1986, 1991), Gellner (1983), Hobsbawm (1990), Anderson (1991) and Connor (1993). In addition, section two will propose Michael Billig's (1995) concept of Banal Nationalism as a means of linking the theoretical formulations to the practices and experiences of everyday life. This chapter concludes by highlighting the key themes and issues underpinning this work and which will be discussed in the following chapters.

Chapter three examines the relationship between heritage tourism and national identity and

discusses the role played by those who own and manage the three sites under investigation. This leads into chapter four which analyses how the myths and symbols of tourism promote a sense of nation-ness and belonging. Chapter five goes on to discuss the primary research methods employed at the three sites. Chapters six, seven and eight are devoted to an analysis of the primary research. Chapter nine examines two key issues to emerge from the analysis, protestantism and patriotism, in terms of their influence upon English national identity. Chapter ten draws together the theoretical and ethnographic themes and presents concluding remarks about the relationship between heritage tourism and English national identity. In addition, it offers some thoughts on avenues for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

Section One

Concepts

The Context

This section examines the theoretical framework within which this work is set. A framework that is particularly concerned with an aspect of the development of national consciousness - namely that which can be observed taking place in heritage tourism. Indeed, heritage tourism is an example of the type of social processes that help to construct and maintain a sense of nation. However, most theoretical debates on nationalism concentrate on the structural mechanisms that underpin nation-ness, rather than on the role played by the social components of everyday life (Schlesinger, 1987). After examining these key theoretical debates this section concludes by outlining the key issues to be taken forward, issues which also underpin the primary research.

As chapter one established identity and belonging are complex issues open to individual interpretation. Moreover, they are part of a wider context that incorporates theories and studies of the nation, nationality and nationalism, which are themselves the subject of much debate and dissent. Indeed, there is considerable disagreement among scholars over what nationalism is and how it has developed. For Kedourie (1960) nationalism is a doctrine invented in Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century. For Kohn (1961) nationalism is a state of mind, an act of consciousness requiring the individual's supreme loyalty to the state. For Anderson (1991) the nation, nationalism is an imagined political community that is both inherently limited and sovereign. For Giddens (1985) nationalism is a primordial inheritance, a psychological symbolic concept that should not be confused with the nation-state. For Calhoun (1993) nationality is not primordial but a construction specific to the modern era. While for Renan (1990) the nation is a soul, a spiritual principle that presupposes a past and a common legacy of memories. Given these views it is no surprise when Roshwald (1993: 294) argues that nationalism is one of the most notoriously gelatinous concepts with which social scientists have had to deal.

Nevertheless, whatever criteria are employed, all seem to agree that an *idea of nation* is inextricably tied to a sense of history, to the memories and traditions that have been handed down from one generation to the next. As Anderson states (1991: 11) '...nations.....loom out of an immemorial past...'. This though is problematic because it implies that a national identity can only exist in the past, that the 'real' identity of a people is based on what has gone before rather than on present day beliefs, structures and ties. As Calhoun (1993: 394) maintains among some Russians and within much Western discourse the 'real' Russia is that of the Tsars.

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At this point it becomes necessary to define the parameters of this study. What it is that is under investigation - is it *national identity*, the characteristics, behaviour and culture of a people, or *nationalism*, the ideological or political movement in support of the right of individuals for self-government and independence. Is it even possible to discuss one without the other, are these two concepts inseparable, where goes national*ity* so goes national*ism*. In fact, nationalism has always been a thorny topic, what Bhabha (1990:3) refers to as a 'Janus-faced discourse', since it can be both a 'movement of inspiration' (Calhoun 1993: 404) whilst at the same time providing a home for relatives such as 'Fascism, imperialism, racism and populism' (Smith 1983: 173). Indeed, Barnett (1989: 145) argues that the positive and the negative faces of nationalism are inseparable since '...you can no more have the one without the other than have a coin with only one side'. It is thus apparent that any discussion of the 'idea of nation', how nations came into being, why individuals feel themselves as 'belonging' to one nation or another and what it is that binds them together must take account of all aspects. It therefore seems appropriate to consider the main theoretical debates in detail so that their relevance and importance to this study can be fully established.

What is a nation?

In Latin the word *natio* meant a group of men belonging together by similarity of birth, larger than a family, but smaller than a clan or a people. Thus, one spoke of the *Populus Romanus* and not of the *natio romanorum* (Kedourie, 1960: 13). Smith (1994: 383) states that such 'groups' represent distinct ethnic communities, what the French term *ethnies* '.....named groups with shared ancestry myths and memories or 'ethno-history', with a strong association, though not necessarily possession of, a historic territory or homeland'. Most, although not all, nations have their roots in the coming together of ethnic communities under one dominant ethnic core (see Smith, 1986). Thus one of the factors that distinguishes nations from ethnic communities is the possession of land, a territory that is recognised by others as the place in which a particular dominant ethnie resides (see Smith, 1991, 1994).

The political, state institutions that emerge to support this dominant ethnie give legitimacy to its territorial existence. The nation-state that develops further strengthens the authority of the dominant group to assert itself (Hobsbawm, 1990). It is thus apparent that whilst 'nations' and 'states' may co-exist they are in effect two different entities since nations can exist without states, just as states can exist without nations (Seton-Watson, 1977). The relationship between nation and state is important because it is the state that supports and maintains the 'idea of nation'. Indeed, in Mein Kampf, Hitler (1940: 595) conceived of the state as a sort of corporate being describing it as 'the living organism of a nationality which not only safeguards the preservation of that nationality, but which, by further training of its spiritual and ideal abilities, leads to its highest freedom'. The state thus communicates to its members the distinctive culture, history and traditions that set it apart from other states, from other nations. It is the state that controls the socialisation of individuals through, for example, state sponsored education policies, the primary religious faith and through the

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policies it adopts for the preservation of the nations culture and history. What Hobsbawm (1990: 10) refers to as the '...element of artefact, invention and social engineering which enters into the making of nations'. Indeed, chapter three examines the role of the post-war Labour Government in the 'social engineering' of a sense of British-ness, heritage and identity.

So, whilst a nation's national character is largely that of the dominant group or ethnie this does not preclude the existence of other, often multi-variate ethnic identities within the same nation; for example the United States of America. As Miller (1995: 21) states ethnicity and nationality can co-exist 'everything will depend on whether the ethnic group feels secure and comfortable with its national identity and the political institutions that correspond to it'. This does not mean that because some ethnic groups within a nation happily co-exist that all groups will do so. Hence Italian-Americans may comfortably co-exist whilst American Indians may not (Miller, (1995).[1]

Implicit in the above is the idea of 'community', a group of people who agree to come together to live within particular territorial boundaries and to be recognised by others as being a distinctive group. Joseph Stalin (1913) described the nation in just such a way although he was more specific about what made a community into a nation (Franklin, 1973). He argued that a nation must have four characteristics: a common language, a common territory, a common economic life and a common psychological make-up. All four characteristics had to be present in order for a group to be called a nation. Although Stalin does not elaborate on what he means by a 'common psychological make-up', which he also refers to as a common culture, a common national character, he does maintain that it is not a thing that is fixed once and for all. Rather, it can be modified by changes in the condition of life. Nevertheless, for Stalin a nation was something that came into being on the basis of territory and an economic system that organised the life of the people. As a result, he makes no mention of such as religion, historical traditions, ancient folklore or even of the existence of the type of memories and a sense of the past that is mentioned by Renan above. In fact, for Stalin, his four points provided a fully scientific definition of 'the nation' (Seton-Watson, 1977: 4).

Despite Stalin's claim to be able to provide a scientific description for the nation critics such as Hobsbawm (1990) argue that attempts to establish objective criteria for nationhood based on such as language, ethnicity, common territory, cultural traits or whatever are necessarily doomed to failure since exceptions to the rule can always be found. 'How indeed could it be otherwise, given that we are trying to fit historically novel, emerging, changing and, even today, far from universal entities into a framework of permanence and universality?' (Hobsbawm, 1990: 6). Although the alternative to an objective definition is a subjective definition such as Renan's where the nation is a form of morality this is still not satisfactory.

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1. For a more detailed elaboration of the concept of ethnicity generally and specifically in terms of tourism see Wallman, 1979; Van den Berghe & Keyes, 1984; Smith, 1986; MacCannell, 1992; Hitchcock, 1998.

If all that is needed for a nation to exist is its members consciousness of belonging on the basis of a common language, culture, traditions and so forth then this implies that all that is needed to create (or recreate) a nation is the will to be one. As a result, Hobsbawm (1990: 8) argues, if enough members of the Isle of Wight wanted to be a 'Wightian' nation, there would be one.

In effect, therefore, there are many ways of defining the nation and its citizens. However, Connor (1994) maintains that definitions are one thing but conceptualising the nation is more difficult because the essence of a nation is intangible. And yet it is this essence, this psychological bond, that joins a people, while at the same time differentiating them from all other people (Connor, 1994: 36). In order to conceptualise the term more clearly it is useful to refer to the work of Smith (1991). He offers two models of the nation, the Western model and the non-Western, or 'ethnic' model. In the Western model nations are viewed as cultural communities, where members are united by common historical memories, myths, symbols and traditions. Even where immigrant communities equipped with their own historic cultures have been *technically* admitted by the state, it takes several generations before their descendants have been *symbolically* admitted into the 'circle of the nation' through the national agencies of mass socialisation. Outside the West a different model emerged to challenge the dominance of the West that was more suited to the different circumstances of non-Western societies. This 'ethnic' model was based on a community of birth and native culture and no matter where the individual lived, or emigrated to he remained ineluctably a member of the community into which he was originally born. 'A nation, in other words, was first and foremost a community of common descent' (Smith, 1991: 11). Behind both these models are certain common beliefs about what constitutes a nation as opposed to any other type of collective, cultural identity. These Smith (1991: 14) describes as:

1. an historic territory, or homeland

2. common myths and historical memories

3. a common, mass public culture

4. common legal rights and duties for all members

Such elements are what make up a national identity. Although there are other kinds of collective identity that can be combined with these, such as class, religious or ethnic. The nation thus provides the physically bounded territory through which the individual can express his/her national identity and it is this expression which provides the foundation for nationalism 'the ideological movement' for attaining and maintaining the autonomy, unity and identity of the nation (Smith, 1983: 171).

The Birth of Nationalism

Seton-Watson (1977: 6) maintains that the doctrine of nationalism dates from the French

Revolution. Moreover, once established it was used as a justification for creating nationalist movements, and then sovereign states to encompass the lands in which it was claimed that nations lived. National identity and a sense of national consciousness were, however, slow to develop from this and tended to emerge spontaneously rather than as the result of conscious action (Seton-Watson, 1977: 8). For Smith (1983) although the origins of the term nationalism are obscure, related concepts such as national fervour and a sense of national individuality are, he argues, essentially products of the nineteenth century.[1] Both Kedourie (1960) and Gellner (1983) support the view that the nineteenth century enabled nationalism to emerge as a doctrine in its own right. Gellner is perhaps more specific as he links the emergence of nationalism directly to the processes of industrialisation and modernisation that were the main characteristics of the nineteenth century.

The Industrial Catalyst

Gellner (1983) goes into detail about why the nineteenth century, the age of industrialisation, is so important. Building upon the work of Weber and Kant he argues that the growth of an industrial society brought with it changes and developments that enabled nationalist sentiments to emerge. Specifically he maintains that industrialisation resulted in a more rational and objective approach to life that had not been there before. In addition this process of modernisation did not take place at the same time and with the same effect in all parts of the world. Thus, each area makes its own transition to industrial modernity (Gellner, 1983: 52). In a sense, then, Gellner is arguing that the processes of industrialisation and modernisation eroded traditional agrarian societies by upsetting the hitherto accepted social order:

> the old stability of the social role structure is simply incompatible with growth and innovation. Innovation means doing new things, the boundaries of which cannot be the same as those of the activities they replace. No doubt most societies can cope with an occasional re-drawing of job-specifications and guild boundaries....One change does not make progress. But what happens when such changes themselves are constant and continuous, when the persistence of occupational change.....becomes the one permanent feature of a social order? When this question is answered, the main part of the problem of nationalism is...solved. Nationalism is rooted in a *certain kind* of division of labour, one which is complex and persistently cumulatively changing. (Gellner, 1983: 24)

According to Gellner this process of change can best be seen in the move towards universal literacy through improved education and the move away from a situation where occupations were hereditary, passed down from one generation to the next. Furthermore, the nature of work itself also changed, from that involving the manipulation of things, to work involving

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1. For a discussion of a specific nationalist ideology of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries see Ergang's (1931) examination of the writings of Herder on German nationalism.

the manipulation of meanings, ideas and thoughts. Work that now involved the '..control of buttons, or switches, or leavers which needed to be *understood*, and....explicable....in some standard idiom intelligible to all' (Gellner, 1983: 33).

As a result societies emerged based on a technology that required an educated, mobile workforce that could be organised around the needs of industry, rather than the needs of the individual. In this way traditional social and community relationships were subsumed by the need to develop a shared 'national' approach to the development of the individual so as to meet the needs of the new world order. It is this new 'national social order' that Gellner (1983: 34-35) argues is at the root of nationalism. Industrialisation enabled the coming together of culture and polity which Gellner argues is an important pre-requisite for the development of nationalism. For nationalism is the striving to make culture and polity congruent, to endow culture with its own political roof (Gellner, 1983: 43).

Gellner's proposed awakening to national consciousness brings with it other important social transformations, not least of which is that of the role of culture. Gellner talks of the 'age of a universal high culture', a culture that is now state maintained and communicated through a national education system. Such a culture replaces the diversified, locality-tied, illiterate cultural traditions of the past, with a culture that is now the same for all (Gellner, 1983: 37-38). Such a shared culture is a necessary condition for the existence of a national community. Moreover, culture is thus used to mean 'belonging' since it enables individuals to recognise each other as belonging to the same community or nation. A sense of citizenship emerges with its associated rights and duties, 'in other words, *nations maketh man*; nations are the artefacts of men's convictions and loyalties and solidarities' (Gellner, 1983: 7). Language, education and communication are thus central to Gellner's argument since effective citizens need to be literate and only state-organised and financed education can do this. Only education makes a full man and citizen since it is through education that the shared culture is communicated via the shared language:

> the employability, dignity, security and self-respect of individuals, typically, and for the majority of men now hinges on their *education*; and the limits of the culture within which they were educated are also the limits of the world within which they can, morally and professionally, breath. A man's education is by far his most precious investment, and in effect confers his identity on him. (Gellner, 1983: 36)

For Gellner then, industrialisation led to the development of a society based on the needs of all, the needs of the nation, rather than on those of the individual. Underpinning this move are national education systems supported by nationally accepted cultural symbols and traditions. A cultural and social homogeneity is born that leads directly to the emergence of nationalism (Gellner, 1983: 39). Henceforth for Gellner '...the classification of men by 'culture' is of course the classification by nationality' (quoted in Smith, 1983: 113).

Gellner does, however, have his critics. Breuilly (1985) questions the

industrialism/nationalism link made by Gellner arguing that in some cases nationalism developed before industrialisation had taken place. For example, the French Revolution. For Breuilly, nationalism is linked to the processes that enabled national sentiment, nationalist doctrines and policies to develop in the first place and is thus not so dependent on the pre-existence of the nation-state. Moreover, he disagrees with Gellner's point that a shared common culture, promoted by a state endorsed education system, is central to the development of nationalism, '...nationalism cannot be reduced to these intellectual and social trends' (1985: 69).

Furthermore, Hobsbawm (1990), while agreeing with much of Gellner's approach, argues that he concentrates on discussing the view of the nation as seen by governments and the spokesmen and activists of nationalists. As such, Gellner pays too little attention to the view from below, to those Hobsbawm (1990: 10, 11) refers to as the 'ordinary people' on the receiving end of government action and propaganda. Consequently, those who uphold the official ideologies of states and of movements, whom Williams (1983: 186) refers to as 'the great disrupters', are not guides to what the people or the citizens actually think themselves. Furthermore, what constitutes a sense of national identity can change over time, the criteria on which it is based is not fixed indefinitely. As Clifford (1988: 14) illustrates, 'twentieth-century identities no longer presuppose continuous cultures or traditions. Everywhere individuals and groups improvise local performances from (re)collected pasts, drawing on foreign media, symbols, and languages'.

Smith (1983) and Arnason (1990) likewise question Gellner's implied assumption that individuals actually need, or even want to belong to a cultural and politically homogeneous group in the first place, '...this question of individual's needs, desires and habits requires empirical investigation in each case. It cannot be settled from such *a priori* assumptions' (Smith, 1983: 144). Furthermore, although Smith agrees with Gellner that culture and linguistic education are important aspects of nationalism he argues that they are merely one of the factors that make a nation (Smith, 1983: 145). Smith further maintains that 'culture' is a far broader concept than Gellner suggests, it includes customs, the ancestry myth, institutions, history, the law and religion. Not only is language merely one aspect of a culture, the need to possess a 'common language' is also disputed, since nations can and do exist on the basis of multilingual populations, such as India and Switzerland. Thus, for Smith (1983: 149) language is more a *product* of nationalism than its cause or defining mark.

Despite this, Gellner's nineteenth century ideology of nationalism emphasises a world-history (or evolutionary) process in which the world's peoples took on their distinctive characters and identities. This is true of the established countries, what Calhoun (1993: 396) refers to as the 'historical nations', but those less established countries who could not develop at the same rate or to the same extent lagged behind. Nationalism, wherever it emerges is thus as much a product of the age in which it 'flowers' as it is of the cultural systems which preceded its birth.

Anderson's (1991) seminal text *Imagined Communities* treats nationalism not so much as an ideology but as the product of a peculiarly modern mode of thought, as an integral part of the mental structure of contemporary society (Roshwald, 1993: 299). As Anderson (1991: 12) argues, '...nationalism has to be understood by aligning it, not with self-consciously held political ideologies, but with the large cultural systems that preceded it, out of which - as well as against which - it came into being'. Anderson's views are important here because heritage tourism, as part of the contemporary cultural world, both appeals to and relies upon the imagination as a way of promoting its interpretation of nation-ness.

For Anderson, nationality, nation-ness and nationalism are cultural artefacts of an imagined political community that is both limited and sovereign and that came to exist in the imagination of people as a result of the technological and economic changes that produced capitalist societies. As such, a sense of nation-ness became imaginable as a consequence of the rise of 'print capitalism', mass literacy, mass communications, political democratisation, the modern nation- state. All of which combined to promote identification with the nation as the dominant form of cultural identity (Tomlinson, 1991:83).

The cultural systems at the root of Anderson's nationalism are to be found in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the religious community and the dynastic realm. The former existed and was communicated through the medium of sacred languages and scripts, with Latin being the main language of expression. While the latter was sustained as a result of its association with the sacred, in other words the 'divine right of kings'. Both these systems declined in importance for a variety of reasons about the time of the eighteenth century and '..the search was on, so to speak, for a new way of linking fraternity, power and time meaningfully together' (Anderson, 1991: 36).

The sacred languages of the religious community were quickly superseded by the rise of print-capitalism, the printing presses and the mechanised production of books and newspapers. This, Anderson argues, played a decisive role in the development of a 'national consciousness' as it enabled a vernacular language to become the national language. Furthermore, this common print language enabled the mass of French, English and Spanish people to understand each other via print and paper:

> ....they gradually became aware of the hundreds of thousands, even millions, of people in their particular language-field, and at the same time that *only those* hundreds of thousands, or millions, so belonged. These fellow-readers, of whom they were connected through print, formed, in their secular, particular, visible invisibility, the embryo of the nationally imagined community. (Anderson, 1991: 44)

For Anderson, then, the nation is a phenomenon of modernity, a form of experiencing which is only possible within the technological and economic changes that produced

modern capitalist societies. All of which enabled millions of people to conceive of themselves as bound together across time and space, as Anderson illustrates:

> ...things like the newspapers which come out day by day, absolutely predictable, with more news, more information about where we live and how we live. We have all intense awareness that there are millions of other people reading the same newspaper at exactly the same time. We have no idea who they are but we are quite sure that they exist and that in someway through reading a common newspaper we belong together. That is the most important thing. (Arena, 1996)

For Anderson, then, nationalism is more an inclusive than an exclusive phenomenon since it concentrates on what people have in common with each other rather than on how they differ. Thus, the nation is a community conceived as a deep horizontal comradeship (Anderson 1991:7) whereby each individual 'imagines' that his or her follow citizens have the same basic understanding of what the nation is all about: thereby '...giving certain meaning to the everyday fatalities of existence (and above all death, loss, and servitude) and offering, in various ways, redemption from them' (Anderson, 1991: 36).

For Anderson (1991: 6) the nation is part of an *imagined* political community precisely because '.....members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them or even hear them...'. National identity is thus a communion experienced through immediate family, friends and neighbours rather than through association with the entire nation. This, of course, would be an impossibility. Anderson further maintains that the imagined nation is also *limited* - has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations:

> ...unlike the great religions of the world which have at the back of their minds the whole planet can be Muslim, or the whole planet could be Christian, the nation always imagines itself as smaller than that, only so many people can be members of the nation. (Arena, 1996)

Anderson's nation not only has limited boundaries, but is also *sovereign* - autonomous from other states in terms of its internal legislative power. The individuals experience of this imagined, limited and sovereign, national community is what Tomlinson (1991: 80) refers to as 'the sense of national identity'. Thus, those territories fighting for independence and recognition are fighting for the right to control their own limited space, for the right to be defined as a nation, for the right to have a national identity of their choosing.

McCrone (1992) maintains that by defining the nation in this way Anderson is effectively arguing against the view of the nation as a primordial, incontrovertible fact that has always

existed. Anderson's nation is a particularly modern phenomenon created and imagined through time and space by mankind, rather than by some universal being:

> there's a whole rhythm of life which is determined by the clock itself which became a normal part of our lives towards the end of the eighteenth century so that it became perfectly normal for people to think that they should go to work at 9am...this way of thinking is really quite extraordinary and unprecedented in any earlier period of human history...This man made time, we make the clocks we decide what seconds and minutes and hours are, not something up there and this is something which I think is very deep down in modern life. (Arena, 1996)

Anderson's nation is conceived as 'modern' because it is imagined to exist by individuals on the basis of such technological advances. As a result mankind has a much wider understanding of who and what is beyond immediate boundaries. No longer do people regulate their lives by the seasons to the same extent as they once did. Technology has not only changed the way people live and work it has also changed the way people think. As Anderson states a new world has emerged '.....where nobody dies anymore where they were born' (Arena, 1996).

The Psychological Component

Comment has already been made concerning the psychological basis of nationalism by writers as varied as Walker Connor and Joseph Stalin. Indeed, this component is also discussed by Anthony Giddens who views nationalism and the nation-state as different concepts. Furthermore, he warns against confusing nationalism with the nation-state arguing that they are related concepts only (1981: 191). For Giddens, nationalism is a psychological phenomenon to be distinguished from the strictly 'institutional' issues having to do with the nation-state. His discussion of nationalism involves those processes of attachment which might be termed 'national identity', '...the affiliation of individuals to a set of symbols and beliefs emphasizing communality among the members of a political order' (Giddens, 1985: 116). Such a concept is central to the role played by heritage tourism in the promotion and maintenance of national consciousness.

Like Anderson, Giddens stresses that nationalism is a phenomenon of modernity, a form of psychological belonging specific to societies organised on the scale, and with the technological resources deriving from capitalism, and with the nation-state as the most 'pre-eminent power container' (Giddens, 1985: 119). Tomlinson (1991: 84) argues that an important part of Gidden's analysis of nationalism is his attempt to explain the psychology of this particular form of cultural attachment in terms of the transformations of human experience brought about by the social processes of modernity. For Giddens (1981: 193) the feeling of 'belonging' to a nation represents 'an attenuated form of those "primordial sentiments" of which Clifford Geertz speaks in tribal societies and village communities'.

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According to Geertz (1973: 261-263) these sentiments, or 'ties', include assumed blood ties, race, language, region, religion and custom and it is through these that the individual comes to identify themselves as belonging to a particular community, state or nation.

Overall, then, Giddens (1985: 212-216) lists four themes which are of importance to theories of nationalism:

1. The association with the nation-state.

2. The ideological characteristic (related to both class   domination and the 'historicity' of modern societies), i.e. 'the controlled use of reflection upon history as a means of changing history'.

3. The psychological dynamics manifested in a range of sentiments and attitudes.

4. And the particular symbolic content.

The nation-state is thus seen as the 'power-container' of nationalism and it is through the nation-state that   the symbols and beliefs of nationality are defined, maintained, communicated and controlled (Giddens, 1985: 121).

The psychological component of nationalism has also been highlighted by Connor (1993) who argues that scholars and statesmen have tended to underestimate its capacity for influencing group behaviour. As argued earlier Connor's basic premise is that a nation cannot be defined solely in terms of tangible characteristics such as language, religion and territory because these fail to take account of the psychological bond that joins a people together. What Connor (1993: 382) refers to as the '....distinction between reason and the emotional essence of the nation...'. According to Connor (1993) an emotional, non-rational, attachment to the nation is primarily based upon a sense of consanguinity whereby the nation is conceived of as a kinship group based upon a unique and separate line of descent. What is important here, however, is not whether a nation's origins are *actually* unique, but rather the existence of an *intuitive conviction* that it is unique:

> The sense of unique descent, of course, need not, and *in nearly all* cases *will not*, accord with factual history. Nearly all nations are the variegated offspring of numerous ethnic strains. It is not chronological or factual history that is the key to the nation, but sentient or felt history. (Connor, 1993: 382)

Thus, for Connor, debates about the origin of nations do not on their own explain why people continue to feel attachment to a particular group of people. What is missing is an understanding of the subconscious, psycho-emotional aspects of nation-ness that underpin and help to weld together the more tangible elements of culture, territory, language and

religion. In other words the 'feeling that we are a nation', that 'we' belong together, that 'we' are all related in some way, intuitively rather than genetically.

The National Will

The above discussion highlights the importance of the 'will to belong', the desire to live as part of what Connor (1993) has referred to as 'the fully extended family'. Indeed the concept of will is important as it introduces the question of why people feel national pride, national sentiment? What is it that individuals are proud of? Smith's (1991) review of the ways in which the term 'nationalism' has been used provides a useful starting point from which to consider these questions. Basically he organises this into five categories:

1. The whole process of forming and maintaining nations or nation-states.

2. A consciousness of belonging to the nation, together with sentiments and aspirations for its security and prosperity.

3. A language and symbolism of the 'nation' and its role.

4. An ideology, including a cultural doctrine of nations and the national will and prescriptions for the realisation of national aspirations and the national will.

5. A social and political movement to achieve the goals of the nation and realise its national will. (Smith 1991: 72)

For Smith the national will is important because a nation can only exist if everyone accepts the aspirations, sentiments and goals of the nation. This does not mean that different interpretations cannot be accommodated but that the overall 'raison d'etre' of the nation must be accepted by all, what Rousseau called 'the national character' (Smith, 1991: 75). This pride, this sentiment, this character is arguably what makes a people a nation, what endows them with a national identity. It is these ideals which are embodied in the national symbols, ceremonies and customs of the nation. It is these concepts that make the nation visible and distinct for every member and which help to communicate the nation to others:

> these symbols and ceremonies are so much part of the world we live in that we take them...for granted. They include the obvious attributes of nations - flags, anthems, parades, coinage, capital cities, oaths...museums of folklore, war memorials...passports, frontiers - as well as more hidden aspects, such as national recreations, the countryside, popular heroes and heroines, fairy tales....styles of architecture, arts and crafts....legal procedures, educational practices and military codes - all these distinctive customs, mores, styles and ways of acting and feeling that are shared by the members of a community of historical culture.
> (Smith, 1991: 77)

A nation is all these things and it is through these symbols that the 'deep horizontal comradeship' of Anderson (1991: 7) is communicated and translated into what can be

termed a sense of national pride. This pride is felt by individuals in many different ways, based on differing aspects of the national life, but it is what keeps individuals tied to a particular territory, a particular nation. In this respect, all of the above national characteristics are subject to different interpretations. As Smith (1986: 206) argues each generation not only puts its own value and mark upon the activities of life, but also puts these activities to a variety of different usages '...which can best minister to the needs and aspirations of its dominant social groups and institutions'. As such, successive generations must re-affirm their will to belong to the nation based on their acceptance of the prevailing interpretations of the characteristics of the national life. In this sense it is important to consider how contemporary interpretations are communicated to the nation as this goes to the heart of how a national identity is felt and understood by individuals.

Conclusion

The theorists and concepts discussed here have highlighted the main structural changes behind the emergence of nations, nationalism and identity . However, they stop short of examining the many ways in which a sense of nation-ness is maintained everyday. Indeed, Breuilly (1985: 70) argues that the crucial point is how one moves forward from this understanding of the structural changes that allowed the idea of a cultural community to emerge, towards an understanding of how individuals came to be *consciously* aware of the cultural community. In other words how a sense of nationality is constructed that links individuals to a particular cultural tradition. A society's structural mechanisms may represent and promote highly visible aspects of identity, but they operate alongside the less visible, but no less important, social components of our day to day lives. The social processes that enable nations to continue and which legitimate their existence in the eyes of their citizens. Indeed, Schlesinger (1987: 220) has argued that what is missing from most debates about nationalism is any discussion of what these social processes might be and how they help to construct national identity: 'to my surprise, so far I have found no single explicit theorization of that notion'.

This work attempts to fill this gap by analysing the social processes underpining the role of heritage tourism in the maintenance and promotion of national identity. Both in general and, more specifically, in relation to three sites Battle Abbey, Hever Castle and Chartwell. In this respect it is necessary to highlight the key themes and observations to have emerged from the above discussion and which will inform the analyses of these sites. To aid clarity these have been organised into four areas:

1) How Anderson's 'imagined community' actually comes into being and how it enables the individual to reaffirm a sense of national identity.

2) Whether Gidden's 'controlled use of reflection on history' enables the above sites to promote cultural attachment to the nation and, if it does, then what aspects of the nation's identity are being represented.

3) How the language and symbolism of nation-ness enables the sites to maintain and communicate a sense of national belonging.

4) Whether, and how, Connor's subconscious, psycho-emotional bond promotes attachment to the nation.

While these four themes highlight the key concerns of this work they need to be set within an overall framework that allows them to be applied and analysed in relation to the three sites mentioned above. As such the following section will focus upon the examination and analysis of Banal Nationalism (Billig, 1995), the framework for bridging the gap between theory and practice.

The Context

The section examines the link between theoretical formulations of identity and the ways in which individuals make sense of who they are on a daily basis. How they come to understand and to feel part of a particular nation, a particular national identity. Theoretical debates are one thing but most people do not get involved in these since they rarely experience their cultural identity in the highly idealised and abstracted way of the anthropologist (Cohen, 1982b: 5). It is, therefore, important to consider how the link between theory and practice can be made. How is national identity maintained, communicated and understood, twenty-four hours a day, three hundred and sixty-five days a year, in a variety of different places, countries and continents? As Billig (1995: 7) states '...one needs to look for the reasons why people in the contemporary world do not forget their nationality'.

Indeed, a sense of belonging and attachment to a particular culture, a particular identity is most frequently experienced in the context of rather mundane circumstances. 'How to evaluate your neighbour's work in making a wheelbarrow; where, and in which tidal conditions, to fish...Mundane they maybe, but...each such commonplace event is a metaphorical statement of the culture in which it occurs' (Cohen, 1982b: 6). This mundane reminding is referred to by Michael Billig (1995: 6) as Banal Nationalism '...the ideological habits which enable the established nations of the West to be reproduced' (Billig, 1995: 6). It is thus important to examine the semiological meanings inherent in the mundane habits of everyday life so that a better understanding can be gained of how they combine to construct and to promote a sense of national identity.

Banal Nationalism

For Billig (1995) the major problem with the term nationalism is that it is misleading as far as the people in established nations are concerned. To the man or woman in the street nationalism happens in times of war, in times of crisis, when groups, individuals or countries are threatened in some way and is characterised by overt nationalist rhetoric such as that employed by heads of state. More specifically it happens in 'other' countries and to 'other' people that are less sure of themselves than 'we' are (Billig, 1995: 5). As a result, Billig argues, there is a tendency to locate feelings of nationalist sentiment as being somehow different to what happens in the mundane world of the everyday. They are somehow kept hidden and are only brought out into the light of day in response to some perceived crisis, or to an event, or ceremony of significance, '.....'a national identity'. Like a mobile telephone....lies quiet for most of the time. Then, the crisis occurs; the President calls; the bells ring, the citizens answer; and the patriotic identity is connected' (Billig, 1995: 7). Moreover, events of significance are often accompanied by a specific type of rhetoric

that highlights the importance of what is happening. For example the waving of the Union Flag and the singing of hymns such as 'I vow to thee my Country' and 'Jerusalem' are all features of the annual Last Night of the Proms. As Wheatcroft (1994: 8) explains the Last Night of the Proms is now a great institution '....standing somewhere between the Trooping of the Colour and the Cup Final. It has something else in common with both of these. It is an expression of simple patriotism...'.

However, Billig (1995: 6) argues that awareness of the nation is not something reserved for state or official occasions 'nationalism, far from being an intermittent mood in established nations, is the endemic condition'. There is a continual reminding, or 'flagging' of nationhood on a daily basis. This 'flagging' may be unconsciously displayed, but it serves to keep people aware of where they belong and what they believe in. It is to be found in the daily habits and routines of life and it is why people do not forget their identity. 'The metonymic image of banal nationalism is not a flag which is being consciously waved with fervent passion; it is a flag hanging unnoticed on the public building. (Billig, 1995: 8).

Billig's (1995: 93) concept of 'flagging the homeland daily' illustrates how nationhood is kept near the surface of daily life via such diverse mediums as the political rhetoric of governments and the sports pages of daily newspapers. Indeed, it is interesting to observe how new governments often re-define identities for their own political purposes. Thus, John Major's vision of a nation of warm beer drinkers and old maids bicycling to Holy Communion, has given way to Tony Blair's more modern vision of a people's nation. 'We are forging a new patriotism focused on the potential we can fulfil in the future....it is about being modern and forward thinking....it is a patriotic vision of a model 21st-century nation...The champions of modern Britain are to be found in every community in the country....' (Blair, 1998: 5).

Furthermore, Billig argues that almost anything, from Levi jeans to the weather forecast, can be used to 'flag' the nation to its own citizens and to those of other nations. For example, the sports journalist Ian Wooldridge, on his return from five weeks covering the 1996 Olympic games in Atlanta wrote:

> It is good to be home. London taxi drivers who know where they're going, steak tartare at The Ivy, the best newspapers in the English language, Charlotte Green reading the news on BBC, Waterstone's book shop assistants who've read every review and know what you're asking for, a dry martini at the Connaught, the Windsor Chapel Choir, Taki and Jeffrey Bernard in *The Spectator*, Trevor McDonald reading CLR James on the wireless, the exercising Household cavalry clattering under your windows at the ungodliest hour. (Wooldridge, 1996: 53)

All of Wooldridge's reminders of home are examples of the small, mundane 'flags' that serve to represent the nation to its citizens and 'national identity embraces all these forgotten reminders' (Billig, 1995: 8). Although everyone could probably devise a similar list of

features that, for them, represented their home, their land, their nation and even if each list was different the significance of each would be the same. As Billig (1995: 154) argues flags are unmindful reminders of a national identity. They are the embodied habits of social life, the places we live, the way we live and the unconsciously held thoughts of home that we take with us wherever we go.

Three Flags of Identity

Cohen (1982b: 6) argues that a sense of belonging '....is constantly evoked by whatever means come to hand: the use of language, the shared knowledge of genealogy or ecology, joking, the solidarity of sect, the aesthetics of subsistence skills'. Furthermore, such unconscious reminders of identity provide a subterranean level of meaning. They are the substance of belonging, they are what bind members to their culture, they are the means by which members make the world known to themselves and to others (Cohen, 1982b: 12). The ways in which aspects of everyday life are employed to communicate cultural values and beliefs is a key concern of those involved in the study of material culture (see Tilley, 1990; Pearce, 1997a).

Pearce (1997b) argues that a nation's material culture comprises a diverse range of 'objects' from pink champagne and works of literary fiction, to the exhibits contained within museums and art galleries. Such objects represent our alter egos without which we cannot be ourselves because our use and understanding of them communicates our identity as effectively as the spoken word. Pearce goes on to state that a nation's material culture also includes such 'objects' as our bodies, the foods we eat and the physical nature of our surroundings. Indeed, these three provide the overall framework and context within which the artefacts of material culture are used, consumed and experienced (see Hides, 1997). Given that the sites under investigation are also aspects of the material world it is important to look in more depth at the context in which they operate. In this way a better understanding can be gained of how objects of the material world can be said to symbolically represent the nation to its citizens and to others (see Palmer, 1998).

The Body

The proceeds of an ASA Conference on the Anthropology of the Body were published in an edited book of the same name in 1977. The focus of the conference was on the human body and the way in which it could be said to act as a sort of mediator between nature and culture. More specifically, the anthropology of the body is concerned with the interface between the body and society and with an examination of the ways in which the physical organism both constrains and inspires patterns of social interaction *and* the invention of culture (Blacking, 1977: v-vi). The fundamental point here is the ability of the body to represent a culture, an identity, both to the society to which it is attached and to those other societies with which it comes into contact.

For example, Hertz describes how different religions place particular emphasis on the use of

either the right or the left hands and feet in acts of worship: 'a holy place must be entered right foot first.....to bless or to consecrate, the Hindus and the Celts go three times round a person or an object, from left to right....' (Douglas, 1973: 120-121). Likewise, Steiner writes how for some Polynesians parts of the body are ranked in terms of a hierarchy whereby the backbone is the most important part. The head is similarly revered and because of its position, above the body, it represents the seat of 'mana' '..both the soul-aspect, the life force, and a man's ritual status' (Douglas, 1973: 125). There is thus a physical, a social and a symbolic use for virtually all parts of the body and these convey meaning to the individual and to others from within the same society. While they inform outsiders of the particular beliefs, rituals and cultural practices of that society. In other words the body both confers and conveys identity.

A further example of the body as a symbol of a society, a culture, is given by Okely (1983) in her ethnography of traveller-gypsies. Okely describes how the gypsies, under constant pressure to assimilate into the more dominant culture of the non-gypsies (the Gorgio) maintain their ethnic identity by reference to 'pollution' beliefs allied to daily practices such as washing, eating and the use of space. An illustration of this is the gypsies distinction between the outer and the inner body:

> (they).....make a fundamental distinction between the inside of the body and the outside. The outer skin with its discarded scales, accumulated dirt, by-products such as hair, and waste such as faeces, are all potentially polluting. The outer body symbolizes the public self or role........It is a protective covering for the inside, which must be kept pure and inviolate. The inner body symbolizes the secret, ethnic self.
>
> (Okely, 1983: 80)

By ascribing certain meanings to aspects of the body and its functions (both practical and symbolic) the gypsies are able to express and reinforce an ethnic boundary (1983: 77). In so doing they can maintain the cultural distinctiveness which provides the rationale for their chosen way of life. As Nietzsche (1969: 62) illustrates 'you say 'I' and you are proud of this word. But greater than this...is your body and its great intelligence, which does not say 'I' but performs 'I'".

This bodily transmission of identity is also examined by Arnold (1977) in her investigation into the relationship between sexual positions and the image that men and women have of themselves and of each other. Her study of prostitutes in a Peruvian brothel found that images of masculinity and femininity were intricately bound up with the way in which the body was used. For the man his *machismo*, his sense of male dominance, was emphasised in the way he talked to the prostitutes and in the way they danced with him. Arnold also argues that gender images and identities are also constructed and conveyed in the positions adopted during sexual intercourse. The dominance and the *machismo* of the male and the extent of the females submissiveness are revealed by the use of the *natural*, or the *pose* sexual positions:

Instead of one dichotomy between the sexual, dominating man of *machismo* and the sexually pure, passive woman, these new *poses* create several polarities, active/passive, dominant/submissive, sexual/asexual, - which interrelate in different ways in different situations. (Arnold, 1977: 196)

The use of *poses* symbolizes not only the changing relationship between men and women, but also changes in the images that men and women have of each other. Such changes may, according to Arnold, have fundamental implications for the way in which society functions. Attitudes of male and female sexual behaviour may affect attitudes towards marriage and towards the way husbands and wives relate to each other. The usual, taken for granted, rules have changed and individuals have to re-assess the basis on which they relate to each other and the way in which each perceives the other; their respective identities if you like.

A further interesting view of how sex can be used to convey identity is given by Bowman (1989) in his study of relations between female tourists and local men in Palestine. For the Palestinian male the female tourist represents not only access to a world more economically advanced than their own, but (and perhaps more importantly) they appeared to be part of a world that was not Israeli (1989: 78). Sex with a tourist conveyed a myriad of meanings to the local Palestinian men. The women's identity became inextricably bound up with notions of power and control because sex enabled the men to act out a degree of control that they did not possess in their everyday lives. As far as the Palestinians were concerned use of the women's bodies enabled them '....to play out scenarios of vengeance against foreigners who, in their eyes, oppressed them both economically and socially....' (Bowman, 1989: 79). By sexually conquering the women the Palestinian men were able to symbolically conquer the places from which the women had come.

What Arnold and Bowman have both illustrated is how the women's bodies were not merely reflecting an identity based on gender but were in fact involved in a more complex communication of a variety of different identities. In Arnold's case these 'multiple' identities reflected both current and evolving social habits and customs of Peruvian society. The prostitute's bodies became identified with a change in the relationship between men and women in the wider society, with the move from a passive to a more active sexual role being the physical expression of, what Arnold (1977: 196) refers to as, 'the new cultural form'. Similarly, the tourists in Bowman's case do not only possess an identity that is female, but are also representatives of the places from which they are from. The women's bodies have become microcosms of their respective countries reflecting the economic, political, cultural and religious characteristics of their homeland. In this sense the female body is also the national body.

Food

Just as the body carries with it a series of identities other than that denoted by its gender so, too, does the selection and use of food. For example, in Hindu society Selwyn (1980: 307)

has shown how the use and transfer of food serves symbolically to communicate an identity that is both personal and hierarchical: 'each food transfer....communicates afresh the identity of that person in terms of his membership of a particular group, itself defined in terms of the society as a whole'. Within Western societies Murcott (1983: 179) argues that a cooked meal of 'meat and two veg' symbolizes the woman's role as the homemaker and the man's role as the breadwinner. What these examples show is that it is not only the actual food that is important but also what it *represents* within the society in which it is bought, prepared and eaten.

One of the most obvious uses of food as representation are those that relate to religious ceremonies. In Christian religions, for example, the body and the blood of Christ are symbolically ingested in the bread and the red wine that is offered during Holy Communion. For Muslims, the consumption of food and drink from sunrise to sunset is actually prohibited during the holy month of *Ramadan*. Likewise, Jews observe a total fast during *Yom Kippur* (the day of atonement) from sunset to sunset (see Kittler & Sucher, 1989: chpt 2). In many cultures, therefore, food and religion are inextricably linked and in many instances adherence to a particular faith entails the adoption of specific patterns of consumption. For example, the Jewish dietary laws, the *kashrut*. In fact Douglas (1966) argues that these laws are 'signs' that enable the Jews to distinguish themselves from others by means of the classification of foods as either 'clean' or un-clean'. Such distinctions clearly identify those who adhere to them as belonging to a particular faith, a particular cultural tradition. Consequently, eating styles and habits say as much about a culture and a people as do systems of government. As Kittler & Sucher (1989: 5) illustrate 'eating, like dressing in traditional clothing or speaking in a native language, is a daily reaffirmation of cultural identity'.

In a similar vein Levi-Strauss (1986: 1) has examined how categories relating to the preparation and use of food, which he refers to as 'the raw and the cooked, the fresh and the decayed, the moistened and the burned', can be used as conceptual tools for analysing the actions, thoughts and conventions of a society. For Levi-Strauss food is a language that reflects the structure, and organisation of a society. It represents the society to itself and to others through its close association with specific rituals and ceremonies that all symbolize the beliefs and traditions of the cultures in which they occur; for example the sacred status of the cow for Hindus, the cutting of the wedding cake and the components of the Christmas meal in Western societies and the Jewish and Islamic taboo on pork (see Douglas, 1966 and Mennell, Murcott and van Otterloo, 1992).

The linking of food to culture is one that is both obvious and at the same time more complex. It is obvious in the sense that people must eat in order to survive. Furthermore, the choice of what to eat will, to a large extent, depend upon a combination of personal preference, climate and environmental conditions. However, this does not say anything about the values and beliefs that certain societies place upon particular food combinations. It is this aspect of food that communicates the cultural values within a society and between one society and another. Furthermore, as Okely has already argued rituals and practices

relating to food consumption are often used to define and maintain boundaries of identity. For example, the traveller-gypsies were careful in their use, storage and consumption of food prepared by Gorgios for fear of it 'polluting' their own culture:

> Food cooked by Gorgios....is Gorgio 'culture', which must therefore not be consumed. Since commensality is a sign of and an affirmation of intimacy, the sharing of eating places with a Gorgio risks not only direct pollution via 'poisoned' food, but also secondary contamination by a weakening of the social boundary between the two groups. (Okely, 1983: 84)

By eating non-gypsy food the travellers were in effect ingesting the cultural identity of the Gorgios and could therefore no longer be considered 'pure'. Thus, food is a means of communicating cultural relationships, as Levi-Strauss stated above, it is a language of society and as such it can mean different things to different people. To one person the word *steak* might conjure up memories of celebratory dinners or a sense of reassurance about a good, body-building nutritious dish. Whilst for others it might stand for cruelty, nausea and images of animal abuse (Fiddes, 1991: 42). However, the language of food does not always have to speak of difference it can also express a sense of national affiliation and identity (Mennell, Murcott and van Otterloo, 1992). As the journalist Simon Jenkins illustrates:

> Each Year...America pays collective homage to its Americanness.....Thanksgiving is a strangely intimate ritual. Recalling the first harvest of the Pilgrim Fathers, it has never become just another holiday...(it) has been embraced by each immigrant wave as a sign of arrival, an assertion of American oneness. (1993: 16)

Like many other ritual festivals *Thanksgiving* in America becomes an annual re-assertion of a national sense of belonging; as does the Western Christmas dinner with its traditional fare of turkey and Christmas pudding, mince pies and fruit cake. Likewise, the Passover meal, which celebrates the first great Exodus of the Jewish people from slavery in Egypt to the promised land of Israel, reminds all Jews of the basis upon which the political legitimacy of their nation rests (Selwyn, 1996a: 160). Similarly, the Jewish Sabbath, which is celebrated every Friday evening by Jews all over the world, enables Jewish people to feel at one with each other. Starr Sered (1988) takes this a step further by explaining how the role of cooking among poor, Middle-Eastern Jewish women is a sacred act since Jewish identity, tradition, law and holidays are all intricately bound up with the feeding of others: 'food makes the individual really *feel* Jewish' (1988: 133). Food for these women is synonymous with the identity of the nation since it forms a constant link and reminder with the past (Paraiso, 1988: 9). Shared nutritional rituals, rules and regulations are thus another way of expressing solidarity with members of the same group, culture or nation.

All of the above illustrations indicate the existence of culturally defined patterns of eating

that enable people to express and maintain identity both to themselves and to others. However, as Bell and Valentine (1997) point out, there is a fundamental contradiction in the food-nationalism equation, there is no essential national food. The mixing of cultures, patterns of trade and migration have resulted in cuisines that owe their origins to anything but one single nationally defined source (see Mennell, 1985; Tannahill, 1975). Yet the important point is not whether national cuisines exist from a strictly academic perspective, but rather why and how certain foods and styles of cooking continue to be identified with specific nationalities and ethnic groups. As Bell and Valentine (1997: 168) argue food is a language that '...articulates notions of inclusion and exclusion, of national pride and xenophobia...'. It is the embodiment of such notions in the foods themselves and in the uses to which these foods are put that enables food to act as a boundary-marker between one identity and another. Indeed, the ability of food to articulate inclusion and exclusion at a national level is illustrated by Fieldhouse who states that stereotypes and 'nicknames' of other nations and cultures are often based upon the eating habits of the group in question:

> Food habits are an integral part of cultural behaviour and are often closely identified with particular groups - sometimes in a derogatory or mocking way. So the French are 'Frogs', the German's are 'Krauts', the Italians are 'spaghetti eaters'....The word 'Eskimo' is an Indian word meaning 'eaters of raw flesh', and was originally used to express the revulsion of one group toward the food habits of another. (1986: 41)

Perhaps it is true therefore, what Nietzsche (1979: 54) argues, that 'all prejudices come from the intestines'. Nevertheless, although styles and patterns of eating are not the only means of defining identity they are an example of how a sense of nation-ness can be 'flagged', not only within a particular community, but also to others from outside that community. In this sense then, food is as much a 'badge of identity' as are the more obvious symbols of national belonging such as coins, anthems, costumes and ceremonies.

The Landscape

'...the English countryside, is a symbol of national identity...'
(Bunce, 1994: 210)

The third example of banal nationalism is the landscape and in this respect much of what has been said already can also be applied here. Just as the body, patterns of eating and drinking can be used to identify particular groups, cultures and nations so, too, can the landscape. In fact, Smith (1986) argues that understandings of landscape are an essential vehicle and mould for nation-building, because they symbolize the history and the roots of the nation and thereby engage the people in a relationship with their past that can help them to make sense of the present. As such, a nation's landscape, its territory, is not merely a physical expression of boundaries, but a symbolic expression of a nation's past, its present and its future. As Bender (1998: 7) argues about the landscape that is Stonehenge

'prehistoric Stonehenge is almost beyond our imaginings, and yet, peering back through the lens of our own subjectivities, we continue to try to create, not *the* past, but *our* past'.

An example of how landscape can define a nation is given by the historian and broadcaster W.G. Hoskins in his discussion of how the English landscape actually came into being. His book *The Making of the English Landscape* (1955) takes the reader through an historic tour of the English countryside that takes in a variety of periods from pre-Roman times, to the Medieval era, Georgian England and the impact of the industrial revolution. All these periods have contributed to the formation of the land. As a result, Hoskins argues that the English landscape can be read like a book and that to those who know how to read it, it represents the richest source of historical material available (1955: 14). The landscape reveals the evolution of England from a land of marsh, forest and fen to one of villages, towns and cities. It reveals the impact on the land of foreign cultures and civilisations, such as the Danes, the Vikings and the Romans. 'The very scattered settlement of many Norfolk parishes goes back, in part at least, to the intensive Danish partitioning of the land of this period' (1955: 60). The emergence of market towns reveals the historic trading partnerships that developed from casual meetings into established trading days and places. The market-place, in many towns, thus represents the culmination of this evolution 'standing in the market-place, we are - not always but very often - at the origin of things' (1955: 224). It is by investigating both the historic development and use of the land that, Hoskins argues, helps us to understand how the wider nation has evolved and transformed itself. What he refers to as 'the immemorial landscape' (1955: 231) enables people to create a link with their past that generates a sense of belonging in the present:

> The view from this room where I write...will serve as an epitome of the gentle unravished English landscape.....a house has stood on this site since the year 1216....but it has been rebuilt over and over again, and last of all in 1856....within a few feet of the river is a large raised platform...almost certainly this is the site of one of the three water-mills recorded on the estate in Domesday Book....and then, finally...in the field next the garden, there lies buried the main street of the old village that was wiped out by the Black Death...most of England is a thousand years old, and in a walk of a few miles one would touch nearly every century in that long stretch. (Hoskins, 1955: 233, 234-5)

However, an understanding of the way in which the past has shaped the landscape is a relatively recent phenomenon. In fact Hoskins (1963: 209) argues that an awareness of the land as being representative of the whole country did not really occur until the late sixteenth century when maps and atlases started to be published. These accounts meant that people could imagine and visualise the land beyond where they lived as being part of one country, one nation. This enabled them to see themselves in relation to other people who lived in other parts of this same, newly discovered country and as a result people began to describe themselves as a Yorkshireman, a Lancashireman, a Devonian or a Cornishman (Hoskins, 1963: 211). In this sense, then, the land confers an identity that is, at one and the same time,

both regional and national.

This regional/national dichotomy is further examined by Shields (1991) who argues that for Canadians the landscape myth of the 'True North Strong and Free' provides one symbol of a nationalistic discourse that posits 'Canadian nature' against 'American mass culture'. The 'North' in this sense is not merely a geographical region but an 'empty space' within which Canadians can project images of Canadian-ness (1991: 165). These images are based on the history of the North as an area traversed by (male) traders, lumberjacks and prospectors who 'wrested' a living from the wilderness. 'This vision systematises the treatment of the North as an icon and zone of purity...which relates habits and opinions of an idealised 'typical Canadian' to the presence of 'This North" (1991: 182). In this sense the imagined attributes of 'This North, This Canada' provide the basis upon which Canadians can understand and express their sense of identity.

A similar conclusion is reached by Shields with regard to the North-South divide in England which he argues is again based upon an ascription of historical and literary characteristics that define the 'North' as peripheral, working-class, industrial, bleak countryside, rugged leisure pursuits and a wet and cold climate. Whereas the 'South' represents the centre, economic and political elites, a tamed landscape, stockbroking, management, high culture and a warmer climate (1991: 231). Such examples illustrate the ability of the landscape to define national as well as regional identities and in so doing serve to communicate the many ways in which individuals relate to themselves and to others. An individual's regional identity gives them a sense of place and an understanding of others that is locally-tied, this in turn affects how they see themselves in relation to the wider nation and beyond.

The way in which the landscape can confer an identity that embodies its specific characteristics is discussed in detail by Horne and he employs the term 'nationality through landscape' to explain just such a phenomenon:

> ......mountains were essential to the creation of a 'Scottish character'....at the end of the eighteenth century, the new romantic imagination saw them as essential to bodily and spiritual health. This also accommodated the new nationalist imagination, often the same thing: mountain folk and mountain rocks could symbolise the spirit of a people or a 'race'. The mountains of Scotland were the home of a tough, mountain 'breed'. (1984: 169)

Similarly, Horne (1984) maintains that the Norwegians are seen as a brave and hardy people of the mountains because of the difficulties associated with the climate and the terrain. Indeed, much the same could be argued for the Swiss. Furthermore, the land as a marker of nationality is often enshrined in a country's national anthem. According to the anthem of Austria it is a nation blessed by its sense of beauty, a land of mountains, fields and streams; Denmark is a land of charming beech woods; Ireland of green valley's and

towering crag; Portugal is a happy land kissed by the ocean and Sweden is the fairest land of all (Horne, 1984: 172).

In one sense this association of land with nation is an obvious one since, as previously stated, all nations occupy land as bounded territory. However, this does not really say anything about how different uses of the land can affect a sense of national belonging. Indeed, as discussed in chapter one, Ireland's (1990) research clearly highlights Land's End ability to reinforce a sense of national identity. Although not all visitors could express their reasons for visiting the site, Ireland concluded that their behaviour suggested the visit was part of a ritual that was passed on to other family members so that they, too, could experience Land's End. Hence, '...visitors continue to be drawn to the promontory because of its symbolic importance as a physical and psychological boundary of the nation' (1989: 513-14). It is this symbol of Land's End, this linking of the physical with the psychological, that marks it as a site of importance. People come to visit a site that represents a physical as well as a mental boundary, inland lies the nation and the people of England, but beyond the boundary lies the nations and the lands of other people, other cultures. In other words Land's End is my national identity not your national identity.

A similar claim is made for Stonehenge which Bender (1998) argues is seen by many to represent our history, not theirs. This linking of a prehistoric landscape and monument to a collective sense of 'us' is not a modern preoccupation. As Bender (1998: 7) further states prehistoric people used the landscape, the past to create a sense of identity and an understanding of their world: 'what we do in the name of science to legitimate our knowledge, they did in the name of the sacred to legitimate theirs'.

This use of the landscape to legitimate a particularly modern view of the world is aptly illustrated by Selwyn (1995) in his discussion of Israel, the land and the nation. In his examination of the role of landscape as a key symbol in the construction of Israeli identity he argues that, '...metaphors drawn from the landscape constitute part of the moral discourse which is used in the wider distinctions we make between 'us' and 'them'....' (1995: 119). Thus, for Jewish settlers in Palestine the land and the landscape became associated with notions of 'liberation' and 'redemption'. Furthermore, and in a similar way to that described by Okely, defence of the landscape is a defence of the culture and the State from 'pollution' by outsiders. As an informant from The Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel explains:

> The nation symbolized by the landscape must be defended because without it people would leave themselves open to cultural and religious *contamination*. If that happens nothing but imminent destruction can follow. The contamination may derive both from the influences of an Arab population which will outnumber the Jewish one in a matter of years and from the glitzy American consumer goods in Tel-Aviv department stores. (Selwyn, 1995: 131)

Furthermore, the Israeli landscape is used as the means by which Israeli's teach themselves and others about the identity of the Jewish nation (Selwyn, 1996a). Jewish walking tours of the landscape, or *tiyoulim*, are designed to heighten a sense of group solidarity among the tourists through shared experiences of travelling over difficult terrain; shared emotions by a heightened awareness of colours, smells, heat and cold; awareness of danger from falling or from attack by Syrian bombardment and a general preoccupation with the land as a national boundary. As Selwyn illustrates:

> Much of this group solidarity is achieved through a broader affirmation of solidarity with the Israeli nation as a whole. In a sense the tour group 'becomes' the nation for the duration of the tour. The experiences of the group are consciously organized to recreate at the level of the tour the experiences of the nation itself. (1996a: 159)

The notion of landscape is thus central to Israeli ideas of nation and state. It is the physical and symbolic expression of Jewish identity for those who live in Israel, for those Jews who live in other nation-states and for those of the non-Jewish faith. Which is almost certainly one of the reasons why Israeli and Palestinian 'peace negotiations' over control of the land have been so violently contested. The land in this instance is not only conferring identity, but is also reflecting quite complex relationships of power and control, of the possessor and the dispossessed. A national landscape, a home-land, is thus an essential part of being a recognised people as it is the physical expression of acceptance by the wider community.

Conclusion

The three areas discussed above clearly illustrate the diverse ways in which identity can be constructed, maintained and communicated at the level of the ordinary, the everyday. How we use our bodies, in the foods we consume and in our relationships with the landscape there is a continual reminder of who we are and what we believe in. This is why individuals do not forget their identity, they are continually aware of it in the ordinary habits that organise and maintain their lives. It is at this level that theoretical concepts of the nation, nationalism, and identity are translated into a language that people can understand and experience, even if unconsciously.

Moreover, the above areas all highlight the ways in which a variety of structures can produce meaning that is culturally prescribed. In this sense they illustrate the type of social processes that Schlesinger (1987) considers underpin national identity. Processes by which understandings of who we are and what we represent can be communicated both to ourselves and to others. As such, they highlight three key issues relevant to the relationship between heritage tourism and national identity.

Firstly, Bowman's (1989) analysis of the female body as a microcosm of the national body,

reflecting a countries economic, political, cultural and religious characteristics, resembles Barthes' (1979) interpretation of the Eiffel Tower in Paris. For Barthes the Tower's most important feature is its ability to present the visitor with a panoramic view of the streets, the history, the landscape and the people that lie before it. In this sense the Tower *represents* Paris which is why it is used so frequently on brochures and in books *about* Paris. Thus a sites ability to symbolize aspects of the national scene needs to be examined in more depth.

Secondly, Okely's (1983) illustration of how food practices maintain the boundaries between the gypsies and the Giorgios also has implications for the sites under investigation. For example, if food can communicate cultural relationships then is it possible to look at other aspects of every-day life in the same way? Thus, heritage attractions that depict historic events and times from the nation's past may also communicate something about ourselves and our relationship with those that have gone before. Furthermore, as most tourist attractions are now financially dependent on monies raised from the sale of merchandise this has resulted in a plethora of 'heritage' produce, from Mrs Beeton's jam to medieval honey-cake. So, not only is it possible for cultural relationships to be communicated, but cultural values as well. Particularly in terms of the perceived advantages of foods associated with a past deemed to be more traditional and community driven than that of today.

Finally, the third key issue relevant to heritage tourism is highlighted by the discussion of the landscape. Here Hoskins (1963) equates awareness of the land as being representative of the whole country to the emergence of maps and atlases. These enabled people to visualise a community of fellow citizens and to define themselves on the basis of their geographical relationship to them. Thus, maps and atlases communicated regional and national identities because they represented the territorial and cultural relationships between peoples, regions and nations. Given the current prevalence within heritage circles to combine sites into 'Countries' and to produce maps of how to get there and what to see, then the relationship between maps and identity needs to be considered in more detail. All these issues will be examined further in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER THREE

Tourism, Heritage and Identity

Identity almost everywhere has to be produced partly out of the images constructed or reproduced for tourists, including the image of being a place ....which is on the global tourist map. (Urry, 1994: 91)

The Context

This chapter examines the relationship between heritage tourism and national identity within the context of the two key organisations involved in managing the heritage, the National Trust and English Heritage. The bodies also responsible for two of the sites investigated here, namely Chartwell and Battle Abbey. Initially the discussion focuses on definitions of heritage and the political issues underpining its designation and use. Both of these areas provide the framework within which the National Trust and English Heritage operate.

Ashworth (1994) states that the past, as heritage, is a potent marketing strategy because it can define a national identity through a few selected stereotypes of people, places and mythologies. A good example of this is the organisation and marketing of museum collections which Kaplan (1994: 1) argues present and promote nationally significant artefacts '...for the enrichment, education and collective identity of its citizenry'. Although the content and use of collections is increasingly under review (see Gathercole and Lowenthal, 1994; Hooper-Greenhill, 1997) they are still a potent force in the creation and transformation of identity, whether national, regional or ethnic (see Kaeppler, 1994; Anderson and Reeves, 1994). Indeed, Walsh (1992) argues that the heritage, whether artefacts in a museum, monuments, or buildings is primarily employed to promote an *idea of nation* (Walsh, 1992: 80). They create an awareness of the foundations upon which this nation's identity rests. As such, it is important to examine the term heritage in a little more detail.

Defining Heritage

Lowenthal (1998) argues that although heritage is not our sole link with the past the lure of heritage is such that it outpaces other modes of retrieval such as history, memory and tradition. This is because the meaning of the word 'heritage' has expanded over the past fifty years to encompass not only heredity, probate law and taxation, but also such features as antiquities, roots, identity and belonging (Lowenthal, 1998: 3-4). Hence the traditional association of 'heritage' with the notion that something of value, an inheritance, is being handed down for safe keeping to a legatee has endowed contemporary understandings of the word with a similar sense of importance. Thus, what is now chosen to be conserved, re-stored and labelled 'heritage' is given an even greater prominence in the present than it may

have had in the past, purely because the very act of conservation has marked it as a thing of value, as something *worth* saving. Yet what is this 'something' and what does it mean?

One answer to these questions comes from Patrick Cormack in his book *Heritage in Danger* (1976). As a Conservative MP and founder of the All-party Committee for the Heritage, Cormack was very clear about the meaning of heritage. It related to the preservation of a way of life that was typified by the country houses and stately homes of England. Indeed, the Heritage in Danger Committee was set up in the early 1970's in direct response to the then Labour Governments plans to introduce a Wealth Tax. According to Cormack and his supporters this Tax would have an incalculable impact upon the nation's heritage as it would affect those who owned the country houses, the stately homes and the works of art that were part of the nation's heritage. Indeed, for Cormack the heritage was much more than a collection of physical artefacts from the past, it was something intangible as well:

> When I am asked to define our heritage I do not think in dictionary terms, but instead reflect on certain sights and sounds. I think of morning mist on the Tweed at Dryburgh when the magic of Turner and the romance of Scott both come fleetingly to life; of a celebration of the Eucharist in a quiet Norfolk church with the medieval glass filtering the colours, and the early noise of the harvesting coming through the open door; or of standing at any time before Wilton Diptych. Each scene recalls aspects of an indivisible heritage and is part of the fabric and expression of our civilisation. (1976: 11-12)

While this is still not a concrete definition of heritage it is important because it highlights the extent to which heritage is something that is essentially incommunicable. It can be seen, felt, imagined, heard and even smelt. It is these qualities, which Sir Roy Strong has called 'assaults on the senses', that make it such an important concept. Moreover, as Cormack illustrates the heritage does not relate to individual items as such, but rather to the seemingly unbroken link that these items make with the past. The landscape, religion and paintings all represent a collection of elements indivisible from and dependent upon each other. According to Cormack they are a national legacy, our inheritance, that connects us with our ancestors. An understanding and appreciation of this inheritance is part of what a civilised society is all about, providing as it does spiritual and cultural enrichment (Cormack, 1976).

Cormack's definition of heritage is not, however, the only one. There are those based on the differing interpretations and experiences of other people. These may reflect particular religious or cultural ties that have been brought to Britain from other countries. For example Eade (1997) has shown how young Bangladeshi Muslims who describe themselves as 'British' do so as part of a complex mix of national and religious identities that link them to a variety of diverse 'homelands'. Definitions of heritage in this instance are based around the cultural and religious ties of Islam and Bangladesh rather than on the 'Stately Homes of England'.

What these examples illustrate is the differing interpretations of heritage that exist within the make-up of the British/English nation. However, although there maybe regional tourism activities that reflect this complimentary, alternative definition of heritage, for example the 'Flavours of Asia' tours in Bradford, for the most part tourism promotes a particular version of heritage which celebrates continuity, tradition and conservative values (Cusick, 1997: 281). Furthermore, this nation's heritage is essentially Christian, 'the heritage that we cherish in Britain is part of the wider heritage, that of Western Christendom' (Cormack, 1976: 103). These latter points not only perpetuate an exclusive definition of heritage, they also highlight an important issue. Heritage is as much about the perpetuation of certain values and beliefs as it is about buildings and monuments. Such a view will be taken further in the chapters devoted to the ethnographic analysis of the three sites.

Overall, Cormack's views reflect those of the Establishment, the political and cultural leaders who make the laws and lay down the standards. This is one of the reasons why his version of heritage is the dominant one on show to the public. Another reason being the need to appeal to Britain's main tourist markets Europe, America, and increasingly Japan. This latter point will be dealt with subsequently but, for now, it is necessary to consider the relationship between politics and heritage in more detail.

State Heritage

The state's involvement in the conservation of heritage has its contemporary origins in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and in the ethos of the 'Grand Tour'. During this time the pace of industrial and technological change was transforming the urban environment to such an extent, that traditional ways of life were seen as increasingly under threat (Walsh, 1992). A desire to maintain and preserve traditional practices steadily grew and as the governments of the day were composed almost entirely of people from the wealthy, aristocratic landed classes then the heritage that was deemed worthy of preservation was predominantly that of their own ancestors. As illustrated by Walsh (1992:72) 'certain types of heritage, especially the castle and the country house were considered to possess the qualities which could maintain and promote the historical identity of the nation'. Walsh (1992), Horne (1984) and Hewison (1987) all argue that by confining decision making powers to a carefully selected few, those buildings and monuments chosen for conservation necessarily presented a one-sided (and some may argue distorted) definition of nationhood. Which Horne (1984:1) maintains allowed already dominant groups within society to uphold their version of a certain social order.[1] As a result, the state remained in ultimate control of the way in which the nation's identity was constructed and promoted.

In Great Britain it was the Second World War that provided the impetus for the political use of national culture. Weight (1995) argues that during the Second World War a State

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1. See Gold & Gold (1995) for a discussion of this issue in relation to the promotion of the Scottish Highlands.

endorsed version of national culture was promoted to strengthen the country's fight against the Nazis. This was undertaken by the Establishment - the elite groups who exercised authority through public institutions such as the Arts Council - and was based upon their version of what were the main components of national culture:

> The Second World War heightened national consciousness in Britain. It did so not only by creating the 'we're all in the same boat' sentiment....but also by prompting a thorough examination among the nation's elites of what constituted British national identity....it was clear that the government needed....to promote national culture, in order to embed in the British consciousness the value of the common cultural heritage which the nation was defending. (Weight, 1995: 19, 20)

This common, state endorsed, heritage was specifically selected to promote a sense of identity, a sense of national belonging and it referred extensively to the Arts, buildings and the landscape as markers of the nation's identity. The Arts, in the form of paintings, music and great literature such as Shakespeare were heralded as part of a wider European heritage. While the landscape was seen as representing enduring traditions in the face of change. An illustration of this is the first Arts Festival staged in Aldeburgh in 1948:

> ...it was Aldeburgh, the little Suffolk fishing village taken over by the Arts Council for a fortnight every Summer, which became the emblem of an enduring belief that despite all the changes that were occurring to the nation, England was still a village and that Englishness and modernity were ultimately incompatible.
> (Weight, 1995: 85)

Moreover, as the above quote demonstrates Englishness was seen as representative of the nation as a whole. Indeed, Weight argues that the post-war Labour Government aimed to translate English national identity into a democratic national culture by widening access to the arts and the environment. This strive to promote Englishness and Britishness as being somehow synonymous was also supported by the major political parties of the day (Weight, 1995: 89). Thus, like its Conservative predecessors the post-War Labour Government was no less inclined to use the nation's heritage for its own purposes. Labour saw itself as the champion of the people and in 1946 the Chancellor, Hugh Dalton, set up the National Land Fund to enable ordinary people to gain access to their heritage: '....it was the start of a process whereby the people of Britain would achieve true nationhood by gaining access to the heritage....which had been denied them for centuries by private landowners' (Weight, 1995: 101). Although the National Land Fund did not live up to its high aspirations it does highlight the way in which the nation's heritage can be utilised by different groups for their own particular purposes.

State intervention in the promotion of a national culture is also evident in more recent times. For example, the European Commission has realised the potential of tourism in creating a

sense of belonging to a wider European Nation-State. Their 1994 route planner and guide entitled *European Heritage Trail* contains the following statement from the then Director of the Tourism Unit Henrich von Moltke, 'tourism has an enormous contribution to make towards building a citizens' Europe, the true goal of all our pro-European efforts' (European Commission, 1994:4). These guides are designed to link countries and peoples together through the idea of a shared European culture, which is referred to as 'our ancient heritage'. The concept of heritage is clearly being used here for political purposes. If people feel themselves to be part of a community that stretches beyond national boundaries then they may feel more disposed to accept the concept of closer political integration. However, having an awareness and appreciation of how other countries have contributed to the development of your own nation, does not necessarily mean you agree to politicians from those same countries having a say in the management of your country's affairs. Nevertheless, the use of heritage in this way highlights its importance as regards the creation of a sense of unity and of a shared understanding about what is important to a particular community.

That heritage has retained its political sensitivity in the late 1990's is highlighted by the present Labour Government who re-named what was the National Heritage Department the Department for Culture, Media and Sport. The Secretary of State, Chris Smith said 'my Department's old name was backward-looking and did not do justice to the range of work we cover' (quoted in Hughes, 1997: 11). Nothing underlines the political significance of 'heritage' than such a move. Whilst Chris Smith is perhaps right, that the old name was too restrictive, both titles carry an ideological baggage. Heritage is a very Tory emblem, and it does conjure up images of stately homes, palaces and country seats, all very elitist. While Labour's chosen title is much more 'of the people', carrying as it does overtones of the type of 'Cultural' departments so beloved of East European Communist states. Perhaps emphasising New Labour's claim to be the party of one-nationism. Moreover, it stresses Labour's wish to promote itself as forward thinking, unlike the Conservatives of course. As the government who is more concerned with what this country can achieve in the future, than with what it has achieved in the past. Heritage Britain has given way to 'Cool Britannia'. We are no longer a 'stuffy' nation founded upon 'privilege'. We are modern and forward-thinking. Indeed, the nation has apparently changed so much under New Labour that the Foreign Office has launched Panel 2000 to capitalise upon the newly energised British image (Blair, 1998).

While heritage can be used as a political football to reflect different groups and their objectives its use, for tourism purposes, is likewise politically controlled. Most notably by the 1980 National Heritage Act, passed by the Conservative Government of Margaret Thatcher. This made provision for decisions concerning the definition and use of ancient buildings and historic monuments to be placed in the hands of a Committee, whose members were described by St. John Stevas as 'a group of what I call cultured generalists, reflecting the whole British heritage...' (Wright, 1985: 46). This Committee makes decisions on its own judgment without referring to the very people in whose name it operates, namely the general public. In effect, following in the tradition identified by Weight

(1995) of establishment people controlling definitions of what constitutes the nation's heritage. The argument here is not that the state should have no involvement in heritage issues but that state involvement often entails a more complicated relationship whereby appeals to the nation's heritage carry political weight as potential 'vote winners' (Weight, 1995; Billig, 1995). Consequently, decisions on what to conserve are made on the basis of one groups definition of what is worthy heritage - as far as their objectives are concerned - and it is this aspect of heritage management that has come in for the most criticism (see Hewison, 1987; Herbert, 1995).

Indeed, Walsh (1992: 79) argues that what has resulted is a very selective and narrow definition of heritage that dismisses the richness and variety of what different groups in society have to offer. Such a situation has, according to Wright (1985: 47), led to a polarised idea of heritage based on '...the historicized image of an instinctively conservative establishment'. The public heritage is, therefore, a politically defined concept that is selectively maintained on the basis of one version of the historic past. This is not to say that other versions are not available, but that the dominant, state sponsored version is the one that tends to grab the headlines and the imagination. As a result, the inheritance that is handed down to each generation is only one part of a much more complex and diverse legacy that has benefited from the contribution made by women, the working class, the black community and different religious groups. The list is almost endless. However, the extent to which the heritage of such groups is contained within the images of the past on show can only be discussed within the context of the two main bodies responsible for the preservation and promotion of the public heritage, namely English Heritage and the National Trust.

English Heritage

The 1983 National Heritage Act established the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission as responsible for the protection and promotion of the historic environment. This in turn set up English Heritage in 1984 as the body responsible for 'making the heritage pay' (Walsh, 1992: 78).

English Heritage is, therefore, an Executive Non-Departmental Public Body sponsored by the Department for Culture. The majority of its income comes from a government grant which in 1995/6 amounted to £107.7 million pounds. Other sources of finance include income from visitors for admission charges, retail and catering outlets (£M 11.9), membership charges (£M 3.6), donations, grants and individual legacies and sponsorship from organisations as diverse as Citroen UK, Capital Radio and Dubonnet drinks. In turn, English Heritage awards grants to various bodies and agencies, one of which is the National Trust which received £M 3.6 in 1995/6 (English Heritage, 1996a).

In the Annual Report and Accounts for 1995/6 the principle activities of English Heritage are given as, '.......the management and conservation of over 400 ancient and historic properties in its direct care, the awarding of conservation grants to assist owners of ancient and historic properties and the provision of advisory and education services' (English

Heritage, 1996a: 44). Some of the 400 properties include, Stonehenge, Kenilworth Castle, Battle Abbey, Wroxeter Roman City, Lindisfarne Priory, Avebury Stone Circles and Osborne House. All examples of England's architectural and archaeological heritage. Membership of English Heritage currently stands at over 330,000 and in the last year 5.3 million people visited staffed sites and 5.1 million visited the free sites (English Heritage, 1996a:10).

Parliament's remit requires English Heritage to not only conserve the historic environment, but to ensure that the public both *enjoys* and *understands* what is on show. This latter requirement is supported by an Education Service which liaises with schools and teachers over visits to historic properties as part of the requirements of the National Curriculum. For this a range of publications are produced with the aim of enabling teachers to get the most out of their visit; *Free Educational Visits 1996/7, Heritage Learning* and *Using the Historic Environment* are examples of three of these brochures.

The Annual Report and Accounts for 1995/6 details the extensive and diverse range of activities with which English Heritage are involved. These include archaeological surveys, the identifying and listing of historic properties, grants for ecclesiastical heritage and for what is referred to as 'New Heritage', the support of quality in new buildings by '...encouraging planning authorities to raise their expectations...' in terms of what constitutes 'good' architectural designs (English Heritage, 1996a: 24). However, English Heritage is itself very clear about what is meant by a 'good design' and is not averse to opposing planning applications which it considers are not examples of good practice:

> one of our main concerns, exemplified by our opposition to the proposals for the new Brighton Library, is the prevalence in historic areas of pseudo-vernacular architecture - weak pastiches of historic forms, which detract from genuine historic buildings, while adding nothing worthwhile in themselves. New housing schemes in historic areas are particularly prone to this approach. (English Heritage, 1996a: 24)

Presumably, the mock Georgian fronts added to many new housing developments are included in the above description. Indeed opposition from English Heritage can cause plans to be dropped or changed, 'our unenthusiastic response to a utilitarian plan for a concert platform...lead to Bromley Borough Council holding an architectural competition' (English Heritage, 1996a: 24). Likewise, the London Millennium Tower, designed by the architect Sir Norman Foster, was described in a Sunday Times article as '..Stevens' most significant scalp to date' (Pearman, 1997: 8). Opposition from English Heritage and its 'advisors' led to the proposals being withdrawn before they were even considered. Causing Pearman (1997: 8) to state 'he now has an iron grip on what London will look like in the future. But who asked him for his opinion? Come to that, who elected him? Nobody'. Even though English Heritage may not always get its way it is still its version of heritage, and its decisions on what can and what cannot be built, that tend to prevail. For example, it approved the cubist

extension to the Victoria and Albert Museum 'against strong local opposition' (Pearman, 1997: 8). Although new designs should be encouraged, Pearman argues that, as far as London is concerned, English Heritage now holds the power of life or death over what is effectively 'our' future heritage. Moreover, the issue about decisions being made by the head of what is, in effect, an unelected government quango is the important point here. As Pearman (1997: 8) illustrates (Stevens) '...shows signs of wanting more power. He is irked by having to advise the Department of National Heritage on what buildings should be listed, rather than doing it directly: "Expert recommendations are considered quite often by people who *haven't a clue*", he says'.

Yet these people 'who haven't a clue' are elected ministers ultimately responsible to the general public and as such they have to submit themselves for re-election. Something Sir Jocelyn Stevens does not have to worry about. So while English Heritage is never going to please everyone, even if its council members were elected it would still have its detractors, the point remains that its definition of 'our heritage' is merely one version, one opinion, from within a contested debate that Lowenthal (1998: 2) has likened to the Crusades 'bitter, protracted, and ruthless'.

Moreover, English Heritage's influence is not confined to London. It extends over the whole of England, where it has the power to approve or reject alterations to historic buildings, both in terms of changes to existing decor, and in respect of additional new constructions. As Robert Pullin, the Managing Director of the privately owned Hever Castle illustrates, when discussing the need to obtain the approval of English Heritage for the design, location and construction of a new exhibition centre for model houses:

> ...unfortunately some of the restrictions that come in aren't necessarily based on what I would call good visitor management principles, so......because of English Heritage's determining that no they didn't want to go another sort of few feet that way that they wanted to keep, for whatever reason they decided, which I must say sometimes I find it difficult to understand, but nevertheless, OK they've decided that you can have that and nothing more. Well then you've got to try and fit everything in...... . (taped conversation, see appendix C pg. vi)

This power to approve alterations is not confined to large buildings or organisations, it also applies to the homes of ordinary people if they should happen to live in a conservation area. In an article in the *English Heritage Magazine* concern was expressed about the trend towards well-intentioned but misguided home improvements, especially that relating to windows and doors, '...with consumers responding to market and peer forces...classical moulding profiles and antique ironmongery are being discarded as scrap. Irreplaceable muff and crown glass is lost for new flat glass panes, detailing is diluted in mass-produced mimicry...' (Anon, 1991a: 10).

This stance has attracted condemnation from various quarters. Indeed, the Magazine's editorial acknowledges that English Heritage's approach has been criticised for being sterile

and ignoring the human factor, 'what is rightly called antiquarian prejudice has, in some cases, almost ironed out the evidence of changing tastes and human frailty' (Anon, 1991b: 3). However, by campaigning against alterations to windows and doors English Heritage is itself ignoring the changing tastes and human frailty that in years to come may be seen as evidence of a quaint heritage.

The culture critic A. A. Gill (1996: 3) refers to organisations such as English Heritage and the National Trust as 'self-appointed housekeepers to the nation'. Arguing that what they are really bothered about is messy, unlabelled humanity making changes to its toytown vision of England. The fact that many people may agree with the need for architectural plans to be altered, or that some home improvements are 'unquestionably hideous' (Gill, 1996: 3) is not really the issue. The important point is the power of English Heritage to define what is, and what is not considered 'good' heritage and thus worthy of preservation or, indeed, of construction. They are in essence both defining what is to be considered heritage from the past and what will be considered heritage in the future. Furthermore, because of English Heritage's involvement in educating the public about their past then its views are necessarily given more weight, backed as they are by the financial grants awarded by the Government. Their version of heritage is thus, in large part, politically sponsored and endorsed since any government would be quick to take away a grant if it did not, in general, support the uses to which it was put.

The type of heritage endorsed by English Heritage has already been shown to attract criticism as being conservative and narrowly focused. So what are the foundations for such views? To what extent does the work of English Heritage exemplify Walsh's (1992: 72) argument that the type of heritage conserved stands '...as a metaphor for the characteristics of the nation'?

The Heritage of English Heritage

English Heritage's Annual Report and Accounts for 1995/6 includes many examples of how they choose to define the term 'heritage and of how this, in turn, helps to define the nation. After exclaiming on page 3 that 'England's heritage is yours. Enjoy it' the Chairman, Sir Jocelyn Stevens, goes onto explain his (and thus English Heritage's) approach to the nation's historic environment. He exclaims that the landscape of England is unthinkable without reference to its ecclesiastical heritage whose churches and cathedrals represent '...the glory of England' (English Heritage, 1996a: 4). Grants given to support work at the privately owned Blenheim Palace reflect English Heritage's wish to be seen to be involved with a UNESCO designated World Heritage Site. Financial assistance for the restoration of Sinai Park, a moated Tudor manor house in Staffordshire, should result in the revitalization of the site by the early years of the next century. 'The moat will be filled with water from the hilltop springs that fed the Burton breweries and, notwithstanding the power station, the scene will not be far removed from that familiar to the monks half a millennium ago' (English Heritage, 1996a: 19). So even amidst the technology of the twentieth century there is a reassuring connection with the past. Grants awarded to restore the market town of

Wainfleet were commemorated by the local brewery who brewed a special ale called 'Heritage Ale' in recognition of the economic boost the restoration gave to the town; heritage certainly has a financial as well as a cultural value. Similarly, the brochure on *Free Educational Visits 1996/7* carries descriptions of buildings and monuments that signal their importance to the nation. Phrases such as 'one of the first', 'a rare example of', 'one of the finest', 'dates from Norman times', 'this forerunner of', 'a mansion of considerable status', all emphasise to the visitors that they are going to see something of significance to them (English Heritage, 1996b). However, again this is one aspect of the nation's heritage rather than *the* aspect.

Furthermore, details of the type of grants awarded emphasise the fact that only those that fit into English Heritage's definition of heritage will be successful. Heritage in this sense means that relating to Church of England properties, castles, forts, market towns, country houses, stately homes and ancient ruins. This is not to say that English Heritage do not award grants to places that do not fit into these categories, they may well do so, but there is no evidence of this in their annual report. Moreover, although they are keen to list post-war architecture they have been criticised for not fully appreciating modern architecture, 'the listing process has saved fine buildings but....it is also too often seen as an excuse for inertia and the 'keeping in keeping' approach which has partly justified the scornful epithet 'Heritage Britain" (Powell, 1992:15). Consequently, the dominant version of the nation's past, its heritage, its cultural identity, is firmly rooted in historic buildings, properties and ancient monuments. However, as Ashworth (1994:17) has argued '...there is no national heritage product but an almost infinite variety of heritages, each created for the requirements of specific consumer groups'. It thus seems safe to assume that English Heritage represents the heritage of some, but not necessarily all of the people who refer to themselves as English.

The National Trust

Unlike English Heritage the National Trust is a private charity governed by an executive committee. The Annual Report and Accounts 1995/6 states that the Trust is not a wealthy organisation and unlike English Heritage it relies on volunteer guides to staff its properties and run its retail outlets. In 1995/6 32,000 volunteers worked 1.86 million hours on behalf of the Trust. Finance comes from a variety of sources and in 1995/6 these amounted to donations, legacies and grants of (£M32.7), membership subscriptions (£M45.9), admission charges (£m8.1), retail and catering revenue, income from farms and investments. Membership of the Trust far outweighs that of English Heritage and currently stands at 2.3 million. While the number of visitors to sites where a charge is made reached 11.7 million in 1995/6 (National Trust, 1996a). There is also support for the National Trust from overseas especially America where over 30,000 Americans are members of the Royal Oak Foundation (National Trust, 1996b). Overall, then the Trust is heavily reliant on monies from membership subscriptions, grants and legacies, 'some 50% of the National Trust's legacies are for sums under £5,000. Without them the Trust would not survive' (National Trust, 1996a:32).

The Trust's origins lie in the late nineteenth century climate of industrial and economic change that lead to the expansion of the urban environment and the promotion of technical skills over those of the rural economy. Officially registered in 1895 the National Trust was charged by an Act of Parliament in 1907 to 'preserve places of historic interest and natural beauty for the benefit of the nation' (quoted in Weight, 1995: 90). The eight founding members were particularly concerned about the need to save the landscape from the ravages of modernity '...the landscape, especially that which expressed the spiritually regenerative forces of nature, rather than the civilising activities of man, was the primary value in danger' (Hewison, 1987: 56). The landscape and the rural values that it symbolized gradually came to represent an idealised lifestyle to the increasingly urbanised population. This image was further enhanced by the growing trend to visit the countryside for holidays, to escape, to seek refuge in a vision of enduring traditional values (Weideger, 1994).

Although preservation of the landscape was the spur to the Trusts formation, over the years this was extended to include the preservation of country houses, their contents and lands. What Hewison (1987: 57) refers to as 'the cult of the country house' grew out of the post-War Labour Governments decision to allow house owners to pass on their properties to the National Trust in lieu of death duties. Government support for the work of the National Trust was thus crucial for its future success and as this decision effectively enhanced its status as the 'keeper of the nation's assets', it enabled it to campaign more effectively for financial support.

The importance of the country house as a defining mark of the nation's heritage is highlighted by Weight (1995: 103) who argues that '....although country houses contained the spoils of what was seen to be their unpatriotic collection of foreign works of art, the houses themselves were seen to be quintessentially English'. Thus the landscape and the country house became the cornerstones of the National Trust's definition of heritage and of what the nation is really all about.

The Heritage of the National Trust

The National Trust's activities make it the champion of not only the countryside but of country life in general. The 1995 Centenary brochure gives details of over 200 properties and gardens owned by the National Trust. These include, Knole, Chartwell, Bodium Castle, Igtham Mote, Cliveden, Quarry Bank Mill and Sheffield Park. Furthermore, the brochure highlights items of special interest under such headings as ceramics and glass, furniture, ghosts, below stairs, topiary, tapestries and industrial heritage. All categories that emphasise not only the scope and range of the acquisitions placed in the care of the National Trust, but also the historical time frame. In fact the 1995/6 Annual Report describes the Trust's acquisitions as 'inalienable properties' that are to be preserved in perpetuity for the benefit of the nation (National Trust, 1996a: 8). These properties are the nation's legacy and they include the landscape as well as historic buildings.

The Trust is however, aware of the need to advance if it is to continue to survive. The 1996

National Trust Magazine gives details of what it refers to as the Trusts ground-breaking decision to buy the 1950's Liverpool council house where ex-Beatle Paul McCartney was born. This allows the Trust to acquire a building associated with modern popular culture, rather than with the old buildings and country houses of the landed gentry. Such a move will enable it to widen its appeal, but it will also help to highlight the Trust's message that it is a safe pair of hands, that it deserves the mantle as keeper of the nation's heritage. As the Director General states:

> we shall consult widely as to how the house may best be shown to visitors...And if the knowledge that it is safe from exploitation draws the attention of people who have never heard of the National Trust....we shall have made a start on another path along which I should like us to go and will have added another banner to those fluttering above our heads as we approach the millennium. (Drury, 1996: 3)

Such stirring words serve to highlight what the Trust sees as the importance of its activities. It is also a very pragmatic move in a highly competitive market place. Nevertheless, the majority of the Trust's properties continue to reflect the heritage of an aristocratic, landed class and its primary aim is to preserve these properties as they were lived in the past rather than how they were lived in the present.

Furthermore, a browse through any of the shops at the Trust's properties reveals a collection of objects from the more usual books and videos to clothes, tea towels, place mats and kitchenwares decorated to represent a cosy world of farmhouse kitchens and afternoon teas on the lawn. As 1995 was the Trust's one hundredth anniversary the Centenary range of merchandise was produced and this range sold over 300,000 items and generated almost £1 million in turnover (National Trust, 1996a: 16). The need to generate income in this way is understandable, as the Chairman of the Finance Committee points out, the Trust is not a business and should not be treated as a commercial enterprise (National Trust, 1996a: 32). Whilst this is true in terms of judging the Trust from the perspective of a profit and loss account it does have to be commercially minded in order to survive. It could thus be argued that the range of items for sale in its shops are merely appealing to the perceived needs of the market in which they operate. However, they are not just filling a gap in the market, they are creating and perpetuating the Trust's ethos as the curator of the nation's heritage, as the slogan chosen for the Centenary aptly illustrates 'The National Trust forever, for everyone'.

The way in which the Trust promotes itself has attracted criticism for being too backward looking, for trying to 'stop the clock' (Weideger, 1994: 36) and for implying that the nation's identity is already formed rather than still evolving. As Patrick Wright explains:

> The nation is not seen as a heterogeneous society that makes its own history as it moves forward, however chaotically, in the future. Instead, it is portrayed as an already achieved and timeless historical identity which demands only appropriate reverence and protection in the present. (Quoted in Hewison, 1987: 141)

Such an approach merely serves to exclude whole sections of society who may feel that the National Trust does not represent their heritage, their understanding of identity (see Eade, 1997; England, My England, 1998).

Although the National Trust has been subject to severe criticism from outside detractors such as Patrick Wright and Paula Weideger it has also received criticism from within. Indeed, some of its long- standing members have branded the executive 'patronising and elitist' (Goodwin, 1996: 11) over the use of unmandated proxy votes at annual general meetings. These votes, sent to the chairman for use at his discretion, have been used to pass highly contentious resolutions that have laid the executive open to charges of 'sleaze' (Goodwin, 1996). Nevertheless, as with all organisations there are probably many areas within the National Trust that need to be improved upon. Similarly, it is merely carrying out the work it was originally set up to do. The important point is, however - and this applies to both the National Trust and English Heritage - that being such high profile bodies whose work is endorsed by and, in the case of English Heritage, directly financed by the government, then it is their version of heritage that is the main one on offer. It is their definition of the national heritage that is held up as being representative of the nation. Moreover, their version of the nation's heritage is specifically English in character, relying as it does on the landscape, country houses, villages and castles that for many epitomise what England is all about.

Furthermore, although there exists similar heritage preservation bodies for other parts of the Country, such as the National Trust for Scotland, Historic Scotland and Cadw in Wales their version of the nation's heritage is more regional than national. Although, Historic Scotland, in particular, aims to promote a robust sense of Scottishness that includes a strongly nationalistic message (McCrone, Morris & Kiely, 1995: 94). Nevertheless, the heritage of England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland combine to represent the nation as a whole and yet it is the heritage of England that has in many ways a more dominant position. Indeed, McCrone et al (1995: 98) state that although the National Trust covers England, Wales and Northern Ireland the National Trust in Scotland was specifically set up in 1931 precisely because the National Trust was deemed to be neglecting the Scottish interest. A situation which has much to do with the political and Establishment figures who originally decided what constituted the national heritage. Furthermore, it is these, essentially English, heritage markers - the architecture, country houses, castles and landscapes - which provided the foundations for what later became the heritage industry (Weight, 1995:18).

From Heritage to Tourism

McCrone et al (1995) put the birth of the modern heritage industry as being the late 1970's. By this time the owners of many country houses, castles and estates had come to the conclusion that the only way to survive economically was to open to the public. To set themselves up as professional companies and organisations within the heritage tourism business. But what is it that is being sold to the visitor? In part the answer to this question is the buildings, artifacts and landscapes that comprise the main resources of such as

English Heritage and the National Trust. However, the basic resource for all of these is their links with the past, with history and it is history that provides the cement which enables the construction of heritage to take place. It is the history associated with the sites and the people that is used by the tourism industry to build their version of the nation's inheritance:

> history is the remembered record of the past; heritage is a contemporary commodity purposefully created to satisfy contemporary consumption....the raw materials...arc a wide and varied mixture of historical events, personalities, folk memories, mythologies, literary associations and surviving relics, together with the places, whether sites or towns, with which they are symbolically associated. The past is thus best viewed as a quarry of possibilities, only a very small proportion of which will ever be utilized as heritage. (Ashworth, 1994: 16)

This quarry of possibilities is, in fact, big business, at least in Great Britain. In 1995 23.7 million overseas visitors came to this country and they spent £11.9 billion (British Tourist Authority, 1996). Heritage is also big internationally with the work of such as UNESCO who identify and list natural sites and artefacts in their World Heritage Sites compilation. This list, which includes such examples as Bath, the Giant's Causeway, Durham Cathedral and Stonehenge means that heritage concerns in Great Britain are not only nationally defined but also internationally defined.

As previously mentioned Britain's main overseas markets are America, Europe and increasingly Japan and for visitors from these countries the appeal of Britain's heritage is an important factor in their decision to come to here. In fact 70% of overseas visitors consider historic buildings to be an important part of their visit (ETB/BTA, 1996/7). Figures such as this have resulted in Great Britain being marketed primarily as a heritage destination, with the British Tourist Authority (BTA) introducing The Great British Heritage Pass, which enables overseas visitors to access over 500 historic properties. Although the BTA are adopting a different strategy for the 18-24 age group they still consider heritage and tradition to be important features of their marketing strategy, particularly in America (BTA, 1996). Indeed, heritage is a key feature in attracting visitors from the USA generally. British Heritage Tours produces a brochure for the American Market called *The British Heritage Collection* and this details tours and attractions with themes such as 'Bequest of the Nation' covering properties owned by the National Trust:

> Each of the National Trust's houses and gardens has its own story to tell, stories of great collectors, of gently eccentric landowners, of inventors...and of those aristocratic dynasties of country house patrons. The National Trust has the responsibility of carrying on these stories...and of showing them to visitors from both home and abroad. (The British Heritage Collection, 1994: 2)

Throughout the rest of the brochure they outline their 'interpretation of product GB'. References are made to other destinations, landscapes and personalities. Wiltshire is a

storehouse of ancient sites, landscapes and hidden villages, the New Forest is trapped in a time of Medieval customs, the Cotswolds is the epitome of 'Englishness' and Wales is a land rich in unbroken Celtic tradition. Writers such as Jane Austen, Shakespeare and Dickens are highlighted and tours are offered on 'Myths and Legends' and to places that are 'Back in the Mists of Time'. All of this creates an impression of a rich cultural heritage where ancient customs still prevail. This is not to argue that such tours should not be organised, but that they represent only one version of the nation. Similarly, although visitors may be well able to understand this, other images are not afforded equal status in the marketing strategy. Heritage is big business for both independent and government backed organisations and even though youth markets are targeted with a different message, the over-riding image is of a country that possess an idyllic rural countryside and where every town, city and county is historic, unique or ancient:

> Hertfordshire. England's best kept secret. Since the Middle Ages, Hertfordshire has been the enduring haven for many an inspired mind. Discover the historic treasures and bustling streets of its cathedral city, St. Albans, and then explore its countryside, a vivid patchwork of palaces, monuments, romantic ruins and outstanding gardens.
> (The British Heritage Collection, 1994: 43)

Such examples are typical of how Great Britain is presented to both overseas and domestic tourists. However, the predominance of Englishness within promotions supposedly aimed at marketing Britain is again forcefully evident. As Samuel (1989a: liv) maintains tourism markets '...a particular version of Englishness, in which the country is caught in a time-warp and people comport themselves as a folk'. It is accepted that Great Britain is about more than these images, and the BTA's *UK: The Guide* is a good illustration of this. Here, another view of Britain is offered that incorporates pop music, fashion and night life. In this 'alternative heritage' Brighton is the 'gay capital' of the south, Bradford is 'the curry capital' and Newcastle is 'the party capital' (Evans, 1997: 11). Nevertheless, references to 'heritage' are still used as the 'hook' that brings people in so that other types of attractions can then be 'sold on'. Moreover, as stated above, such images are not given 'equal billing', representing more an alternative, rather than a mainstream view of the nation. Consequently, the bulk of tourist brochures continue to depict the type of traditional images of Wales, Scotland, Ireland and England, that appear in tour guides such as that mentioned above for *The British Heritage Collection* (see O'Connor & Cronin, 1993; McCrone et al, 1995). Images that, Wright (1985) argues, appeals to the historical and sacrosanct identity of the nation. This is the important point about heritage tourism, the particular view it offers of a people and of a nation.

Heritage and the Nation's Identity

Wright (1985) argues that one reason why heritage tourism is so popular is because the images presented reveal a past that is 'ours', which unites, which is timeless and enduring. It is a past where life was better, fulfilling and community driven, and where man and nature

worked closely together hand in hand. Such a past, which engenders a sense of belonging, a sense of community, is created through 'a closely held iconography of what it is to be English' (1985: 2). For Wright (1985: 24), this iconography includes not only the castles, country houses and landscapes that predominate in heritage tourism, but also what he refers to as 'the rags and tatters of everyday life'. Attractions such as Buckley's Yesterday's World in East Sussex and The Wigan Pier Heritage Centre are good examples of what Wright is talking about. At Buckley's you can 'meet' Royalty, relax in an English garden and even play an old-fashioned Penny Arcade - adapted to take 'new' money of course:

> Experience a day in a bygone age....Stroll around the many Victorian shop and room displays, such as a chemists, grocers, nursery, photographers studio, sweet shop, kitchen as well as a 1930's railway station, wireless shop and many more....You'll find a surprise around every corner to delight the whole family.
> (Buckley's brochure, 1996)

Yesterday's World is also an example of what Samuel (1989a: xlii) describes as the trend to create 'historical homelands', where the humblest items of household furniture are transformed into antiques and make-believe family heirlooms. This creates a version of the national past that is in many ways more accessible than the country houses and the stately homes of the aristocracy. Ordinary people are encouraged '...to look down rather than up, in reconstituting their roots...to celebrate humble origins' (Samuel, 1989a: xlv). This gives people a sense of ownership of their past and of their identity because they can relate more directly to what is on show. The memories of these times enable the nation to be experienced at a more personal level. Consequently, the values, the customs and traditions associated with this past life are brought more forcefully into prominence. In other words they are highlighted as being a worthy aspect of the nation's heritage. This does not mean that everything about the past is revered, or that people cannot separate out the less savoury aspects, but that what remains is representative of 'us' the people. This is the basis upon which 'we' choose to define ourselves.

The heritage of the ordinary, the farming equipment, packaging, old signposts, pots and pans enables people to 'own' their version of the nation's past. Aristocratic heritage may be a little remote but the iconography of the ordinary brings the nation into the home. Moreover, everyone can now purchase the past, their heritage, courtesy of the shops that are to be found at nearly every tourist attraction. At Yesterday's World everything from clothes, books, sweets and games can be bought all carefully packaged to reflect the type of items that would have been on sale hundreds of years ago. At English Heritage sites the items on sale reflect the history of the particular site. Thus, at Battle everything harks back to the medieval age of stained glass, Celtic crosses and Norman Knights. Similar marketing principles apply at shops run by the National Trust. Such outlets are a commercial necessity, most attractions could not exist without them, and the fact that they are successful indicates the public like what is on offer. This, though, does tend to obscure the important point about heritage tourism. Not only is it an enjoyable day out, a huge commercial success, but it also enables visitors to buy their memories, to purchase aspects of the nation

and to take them home with them. This means that as they go round the sites visitors not only feel who they are and where they have come from, but they also own who they are by purchasing a souvenir as they leave. As Samuel (1989a: xlvii) argues 'shopping enjoys an altogether new visibility in representations of the national past'. A similar situation exists for overseas visitors who experience the heritage and identity of the country they are visiting. Here, souvenirs are a reminder of what that country stands for and of the basis upon which its place in the world order rests. The souvenir is thus indicative of a people's identity and whether it is a Spanish flamenco doll, a baseball cap, or a Norman Knight, it is a physical manifestation of nationhood.

Access to heritage sites, whether castles, archaeological ruins or re-creations of cornershops enable nationhood to be bought as well as experienced. Similarly, membership of organisations such as the National Trust and English Heritage give people a further stake in the national ideal, as part of the membership fee is put towards conservation and restoration work; people can now own, as well as help to maintain, the fabric of the nation. It is this view of nationhood that is the fundamental raison d'etre of heritage tourism. As Weight (1995) illustrates, the idea that nationhood could be bought was the ideological foundation of the heritage industry. Heritage tourism is thus a powerful force in the maintenance and promotion of the nation because it encourages ownership of the values, customs and traditions that are on display. It creates a sense of belonging, a shared understanding of what is important and what should be preserved for future generations. It is the nation, writ large, dressed in a coat made from bygone cloth and adorned with a price tag.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the contemporary rise of heritage tourism and examined the political foundations upon which a definition of the nation's heritage rests. It has analysed the role of key organisations such as English Heritage and The National Trust and outlined the economic importance of heritage tourism. Overall this chapter has discussed many issues relevant to the question of nationality and tourism, with the major concern being the way in which specific images of the past are selected as representative of the national identity of contemporary British people. It is this very process of selection that promotes the heritage of a minority as being the most important view of nation-hood available, as illustrated by Walsh when he states:

> there is no denial that monuments such as castles and country houses are important elements in the historic environment. The problem lies with the representation of an exclusive set of monuments as those which constitute a unified phenomenon representative of *the* nation. (1992: 178 emphasis added)

This quote highlights an important problem the degree to which this 'unified' image of nation-hood excludes those who may not define their British heritage on quite the same basis. As Cosgrove (1989: 124) illustrates 'British culture is dominantly English in region, bourgeois in class, male in gender, white in colour, middle-aged and Anglican in religion'.

Consequently, the castles, the country houses, the stately homes and even the industrial and technical heritage of this country promote a sense of identity that may exclude anyone whose origins are African or Asian, Indian or Chinese, but whose *nationality* is still firmly British (see Corner & Harvey, 1991a). Moreover, the heritage on show is often presented as being representative of a unified British heritage - Samuel's (1989a: xlv) argument that the National Trust presents a 'country-house version of Englishness' is a good example of this. The Scots, the Welsh and the Irish are thus relegated to the position of second class citizens, leaving the English in what Walsh (1992: 88) argues is the position of 'first among unequals'.

Furthermore, use of the past has been criticised for not only being conservative and for re-emphasising divisions based on class and economic status (Samuel (1989a: xlix), but for being, in effect, unexciting. There tends to be the same kinds of paintings displayed in country houses, the same types of furniture, all castles have examples of the same medieval torture implements, there are the same books on the shelves and the same pots and pans in the kitchens. While not exactly the same they are of a sufficiently uniform type as to be both predictable and safe. Thus if, as Stratton (1989: 50) argues, 'tourism is the making safe of desire' then heritage tourism is the safest desire of all because the items never wear out, change, or get altered and used for something else. As Stanford (1996: 5) illustrates when discussing the current trend for period drama, 'in this world there is just one sanitised overview of history and one visual checklist that demands stately homes, sumptuous costumes, elaborate hairdos, carriages, animals and ideally a harpsichord'.

This *idea of nation* discussed above also illustrates one of the ways in which Anderson's (1991) imagined community comes into being. According to Anderson, nation's came to exist in response to specific cultural systems. The examples he gives are the religious community and the dynastic realm. Heritage tourism can also be seen as a cultural system since it both maintains and promotes an idea of nation based upon the cultural heritage of the nation. In this respect it also illustrates Gidden's (1985) concept of the controlled use of reflection upon history as a means of changing history. Yet in this instance reflection upon history not so much changes the past as reduces and simplifies it to resemble an easily understood version of nation-ness. Through English Heritage and the National Trust, specific, selected aspects of the past are reflected upon and highlighted as being representative of some common agreement about what nation-ness is and how it should be defined. This highlights two major themes to be taken forward into the following chapters. Firstly, an examination of the many ways in which the heritage is used as a means of defining the nation and, secondly, the tendency for this use to reflect a particular vision of 'Englishness'. It is tourism's use of history, of the artefacts and iconography of the nation, that is important here as it involves the very symbols that Smith (1991) has argued are part of what makes a nation. For example, the historic memories, national recreations, heroes and heroines of the past. Therefore, the next step is to look a little more closely at how the messages of nationhood are transmitted, how the physical and cultural artifacts of the nation operate as symbolic representations of identity. It is this which provides the focus for the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

Myths, Maps and Symbols

The Context

This chapter explores in more detail how the symbols of identity are utilised by the tourism industry to promote a sense of nationhood. In so doing the themes identified on pages 25-26 provide the overall context for this discussion. Likewise, the previous examination of Billig's (1995) theory of Banal Nationalism has highlighted the relevance of this concept to heritage tourism.

Anderson's notion of a cultural community linked together by a common understanding of the basic cultural, political and economic values of society is an important concern here. If by reading a daily newspaper individuals can imagine themselves as belonging to a particular cultural community then can a similar argument be made for the individual's relationship with heritage tourism. In visiting the nation's historic castles, country houses and gardens visitors are not only experiencing physical reminders of the past, but also symbolic reminders of what it stood for and of how this relates to the present. As a result, a culture comes to be constructed through representation (Breuilly, 1985) and this representation is primarily concerned with presenting a particular image of the nation's identity. Yet, as chapter three argued, this identity is based upon a narrowly defined definition of heritage. It is about the identity of the few, rather than that of the many. What chapter one referred to as a process of closure. It is about presenting a comfortable picture of nationhood based on an idea of the nation as a small, village community.

A good example of this is the increasing tendency to re-name whole towns and regions such that Suffolk becomes 'Constable Country', Nottingham is in 'Robin Hood Country', North Yorkshire is now 'Captain Cook's Country' and Battle is no longer a town in East Sussex but in '1066 Country' (see Gold and Ward, 1994). All of these labels provide an instant link with the nation's past by virtue of the people and events associated with them. These events are re-packaged by the tourism industry so that individuals can understand where they have come from, their roots if you like. In this sense the tourism industry is creating what Gidden's (1985) has referred to as a sense of psychological belonging, a sense of communality based on the individual's attachment to, and understanding of, particular cultural forms; which in this case are the artifacts of the nation's heritage.

Tourism not only relies upon buildings and landscapes to create a sense of community it also uses specific industries and events as markers of identity. Consequently, fishing, as an occupation, is no longer an economically important part of traditional fishing communities, but a tourist attraction that symbolizes an occupational community that has declined as rapidly as the service economy has risen (see Ireland, 1993). Similarly, Wright (1985) maintains that the raising of Henry V111's warship, the *Mary Rose* , in 1982 and its

subsequent installation as a tourist attraction enabled the ship to become firmly established as part of the national consciousness. The use of history as identity in this way is what Wright (1985: 175) refers to as 'history in reverse' because it locates the national essence firmly in the past, rather than in the present. Such a 'mythical history' exists for Wright (1985: 176) at both an anthropological and a semiological level, in other words the history of the *Mary Rose* articulates a sense of British-ness at both a physical level (the actual remains) and at a symbolic level, '...it takes 'us' from our particular positions in the prosaic modern world into the more radiant chambers of a well-constructed national imagination' (Wright, 1985:163).

The myths, legends, heroes and heroines of the nation's past provide a never ending source of information for the tourism industry to base its promotions upon. Indeed, the extent to which the industry relies on myths to market and promote destinations is highlighted in a recent book edited by Tom Selwyn (1996b), *The Tourist Image: Myths and Myth Making in Tourism*. Tourists are attracted by the 'pull' of myths because they seek a counterbalance to the alienating realities of every day existence. In other words they are searching for something deemed to be missing from their lives. Thus, places as far apart as Nepal and Chipping Camden, symbolize the search for different, but complimentary 'lost worlds'. The former of Shangri-la and the latter of a pre-modern rural retreat. Such myths are important because they highlight the extent to which '....tourist perceptions, motivations and understandings about destinations are shaped by a preoccupation with harmonious social relations, ideas about community, notions of the whole' (Selwyn, 1996c: 3). These ideals illustrate the type of 'structures' that, MacCannell (1989) has argued, have been demolished by modernity. Consequently, myths that point to the existence of these sought after idealised structures have a powerful hold on the imagination. Even though the tourist may be well able to separate reality from myth. As Feifer (1985: 271) memorably stated, we are now in the era of the post-tourist who knows he is a tourist and '...not a time traveller when he goes somewhere historic; not an instant noble savage when he stays on a tropical beach'. This, however, tends to obscure the important point about myths and that is the mere possibility, no matter how vague, that the myth might actually be true; that there is a pot of gold at the end of the rainbow.

Indeed, part of the appeal of any tourist attraction for the visitor is this complex interplay between what is established fact and what is merely a good story. Nearly all the visitors interviewed at Battle Abbey laughed over the story of Harold being shot in the eye by an arrow. This incident was the most remembered 'fact' apart from the actual date of 1066. Although there is still debate over whether this incident did actually occur for most visitors this did not detract from their enjoyment of the site.

Furthermore, the many and varied attractions, castles and country houses that are the primary focus of the heritage industry are examples of what Smith (1991: 16) has referred to as, "sacred centres', objects of spiritual and historical pilgrimage, that reveal the uniqueness of their nation's 'moral geography". What is needed therefore, is an examination of the use of these sacred centres and of their influence on contemporary

concepts of nation-ness. As McCrone (1992: 195) argues 'the question to ask is not how best do cultural forms reflect an essential national identity, but how do cultural forms actually help to construct and shape identity...'. It is thus important to consider how the myths and symbolism of the nation enable a sense of identity to be maintained and communicated in the cultural forms that are part and parcel of heritage tourism (see Palmer, forthcoming 1999).

Myths and Symbols

According to Smith (1986) the combination of myths and symbols that underpin a nation's identity, which he refers to as 'myth-symbol complexes', are powerful creators of identity and thus offer a more durable boundary between nations than traditional physical borders. They are able to exercise such power because a social magnetism and psychological charge attaches to them that generates '...a 'society' in the past, through the mythical and emotional union of kin groups sharing a common 'history and destiny" (Smith, 1986: 207). Indeed, the journalist Andrew Roberts argues that it is a peculiar human characteristic to endow inanimate objects with spiritual and emotional force. 'We are capable of being moved by the sight of flags, trophies and regalia because they can be symbolic of truths about ourselves which we find hard to put into words' (1996: 5).

Views such as this have helped to fuel the interest among academics in the relationship between myths, symbols and identity. Indeed, analysing the 'myth-symbols' that portray a nation and its characteristics has been the focus of many recent texts. For example, Samuel's (1989b) *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British Identity: volume 1* (two further volumes), Samuel and Thompson's (1990a) *The Myths We Live By* and Porter's (1993) *Myths of the English*. This latter text includes examples of what the editor describes as '..multi-messaged celebrations of the peculiarities of the English...' (Porter, 1993: 4). The essays discuss a variety of aspects from recognisable 'types' such as the 'bobby' and the 'tramp' to the myths of greatness and of 'grit' to be found in stereotypes of the English character. In many ways the tramp, an eccentric outsider whose life was often romanticised in literary fiction, illustrates the stereotypical view of the English as being slightly 'odd-ball' (Crowther, 1993). Moreover, the English themselves are not averse to recognising, and celebrating, the peculiarities in their own character. The operettas of Gilbert and Sullivan exemplify the English way of glorifying Englishness through parody, and this is clearly evident in both the music and the lyrics of the 'robustly patriotic' songs and settings (Cannadine, 1993).

The above illustrations are not the only examples of 'myth-symbol complexes' that can engender a sense of communal understanding. A nation's history and its landscape can also be seen in this way (Smith, 1986). While the relationship between the landscape and nation-ness was discussed in chapter two, the use of history can be illustrated by reference to the Scottish Stone of Scone. 'Stolen' from Scotland by the English over 700 years ago, the Stone was placed underneath the Coronation Throne in Westminster Abbey. The handing-back of the Stone caused a lively debate both north and south of the border. Roberts argued

that it is more than just 336Lb of yellow sandstone it symbolizes a *collective* British heritage and thus cannot be appropriated by the Scots as theirs alone:

> Symbols have meaning because they directly touch the soul; they say something unsayable about who we are. Over the eons since Edward 1....the Stone of Scone has been right at the centre of the sanctum in the heart of the abbey in the middle of the first city of the land.
>
> It was there symbolizing British power and sovereignty, at the times of our greatest perils...This stone, ours by right of conquest...has become a potent symbol of Britishness. (1996: 5)

However, in Scotland, many people considered the Stone explicitly Scottish, not British and certainly not English. Moreover, with Westminster seen by many Scots as more relevant to those living south of the border, the location of the Stone in 'the heart of the abbey' merely symbolized the power of a predominantly English Parliament to dictate to the Scots. As people commented at the time, 'it's a wonderful thing for us....it's ours and it belongs to us. It is part of our heritage' and '...something precious to us...is being given back...that will make all true Scots proud' (quoted in Boggan, 1996: 3).

This is interesting as it highlights a point made by Kaplan (1994) in her examination of museum collections that certain objects can embody the idea of nation. Hence the Old Testament Bible is seen as synonymous with Israel, being its 'title deed and registration document' (Broshi, 1994: 323). Thus, the Stone of Scone has different meaning for different groups, although both claim it as a symbol of identity. In this way the Stone illustrates how objects of the material world can not only symbolise past identities but also future possibilities. As Veenis (1997: 156) states with reference to the high status of Western consumer goods in the former East Germany, material objects are the '....vehicles for individual and collective dreams and fantasies about faraway realities and futures - which may come true....one day'. Hence for the Scots the return of the Stone of Scone symbolizes a return to the time when Scotland was an independent nation. A position that some Scots would like to see reinstated.

This highlights an important point about myth-symbol complexes. The fact that their greatest strength lies in the myths and symbols of community that they evoke, rather than in their inherent physical characteristics, 'herein lies their 'community-creating' potency, and here too we find the roots of their directive capacity. For, once unearthed and appropriated, the mythology and symbolism of poetic spaces and golden ages casts its own social spell' (Smith, 1986: 200).

These myths and symbols provide the symbolic framework through which a sense of identity can be constructed and maintained. Moreover, myths shape, as well as re-create, identity (Smith, 1986) and this is why they are often appropriated for political ends. As a result, myths are continually reconstructed and reinterpreted to meet modern preoccupations. Politicians utilise the Union Flag as a symbol of unity and as an illustration

of what their party stands for. Similarly, the tourism industry will re-work and re-present historical myths as a means of promoting tourist attractions in an increasingly competitive market-place. Indeed, part of the appeal for some Scots of the return of the Stone of Scone to Scotland was the fact that it would be good for tourism. As Boggan (1996: 3), states '...more than one canny Scot was quick to point out...that the fee to view the stone will be £5.50. While it was in England, the stone could be seen for free'. In this sense, myths of the nation are being re-appropriated by both protagonists, for their own particular needs and requirements. Furthermore, Smith (1986: 202) states that the myths and symbols of nationhood have always provided 'maps and moralities' that guide individuals along the correct 'national' path. These maps can be used, not only as a means of locating the heart of the nation, but also as a way of educating people about the nation's values and beliefs (see Dijkink, 1996). It is thus important to understand the part played by the tourism industry in the making of these 'maps and moralities'.

So what are the myths of the nation that underpin heritage tourism? To what extent do they provide maps of meaning and interpretation that connect individuals to particular times, cultures and beliefs? In order to consider these questions in more detail it is necessary to examine the term 'myth' and its associations and uses.

Myths and Meanings

One way of understanding the concept of myths is to see them as stories reflecting the cultural, religious and social beliefs of a particular society. They are, however, more complex structures than the word 'story' implies. As Short illustrates, the term myth refers:

> ...to an intellectual construction which embodies beliefs, values and information, and which can influence events, behaviour and perception. Myths are (re)-presentations of reality which resonate across space and over time, which are widely used and reproduced, which are broad enough to encompass diverse experiences yet deep enough to anchor these experiences in a continuous medium of meaning. The term 'myth' does not imply falsehood to be contrasted with reality....myth can contain both fact and fancy. (1991: xvi)

Myths are thus an important part of everyday existence, they help to shape behaviour and to give meaning to the social structures that govern society. They are guides to the interpretation of social reality (McCrone et al, 1995). Moreover, myths of origin can legitimate the existence of a people, a nation by providing a rationale for their right to possess territory and thereby receive recognition from the wider community (Samuel and Thompson, 1990b). Conflicts between the Israelis and the Palestinians and between the Kurds of northern Turkey and Iraq are good examples of this. Furthermore, such myths can provide an anchor for a societies roots and thus highlight a common ancestry, a common bond and understanding of how that ancestry has contributed to the present. As Smith illustrates:

...in the confusion and rootlessness of the modern world, ethnic mythologies and symbolisms can restore the collective heritage and explain 'who we are' to ourselves and to others, by clearly demarcating what is authentically 'ours' from what is alien, in much the same way that traditional religions distinguished the sacred from the profane. (1986: 202)

While myths can be described as the stories of a people they have also been defined by Levi-Strauss (1986) and Barthes (1973) as a type of language, a form of speech. Thus, a rose is not a rose it signifies something and that something is the message of the sender, passion, love, joy or whatever. Furthermore, Levi-Strauss (1986: 7) argues that the total body of myth belonging to a community is comparable to its speech. In other words, the myths that underpin the origins and development of a particular society, or culture, provide an insight into how that society organises its 'life-world'. For Levi-Strauss (1986: 12) then, what is important is not whether individuals consciously think about myths, but rather how myths operate in the minds of individual's without their being aware of it. The ability of myths to generate emotion and a sense of belonging to a specific cultural tradition, nation or community is therefore, central to this discussion. As Smith (1986: 201) states 'one may learn as much about the 'spirit' and 'shape' of modern nations by an investigation of their myths....as by any analysis of social institutions and class formations'.

Consequently, myths not only serve as a means of identifying a people, they can also have a profound effect upon the practices and beliefs of a particular culture. Frazer's seminal work, encapsulated in the multi-volumed *The Golden Bough,* reveals how myths operate at both a conscious and an unconscious level. He describes how attitudes towards an individual's shadow or reflection can indicate the fundamental beliefs and practices of society. In various cultures the shadow is regarded as intimately bound up with the life of an individual and the loss or 'capture' of it can seriously affect the individual's well-being (Frazer, 1995).

Myths and the superstitions associated with them can have a profound affect upon the way a society or nation is organised and on the religious and cultural norms within which it operates. How we react to the myths of our own culture is important as it helps to re-connect us with the wider society to which we belong. It creates a common bond, or understanding that others are aware of and appreciate the significance of the nation's myths and legends. Myths are thus a fundamental component of human thought (Samuel and Thompson, 1990b: 4) because they go to the heart of a people and thereby expose attitudes of self and other that can reinforce, rather than mitigate, stereotypes of people and of places. Furthermore, myths rarely, if ever, have one meaning for all, they are open to a degree of interpretation depending upon the circumstances of individuals and groups (Smith, 1986; Mathews, 1994). This endows them with a meaning and a significance that can be personal as well as national and thus interpretations of what they stand for may not be the same for all.

However, the problem with myths is the grey area between fact and fiction. Some myths may be built on a grain of truth, such as King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table

(Barber, 1986; Mathews, 1994). Whilst others may have been entirely invented as a means of explaining natural phenomena in a pre-scientific world. Such as the mythologies of the Greeks and Romans (Grant and Hazel, 1993). Yet this complex mix of fact and fiction is important because, not knowing where to draw the line between the real, the probable and the fictitious endows myths with an almost spiritual significance. We know they may not be true but we like what they show us about ourselves and what they reveal about us to others. Which partly explains their enduring popularity. Thus, a crucial part of any myth is its symbolism. For example, Achilles, the chief Greek hero in Homer's *Illyad* '....is a symbol of youth and strength, doomed to an early but glorious death. He was the hero whom Alexander the Great most admired' (Grant and Hazel, 1993: 5). Likewise, the Holy Grail, in the Legends of King Arthur, symbolizes man's spiritual quest for '...a sacred vessel which contained the potentiality of all wisdom and knowledge, and through them of understanding' (Mathews, 1994: 63). This quest or search is, however, never-ending as it can only be achieved by those of pure inten. Which ensures that the myth of the Holy Grail maintains its powerful, romantic hold over the imagination, '...the Grail continues to be a beacon to all who believe in the importance of a spiritual quest' (Mathews, 1995: 146).

Both these examples illustrate that a myth is not merely a story, a complex mix of fact and fiction, but an important means of understanding relationships of self and other. The symbolic content of myths provides the potent signs and explanations that help people to understand their past and their future. They justify customs and institutions, glorify nations, invent traditions and indulge wishful thinking through tales of adventure and heroism (Grant and Hazel, 1993). Myth and symbolism are so closely intertwined within the history of most modern nations that they could not exist without them, since they teach members of a community how to be true to the inner laws of the living nation (Smith, 1986). Consequently, it is important to understand how myths operate at the level of the symbolic, how they teach individuals of their role within society by representing the values, beliefs and customs of the nation.

Symbols and Signs

The study of the use and interpretation of symbols and signs within contemporary society has its origins in linguistics and is specifically identified with the work of Ferdinand de Saussure (1906). This study of the life of signs in society was referred to by Saussure as a 'science' and he is attributed with conferring the now widely accepted name of semiology on this new science (Deely, 1990). For Saussure, an object is not just an object it is a sign of something and as such it has two aspects, the signifier and the signified (the *sign-vehicle* and the *meaning*). The most obvious example of this is the national flag of a particular nation, where the flag is the signifier and the signified are the ideas, values, cultural and religious ideologies that it represents. Consequently, signs communicate ideas by means of messages that mean something to somebody. This does not mean that the same message is 'read' and understood by all, since different interpretations can and do exist. Thus, the French national flag, which flew over Algeria during the struggle for independence in the 1950's and the 1960's, was a sign of patriotism for the French, but one of oppression for the

Algerians (see Fanon, 1989).

Semiology thus requires there to be an object (a thing spoken about) or *referent*, *signs* and therefore a code by which they can be translated and a *means* of transmission. In addition, there must obviously be a sender, or *emitter* and a *receiver* (Guiraud, 1975). The following diagram explains the relationship between all these elements.

Figure 1 - Semiological components

Code
|
|

Medium   Medium

Emitter ———————————————[Message]——————————————► Receiver

|
|

Referent
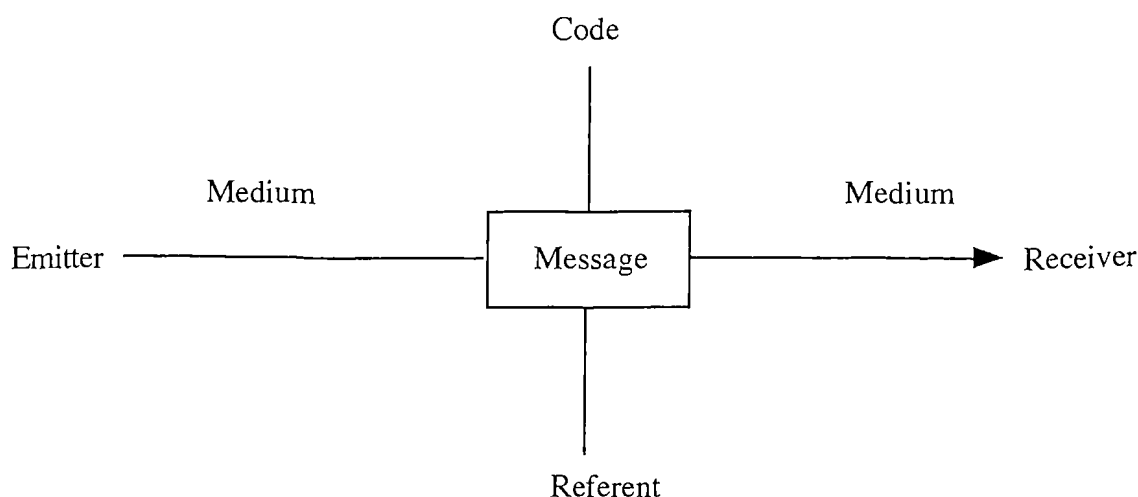
(After Jakobson, in Guiraud, 1975: 5).

Saussure's work was taken further by the American Philosopher Charles S. Peirce who proposed a triad comprising a sign, its object and its interpretant; where interpretant does not refer to an *interpreter* but to '...that which guarantees the validity of the sign...' (Eco, 1979: 68). For example, the interpretant can be another representation of the sign - a photograph of the Tower of London represents the same meaning and message as the actual Tower. Furthermore, Eco (1979: 70) states that the interpretant can involve an emotive association or connotation, such that dog signifies 'fidelity' and vice versa. These issues are important, as far as tourism is concerned, for two reasons. Firstly, it means that tourist brochures, postcards and souvenirs, reinforce and legitimate the message and the meaning communicated by the physical attraction or site. Secondly, by looking at photographs and pictures it is possible to trigger the same emotional response that was generated by the original site. As a result, tourists do not have to actually visit a tourist attraction to experience the message being communicated.

The use and interpretation of signs, whether these are tourist attractions or national flags, depends upon the values and the social structure of society (MacCannell, 1989: 119). Thus, the signifier and the signified operate within specific, culturally defined, patterns of meaning and as such they cannot be interpreted in isolation. In effect they can only be understood within the cultural context in which they occur and thus the behaviour

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surrounding the sign is as important as the language used to describe it. As Clifford Geertz (1973) states the communication of meaning takes place when a socially established public code exists that enables both language and behaviour to be interpreted. Thus, culture, as an interworked system of construable symbols, provides the context within which these symbols can be intelligibly described (Geertz, 1973: 14). In terms of a semiotic approach to culture this means that any attempt at interpretation must take account of the conceptual world in which the symbols operate. Meaning cannot be imposed on a sign, it has to emerge in relation to the culturally ascribed patterns of understanding that Geertz (1973: 11) describes as the '...psychological structures by means of which individuals or groups...guide their behaviour'.

However, as previously argued, a sign can symbolise different things to different people. For example, the figure of John Bull has been extensively used over the centuries to symbolise a strong, independent and free country whose people are closely associated with the 'bulldog' spirit exemplified by the figure (Surel, 1989; Storry and Childs, 1997b). John Bull thus appears at times of patriotic need, not only wars and conflicts, but in the 1997 general election campaign when both the Labour and Conservative parties utilised the symbol. However, during that campaign the Labour MP Bernie Grant (who was born in Jamaica) highlighted an alternative view of John Bull by referring to its use in a Labour Party election broadcast as 'offensive symbolism', adding 'for people of my generation who grew up in the Empire, the British Bulldog was used as a symbol to keep people in their place' (quoted in Deans, 1997: 12).

While it is accepted that symbols can be 'read' in different ways it is also important to bear in mind that this interpretation depends upon the ideas, attitudes, judgments, longings and beliefs of those who come into contact with them (Geertz, 1973: 91). Thus, meaning is not only culturally ascribed but also individually ascribed because the motivations of individuals themselves will affect their understanding of the sign, or symbol, displayed. This individual dimension is important because it brings an emotional element into the equation. Thus, not only is it important to understand what a symbol or sign *physically* represents, it is equally important to know how individuals '*feel*' about it. This emotional sentiment affects reactions and responses and thereby enables individuals to accept or reject the message communicated by the symbol. As illustrated by the figure of John Bull above and by the varying responses to the word 'steak' that were discussed in chapter two. How individuals respond to the symbol before them is thus as important as the culturally defined setting in which it is located.

Furthermore, Odermatt (1991: 237) argues that the messages communicated via the signs and symbols of a culture, a society, have internal as well as external resonances. They not only mean something to those who belong to a particular nation or cultural tradition, but they also mean something to those who do not belong. Consequently, a semiotic understanding of a nation's myths and symbols involves a complex interplay of possible polarities, collective/individual, internal/external, physical/emotional - which interrelate in different ways affecting meaning, understanding and interpretation.

As far as tourism is concerned these polarities represent the interpretative perspectives and responses involved in guiding the visitor towards an understanding of what the nation stands for. Its characteristics, values and beliefs. It is, therefore, important to consider the ways in which certain tourist attractions come to produce meaning that represents aspects of the nation. What are the symbols of the nation on show and what do they 'tell' us about the nation and its people?

Touristic Myths and Symbols

The concept of semiology was first adapted to tourism studies by Dean MacCannell in his seminal text *The Tourist* (originally published in 1976). Relying predominantly on the work of Peirce, MacCannell argued that tourist attractions are also signs that represent something to someone. Thus, cowboys are symbolic of the USA (MacCannell, 1989: 132-3). Moreover, MacCannell argued that a tourist's first contact with a site is usually with a representation of it. For example, a picture in a brochure, and this he refers to as the 'marker': 'my use of the term extends it to cover any information about a sight, including that found in travel books, museum guides, stories told by persons who have visited it, art history texts and lectures.. and so on' (1989: 110). The tourist marker is important because it is this which legitimates the site. This which tells the visitor what the site represents, what it means if you like, and by so doing both confers and confirms the status of the site. Moreover, tourist markers also include the myths that surround a site, or the person associated with it, and these are as important as any accepted historical 'facts' in the creation and maintenance of identity.

As previously stated the relationship between the semiotic message of tourism and the myths used to attract tourists to destinations is one of the main threads running through Selwyn's text *The Tourist Image*. Hutt (1996: 52), for example, discusses how Nepal is depicted in tourist brochures as a kind of mythical Shangri-la, a 'romantic, mystical realm' that is largely untouched by humanity and the forces of modernisation. Furthermore, he argues that this myth is specifically used to attract Western tourists searching for a 'dream' place far away from the realities of life. Shangri-la's association with wisdom, plenty, a long unhurried life and benevolent democratic rule has earned it an enduring place in the imagination as the ultimate utopia. The ideal perfect state that is to be found forever just beyond the horizon. Like the mythical cities of Atlantis and Brigadoon, the hidden valley of Shangri-la is permanently 'lost', but the myth of its existence 'somewhere out there' remains a potent symbol for many tourists. Thus, the actor Simon Callow, in a series of travel articles for the Sunday Times, describes the ending of his search for an elusive Italian villa as producing the 'reward' of a Tuscan Shangri-la: 'what followed was so extraordinary that it is hard to write of without seeming to stray into myth' (Callow, 1997: 3). The landlord, Brandimarte, was a king, a chieftain and a hetman, who presided over a table '..decorated with the emblems of autumn, cones, dried leaves and nuts, ingeniously and ambitiously arranged into a sort of sleeping forest...'. The other 'awed' guests drank champagne from silver goblets, ate savoury pastries, stuffed tomatoes, spinach and poached egg. This was followed by pasta, chocolate mousse and twelve kinds of cheese, whilst all the while the

wine flowed, red, white, and finally amaretto. The landlord presided over the table, advising, exhorting, while small children swarmed over him like mice:

> tears of laughter sprang from his tiny eyes, while he manhandled his young brood with rough tenderness. He embarked on a long and only partly comprehensible reflection...." - every day, he was saying, is a battle with oneself and every day one dies a little and is reborn a little, and one must live in the part of one that is reborn and not the part that dies....it was certainly not the first time that Brandimarte had made this speech, but at that moment, after that meal, coming from that man it seemed to us to contain the whole meaning of life.   (Callow, 1997: 3)

This aptly illustrates both the meaning behind the myth and the power it exerts on the imagination. All the elements of the Shangri-la myth are here, the wisdom of a benevolent leader, the abundance of food and drink and the answer to the 'meaning of life'. It symbolizes this almost unconscious yearning for something that is missing in the modern world. The lost valley of Shangri-la is the antithesis of contemporary life. There are no wars, no struggles for independence, no famine and disease only peace, harmony and a sense of joyful companionship. Unlike the modern world there are no worries about a lost sense of community, or a feeling of being carried along by a fast-paced, hi-tech life-style where the most important attribute is the ability to manage one's time. Shangri-la may be a myth but in Nepal and Tuscany myths can come true. 'Tourists came and went, and it was a wonder to behold the disbelief and the joy that filled newcomers as they came to terms with this impossible anomaly, this Florentine Brigadoon' (Callow, 1997: 3).

In a similar way Fees (1996) reveals how the success of the Cotswold town Chipping Campden revolves around its ability to represent a time, a place and a set of values missing from contemporary life. Chipping Campden's appeal is based on the beauty and antiquity of its buildings and on its historical associations with the rural landscape. In the past tourists came '...in order to discover and engage with the authenticity of the rural 'character', the farmer or farm labourer who carried the wisdom of the soil in his bones and the untutored eloquence of a past era in his speech' (Fees, 1996: 128). Nowadays people come to Campden for much the same reasons, it is seen as a charming pastoral town redolent of Middle England (Selwyn, 1996c), a peaceful retreat from modernity. However, Fees argues that this represents a myth instigated and maintained, not by the locals, but by those who migrated into the town. These 'immigrants' resisted attempts to modernise the town, seeing themselves as supporters of a traditional way of life that should be 'saved' for the nation. Indeed, between the 1940's and the 1960's successive Acts of Parliament turned, what had previously been private farm land, into statutory objects of beauty. 'This 'beauty' became a legal entity, an officially recognised property, the ownership of which was appropriated to the Nation' (Fees, 1996: 138). Thus, Campden is not a local town lived in by local people, it is a national town that belongs to the whole nation. It is one version of a national myth based on an urban-centred view of the countryside and its associated traditions and values (Fees, 1996).

Furthermore, even though todays sophisticated post-tourist may *consciously* know that such myths are primarily fictitious, *unconsciously* he/she wants what the myth represents. Which is why so many tourist brochures resort to the language of myth to advertise their products. After all products do not sell because of what they are, but because of what they can do and the image they can create. Cosmetics manufacturers have built a billion dollar global industry on precisely this maxim. The tourism industry is no different. Destinations attract people because of what they can do for them, their perceived benefits if you like. These benefits not only include the more obvious attributes of relaxation, novelty and 'having a good time' but the less obvious ones relating to what Callow refers to above as 'the meaning of life'. Indeed, Uzzell (1984) argues that holiday companies are not really concerned with promoting the overt and superficial attributes of destinations. They are more interested in '....providing the reader with a range of cultural tools with which fantasy, meaning and identity can be created and constructed' (1984: 79). Myths and their associated meanings are examples of the type of cultural tools that Uzzell is talking about.

Graham Dann's (1996a) 'semiotic ethnography' of tourist brochures builds upon Uzzell's argument by revealing the extent to which the language of tourism relies upon this link between myths and meaning. He argues that both the concept of Shangri-la and that of paradise feature extensively in brochures and guides year after year. Even though the contemporary tourist may be well aware they do not exist, their symbolism still has a powerful hold on the imagination. As Dann illustrates:

> Via static and moving pictures, written texts and audio-visual offerings, the language of tourism attempts to persuade, lure, woo and seduce millions of human beings, and, in so doing, convert them from potential into actual clients. By addressing them in terms of their own culturally predicated needs and motivations, it hopes to push them out of the armchair and on to the plane - to turn them into tourists. (1996b: 2)

The concept of culturally predicated needs and motivations echoes Barthes (1973: 117) earlier comment that a myth is a type of language that serves to represent aspects of a culture to individuals '...myth cannot possibly be an object, a concept, or an idea; it is a mode of signification'. In applying this concept to tourism Culler argues that tourism is in large measure a search for signs:

> all over the world the unsung armies of semioticians, the tourists, are fanning out in search of signs of Frenchness, typical Italian behaviour, exemplary Oriental scenes, typical American thruways, traditional English pubs....tourists persist in regarding these objects and practices as cultural signs....they are engaged in reading cities, landscapes and cultures as sign systems. (1988: 155)

These touristic signs not only mark the site as worthy of attention, but also inform the tourist what they are meant to understand by the site. As Urry (1990) illustrates, two people kissing in Paris represents 'timeless romantic Paris' (pg. 3), '.....a thatched cottage with

roses round the door represents 'ye olde England' and waves crashing onto rocks signifies 'wild, untamed nature' (pg. 139). In a similar way, Barthes has argued that the Eiffel Tower is a universal symbol of Paris: '...it is everywhere on the globe where Paris is to be stated as an image...it is the major sign of a people and of a place: it belongs to the universal language of travel' (1979: 3, 4). For Barthes, the Tower attracts meaning like a lightening rod attracts thunderbolts and its apparent 'uselessness' is its most important feature. Then why do we visit the Eiffel Tower? no doubt in order to participate in a dream of which it is...much more the crystallizer than the true object' (1979: 7). The Tower enables the visitor to produce in their mind a simulacrum of Paris, it enables them to *recognise* the signs of Paris layed out before their eyes. It enables them to visualise in their minds the history and the topography of Paris and to become 'intimate' with three functions of human life:

> ..the visitor to the Tower has the illusion of raising the enormous lid which covers the private life of millions of human beings; the city then becomes an intimacy whose functions...he deciphers.....at the top, at the foot of Montmartre, pleasure; at the centre, around the Opera, materiality, business, commerce; toward the bottom, at the foot of the Pantheon, knowledge, study; then, to the right and left...two large zones of habitation, one residential, the other blue-collar..... (Barthes, 1979: 12, 13)

In this way the Eiffel Tower is able to represent Paris, it is the essence of the capital because it means something other than its physical presence. Because the Tower is empty, there is nothing to see inside, it cannot be used in any physical sense. Thus its importance lies in what it stands for, as Barthes (1979: 7) illustrates 'use never does anything but shelter meaning'.

All the above are examples of the ways in which physical structures, natural phenomenon and human behaviour can be said to produce meaning that is culturally prescribed. It is these meanings, rather than the artefacts that produced them, that are carried around in the heads of individuals, '.....they enable us to *think* about things...they are....concepts for our fantasies, desires and imaginings.....' (Hall, 1997: 62) and as such they show us what and how to think. It is thus important to examine how the myths and symbols of tourism enable people to think about and to experience their national identity.

Nation-ness and Tourism

The landscapes of heritage tourism can be natural (parks and gardens) as well as physical (country houses and historic palaces) and it is argued that what the visitor is 'reading' when they visit such places is the story of a natio. The symbols and signs of nationhood presented in the form of a literary landscape. The natural and physical landscapes of tourism enable the individual to 'read' about their national identity via a combination of 'myth-symbols' such as historical events, buildings, myths and stories. The language of myth is thus an important part of heritage tourism. A good example of this is a promotional brochure entitled 'Defence of the Realm' which offers guided tours to sites of military and

historic interest:

> The triumphs of Agincourt and adventures of Empire, when Henry VIII built castles and Nelson Fell, when Spitfires held firm and the Dunkirk Spirit was forged, a window onto the rest of the world and into the past...these images present a few dramatic snapshots of the episodes which make-up the turbulent history of our island realm...by touring the sites...you can uncover the ambitions and achievements of this country through stories of fear and hardship, faith and courage. (1993)

Likewise, the 1998 promotional brochure for the White Cliffs Experience in Dover's states:

> For thousands of years we have watched time and tide turn as chapters of a never ending story unfolded before us. We have witnessed triumphs and disasters, victories and defeats, and the rise and fall of fortunes. We have shared the sorrows of parting and the joys of re-union. Now we invite you to re-visit two of the most important times of our past.....Roman Encounters....(and) Our Finest Hours 1940.

Samuel (1989c: xxx) refers to the use of such nationalistic rhetoric 'as a recycling of primordial images' and in many ways these images enable the heritage industry to create its own set of touristic 'sacred centres'. These 'sacred centres' highlight the type of themes that are continually reappearing within heritage tourism and which are used to symbolize the nation, identity, a people. Such themes are central to the construction of national identity and they include references to the physical environment, such as the sea, country houses, castles and the landscape. As well as to the 'right' combination of moral virtues and codes of conduct. Thus, Penshurst Place in Kent, the home of the De L'Isle family, is advertised as the birth place of those elements thought to personify the nation, 'the house has been the natal home of poetry, romance, patriotism - the theatre of sumptuous hospitality - the abode of chivalry and the resting place of virtue and honour' (1996 tourist brochure). Likewise, at Dover Castle visitors are offered '....the 'Key to the Kingdom'. The tale of Dover Castle is a tale of England itself - a tale of conflict and courage...' (1998 tourist brochure).

All these themes are in a sense metonymic signs for the elements that are deemed to be present in the national character and as such they help to construct the image of the nation as being a community of common descent. Moreover, Cosgrove (1989: 125) maintains that in order to understand these signs, these '.....expressions written by a culture into its landscape we require a knowledge of the 'language' employed: the symbols and their meaning within that culture'. Thus, the 'sea' which can signify 'remoteness', 'invasion', 'defiance', 'security', 'strength' and 'heroism' is an example of the type of language that, Cosgrove (1989) argues, represents the key cultural values of a society. Likewise, the importance of the 'castle' goes far beyond the physical structure that attracts the tourists. It, too, signifies the nation as 'ancient', 'powerful', 'majestic', 'strong' and 'enduring' and thereby represents all that is cherished about the nation. A good example of this is Warwick Castle

which is described in its brochure as 'that fairest monument...of ancient and chivalrous splendour which yet remains unchanged by time...from its soaring *towers* to the depths of the *dungeon*, Warwick Castle epitomises the power and the grandeur of the medieval fortress' (1996).

Moreover, McCrone et al (1995: 184) argue that Edinburgh Castle 'stands for' Scotland in much national iconography, 'tourists flock to 'do' the castle because they are told it conveys the essence of the place'. Thus, not only are castles symbols of a nation's power and authority, they are also repositories for contemporary imaginings about what the nation stands for. The nation's natural landscape can be viewed in a similar way and a good example of this can be found in the tourist brochure for Groombridge Place Gardens in Kent. This talks of an enchanted forest where ten centuries can be discovered within the seventeenth century walled gardens. The use of 'forest' instead of the more usual 'garden' not only signifies 'darkness, 'mystery', 'wildness' and again 'ancient-ness', but perhaps also indicates that the visitor is among 'real history'. History that is old and which can stretch back over ten centuries, history which, to borrow a phrase from Eco (1986), is 'hyperreal'. Better than 'real' history because the landscape is a living breathing monument to the past, rather than one that is static and made of stone, like a castle. Thus, the 'forest' is a powerful sign of identity because it signifies the ancient, living 'land of our father's', 'mother-earth', the 'homeland':

> ...the walled gardens and estate vineyards is an ancient forest. Forgotten for hundreds of years, its mystical springs-fed pools have only recently been uncovered....now you can again step into this captivating land and be amongst the first to experience the birth of an important new garden where past secrets are coming to life, and a new world is being created.
>
> (Groombridge Place tourist brochure, 1996)

It seems Barthes (1973: 118) is right when he argues that 'speech of this kind is a message' and in this instance the message the individual is being given to read is that they are experiencing something of importance, something that has meaning in terms of who they are. However, tourism's interpretation of the landscape is not necessarily the only view available. Indeed, Cosgrove (1993: 281) argues that the landscape, as a signifying system, is not only able to convey multiple sets of meanings, but that these meanings may often contain conflicting interpretations of the value and use of the landscape. Thus, Bender (1993; 1998) describes how Stonehenge is a landscape whose use is contested by English Heritage, who own the site, and by the Druids and Free Travellers to whom the site is of great spiritual significance. English Heritage manage Stonehenge as a tourist attraction 'for the nation' and therefore access is both restricted and extensively controlled. The Druids and Free Travellers who wish to worship at the site are prevented from doing so because this would entail them coming into direct contact with the stones. Furthermore, Bender (1993: 275) states that 'at the end of the day England's landscape is a proprietorial palimpsest. The travellers own no land or houses, and pay no (direct) taxes'. Thus, visitors

to Stonehenge not only have to be worthy of the right to visit, but also must be deemed a 'suitable' visitor; where 'suitable' is one who conforms to the prevailing, socially defined, code of conduct. As Duncan and Duncan (1988) argue, landscapes can not only be 'read' like literary texts, but what they say relates to the social, cultural and historical values of those who prepare them for interpretation.

Consequently, the raising of the *Mary Rose* warship struck a cord of identity within the nation partly because people were able to follow the scenes of its reconstruction on national television. As Wright (1985: 164) puts it the *Mary Rose* reconnects 'us' to our national identity, through a process of cultural nationalisation whereby the ship is held up for reveration as a '.....*resonance* of tradition and continuity with the past'. The ship, like the castle, is both a physical and a semiological construction of identity which, when combined with the sign of the 'sea', says more about the nations identity than may at first be apparent. As illustrated by the words of a former Admiral of the Fleet, Lord Chatfield:

> what do we mean by our sea heritage? it means that which we have inherited from the sea, materially and spiritually - our sea empire and our sea character...our sea character came originally through the blood of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors...adventurous and sea-faring ready to face a hostile people on an unknown coast. (Chatfield,1951: 55)

The *Mary Rose* illustrates how the 'messages' of tourism, the language and the signs, help to construct a sense of national identity within the imagination of the individual. Such messages enable individuals to undertake the spiritual and historical pilgrimages to the 'common myths and historical memories' that Smith (1991) has argued form part of their sense of national identity. Thus, historic events, artifacts, people and landscapes are highlighted as embodying the characteristics of the nation. They are touristic signs of identity and they represent the nation to itself and to others. In other words, the heritage industry represents a tourism of nationalism whereby the landscape awaiting to be 'read' is the landscape of national identity.

Maps of Identity

These touristic signs resemble pointers on a map providing directions on how to 'find' the heart of the nation, what to look for and what is important. Such a map is an example of what Smith (1986) has referred to as 'maps and moralities' that indicate the values and beliefs the nation both stands for and reveres. These tourist maps are not only maps that guide, they are also interpreters of the nation's moral outlook. The myths of the nation, the heroic figures and the epic events are the symbolic signposts along the way and by following these the visitor can experience what are considered to be the key components of the nation's identity. Indeed, Ousby states that travel is increasingly about appreciating particular sights from a particular angle:

Tourism completes the process by turning the habits of travel into a formal codification which exerts mass influence and gains mass acceptance. Distinguishing stars in guidebooks, symbols on maps and road signs enforce its selections, raising them to the status of communal or official wisdom; the sights thus selected are professionally laid out for display, explained, preserved, restored..... (1990: 5)

Those tourist attractions that depict both the heritage of the nation and its typical characteristics, are thus acting rather in the manner of an ordinance survey map, not of roads, towns and cities, but of national identity and moral inspiration. Good examples of such 'maps' are the brochures produced guiding visitors around a house, or attraction. These indicate the order in which the site should be seen and highlight important contents and what they signify. Other examples include the 1066 Country map and the brochures for the National Trust and English Heritage detailing their main sites (see Appendix A, pg. i).

Tourist maps such as these enable a particular type of touring to take place that Taylor (1994) argues is like dreaming. Although Taylor's dream refers to the way in which tourist photography encourages speculative reverie, his idea is applicable here because it highlights the importance of the imagination in interpreting maps of identity. As he illustrates, travelling '...is an imaginative act, an act of memory and reflection' (1994: 11). Moreover, the imagination plays an important part in helping to create a sense of nation within individuals as it provides the link between the past and the present. As Samuel (1989a: 1x) argues 'the idea of nationality ...belongs to the realm of the imaginary rather than - or as well as the real'. Individuals are thus able to imagine their links with the past and so 'feel' the foundations upon which their identity is based.

The relationship between imagination, emotion and nation is aptly illustrated by Ousby's (1990) discussion of the nineteenth century poets Wordsworth and Mackay. Ousby argues that their poems not only turned specific sites into tourist attractions, but also provided a text for interpreting them. Wordsworth's poems of the Lake District are thus described as literary 'calling cards' that:

> ...mark an attractive spot with the authority of the writer's name, painlessly convey a fragment of history or folklore which has its own mild interest, and briefly rouse the emotions - melodramatic, sentimental or pathetic - connected with the tale.....making it by far the easiest way for tourists to convince themselves that they were feeling appropriate or edifying emotions in the presence of a particular scene without necessarily spending much time actually looking at it. (1990: 187)

As tourist maps, guides and brochures act in a similar way. They not only highlight significant places, events and people, but they also indicate how tourists should react to them. The language used to describe sites explicitly informs visitors of the appropriate emotional response to what is being viewed - sorrow, elation, amazement, patriotism or nostalgia. In experiencing these emotions the tourist is assured that they, too, understand the significance of the site, because their response to it coincides with what the brochure or

guide lead them to expect. The following illustrates these sequence of events.

Figure 2 - Visitor Response Sequence

brochures highlight significance
and appropriate response

potential for communal
understanding

tourist recreates/
imitates expected
response

significance reinforced
and legitimated
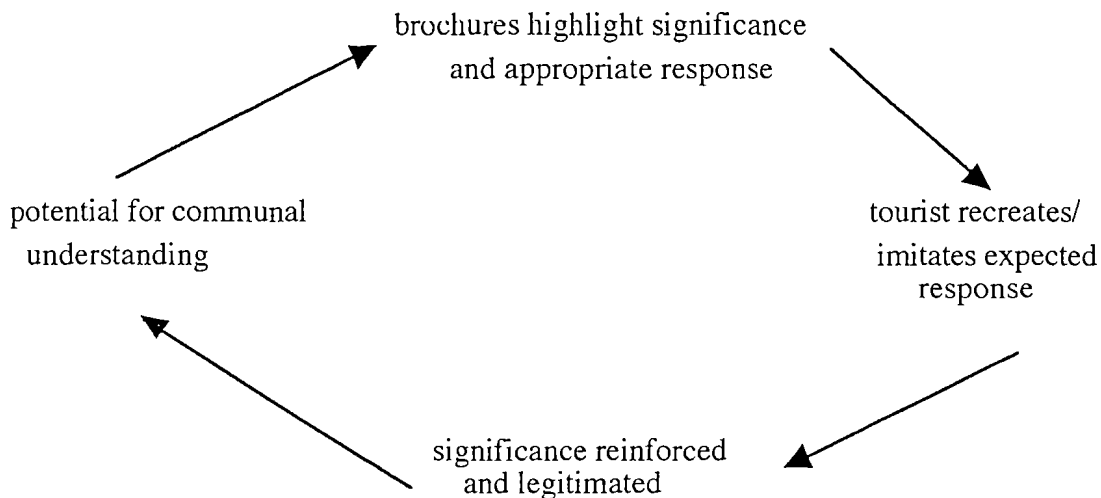
It should be noted here that tourists do not automatically accept, recreate and imitate what the brochure has led them to expect: '.....tourists can and often do feed back into this discourse. They have their own ways of constructing images from the information that is supplied to them by the tourism industry and other independent sources' (Dann, 1996b: 2). This 'feed back' may not always coincide with academic interpretations of what tourists do, or do not think and this has to be taken into account in any discussion of the link between tourist brochures and tourist responses. Furthermore, the development of a sense of communal understanding is suggested as a possibility, rather than as an inevitability, since not all tourists will react in the sameway. However, for those attractions that come within the heritage banner part of the reason for visiting is because they represent significant moments in the history of the nation. They have already been signposted as worthy of attention by being labelled 'historic' or 'heritage'. Their symbolic importance has been highlighted by the road signs directing people to '1066 Country'. As Ousby (1990: 180) further illustrates, 'the cultivated tourist convinced himself that he had experienced the distinctive atmosphere of the places he visited, or even come to know their essential character, by opening his volume of Wordsworth'. The heritage tourist can achieve the same level of awareness and understanding by following the maps of tourism.

In many ways, then, just as an Ordinance Survey map enables the reader to visualise in their mind, the journey to be made, the roads to be taken and the landmarks to look out for, so too do the maps of tourism. These, however, take the visitor down roads that lead to significant

landmarks in the history of the nation. Landmarks that highlight people, places, events and landscapes and the social, moral and economic climates in which they came to prominence. Thus, tourist maps are not just offering practical information on how to 'get there', nor are they merely a tool of visitor management, directing visitor flows around a site. They have another, equally important, role. They present the visitor with a topographical overview of landmarks in the history and development of the nation. In this way, the country, to borrow a phrase from Ousby (1990: 12), becomes known in a 'double sense'; as a touring landscape accessible via roads, signposts, and motorways, and as an interpretive landscape for explaining and experiencing the nation, its values and traditions. Thus, landmarks are presented as though their importance is almost taken-for-granted, as though it is already accepted that everyone agrees they are significant. This creates the potential for a sense of belonging and communal understanding to emerge, of what the nation represents, a shared national understanding about what is important and why. As Taylor (1994: 132) illustrates '...touring guides....address their readers as people 'in the know', people of like mind and sensibilities'. In so doing they enable Anderson's 'deep horizontal community' to become a reality. However, a shared national understanding is not meant to imply communal agreement about the rights or wrongs of the past. It is more an acceptance that what took place is significant in some way and part of the complex mix of elements that comprise the nation's identity.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the role of myths and symbols as vehicles of nation-building. It has examined their use by the tourism industry and argued that this has resulted in a tourism of nationalism, enabling the visitor to feel a sense of belonging and community. The myths and symbols of heritage tourism are primarily concerned with communicating nation-ness. They are able to achieve this in the language used to describe places and in the brochures and guides produced as information aids. These, it is argued, operate in a similar way to Ordinance Survey maps, providing directions to and around sites, as well as enabling links with the past to be generated within the visitor's imagination. Such tourist maps allow visitors to visualise a journey that takes them to significant aspects of the nation's past. These 'maps and moralities' depict not only the roads to be taken but also the codes of conduct and ways of behaving that the nation condones. Thus, certain sites and events are highlighted as examples of what the nation is all about, what it stands for, and certain people and actions are highlighted as exhibiting suitable aspects of the nation's character.

Such is the appeal of Chipping Campden. It conjures up memories of a period in British history deemed worthy of conservation and celebration. A pastoral idyll founded upon the primordial link between man and nature. It is the drive to preserve this myth that has resulted in the village being appropriated by and for the nation. In a similar way attractions like Warwick Castle and Stonehenge and events like the raising of the Mary Rose warship are places and events of such importance, such national significance, that they too are preserved for the national good. The values, the times and the traditions they are deemed to

uphold are part of a complex mix of fact and myth that has come to represent how significant groups of people want to view the nations past and its present. Groups such as the National Trust and English Heritage. Hence MacCannell's (1992: 1) comment that tourism is not merely an aggregate of commercial activities 'it is also an ideological framing of history, nature, and tradition; a framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own needs'.

Moreover, myths of a national ideal are the main stay of heritage tourism. They provide the basis upon which tourist attractions can be marketed, as their appeal to an heroic and majestic past is both strong and powerful. A nation advertised upon a myth-history of virtue, honour and chivalry, of fierce battles and the conquering of untamed seas is bound to be attractive to potential tourists. Such images and myths are employed because the advertisers believe they mean something to somebody. They are not plucked out of the air at random. If the myth of Shangri-la, or of an unchanged country village, or of a nation with a proud historical past did not create appealing images in the minds of the tourists, then many destinations and attractions would not survive. Furthermore, heritage tourism is specifically about preserving places as monuments to a national ideal. In appropriating places 'for the nation' the organisations involved are turning places into repositories of particular aspects of the nation's identity. By visiting these national repositories tourists can tap into the history, the traditions and the times they represent, they can re-charge the national battery. As Fees (1996: 138) illustrates 'they belong...to the 'us' of the nation, or indeed, of the world, and their meaning is to be there on call for when 'we' should want to come and appreciate them'. Heritage tourism is thus the ultimate nationalised industry, re-producing specific, limited and exclusive visions of nation-ness for consumption by 'the people'.

Furthermore, the psychological dynamics (Giddens, 1985) of the myths and symbols of nation-hood generate the type of sentiments and attitudes that underpin a sense of belonging and of self. These sentiments and attitudes are conjured up in the imagination of the visitor as they navigate their way through the landscape of the nation. The maps of tourism are navigational aids on this journey towards the sacred centres of nation-hood. They reveal what is important and how to 'get there' and in so doing enable individuals to understand and to experience aspects of their national identity. Moreover, Ousby argues that if we doubt the role of tourist maps in defining national identity:

> ...we need only remember what actually happened when the roar of the bombs.....became a reality in World War 11. Seeking to broaden their bombing campaign against military and strategic targets into an assault on English morale at a deeper level, the Germans launched the so-called 'Baedeker raids', directed at buildings and monuments which received a distinguished star in Baedeker's guidebook. (1990: 4)

In view of this it is now necessary to examine how the specific sites in question enable visitors to understand and experience their national identity. Through an analysis of the primary research undertaken at Hever Castle, Battle Abbey and Chartwell the concept of

'maps of identity' can be examined in more detail. This will involve a detailed review of the context and the significant historical aspects of each site, as well as a discussion of the interviews with, and the observations of, tourists and other relevant individuals. This analysis provides the primary focus for chapters six, seven and eight. However, prior to this chapter five will examine the methodology upon which the field work is based.

CHAPTER FIVE

Research Methods

Context

This chapter discusses the ethnographic research methods that underpin this work. Ethnography is a combination of participant observation supported by detailed field notes and revolves around a routine that monitors the daily life of the local community (see Malinowski, 1922; Rose, 1990). As such it '....bears a close resemblance to the routine ways in which people make sense of the world in everyday life' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983: 2). Information is obtained from a representative range of individuals, such as employees, members of particular groups or associations and in this instance, tourists. More specialised data is also obtained from 'key' sources. For example, government departments and local institutions, which in this case includes regional tourist boards. According to Nunez (1989) this ethnographic routine can also be applied to the study of tourism.

Tourism and Anthropology

Nash (1996) states that the first serious study of tourism by an anthropologist was that by Nunez of week-end tourism in a Mexican village, back in the 1960's. Since that time tourism has evolved from a frivolous activity into a serious business, both commercially and academically. Furthermore, the legitimation of tourism as a suitable topic for anthropological enquiry has grown steadily since Nunez's pioneering study (see Nash, 1981; Nash & Smith, 1991). This has resulted in the emergence of several key academic debates about the subject in both journal articles and text book form (Graburn, 1983; Crick, 1988; Selwyn, 1994; Nash, 1996).

According to Graburn (1983) the anthropology of tourism has concentrated on two main areas 1) the study of tourism and the nature of tourism itself and 2) the study of the social, cultural and economic impact of tourism on host societies and populations. With the relationship between cultural contact and cultural change being the primary focus for attention. Indeed, Valene Smith's seminal text *Hosts and Guests*, originally published in 1977, contains a variety of anthropological case studies concerning the impact of tourism on the host community.

Prior to this work one of the first major text books to deal with the question of tourism within the social sciences was Dean MacCannell's (1976) *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* . This set out to present a critique of tourism as a feature of modernity. This critique involved a new kind of ethnographic report, one that clearly demonstrated that ethnography could be redirected away from peasant societies and applied to the modern world. As MacCannell (1989: 5) states 'by following the tourists, we may be able to arrive

at a better understanding of ourselves'. To this end he undertook to study groups of tourists in Paris, to follow them around on their sightseeing trips, sometimes to join in, sometimes just to observe, keeping detailed notes of his experiences.

MacCannell is acknowledged as having made a significant contribution to the study of tourism. Although not without his critics at the time (see Schudson 1979) he was, along with Nunez, one of the first social scientists to apply anthropological research techniques to the field of tourism. While the process of participant observation within anthropology may at one time of concentrated on an 'expose' of the primitive, the work of MacCannell illustrates its relevance and applicability to the modern world. Indeed, ethnography and participant observation do not have to entail long periods of time living with another community. It all depends on the nature of the research topic and the amount of detail required. Taking a leaf out of MacCannell's book the focus of attention can be the tourists themselves, their patterns of behaviour, responses and interaction with both themselves and the local community. Furthermore, tourist behaviour does not only have to be studied in relation to the inhabitants of a destination it can also be viewed in terms of the actual attraction itself, such as a monument, natural scenic phenomenon, museums, historic sites and so on (see Light, 1996; McManus, 1987; Walter, 1996). This work draws together such research possibilities by examining the relationship between tourists and specific heritage attractions, so as to arrive at a better understanding of what MacCannell refers to above as 'ourselves'. Specifically in this case 'ourselves' as a nation and 'ourselves' as an identity.

The Research Methods

This work thus focuses on the cultural representation of nation-ness, the display of 'ourselves'. This involves an understanding of the symbolic meanings behind the practices and artefacts on display, which necessarily entails analysing the ways in which individuals both relate to and with such cultural representations. As Geertz (1973: 17) states 'behavior must be attended to, and with some exactness, because it is through the flow of behavior - or, more precisely, social action - that cultural forms find articulation'.

Indeed, as stated in the introduction, Geertz's (1973: 24) concept of culture is essentially a semiotic one, 'the whole point of a semiotic approach to culture is.....to aid us in gaining access to the conceptual world in which our subjects live....'. As such, a key feature of the research methods is the identification and analysis of the structures of signification inherent in the three sites under investigation, Battle Abbey, Hever Castle and Chartwell. These locations represent specific social settings within which individuals interact with themselves and with others. It is through the observation and recording of such interactions that the visitors 'conceptual world' can be accessed.

Accessing the conceptual world

While the participation in, and the recording of the social settings in which people live is a

key principle of ethnographic research, it is important not to lose sight of the need to remain objective throughout the period of investigation. Bearing this in mind triangulation, or multiple methods (Denzin, 1970), is necessary if reliable information is to be gathered for analysis. As Hammersley & Atkinson illustrate:

> ....data-source triangulation involves the comparison of data relating to the same phenomenon but deriving from different phases of the fieldwork.....This is very time consuming but, besides providing a validity check, it also gives added depth to the description of the social meanings involved in a setting. (1983: 198)

In addition to this Baszanger & Dodier (1997) have argued that a study becomes ethnographic when the researcher is careful to connect the facts that s/he observes with the specific features of the *backdrop* against which these facts occur. It is thus important not to ignore the general historic period in which each site is located as this will affect the analysis and interpretation of the findings. Bearing all these points in mind the following methods were employed:

1) the review and analysis of books, documents, guides and other relevant published and unpublished material relating to the three sites; some of this was obtained from the library of the Sussex Archaeological Society,

2) tape recorded interviews with key people associated with the sites, for example employees, managers, members of related associations. (See appendix B, pg. iv for a list of those interviewed; see appendix C pg. v for the interview themes),

3) participant, covert, observation of visitors on a number of different occasions with written notes being made of behaviour and conversations,

4) tape recorded interviews with a random selection of visitors at each site; every tenth person or group was approached. A total of 200 people were interviewed (see appendix D pg. ix for the visitor interview themes).

The total number of visitor interviews was based upon similar studies, such as that of Billig (1992) who interviewed one hundred and seventy-five people on their feelings about the British Royal Family. Here Billig (1992: 16) stated that his survey size represented, '.... a comparatively large sample for a qualitative study: i.e. a study which seeks to analyse the meanings of what people say, as opposed to analysing statistically the results from standard questionnaires'. Likewise, Ireland's (1990) study of visitor experiences at Land's End in Cornwall was based upon administered questionnaire interviews with two hundred people. Both these studies relied upon one research method, whilst this study was designed around four interdependent methods of data collection. This illicited a rich and varied amount of information, which enabled a more in-depth analysis to be carried out than would have been the case had fewer methods been employed.

The interviews with key people and tourists were based upon set themes that had emerged from the review and analysis stage. Thus, the same questions were not asked at each site. Moreover, the interviews with the tourists, and where appropriate with the key people, were conducted along the line of conversations. The intention here was to put people at their ease and so increase the possibility of obtaining information that may more readily indicate underlying feelings, assumptions and beliefs. Cohen provides an apt illustration of the way in which these interviews were conducted:

> the proper ethnographic interview is a conversation in which ethnographers risk the appearance of naivete and ignorance in order continually to satisfy themselves that they have understood what is being said...the conversations...are instruments...for stripping away the ballasts of expectation and assumption..... (1984: 226)

The primary research was started in the summer of 1995 and as this work has been undertaken on a part time basis there were restrictions in terms of when this took place and how long could be spent *in the field*. The final stage of the fieldwork was completed in April 1997 The following breakdown outlines the key stages of the research.

Stage one
The review and analysis of books, documents, guides and other relevant published and unpublished material relating to the three sites. Preliminary assessment of each site.

Stage two
The interviews with key people, tourists and the visitor observations.

While these are presented as separate stages there was obviously overlap between them in terms of the writing up of information and its preliminary analysis.

The only site where employee interviews did not take place was Hever Castle. This was at the express wish of the Managing Director who felt that staff were too busy and that such a process would interfere with and detract from their duties. The administrators of both Battle Abbey and Chartwell did, however, give their consent for the researcher to talk to the guides. This is an interesting issue as it highlights the different approaches adopted by the sites depending on whether, or not, they are privately owned. Thus the manager of Hever Castle felt under no duty, or obligation, to allow access to the site, whilst the National Trust and English Heritage considered otherwise.

The interviews with site employees took various forms, but all were in part naturalistic in that they took place *on the job*, so that people were not taken away from their duties for too long a period. All interviews with managers or administrators took place in their respective offices. As Battle Abbey is an outdoor site discussions with custodians were conducted in

porta-cabins or out in the open. Most interviews were carried out individually although one, between three custodians, took place during a tea break. At Chartwell the pattern was similar. Interviews were conducted inside the house either just prior to opening or in 'gaps' between visitors coming and going. A useful recording was also made of communal tea-break conversations in the staff rest area.

As far as the interviews with tourists are concerned these were undertaken according to the characteristics of each site. No interviews were carried out inside Chartwell or Hever Castle. This was for two reasons. Firstly, the respective managers did not wish visitors to be approached as this may have detracted from their visit, and secondly, it was felt that this would have affected researcher anonymity and compromised the covert observation of visitor behaviour. At Hever Castle visitor interviews were restricted to the area around the shops, restaurant and the Guthrie exhibition of model houses. However, this did not pose a problem as this area encompasses the main thoroughfare for visitors coming from and going to the castle and gardens.

Battle Abbey, however, is an outdoor site with what can be described as a migrant population of tourist visitors. The difficulties of sampling such a group of people was discussed by Ireland in his study of Land's End. Here Ireland (1990: 35) divided his site into four areas so as '...to replicate as far as possible, the exploratory behaviour of the visitor after leaving the car park'. The main difference between Battle Abbey and Land's End is that the 'migrant' visitors at Battle are guided around the site to a degree by the recorded tour on hand-held interpreters and by information boards located at various places around the site. This is not to imply that all visitors follow the same route, as the interpreters allow them to pick and choose what information they listen to and the sequence in which it is heard. Furthermore, there are two possible tours of the site, one around the main abbey ruins and one around the perimeter of the battle scene. This latter tour is a mile long and mostly across fields and around woods and as such is not usually taken by families with young children or the elderly. It is also less frequented during the autumn and winter months for obvious reasons. However, whichever tour is taken all visitors at some point pass closeby the stone marking the spot where King Harold is reputed to have fallen. Consequently, the two locations chosen for the visitor interviews included the area on and around this particular spot and outside the gatehouse exhibition, which leads to the shop and the exit.

A similar strategy was adopted at Chartwell where the visitor interviews were carried out in the gardens surrounding the house. Here two sites were selected: the area around the car park, adjoining the shop and restaurant, and the Terrace Lawn. This latter area is located just beyond the door by which visitors exit the house and leads into other parts of the garden and down towards Churchill's painting studio. The shop / restaurant area enabled access to those who were not intending to visit the house this time, but who were visiting the shop and/or the restaurant.

The sociologist Norman Denzin (1970) has stated that, in practice, the sociological enterprise of theory and research is far from an idealised process, immaculately conceived and elegantly executed. In reality concepts do not automatically generate operational definitions and theories do not fall into place once all the data are in. 'This is not the way research gets done. What typically occurs is a complex form of interaction between the demands subjects place upon observers and the actual research carried out' (Denzin, 1970: 315). This problem of rationalising theory and practice is somewhat inherent in the title of Hammersley and Atkinson's (1983) book *Ethnography: Principles in Practice* which illustrates that *doing* ethnography is not always as easy as reading about it. 'At first blush, the conduct of ethnography is deceptively simple: 'anyone can do it', apparently' (1983: 27). The seeming simplicity of ethnography is based upon the premise that because it consists of open-ended observation and description it cannot be pre-determined. However, Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) state that this does not eliminate the need for pre-fieldwork preparation, nor does it mean that researcher behaviour in the field need be haphazard. What is needed, they argue, is a research design that is reflexive, that allows the researcher to review progress and to assess how what has been learnt may affect the future direction of the research. Thus, the interview with David Boler, the UK President of the International Churchill Society, helped to inform the questions asked of the guides at Chartwell. Similarly, some guides were interviewed more than once if it was felt that clarification was required, or that further follow-up questions were needed. Finally, the researcher's own interviews with, and observations of visitors could be utilised in the interviews with site employees.

A reflexive process thus requires the researcher to be an active listener and to respond to both the answers and the behaviour of the interviewee. It may also lead the researcher to change the questions asked and their sequence depending upon the situation:

> ethnographers do not decide beforehand the questions they want to ask, though they may enter the interview with a list of issues to be covered. Nor do ethnographers restrict themselves to a single mode of questioning. On different occasions, or at different points in the same interview, the approach may be non-directive or directive depending on the function that the questioning is intended to serve. (Hammersley & Atkinson,1983: 113)

Thus, open ended questions / phrases were used, such as 'what do you think / feel about...?' , 'what particular memories will you take home with you today?', and 'can you explain what you mean by that comment?'. Likewise, some issues that had arisen out of the analysis of the published and unpublished material sometimes led to specific, directive, questions being asked. While these can be leading the important point:

> ....is to assess the likely direction of bias that the question will introduce....a useful

tactic is to make the question 'lead' in a direction opposite to that in which one expects the answer to lie and thus avoid the danger of simply misleadingly confirming one's expectations. (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983: 115-6)

Similarly, Kemp & Ellen (1984: 234) argue that 'if conversation disappears it can sometimes be rekindled by indicating that you know something already, by proffering a different opinion or by providing a calculatedly wrong assertion'.

At times such tactics were used, for example, 'Churchill is / is not really a relevant / important figure today'. At other times specific directive questions were used to test out people's reactions to certain key phrases that kept re-appearing in the material about the three sites. That the Battle of Hastings was the origin of a nation, that Hever Castle was a treasured part of Britain's heritage and that Churchill was regarded as the greatest living Englishman. In order to examine people's reactions to these statements, whether they agreed with them or not and why, the following questions were sometimes used. 'Do you think Churchill is the greatest living Englishman?', 'Do you think Hever Castle is a treasured part of Britain's heritage?' and 'why is 1066 referred to as the origin of a nation?'. Such questions enabled visitors to agree or disagree and to give their reasons for doing so. Thus, not all visitors agreed that Churchill was 'great' or that Hever Castle was anymore treasured than anywhere else.

In terms of the visitor interviews care had to be exercised with regard to bias so that, as far as possible, a representative cross-section of visitors were interviewed. This was addressed by approaching every tenth person or group. As all the conversations were recorded the tapes had to be transcribed. This was not only a lengthy process but also a very complex one. The conversations with visitors displayed the lack of logical 'flow' that characterises natural speech, as opposed to that which indicates a well prepared and thought out response. Moreover, visitors tended to 'talk-over' each other, so that two conversations could be taking place at the same time. This often resulted in sentences that just 'ended', followed by another persons input that may not have related to what had gone before. Such 'difficulties' did, however, tend to add value to the analysis, rather more than they detracted from it. This is primarily because, when confronted with questions they have not expected or prepared for, people tend to respond more instinctively than they may do if given advanced warning of what is to come. In such situations the responses are arguably more 'honest' as the visitor does not have time to think of what might be considered a 'suitable' reply, or of what the researcher may be 'looking for' (see Billig, 1992).

With both the visitor and the employee interviews care was also required with regard to 'leading' questions. Thus, when introducing herself to tourists the researcher would not specify the exact nature of her research as this would have enabled them, even if unconsciously, to perhaps 'prepare' for the questions to follow. However, during the course of the interview the purpose of the research frequently became obvious and techniques employed to deal with this included that previously indicated by Cohen, namely feigning

naivete and ignorance about the meaning behind a particular statement. This technique was also employed when talking to the site employees and to such as Louise Dando , the Regional Marketing manager for English Heritage, and David Boler.

In terms of presentation, the extracts from the interviews and observations are reproduced directly from the transcripts. While the conventions associated with Conversation and Discourse Analysis were reviewed (see Heritage, 1997; Potter, 1997) it was felt that these would not have added significantly to the analysis. Here, as with Billig's (1992) study, the analytic focus was upon what was said and its general context, rather than upon the minutiae of the interaction itself. Overall, then, grammatical ambiguities were amended, for example punctuation was added to aid clarity. Whilst minor hesitations were omitted, except when central to the analysis, for example pauses indicating a persons inability to answer a question or expand upon a point they had made. In addition comments by different visitors are indicated, in the text, by means of underlining each set of separate comments.

As regards the visitor observations these were conducted on a covert, participatory basis whereby the researcher observed visitor behaviour and noted down comments that were made by them as they went around each site. While such a process could be seen as an example of non-participatory observation it was felt that this did not accurately depict what actually occurred. Despite the fact that the researcher was not taking part in formalised guided tours she was participating in the experience of touring the sites and, indeed, had to be seen to do so in order to avoid detection. Consequently, she was also aware of her own reactions to the sites, not merely those of the visitors. Thus, the research was neither wholly participatory, nor wholly non-participatory.

Although covert research is an accepted part of ethnography there is always a need to address the ethical concerns that surround it. Indeed, some authors have stated that this method is the least satisfactory on ethical grounds because it can court accusations of 'spying' (Clark et al, 1998). However, there are alternative views:

> I take the stance that justifies "unannounced", disguised research methods. If we are not permitted to study things that people wish hidden then sociology will remain a science of public conduct based on evidence and data given us by volunteers, a condition that runs counter to the dominant ethos of the scientific-intellectual enterprise. (Denzin, 1970: x111)

Indeed, almost every research method has its own attendant problems and difficulties that have to be considered and worked through. For example, the 'open' ethnographer runs the risk of affecting or changing the behaviour of those s/he observes. Similarly, interviews and questionnaires create as well as measure attitudes (Denzin, 1970). Likewise, Mars & Nicod's (1984) study of the occupational culture of waiting staff entailed Nicod becoming a covert participant observer, accepted as part of the group and thus privy to its cultural codes. This, however, led to him becoming involved in acts of petty theft so as not to 'blow' his

cover (1984: 11). Similarly, Dan Rose's covert study of black-American street life entailed him living with the community for two years and taking a job as a car mechanic. During this time he was challenged to a fight and had to 'pay the consequences' for trying to outhustle someone (Rose, 1990: 11).

It is clear, therefore, that the characteristics, requirements and implications of a particular method cannot be ignored, whether these are ethical in nature or merely practical. As regards this study the researcher defined her ethical boundaries on the basis of Denzin's comment:

> I suggest that the sociologist has the right to make observations on anyone in any setting to the extent that he does so for scientific purposes. The goal of any science is not harm to subjects, but the advancement of knowledge. Any method that moves us towards that goal without necessary harm to subjects, is plausible.   (1970: 333)

The ethical boundaries can be summarised as follows:

1. At all times the researcher had to be sensitive to what was going on around her and to the reasons why people were visiting the sites in the first place.

2. Maintaining a discrete distance from those being observed at any one time was thus felt to be important. Although this had to be balanced with the need to 'hear' what was being said.

3. Ensuring that the notes made of visitor comments and behaviour were utilised solely in accordance with academic principles. T87he ultimate aim being the advancement of knowledge not an expose of privileged information.

4. It was felt that written notes were acceptable ethically, but that the covert tape-recording of comments was not; even though this meant that not everything could be written down.

Covert tape-recording is, however, a method that has been employed by researchers. For example, in McManus' (1987) study of communication with and between visitors at the British museum. Here a microphone was placed near the museum exhibits so that only conversations relating to the exhibits would be recorded. Such a procedure would not have been practical here due to the complexity of each site. In the initial stages of the research the use of a tape-recorder was tested for its applicability and some conversations were recorded. However, on balance this method was not taken further for two reasons. Firstly, carrying a tape-recorder entailed the researcher having to hold it within sight of the visitors, which made the collection of material almost impossible. Secondly, the researcher did not herself 'feel comfortable' with such tactics, considering them to be an intrusion upon the personal

space of the visitors. Although it is accepted that 'listening in' can also be seen as an invasion of privacy this was still considered less intrusive. Nevertheless, the manual recording of comments and observations, whilst more acceptable ethically, posed certain practical difficulties. These can be listed as follows:

1. Objectivity / bias

As already noted the researcher was participating in the experience of touring the sites and was thus aware of her own reactions, emotions and thoughts. However, Rose (1990) stresses that the author's voice and emotional reactions should not be excluded, as they too require consideration and analysis. Likewise, Hammersley and Atkinson have also stated that the researcher's own personal reactions can be used to alert him/her to possible issues:

> there is...a constant interplay between the personal and the emotional on the one hand, and the intellectual on the other. Private response is thus transformed, by reflexive analysis, into potential public knowledge....the carefully made fieldwork journal will enable the conscientious ethnographer painstakingly to retrace and explicate the development of the research design, the emergence of analytic themes, and the systematic collection of data. (1983:166-7)

Nevertheless, objectivity had to be constantly monitored in terms of what was being recorded so that it did not merely 'replicate' the researcher's own experiences. Being aware of the need to remain detached and objective resulted in a continual questioning of the process by the researcher. As Mars and Nicod (1984:14-15) argue those who adopt a covert stance are often more rigorous as regards the collection and ethical use of material. This is because they have a greater obligation to meet considerations such as objectivity, trust and privacy.

2. Selectivity

It was impossible to follow every visitor or group of visitors, or to record every conversation. Likewise, it was not possible to ask visitors their age an 'educated' guess had to made. Nevertheless, the issue of selectivity had to be addressed. This entailed a constant review of who was being observed with regard to age and gender. This was particularly important at Chartwell where the majority of visitors are aged 45 plus. Here, a conscious decision was made to observe not only this age range, but also those who appeared to be younger, or who were obviously younger (ie children).

3. Not getting noticed

This entailed the adoption of various strategies, for example the use of a small notebook that could be 'hidden' beneath the main guide book. When comments were being noted down the researcher would often ensure she was looking 'elsewhere' rather than directly at those who

were being observed. This 'elsewhere' could be at particular artefacts, out of a nearby window, or by appearing to be writing down the details from an information board. It was also necessary not to appear to be 'following' particular people / groups. Indeed, two visitors at Chartwell, on being approached later in the grounds, did state that they had noticed the researcher in the house and had wondered what she was doing.

4. Space to write

This was a recurrent problem at both Hever Castle and Chartwell but for slightly different reasons. As Hever is not only a very popular attraction, but also one that is open on a seasonal basis, the observations took place during the busy summer period. The rooms were thus very congested and the researcher often had to write in small spaces crammed against walls or windows. While at Chartwell the rooms are not overly large, being more the proportion of an 'ordinary' house. When coupled with the use of ropes to control visitor flows this often left little space in which to write.

5. Writing up notes

As previously stated it was impossible to follow everyone and to write down everything that was said. As the researcher did not possess the ability to write shorthand she devised her own method of 'fast' note taking combined with frequent short periods 'of rest' to ensure legibility later on. It was therefore important to write-up such notes quite soon afterwards and this was done either on the same day, or by the following day at the latest.

6. The need to write / listen / think /observe all at once

This took some practice to achieve and in reality it was always a compromise between what was possible given the practical constraints listed above. Despite this, natural speech is not usually a sustained monologue, but rather a few words here, then perhaps a pause while individuals read from guide books / information boards or just study a particular room / ornament, before more words are spoken. Likewise, as stated with the visitor interviews, people do not always converse logically and their expressions often resemble 'thoughts out loud' rather than actual conversations. Consequently, comments may appear disjointed, conversations can end abruptly and even move to different and often seemingly unrelated topics. So although covertly observed conversations can never be recorded in total, verbatim comments and responses were certainly possible.

While all these factors highlight the difficulties inherent in research that is both covert and semi-participatory, in some sense they are also advantageous. Since they highlight the naturalistic setting in which the research is taking place. This is not a controlled laboratory experiment, but rather a sustained investigation into the activities, motivations and feelings of individuals within specific social settings. As Geertz illustrates:

...ethnography is thick description....Doing ethnography is like trying to read (in the sense of "construct a reading of") a manuscript - foreign, faded, full of ellipses, incoherencies, suspicious emendations, and tendentious commentaries, but written not in conventionalized graphs of sound but in transient examples of shaped behaviour. (1973: 9-10)

Conclusion

The above discussion has outlined the methodological principles underpinning this work, the basis of what Geertz (1973) refers to above as 'thick description'. It has addressed some of the problems inherent in qualitative research of this kind, such as ethical dilemmas, and bias. It has also considered the practical limitations of the methods employed. In the light of this discussion it is now time to move on to the analysis and interpretation of the fieldwork which is presented in the following three chapters. Each chapter is concerned with analysing one of the sites and each is thus organised into two sections: section one presents a general examination of the site in question, including an analysis of relevant historical information, together with written material such as books, brochures and guides. The second section presents an analysis of the interviews and observations carried out at each site. It is through these analyses of the individuals' conceptual world that the underlying feelings and sentiments about who 'I' am, where and how 'I' belong, can be both accessed, interpreted and, hopefully, understood. As Geertz (1973: 82) again illustrates, 'in order to make up our minds we must know how we feel about things; and to know how we feel about things we need the public images of sentiment that only ritual, myth, and art can provide'. Or in this instance, the ritual that is tourism.

CHAPTER SIX

Section One

Battle Abbey: historical issues and tourist context

The Context

This section examines the main historical issues and themes surrounding Battle Abbey together with relevant aspects of the primary research. It provides both a framework and a focus for section two, the analysis of the observations and interviews with visitors and custodians.

Battle, as a town, did not exist at the time of the conquest. It was a small village or area known as Epiton and was not named 'Battle' until much later, when the construction of the abbey was underway. The battle between the Saxon King Harold and the Norman Duke William of Normandy, was fought on the 14th October 1066 and was the last successful invasion of the British Isles. As such, it is often referred to as '..perhaps the most famous battle in English history...' (Kaye-Smith, 1953: 132). The Battle of Hastings not only represents the last time England was invaded it has also resulted in the date of 1066 becoming arguably one of the most well known in English history '...for some people, in fact, it may be the only date they know' (Parker, 1996: 1). The battle was fought, not at Hastings, but on the verges of the Weald in fields on and surrounding Senlac Heath. Furthermore, the Normans differed in two vital respects from earlier conquerors such as the Vikings and the Danes. Firstly, their success was more complete and secondly, they had more to offer in terms of a new political vision (Loyn, 1991: 326; 334).

The ruins of Battle Abbey (which stand upon the actual battlefields) were 'saved' for the British nation in 1976 by a combination of donations from a group of wealthy Americans and the Department of the Environment. At the time the price of £690,000 was considered more than it was worth on a strictly agricultural or even commercial basis (Hanson, 1976: 123). But Battle Abbey is not merely a 573 acre farming estate it is, according to Phillips (1989), the 'origin of a nation' because of the changes that were brought in as a result of William's victory. Moreover, the ability of this date to remain 'fixed' in people's minds and its frequent association with the 'origin' of the nation are highly significant points. An 'invasion' brings with it foreign people, foreign ways and foreign beliefs. In other words foreign interference in, and adulteration of, a particular way of life. The lack of any subsequent invasions enables the idea of a continuous, unbroken tradition to emerge. It is this 'tradition' that underpins many facets of contemporary life, from the legitimation of an hereditary monarchy, to the organisation of the land and even heritage tourism.

Battle and English history

The importance of the Battle of Hastings to the history of Sussex, of England and of Great Britain is emphasised by all of the writers, texts and brochures consulted. Indeed, Whithead (1929: 79) states that the Norman Conquest swept Sussex into the mainstream of European development. Prior to that it had been a mere Saxon 'backwater'. Furthermore, Brown (1973) asserts that the more one moves forward from 1066 the more the year appears, in perspective, as a watershed in English history. From then on the position of king was no longer that of a ruler of separate warring factions but that of owner and ruler of all the *lands* as well. In other words the king became the greatest feudal lord of all (Brown, 1973: 92).

The Norman Conquest took the main political, social and economic structures of Anglo-Saxon England and revolutionised them. The basic institutions still existed, but for all intents and purposes the superstructure of Norman England was now undeniably feudal (Loyn, 1991: 327). All the land in the kingdom belonged to William, as the king, but parts of this land could be held by a ruling class of lords and barons, or by the church. However, such holders of the land had to swear loyalty to the king and be prepared to perform certain services, the main one of which was the provision of military support:

> then in his turn the holder would grant smaller portions of his fief to sub-tenants for the same consideration, and those in turn might subdivide their sub-thiefs, and so on..... until was reached the inarticulate mass of the people, the villeins, who owned nothing, but toiled as slaves. (Kaye-Smith, 1953: 136)

The Norman Conquest thus resulted in a feudal society dominated by a secular ruling class of knights who were tied to a land or a prince in what Brown (1973: 32) refers to as 'vassalic commendation'. This in turn led to the increase in importance of the castle fortification and of the role of knights, knighthood and chivalry (Brown, 1973: 32). These changes took almost immediate effect and caused the near total replacement of the Old English landlord and land owning class by a new one from northern France. The Normans divided Sussex into six north-south strips, or 'rapes', (for administrative purposes) with each based around a town of importance: Chichester, Arundel, Bramber, Lewes, Pevensey and Hastings. However, far from 'inventing' this system they were, according to Belloc (1936: 85), merely formalising boundaries that had previously been based on '...the vague, local feeling of the countryside...the main divisions were inherited...from the older and semi barbaric state of things'. It is thus apparent that the Conquest not only introduced totally new ways of organising things, but that it also built on systems, however arbitrary, that were already in existence. In this respect it seems appropriate to be cautious about attributing every advancement made during this time solely to the influence of the Norman Conquest.

Brown (1973) for instance, argues that it is difficult to be certain that a form of feudalism was not in place *before* the Norman Conquest. Likewise, Wood (1986: 13) maintains that

certain of the fundamental traits of English culture such as marriage rites, property and inheritance customs and some sense of English unity were already in existence. The question then becomes how much did the English contribute and how much did the Normans, to changes in the English forms of government and social life that followed the Conquest. Indeed, Parker (1996) states that during the eleventh century the Kingdom of England was civilised to a degree already. There was a reliable, national silver coinage, the many kings made general laws and dispensed justice and there was a system of local government based on customary law and popular consent. Furthermore, there were procedures for raising armies, fleets and national taxes (Parker, 1996: 4). Nevertheless, the consensus of opinion among the scholars consulted is that the Battle of Hastings represents a 'watershed' in English history precisely because it revolutionised this idea of government by popular consent and the rule of multiple kingship. Moreover, the wars and conflicts of later centuries '...may be longer and larger and grimmer, but they did not destroy the integrity of the land to the same extent...' (Kaye-Smith, 1953: 135). The battle of 1066 was, therefore, a decisive step in the evolution of the English *as a nation*. 'Previously, England had been no more than a geographical expression, a territory divided into warring principalities. After 1066, the nation-state was an emerging reality. This was the largely accidental achievement of William the Conqueror' (Parker, 1996: 1).

The Birth of a Nation

This new nation-state based on a feudal system of land tenure under the ultimate control of one king provided the basis for the way in which the country is governed today. As Belloc (1936: 80) states the disorders of the church were reformed, a centralised and efficient government was introduced, buildings arose on a new scale and the 'history of the England that we know began'. The social hierarchy that had existed was also destroyed, lands and property were confiscated and given to the Normans who had fought with William. A new social order emerged based on this systematic transfer of land from Saxon to Norman and by the end of William's reign there were virtually no Saxons left among the major landholders of the Kingdom (see Douglas, 1964; Loyn, 1991).

According to Loyn (1991) the Conquest not only changed the laws and the social customs, it also brought about a major social revolution in the upper classes of society through the introduction of the French language. This 'new' language became the language of the Court, the aristocracy and the upper clerical class, whilst English remained as the language of the common people. Government business that had hitherto been conducted in English was now transacted in Latin. Anglo-Saxon English was thus relegated to an inferior position, as both Latin and French held sway over the cultural and political life of the country (Loyn, 1991: 328-9). Indeed, vestiges of Norman French still exist in the Weald to this day. For example, the towns of Herstmonceaux and Hurstpierpoint. As a result Kaye-Smith (1953: 136-7) argues that, 'the existence side by side for so many years of these two languages has had the result...(of)...making our tongue almost the richest in the world. So much we owe to our conquerors'.

Moreover, Alan Lam, a custodian at Battle Abbey, whilst agreeing that the contemporary English language stems from the Norman invasion points to a more fundamental change brought about by the Conquest. This concerns the basic organisation of daily life '...the way we are today in Britain is...to a large extent determined by that event, that one day 9 to 5 event (o'clock). Some even say that the tradition of 9 to 5 came from there....they literally started the battle from 9 o'clock till sunset - and sunset in October 14th is about 5, 9 to 5' (taped conversation, see appendix C pg. v).

Alan Lam also states that the very concept of Englishness grew out of the changes wrought by the Battle. Gradually the Normans intermarried with the Saxons and over the following two centuries the line between Norman and Saxon became blurred '..their descendants....ceased to call themselves Normans, they call themselves English, not Saxon but English'. Such a view is further supported by Bryant (1953: 86) who states that prior to the Conquest there was no sense of nationhood, individuals thought of themselves as a 'Kentish man' or a 'Northumbrian' but not as an 'Englishman'. Furthermore, this Norman assimilation was extremely effective '...within a hundred and twenty years the very concept of Norman disappeared...we're English and that's it and they did it so well' (Alan Lam). Parker (1996) supports these views but argues that far from converting English society to a Norman model the Norman colonists assumed English roles. In this way the Normans introduced the forerunner of the class system whereby the Normans ruled and 'the natives manned a 'service' class, in the state and church...as soldiers, clerks, jurymen....and so forth' (Parker, 1996: 24). This new social order, described by Bryant (1953: 166) as 'a warrior aristocracy', gave the English monarchy a power enjoyed in no other European state, '...he made England what it had been a century before - the most united and therefore strongest State in Christendom' (pg. 168).

The above comment highlights a further impact of the Norman Conquest, the extent to which William opened up the Kingdom to the influence of Latin Europe, culturally, socially and religiously. In his biography of *William the Conqueror* Douglas (1964) argues that the Norman Conquest effectively changed the balance of power within Europe because it linked England with continental Europe rather than with Scandinavia. Prior to the Conquest England's political affiliations had been more closely aligned to Scandinavia through the influence of the Danes. However, William's conquest of a great kingdom resulted in the political regrouping of north-western Europe whereby France (and later Italy) rather than Scandinavia took centre stage. As Douglas illustrates:

> They assisted the papacy to rise to a new position of political dominance...They contributed also to a radical modification of the relations between eastern and western Europe...The Normans by linking England more straightly to Latin Europe helped what may be called the Romance-speaking peoples to achieve that dominance in western culture which they exercised during the twelfth-century renaissance ....This transference of power and influence was a prime factor in the making of Europe...and the Norman contribution to it.....was undoubtedly considerable.
>
> (1964: 7)

This mingling of French and Saxon heritages, which so affected the evolution of the English nation, is today commemorated in a plaque set into the South Wall of the abbey church, which reads: 'This stone has been set in this place to commemorate the fusion of the English and Norman peoples which resulted from the great battle fought here in 1066'.

The magazine *Country Life* offers its own mild criticism of the above, by admonishing the nation's seeming lack of interest in its own history, '....it was even left to the French to pay for the cost of erecting the monument...which is an indication of how reluctant we have always been to glorify our defeat' (Hanson, 1976: 123). Furthermore, the changes wrought by the battle have not always been universally welcomed. In the nineteenth century Rouse (1825 : 84) wrote of 'the disastrous issue of this battle' and referred to William as the 'grim tyrant' who subjected England to an 'iron reign' (pg. 87). Likewise, Bryant (1953: 168) describes the aftermath of the Conquest as being '....like some drastic operation carried out on the body of a prostrate nation without anaesthetic'. However, Alan Lam argues that if it were not for William the Conqueror '..I personally don't think there would be a British Empire...'. His argument is based on the differing characteristics of the Saxons and the Normans, whereby the Saxons are the product of an isolated county and the Normans a product of a flourishing trading community:

> ...the same people ruled England until today and they went on and conquered the rest of the world. While the Saxons were rather sort of like land based, peace loving people...somehow they didn't have what it takes to conquer the world... they were quite happy to be where they are. (Alan Lam)

This view of the Saxons as a land-loving people and of the Normans as warriors and traders highlights the characteristics that, over the centuries, gradually intermingled until the distinction between Saxon and Norman was no longer apparent. However, although the line between the two peoples may have blurred, the events of 1066 are kept very much to the fore by the existence of physical remains such as the Bayeux Tapestry and the Domesday Book. In fact the latter remains one of the major sources of information about the Medieval Age in general and about the Norman Conquest in particular (see Wood, 1986).

The Founding of Battle Abbey

The main basis for William's form of government after the Conquest was that of monastic rule. He not only founded the Abbey at Battle to commemorate his victory over Harold he went on to build many more throughout the country. Alan Lam states that William used the monasteries as a tool, an instrument to rule the English way of life. By organising the economic and social life of people around a central point the king was able to bring together groups of people, who had previously been living in a variety of disparate places, under one system of management. Again the basis of feudal rule:

...he started by building a monastery here (Battle), start a community here and peopled the monastery with Normans only...and then William gave the monastery for power, by giving the lands within one mile radius, to the abbots.....he gave the abbot a seat in the House of Lords, which he has direct influence over...and then the abbot rules the monastery full of Normans, who in turn ruled the community that will spring up around. (Alan Lam)

The point at which Duke William vowed to build an abbey on the battlefields, is a matter open to debate. Authors such as, Lower (1853), Turner (1865), Donne (1948) and Parker (1996) write of the vow being made immediately before or just after the battle. However, English Heritage maintain that the vow was probably made some years afterwards, around 1070. In that year William was officially re-crowned by Papal legates '..and papal authorities imposed heavy penances...for the bloodshed of the invasion and the subsequent pacification of England' (English Heritage, 1993: 6). Which ever version is correct is not in itself important. It is the economic and social changes that monastic life introduced that are of more concern here as they further reflect the impact of the Conquest on the evolution of the nation. As Bryant illustrates:

They were the centres and creators of civilisation, and the principal meeting places of learned men. Our schools, universities and charitable foundations have all grown out of their rules and ordered life......such institutions were teachers and exemplars, not only of learning and piety, but of the arts and graces of life. (1953: 208)

Prior to the Conquest religious life was a fairly chaotic affair but the Benedictine monks brought with them a more routine, ordered existence. Benedictine life revolved around the 'horarium', a daily timetable governed by the seasons and their changing daylight hours (English Heritage, 1993). Reading, writing and the arts were introduced and occasionally gifted locals were 'raised by monkish scholarship' (Phillips, 1989: 29). This transformation of life based on the strictures of the monastic order represented, for most people, a new found sense of security in an often troubled and unruly world (English Heritage, 1993: 8). Furthermore, the monks, with their Latin speech and learning became an important means of communicating cultured ideas between one country and another and between successive generations (Bryant, 1953: 75). Monastic life thus formalised a previously disorganised way of life and in so doing was perhaps the forerunner of the type of state education that is taken for granted today.

From Religious House to Country Estate

Battle Abbey began its life as a Benedictine monastery and survived as such until the dissolution of the monasteries during the reign of Henry V111. Its evolution very much reflected the religious upheavals of the times, which Kaye-Smith (1953: 175) has referred to as 'sharp swings from side to side'. With the first notable change occurring during the Reformation in the sixteenth century. Lightfoot (1862) reviewed The Records of

Hawkhurst Church 1515-1714 which detailed some of the changes that took place during this time. He describes how the Catholic faith was effectively 'outlawed' during the time of Edward V1 and that the foremost instigator of this was Sir Thomas Cranmer, who '...exhorted the clergy "to throw out all the Popish trash which has not yet been cast out"......all images should be taken down...." removed and destroyed all images, shrines, and monuments of feigned miracles, idolatry, and superstition..." (Lightfoot, 1862: 56n-57n).

After the dissolution, Henry V111 gave the Abbey to a friend, Sir Anthony Browne, and from then on it ceased to be a monastery but instead became a country estate, a private residence. However, under Queen Mary the estate's religious affiliation returned to one of staunch Catholicism. It remained so even under the rather less iconoclastic Reformation of Queen Elizabeth 1, when Sir Anthony Brown's son made it a centre of Catholicism (see Lightfoot, 1862; English Heritage, 1993).

The dissolution of the monasteries caused the physical break up of Battle Abbey. Sir Anthony Browne demolished the church, chapter house and part of the cloisters and adapted the west range into a private residence. After the first World War the west range was leased to Battle Abbey School, who still occupy the site. The estate remained in the Browne family until 1715 when it was sold to Sir Thomas Webster. Apart from a period of about fifty years, when the Duke and Duchess of Cleveland owned the property, it remained in the Webster family until acquired by the government in 1976. Since that time Battle Abbey has grown into a 'flagship' tourist site under the management of English Heritage.

From Country Estate to Tourist Attraction

As Battle is the site of the 1066 conflict then it does have a special significance within the area and tourists to Battle Abbey have been coming for many hundreds of years. Accounts of visits to Battle are fairly well documented in the Sussex Archaeological Society library at Lewes. As far back as the eighteenth century travel journals, or diaries, were kept by the likes of William Cobbett and Daniel Defoe. More general travel books of places to see and things to do, were also published at this time. One book, entitled *A Practical Guide to the Watering and Sea Bathing Places* recommends a visit to Battle Abbey '...the interesting remains of *Battle Abbey*, with its grounds, now in the possession of the Webster family, should be inspected by every visitor to Hastings' (Anon,1807: 34).

Every summer for twelve years the Honourable John Byng, a country gentleman, spent his time travelling to various counties in England. His journals of 1781-1792 provide a day to day account of his sightseeing travels, his feelings and his opinions. His opinion of Battle Abbey, which at that time was a country estate, does not accord with the view expressed above. 'The gateway is of gloomy authority, and the abbey commands pleasing views, but there is no care, no taste, no cleanliness! All the habitable part of the building is meanly and modernly glazed' (quoted in Souden, 1991: 77).

Such a view does not bode well for the future of the abbey as a tourist attraction. However,

Cobbett was more disposed to like the town stating 'I was really at home here' (Phillips, 1989: 47). The interior of the abbey, is described by Byng, rather in the manner of a latter day Paul Theroux:

> we were permitted...to run into the house...and saw...a greater curiosity, the family butler, Mr Ingall, 103 years of age, frequently in a passion, gives warnings and threats to quit his place....our guide said, 'that Sir Godfrey Webster longs to succeed the old lady, that he may entirely pull it all down'. And then there would be an end to Battle Abbey!!! (Quoted in Souden, 1991: 78)

Although the actual physical attraction was not appreciated by Byng the significance of the events associated with it is what most early commentators remarked upon. Turner (1865: 1) described the monastery as unquestionably one of the most interesting and important in Sussex. Furthermore, like any good tourist attraction, Battle has its own stock of legends associated with it: 'there is a strange legend in the neighbourhood that in very wet weather the surrounding countryside oozes human blood' (Donne, 1948: 303) and that this blood is from those who fell during the battle. Donne does go on to point out, however, that Battle is an iron bearing centre and that when it rains the ore causes streams and pools to become red with rust, rather than blood, 'but as I say the legend still persists' (pg. 303).

The language used by some writers to describe Battle often provides a good example of what Corner and Harvey (1991b: 73) have referred to as the 'pretentiously reverential'. Arthur Mee's book *Sussex* provides the following example:

> BATTLE. It is not possible to stand in this place unmoved. We can walk through a noble gateway, across a lawn in front of a 13th-century house, and find ourself at the place where Saxon England died...is there a place more beautiful, a spot more thrilling, a piece of history more impressive. (1937: 29)

Today, visitors to Battle Abbey come for many reasons, some just to enjoy an interesting day out and some because of the historical connections with 1066. However, all the custodians spoken to at the Abbey felt that only a tiny minority of visitors were actually aware of the historical significance of the site. Carol Goddard, the Head Custodian, puts visitor attendance figures at between 140,000 and 150,000 a year, of which approximately 90,000 will come in the Summer months and 50,000 in the Winter (taped conversation, see appendix C pg. vi). Income from admissions and the retail shop stands at around £400,000 per year (English Heritage, 1997a). Typical visitor profiles are given by Carol Goddard as:

> during the school holidays it's the bucket and spade brigade and you do get some foreign people because we're next door to Hastings. We get masses of foreign students, we get a terrific load of school children because we're on the junior curriculum...and lots and lots of Americans, Australians, New Zealanders, French.....the rest of the year it's some British....ones.

Louise Dando, the Regional Marketing Manager for English Heritage, explains that Battle Abbey is considered a 'flagship site', together with other sites such as Stonehenge, Dover Castle and Osbourne House. Flagship sites are seen:

> ...as sites that people will think of going (to) anyhow.....for a foreign visitor it's one of the things that they're going to tick off to go and see if they know the country reasonably well.....you're likely to think that one day we ought to go down and see where the Battle of Hastings is so that's why it becomes a flagship. Same as Dover Castle, it's a big enough site by itself to attract attention without any reference to English Heritage. (taped conversation, see appendix C pg. vi)

Recently the marketing of Battle Abbey has changed so as to emphasise the battle, rather more than the actual abbey. This was introduced because of evidence to suggest that some visitors were confused over the role of the abbey, its relationship to the battle and why the Battle of Hastings was not fought at Hastings, as the name implies.

> our image was based on Battle Abbey ruins and the Battlefield of Hastings and a lot of people are confused by that because they just don't understand. So the image is being changed....so that it's the Battle of Hastings and then you come to Battle Abbey....they thought they were coming to Battle Abbey ruins, which is a separate thing from the Battlefield itself, which it isn't, the ruins are the Battlefield....we're changing it because we think it'll have a more popular image with the public to start with and they wont get quite so confused. (Carol Goddard)

For English Heritage the significance of the site is based on the fact that they consider it to be the birthplace of England and this is what they want to get across to the visitor. As Louise Dando illustrates:

> Battle Abbey....is one of the turning points in history so it's important for people trying to find their roots. So we get a lot of, like, American and other foreign visitors coming over as well who like that....historical root back into time. For domestic visitors it's a point whereby everyone's life was affected by it so that site has got a very poignant feel to it and that's one of the key feelings that you want to engender there.

Thus, an important aspect of Battle Abbey is its appeal to the individual's sense of belonging and understanding of their roots. In many ways this is what the date 1066 symbolizes, 'our' collective roots. It is, therefore, important to provide the visitor with an interpretive framework that enables them to understand the significance and the importance of this fact. As Louise Dando states '...people need enough information to actually say this place was worthwhile saving' for both the nation and for 'us'. This is, of course, a major concern for English Heritage as it is the key reason behind them existing in the first place. As chapter

three stated, English Heritage are charged with the preservation, for the nation, of nationally significant landmarks. Places that are important to the nation and its sense of collective recognition.

As such, the public need to understand the importance of particular sites *and* be made aware of English Heritage's role in looking after them, '....you know for their benefit and for the benefit of future generations' (Louise Dando). Thus, the crucial point for English Heritage to get across is that 'we' are doing all this for 'you', in other words the sites 'we' save are significant to 'you'. Consequently, the 'interpretive framework' is specifically designed to inform people of what they should understand by the site, what is important and why. In fact Louise Dando states that the significance of the site is portrayed by its inherent sense of poignancy. A fact English Heritage are keen to build upon. Through this sense of poignancy it is hoped that the visitor will come to feel an affinity with the site and an affinity with the history it represents (Louise Dando). Having an affinity with Battle Abbey and the events of 1066 heightens the sense of ownership that people can assume over the site. This place means something to 'me', it tells 'me' something about 'my' history and about 'my' roots.

According to Louise Dando, poignancy, affinity and ownership is achieved through the recorded tour of the abbey grounds, which helps visitors to understand what took place, and by the very peace and tranquillity of the grounds themselves. Moreover, a sense of poignancy is achievable because:

> ...you can stand on the spot where Harold was killed...you can walk on the battle field and imagine what it must of been like on that day....it's keeping the integrity of the site, keeping the atmosphere.... I mean it's there, it's real, we're not creating virtual reality, we're not building a fun house...it's actually there and it's drawing people's attention to the actual site and what is there. This was the actual place...that in itself can create poignancy, plus the fact that the date, 1066, is etched in everyone's mind, it really is one date that everyone remembers. (Louise Dando)

This is no mere ruin of a Benedictine monastery it is THE ruin of THE abbey, it is the ACTUAL site. As such, it symbolizes the last time England was invaded and the beginning of a way of life that can be traced back to that time. It represents the roots of a people, a nation, founded upon an unbroken tradition. This is why the date 'is etched in everyone's mind'. It is this sense of collective belonging that English Heritage are appealing to in the videos, taped tours and exhibitions at Battle Abbey.

The Story of Battle

The interpretive framework that enables the visitor to understand the significance of the site is based around the recorded tour, accessible through hand-held electronic 'interpreters'. These 'electronic guides' tell the story of the battle, its historical significance and its

relationship to the Abbey. Visitors can use the 'guides' as much or as little as they wish and they can use them at their own speed, choosing what they want to hear, when. Some visitors liked the interpreters, stating that it's '..great to be able to control what you learn'. Whilst others found them confusing '...you hear the same thing more than once and you forget what you've heard before'.

Nevertheless, given the comments made in chapter three, concerning the need for attractions to compete for visitors, electronic guides are replacing human guided tours at the more popular sites. Their one main advantage is that they tend to overcome some of the problems associated with the need to increase visitor numbers whilst keeping costs down (see Walter, 1996 and Clewes, 1996 for a discussion of the use of such 'guides' at the Roman Bath). Moreover, electronic guides are meant to be entertaining, they are not about a dry rendition of historical facts. Indeed, the *Story of Battle* is a stirring story with 'real' battle sounds and a list of 'characters' that act out the events of October 14th 1066. The visitor is presented with the emotions, thoughts and opinions of those who took part in the battle, through the eyes of a Saxon farmer, a Saxon lady (King Harold's mistress) and a Norman knight.

Prior to starting the tour a televised video of the battle - as a series of still-life pictures with added sound affects - introduces the visitor to the site. This emphasises the medieval context of the site by showing pictures of the Bayeux Tapestry accompanied by appropriate sound affects. Visitors hear two versions of the battle, that of the Saxon and that of the Norman, with each describing the part they played in the battle together with their impressions and feelings about it. Thus, the aim of the video is to introduce the visitor to the characters they will hear on the recorded tour and to set the scene for how England changed as a result of the battle.

As visitors wander throughout the grounds, listening to the 'interpreters' they are presented with information boards that provide further information about the battle and the general history of the abbey. The importance of these boards lies in the fact that they make a point of providing the sources from which the information is derived. Some of these are archaeological remains, excavations and written documents held by the British Museum. This not only serves to emphasise the factual accuracy of what the visitor is reading, but also the accuracy of what they are hearing on the 'interpreter'.

Moreover, the sights and sounds of the taped 'battle' and the spoken words of those depicting the 'actual' characters enables people to re-live an important historic event in the nation's history. They hear the 'screams' of dying men and the sound of charging horses. They hear the 'famous', and contested, moment when Harold was shot in the eye by a Norman arrow and hear tell of how his body was then 'savagely hacked about'. As the 1997 brochure states '....it's almost like taking part'. This is the important point about the taped 're-enactment', it puts the visitor at the heart of the battle. They can imagine themselves part of 'the most famous site and the best known date in all English history' (Battle Abbey brochure, 1997). Every visitor is thus offered the potential to be 'in at the birth' of the nation, to witness the beginning of the unbroken tradition that is constantly referred to when

the nation's history and its heritage are brought into the public arena.

Battle the Town, Battle the Nation

It is not just Battle Abbey, tourist attraction, that represents a defining moment in the nation's history. Battle, the town is just as much a part of the historic landscape as the fields upon which the actual battle was fought. As Phillips (1989: 46) illustrates, the history of the town '....and to an extent its countryside have made it unique, a little England that gave rise to a great nation'. Indeed, such is the historical significance of the Battle of Hastings that one of the volunteer guides at the local parish church in Battle has spoken of how he specifically retired to the town because he wanted 'to live somewhere small and with a sense of community and history'. Phillips describes such a sentiment using a rather more 'reverential' prose:

> (Battle)...is a little England that has always possessed those qualities which have made England herself great. The people of Battle do not simply inherit the independence and conservatism that characterise the sturdy Sussex yeoman. They display something more than this - the self-confidence, the enterprise and the sense of justice that make them almost more than 'mere English'.... Above all Battle is a town of honest, liberal people. There is a spirit of community here which rarely exists elsewhere, a spirit of helpfulness.... . (1989: 46-7)

The underlying message here is that Battle, the town, has much to be proud of and that those who choose to live here understand that. While this may not be true for all residents of Battle it is more likely to be so for those who belong to the Battle and District Historical Society (BDHS). As illustrated by the words contained on their membership application form, 'in those who live here is created an inescapable awareness of the past'.

Founded in 1950, the society's main aim is to encourage the study and recording of local history. As such, it invites experts and speakers interested in a particular field of medieval history to address the membership at regular intervals during the Winter. In addition, the date of the Battle is commemorated each year by a service in the local parish church of St. Mary. The significance of the battle to individuals is highlighted by the review of a lecture given in 1994 by David Bates (Professor of Medieval History at the University of Glasgow): 'for one who had spent a lifetime in the study of Battle and the Conquest, said the lecturer, to traverse the battlefield in the evening of the very anniversary was still a moving experience...' (Battle & District Historical Society, 1994: 16).

The significance of Battle to the members of the society is highlighted by their chairman, John Springford, who states that '..I think people who've lived here a long time really do treasure Battle for what it is' (taped conversation, see appendix C pg. vi). His personal association with Battle goes back almost sixty years when he first saw the medieval gateway of the abbey from the window of a coach heading for Hastings, '...that has stuck in my mind ever since....'. As a result of his long association with the town he feels confident that '....I

know its people and I know quite a bit about the town and that kind of thing...it gets you'. What 'gets to you' is the historical importance of Battle and the fact that, as a town, it has survived almost intact from medieval times:

> ....you've got the abbey which is the most wonderful medieval survival and...you've got the church but you've also got a medieval town, you've got Upper Lake which...is 15th century, opposite there you've got the house where the last abbot was pensioned off.......you go along Mount Street you've got ancient houses you go under the place next to the building society.......into the old Guild Hall and so wherever you go there's a touch of history. Outside the abbey ....you've got a medieval town which came to life in 1066........ (John Springford)

In the town itself there are, therefore, constant reminders of the historical significance of Battle. Whilst not everyone will understand or even appreciate these reminders, John Springford still feels that '.....there's a great interest in local history and certainly people in Battle take it very seriously....because it is Battle, a great historic place, there's a little additional feeling, I would of thought'. This 'additional feeling' is epitomised by the very name of the town, Battle, which itself implies a momentous event in the nation's past. As Planel (1995) states battlefields are historic landmarks of the civil and military conflicts that underpin the nation's history. The very existence of a *field* of battle is, therefore, very important as it provides a physical location in which the link between individuals and their national history can be experienced. Battle Abbey thus has the potential to become a focus for national recognition and national sentiment. Indeed, it is the acknowledgement of this potential and of its powerful imaginative force, that lies behind the marketing of Battle and the surrounding area as '1066 Country'.

1066 Country

The desire to capitalise on this 'potential, on the date and its significance, was one of the main reasons behind the 1066 Country campaign. The on-going promotion that aims to benefit the whole locality and which has become one of the most successful 'Country' campaigns in Britain.

The instigation of this campaign has given residents and tourists a clearly defined area designated as the 'birthplace of the nation' (see Appendix A pg. i). The campaign has created a whole new 'Country' enabling people to experience 1066 and what it symbolizes, beyond the abbey and the actual battlefields. To experience the nation in a defined geographic area. As Louise Dando states 1066 is the 'hook' that attracts people to the locality so that other towns and attractions can be 'sold on'. What Boniface (1994) has referred to as the creation of a lucrative retail and leisure environment.

This 'hook' has been used to great advantage by the Local Authorities who market the towns within the area under the slogan '1066 Country'. All brochures promoting towns and local

attractions within the designated area carry this corporate logo. There is also a signpost indicating to the visitor that they are about to enter this new 'Country', located a few miles outside of Battle. The 1996 Battle tourist brochure offers the following details about this new 'Country':

> 1066 Country is a rich tapestry of heritage woven over the last 900 years...Follow in the footsteps of William the Conqueror and visit the impressive castles at Pevensey and Hastings and see the field of Senlac where Harold was defeated...Whether for a short break...or a family holiday...come and visit the birthplace of England: 1066 Country.

There is also a brochure promoting a 1066 Country Walk from Pevensey to Battle which states that on the walk '... you step into what could be the actual footsteps of William the Conqueror himself'. The tourist is, therefore, left in no doubt as to the historic importance of the area in which they are visiting. However, the continual reinforcement of the '1066 Country' slogan on brochures and road signs does make it difficult to see what else the county of Sussex is noted for. As Boniface (1994: 102) further argues '...in the selection of a theme...areas are choosing to ignore, suppress even, their real and natural multi-variate personalities and their features'.

The consortium promoting and using the slogan comprises Local Authorities and private and public sector organisations and they operate with a grant from the English Tourist Board. The original intentions of the campaign centred around the need to develop an identity for the area that could be used for marketing purposes both at home and overseas. Sandra Barrett, the marketing manager for Hastings Tourism and Leisure, further explains the rationale behind the designation of the 1066 boundaries:

> when we set the area up three years ago we had to draw a line, because if you are to create an identity in an area you have to make the businesses feel like they are part of something special.....it was all done as a ten mile radius from Battle but we changed it slightly to create this area and not being sort of shy about it we wanted to incorporate lots of nice product.... (taped conversation, see appendix C pg. vi).

1066 Country is thus used to promote activities in and around all of the main towns within the area. The slogan is used by smaller, independent businesses, such as the caravan park at Whydown Farm, to provide themselves with a more distinct regional identity. Likewise, the 1996 entertainment guide to Hastings, Rother and Wealden which lists activities such as the arts, music, dance and the cinema is entitled *What's On in 1066 Country*. Non-tourism related businesses have also incorporated the campaign into their own marketing plans. For example, a local car showroom and garage in Bexhill-on-Sea flies a red 1066 Country flag from its forecourt, almost as if it were an alternative Union Flag.

1066 Country is an area of historic significance to the nation and those businesses residing

within it, and who choose to 'fly the flag', are similarly marked as being of significance. It is this that makes them feel 'special and which creates a sense of local pride, '...that's what local community pride is all about isn't it. I mean it's like the Robertsbridge traders...they're really proud of what they are doing there...' (Sandra Barrett).

Quite understandably, therefore, the 1066 Country campaign enables smaller, and perhaps less well-known attractions to obtain a measure of public awareness that they otherwise would find hard to achieve. Likewise, it enables both tourism related and non-tourism related businesses to feel part of an identifiable group. That they belong to something of national importance. If the local towns and businesses are made to feel 'special' then it is reasonable to assume that the campaign is also intended to make the visitors feel as though they, too, are entering an important (and thus special) area. In fact visitor recognition of the area as being of historic significance is illustrated by the last Visitor Survey undertaken in 1995. This revealed that 70% of visitors clearly associated the area with history and with 1066 in particular (Southorn, 1995: 3). Furthermore, public acceptance of the campaign is based upon the fact that the event referred to actually took place and as a result the visitor has 'real' places to visit:

> well we have a story don't we.....but it wasn't that the Battle of Hastings took place and then he went away, William the Conqueror determined that Hastings should be the first Norman Castle...and obviously he laid the foundations for Battle Abbey as a sort of atonement for all the deaths. So it's a nice story. Plus, unlike many other tourism areas, like Catherine Cookson Country and Robin Hood Country, there are landmarks that are relevant and I think that's very important if you're not going to manufacture some sort of Arnold Bennett Country.... (Sandra Barrett)

The important points here are the existence of landmarks denoting that events significant to the history of the nation took place. Landmarks such as the castles at Hastings and Pevensey and the battlefields and the ruins of Battle Abbey. In fact the reason why 1066 Country is so successful is not only due to the hard work of those involved, but also to the existence of just such meaningful landmarks. Without 'real' sites related to 'real' events the creation of specific tourism 'countries' may not always find favour with the public:

> ...I think that people feel a bit cheated and it's a bit tenuous unless they've got high quality trails that you can follow.....in the early days people said 'yes well Rudyard Kipling lived here', which he did, lived at Batemans and he wrote many of his books there and we could of called ourselves Kipling Country, couldn't we? But that's not the idea.... (Sandra Barrett)

In fact 'Kipling Country' does not have the same emotional 'pull' the same emotional resonances that are associated with a site designated as the nation's birthplace. Likewise, the nation's place of birth is arguably of much greater significance than the home of a writer, no matter how famous or illustrious the name. Moreover, even though Sandra Barrett states

that '...our experience shows us that people are attracted to an area because of its connotations and connections...', the visitor still has to feel that these connotations are worth them taking the time and effort to experience. On this basis 1066 has more credence as a marketing campaign than almost anything else in the area. As Sandra Barrett acknowledges, the date 1066 is unique '..I mean every school boy knows the date and we selected it because....everyone knows when the Battle of Hastings took place, it's shared, it's a national date that's shared by everybody'. Such a comment is highly significant because it elevates the date, the actual battle and the town of Battle to the status of a national icon. However, this does not mean that everyone understands why the date is significant, or is affected to any great extent by it. As Sandra Barrett further states:

> I don't think a lot of people can remember exactly what happened when...I don't think a lot of people really delve that deeply.....I think they feel that it is something unique to the area and that we should make the most of it but...I don't think people really recognise how incredibly significant that invasion was.....they may not end up going to Battle Abbey but it's the.....atmosphere that it kind of generates...it's a bit like, you know, English people thinking that perhaps they should go and see where the Battle of Hastings was fought. I think it's not very deep but it's as deep as that.

It matters not that some visitors do not understand why the date is significant. It is enough that they understand that it is significant. Moreover, once accepted as such the important point is that people feel they ought to experience it in some way. Most obviously by visiting the site of the battle associated with it. Furthermore, as argued in chapter four, the 1066 Country map not only provides visitors with directions to the site, it also provides a framework that informs them of how to interpret it. This framework includes the guides and brochures which indicate what are appropriate responses to and feelings about the site, based on its significance as a nationally important monument.

This map enables people to create imaginative links between the past and the present. To set themselves into this past by imagining their own descendants as part of the nation's history and its unbroken tradition. What Taylor (1994) has referred to as 'speculative reverie'. The brown road signs informing the visitor they are entering this 'Country' are the first physical links with this past. Moreover, the roads leading to the site, and along which the visitors are directed, are similar to the ancestral lines connecting individuals to their own familial descendants. Just as someone can trace their family tree to discover where and who started their 'line', the roads on the 1066 map direct visitors to the beginning of the *national line*.

Conclusion

The main themes to emerge from this discussion highlight the importance of Battle Abbey and the date 1066 as regards a sense of national belonging. This date, more than any other perhaps, is remembered because it marks the point at which the unbroken tradition that underpins the nations existence is understood to have begun. The political, economic,

cultural and religious changes that followed the Conquest have evolved over the centuries into a way of life that is somehow characteristically English and British. It matters not that in other centuries outside influences helped to shape the nation, or that not all kings of England have been native to this country. What does matter is that this date marks the last time the country was forcefully invaded. The last time this country's institutions and way of life were forcefully altered. This is why the date of 1066 and the Battle of Hastings is referred to as the origin of a nation.

This highlights another important theme and that is the extent to which Battle Abbey is a focus for national sentiment based upon its identification with the battle that gave birth to the nation. The site is, in many ways, the physical manifestation of the nation's birth. Moreover, the ramifications of the outcome of this birth are all around, inextricably infused into everyday life, so familiar as to go almost un-noticed. Such as culture, government, the way 'we' do things. Collective expression of these can be found at Battle Abbey. It is this site which communicates the nation's roots, a sense of belonging. This is what Louise Dando means when she refers to the sense of poignancy at the site. She is, perhaps inadvertently, highlighting the emotional link between the site and the nation. This link, this 'speculative reverie' enables individuals to put themselves into the nation's past, to see how they fit into the nation's unbroken tradition.

Moreover, it is the sense of belonging engendered by the battle and the date 1066, their ability to represent 'our' roots, that makes them such potent symbols. As previously stated it is the 'hook', the unique selling point that attracts people to the area. 1066 Country is successful because the date *stands for something*. It stands for this unbroken tradition that links the nation's citizens to their forefathers, to their descendants. As such, it not only symbolizes something about the nation, it also symbolizes the individual's relationship with the nation and with those elements that characterise the national way of life. Furthermore, by designating a part of the landscape 1066 Country, the visitor is provided with a ready made location in which to encounter and experience this relationship. The existence of an actual country that not only has defined boundaries, but which also possesses its own flag, merely serves to heighten awareness of the nation's roots. As Smith (1986) has already been quoted as saying both history and landscape are essential vehicles and moulds for nation-building. Thus, 1066 Country is a nation within a nation, a country within a country. It is where the *raison d'etre* of the country began. We may all be part of a multi-cultural world today, but there is still a part of the nation where the 'true' or core identity can be encountered. As Smith (1986: 202) illustrates, a nation's, '...natural features, mountains and terrain can locate it and give it boundaries in the comity of nations; while its holy places and heroes can inspire and teach members of the modern community how to be true to the inner laws of a living nation'.

1066 Country is just such a 'nation' and Battle Abbey is just such a holy place. Furthermore, as a former Benedictine monastery its 'holiness' is both religious and secular. As a religious place it 'speaks' of the fundamental relationship between man and his spiritual father. As a secular place, a tourist attraction, its message is of the fundamental relationship

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between man and his earthly father; between today's generation and the founder of their ancestral line. It is this relationship that lies at the heart of what Sandra Barrett refers to as 'the message' of the 1066 Country campaign. This goes someway towards explaining the success of the marketing strategy. It also explains the friendly 'rivalry' that exists between the towns of Battle and Hastings over which has more legitimacy in the eyes of the visitors. As Carol Goddard states '...oh yes they use that connection as 1066...Hastings is very shrewd...Hastings is plugging that all the time...it's how they get people in'. Any linkage between the name Battle and the date 1066 is thus considered a definite advantage and neither Hastings, nor Battle, can afford for visitors to misunderstand the significance of the area, or to be unclear about the 'must see' landmarks.

Despite the fact that 1066 Country is built around five towns, Hastings, Battle, Rye, Bexhill and Pevensey, it is Battle that is considered 'the heart of 1066 Country', '...the scene of the event which gives the area its name' (Battle Abbey 1997: 6). So, when brochures state that at Battle Abbey visitors can 'relive' the Battle of Hastings 'it's almost like taking part' the emotional / psychological link with the nation is arguable strengthened. Thus, the 1066 Country campaign and the audio-tour of Battle Abbey depicting the Story of THE battle are examples of Gidden's (1985) controlled use of reflection on history. It is this 'use' of history that promotes cultural attachment to the nation. As chapter two argued Gidden's analysis of the psychological components of nationalism is specifically aimed at explaining the social processes of modernity that enable this cultural attachment to take place. Heritage tourism is just such a social process and sites like Battle Abbey are examples of the ways in which this process operates.

Furthermore, the 1066 Country map is highly significant. As chapter four argued the sentiments and attitudes that underpin a sense of belonging and identity are conjured up in the imagination of the visitor by the maps of tourism. These maps are navigational aids on the journey towards the centres of nation-hood. They reveal what is important and how to 'get there' and in so doing enable individuals to understand and to experience their national identity. As Sandra Barrett states the area designated as 1066 Country is recognised by people as a 'natural touring area' and '...the only way it works is if people in the area believe that they are in 1066 Country...and I think we've achieved that through the branding'. The map is, therefore, a vision of meaning, what Ousby (1990) has referred to as an 'imaginative legacy' that provides the visitor with a suitable interpretive framework. The 1066 map and the brochures of Battle Abbey are not, therefore, designed to enable people to theorise about the history represented in them. They are designed and written in order to inform visitors how to approach and interpret the abbey and the battle field. They encourage visitors to utilise ready-made emotions, adjectives and feelings commensurate with a site labelled the birthplace of England (see Ousby, 1990: 142).

In order to examine the themes identified here in more detail it is necessary to consider them in relation to the field work undertaken at Battle Abbey. The visitor observations and the interviews with the custodians and the visitors. However, it must be remembered that not everyone will view the site in the same way. For some it will be a site of significance, a focus

for patriotic sentiment and attachment to the nation. Whilst for others no such resonances will be felt. These issues will be addressed in the following section.

In addition to this the importance of religion as a foundation for national identity needs to be examined in more depth. The success of the Norman Conquest enabled the papacy to gain a firm hold on the nation's future development. A hold that was only 'broken' with the Reformation during the time of Henry V111. The implications of this for a sense of national identity will be examined in chapter nine.

Context

This section examines the themes that have emerged out of the previous discussion in relation to the observations and interviews at Battle Abbey. This analysis will help to put the theoretical aspects of this thesis into context. As argued in chapter two, in order to consider how theory and practice can best be aligned it is necessary to examine the ways in which individuals make sense of who they are. How they come to understand and to feel part of a particular nation, a particular national identity. The discussion that follows is intended to explain one of the ways in which this sense of belonging and identity is promoted.

As argued 1066 is the date in history when the nation, as it is understood today, is believed to have begun. As such, it is the inheritor of the unbroken tradition that characterises 'our' way of life. The 'community-creating' potential of the myths and symbols associated with this birth - and which are concentrated in and around the town of Battle and in the area designated as 1066 Country - provides the framework for the following analysis. To what extent can Battle Abbey be said to create a sense of community, a sense of belonging? What do visitor reactions to the site reveal about the relationship between individuals and the nation? It is these questions that will provide the basis upon which to approach the analysis of the interviews and observations. The analysis is organised into two main sections, *The Nation's Keepers* and *The Nation's Visitors*.

The Nation's Keepers

Unlike Chartwell, where the stewards work on a voluntary basis, the custodians at Battle Abbey are employed by English Heritage. At present there are six and a half full-time staff with approximately five or six temporary staff taken on to cover the busy summer period. There is also a Head Custodian, Carol Goddard and an Area Manager, Dave Lofting, both based at the abbey. In addition to the abbey ruins and the battlefield the site also provides a children's activity park, an exhibition and an education room for school visits and other related activities.

It is significant that those who work at the site are called 'custodians' as opposed to the more usual guides, or stewards. Whereas 'steward' implies a set of rooms to be monitored, custodian has a much more defined meaning than 'guide'. Indeed, The Oxford Dictionary (1982) definition of a 'guide' is 'one who shows the way; hired conductor of traveller or tourist'. A custodian on the other hand is defined as a 'guardian, keeper...of public buildings'. While it is accepted that Battle Abbey is a public building, owned and managed by a public body, the underlying meaning of the word 'guardian' is protector or *safe*keeper. When used in conjunction with a 'public building' the implication is clearly that a custodian

is someone who protects something of importance for the nation, for 'you' and 'me'. In other words Battle Abbey is no ordinary site, no mere stately home or country house, it is a significant *national* monument. It tells us about people and events that have a bearing on the whole nation. This point indicates the fact that people are meant to 'feel' something about the site. It does not mean that they will do so, some will and some will not, but overall the possibility exists for a different type of relationship to emerge than that which may be found at other, more 'ordinary' sites. Hence the need for custodians rather than guides.

These comments act as a precursor to how the custodians themselves relate to the site. In order to examine the implications of this the analysis of the interviews with the custodians has been organised around three key themes *From Vocation to Job, Sacred Site, The Nation's Inheritors.*

From Vocation to Job

Most of the custodians who work at the site have been there for a number of years and nearly all of them came because of an interest in history. Indeed Daryl, who is in his eighth season, stated '...I've always wanted a job in the historical field but never succeeded. I tried five times to get into English Heritage'. Daryl is also the Public Relations contact for the site as a result of his links with local radio. Similarly, Geoff who is in his seventh year, has always been interested in local history and writes books on this subject, particularly in relation to the Georgian period. After thirty years in the printing industry he now job-shares with Eileen so that they each work alternate weeks. This enables him to write and give talks to local history societies across Kent and Sussex. Even the temporary staff spoken to linked their historical interest with their work. Stuart, for example, specifically wanted to work for English Heritage at an old monument. So, while most staff expressed an empathy with history, for others the interest grew after they came to work at the site. Alan Lam, who is Chinese stated 'I came here virtually blank to English history, but you build up knowledge...'.

Over the past five years the need to generate more income from the site has led to an increased emphasis on retail sales and marketing campaigns to improve visitors numbers. As a result, individual guided tours of the site ended as they could no longer cope with the increased numbers. This resulted in a change in the type of staff employed, as Carol stated any new staff '...have been taken on because of the shop. So we've gone for staff that have more retail experience....'. Eileen, who has worked at the site for four years, has such a retail background. She is also interested in history, particularly social history: 'I like the idea of the fact that the families lived in the house and so that's what interests me and I like to research it and find out a bit about it....I like the house and the architecture and the various bits and pieces added to it....'

All the custodians spoken to accepted that the need to increase visitor numbers and generate retail sales reflected the competitive nature of tourism. As Alan Johns states '....the shop is a necessary evil...'. However, all stated that the sense of job satisfaction was not the same

today as it had been when guided tours were offered. Even Eileen, who was not involved in these, states:

> ...as you can see today its been so busy we see people, hands grabbing, pushing, shoving and all this sort of thing and trying to retain a bit of organisation, if it's possible. In the winter it's nice for us to slow up a bit and to actually spend more time with the visitors, which I like to do. I like the idea of the personal touch which I think....we lose, obviously, when we're dealing with the volume like that, it's impossible to maintain any real personal touch to any great degree and so if anyone asks for information about the history then it's limited to how much time you can spend (with) them...... .

Similar, and sometimes more forceful views were expressed by the other custodians, as the following comments illustrate:

> .....I mean I'm mixed about this, what we've got now, but obviously because I miss doing guided tours. Actually one was thrown on me on Monday....after my week off...but you don't often do them now, but yeah it used to be a marvellous part of the job, but that's gone. (Geoff)

> ......the job in those days wasn't so commercialised...that's killing the job as far as I'm concerned. I mean to be stuck inside a gift shop all day not even selling good quality gifts is not my idea of fun...once upon a time the monument came first...you could get out and do a patrol of the grounds, you could talk to people, you could share your interest tell them a bit about it, doing your guided tours and everything...
> (Daryl)

> Our shop has recently been expanded, almost overnight we tripled the size of the shop.....oh yes diminishing is the word. You become impersonal, you don't feel it, it's like a shopping mall, you know. You go into the shop you discover people selling jams and honey.... Gradually you lose interest in your site you look at it you say my God in the old days we used to go and pull the weeds out, when we had got nothing to do, of the walls, now the weeds (are) growing out of the walls all we do is cleaning the shop, restocking the shelves, it's like working in a supermarket you see. (Alan Lam)

All the above comments illustrate the personal relationship that exists between the site and those who work there. It is almost as if, in being a custodian, they are protecting the site from the scourge of the twentieth century, commercialism, just as much as they are protecting it from the affect of too many visitors. It is as if they alone understand the importance of the site and what it stands for. Moreover, what upsets the custodians is that the ever increasing visitor numbers, especially in the summer, make it difficult to get over the meaning of the site. This highlights an important point and that is the depth of feeling that the custodian's have for the site. To them this is no mere tourist attraction. It is the birthplace of the nation and as such should be accorded appropriate respect. Furthermore, their work is not just a job it is more a vocation and as such their feelings about the site have a deeper

resonance than can be expressed by the term 'job satisfaction', it is something that borders on the reverential.

Sacred Site

All the seven custodians spoken to had a strong sense of empathy with the site, a feeling of reverence for its religious and historic past. Even Alan Lam considers the site significant to the nation: 'you know the entire battle fields, we're talking about this nation's heritage, main heritage shall we say, the birth of a nation in these fields...this is the most important site in English history...'.

Overall, the relationship between the site and the custodians is best summed up by Carol:

> I think when I first came here I was quite over awed by it but you get a bit complacent, don't you, over the years, you get so used to it....the nicest thing is not the history, it's the fact that occasionally when you go out and there's nobody else with you you've got a 105 acres to yourself and you're just standing there totally amazed by the, not the building so much (as) the actual ground itself. I think you'll find most custodians on sites live for their site. It's not like going to an office job and it's 9 to 5, it's different because it gets into your blood...

Similar emotions were expressed by the other custodians and all their comments highlight the emotional resonance of the site. As the following comments illustrate:

> ...I mean lets get this on record I love this site, it's just the most beautiful place at any time of the year...yeah I definitely feel this place is the birth place of the country and I view it that way. (Geoff)
>
> (in winter) it's very nice, it's very quiet because then we can appreciate what the site looks like..... (Eileen)
>
> oh yes I think all of us custodians we, you know, it becomes part of your blood if you're away from it and you're at a different site you think no, my monuments Battle Abbey or whatever, but yeah it does become part of you....the historical feel...it's lovely getting out in the grounds and walking around seeing that lovely roof vaulting and all the rest of it, yeah, it does give you a lot... .(Daryl)

Thus, for the custodians, the site means something to them. It communicates something of the nation, its history and their place within that history. It is this legacy that they are custodians of, this that is entrusted to them for *safe*keeping. As such, there is almost a spiritual bond between the custodians and the site. Which goes some way to explaining the comments made earlier about the extent to which the job had 'changed' as a result of the loss of the guided tours. This loss affected the special relationship between the site and the custodians and between the custodians and the visitors. No longer could the custodians

communicate their own feelings about the site to the visitors. Nor were they able to protect what they saw as the sacredness of their site from the increasing number of visitors who, they felt, had no understanding of it. Moreover, what dismayed them so much was the feeling that many visitors did not even want to understand the site:

..we are talking about a tiny minority of the visitors who are here keenly aware of the historical significance of the site. They are here for a day out, it is somewhere to take the family, especially this week for instance (half-term) the children are screaming at home, got to get them out somewhere, some tourist attraction somewhere. Can't go on the beach it's too windy so lets go to Battle Abbey and annoy the people there and ask them awkward questions....we had a list of most asked questions 'where are the toilets?' that's the main thing, secondly 'is there a cafe inside, a restaurant?' these are the main two questions they ask, oh the third one, 'do you sell ice creams?'. Even in the winter people ask those questions. It just shows people's awareness, what they are interested in. Every now and then you get people asking something 'so what's the best book I can get on the site?' that's when you start, ah ah somebody whose interested lets pay him more attention. (Alan Lam)

As stated previously the custodians realise they are caught in a dilemma. They are employed to protect a national monument and in order to do this they have to accept that not all visitors will view the site as they do. This is another reason for lamenting the passing of the guided tours. In 'those days' when, as Daryl stated, the monument used to come first, the site attracted the type of visitor who appreciated its significance. The type of visitor who asked the 'right' questions. Indeed, all the custodians were very sure about what are appropriate reactions to the site and they are at times dismissive of those visitors who do not show the required level of respect and appreciation:

...I like the idea of it remaining the monastery irrespective of the battlefield...I didn't like the idea of the tow path that's on a battlefield, people died there. I can't think that it's in, whether good taste is the word, I don't know......people don't think twice about it. (Eileen)

...I was a little bit distressed when they put in the sort of children's play park because we thought, oh my god, because it cost a fortune that did, you know, and we couldn't quite see the point of it....I mean we do have them 'is that it then, is that it' sorry, snob no I'm a snob... oh well I'm sorry sir if the birthplace of the nation and the battle field of Hastings isn't good enough for you what more do you want...(laughs). (Geoff)

In the winter you will find people who are more interested in history here, to brave the elements, in the summer it is the spade and bucket brigade...they come in and you wouldn't believe there are people coming in here wearing no shirts and swimming costumes sucking an ice lolly walking into the shop and look around and come out again....it's very sad.... . (Alan Lam)

I know what I would do I'd buy the site and shut it up and not let anybody in at all so they wouldn't mess it about. (Stuart)

These last comments not only illustrate the frustrations of the custodians when others do not appreciate the significance of the site. They also reveal the underlying sense of ownership that the custodians have for their site. It is 'ours', it is 'my' site and it is a 'sacred' site. This is why they prefer the less busy months over the winter. At this time they can re-connect with the site from a personal point of view and share their feelings with other like-minded people. In the winter the site becomes theirs again, they re-claim ownership from those they consider the 'unbelievers'. As Eileen stated '...the bulk, the mass, they want in, to see it and go, not interested, (you) have to be so careful answering some questions. They just back off, they only want to know just enough, not too much, not get bogged down...'. It's almost as if such visitors have committed an act of sacrilege by not appreciating the site for what it is. As Stuart stated above he would rather close the site than let it be 'messed about' by those who do not appreciate or understand their inheritance.

This lack of appreciation, this sense of sacrilege is heightened by the visitors behaviour at the site, as Alan Lam stated they do not know how to dress. Geoff supports this view:

> ....undoubtedly in the summer months you'll get people here that, I mustn't be rude, they're my living, aren't they? But you do see some strange sights...some of the people turn up to view an ancient monument in some of the most oddest footwear that you can ever imagine, you know, high heels wont do out there...

The wearing of swimming costumes, high-heels and men with bare chests is the equivalent of trying to enter a holy place or church inappropriately attired. As in some European countries visitors may have to remove footwear, or put on clothing to cover themselves before they can enter religious places. For the custodians, Battle Abbey, although a ruin, is of a similar status. It, too, is sacred not only because it was once a religious house, but also because it is the birth place of the nation.

The Nation's Inheritors

The above discussion provides an insight into the two main types of visitors at Battle Abbey. Those who come in the winter months and who are more interested in the site - in other words those who understand its significance - and those who come in the summer months - the 'bucket and spade brigade' who have little appreciation for, or affinity with, the site. This last group comprise the majority of visitors to Battle Abbey and Geoff describes these as follows:

> this is very jokey stuff but we always say that we can tell the beginning of summer.......you hear the first cuckoo, or the first sound of bat against ball for cricket. But we've got a theory that summer starts when the shop door opens and a gentleman in a....union jack shirt with Manchester United and piss off on the back walks in with a pair of shorts on and a pair of trainers, got a couple of kids with him, they want ice cream, they go to the ice cream, 'don't touch that, keep your hand out that fridge', he comes up to you at the counter and he says 'is this the way to the

castle?'. Right, summer has begun,.....the fact that it's a Benedictine Abbey has never crossed his mind, its got a castellated gatehouse and to his mind it's a castle. That's what we think and then what we'd say, in very demeaning terms probably, that we would call them the buckets and spade brigade in the summer.

The 'bucket and spade brigade' are the type of visitors the custodians feel do not understand the site, who do not realise they are visiting a part of their national inheritance. This is another reason why they feel so frustrated, at times, about the mass of people who come in the summer. By not understanding the site's significance it's as if the visitors are in someway squandering this inheritance. According to the custodians, their inability to get their message across is a direct consequence of the demise of the individual guided tours. All those involved in these stated that the visitor was able to have a much closer relationship with the site. As the following comments illustrate:

> (in) those days £2, once an hour we take them round the grounds and we tell them stories, we make the place alive we tell them jokes and then they come.....back they're bringing their friends and then they recommend people.....They could be here a whole afternoon, they could follow two or three guides wandering around, I follow him now and then later I follow him, and then follow him, three different versions of the story...we divided our tasks, this chap Edward, who was an architectural historian and he took them around and talked about architecture and Jack, who was a military historian, talked about battles and tactics, children loved him and I attract more mature, older people because I talk about church history most of the time, theological aspects of this site and we see people moving from one group to another and another all day long. (Alan Lam)

> I mean if you go to places like Edinburgh Castle, for instance, or the Tower of London...the fellows giving the guided tours there are such characters...they put a lot of character into whatever they are talking about. The guy at Edinburgh Castle is just the greatest crack-up and I don't think they could ever capture him on a machine. Which is what I used to try and do, I didn't tell 'em porkys but I used to try and tell 'em one or two unusual things that you would never put on a tape, you know.
> (Geoff)

These comments highlight the point made earlier that the visitors understanding of the site is affected by the way in which information about the site is now presented. However, not all visitors want such a personal service, as Eileen states:

> ...it's not as personal but then people don't always want to come in and have the personal touch, they want to go off by themselves, they want to do it in a hurry and they want to choose how long it takes...thus (we) have mixed responses as to whether (they've) enjoyed it... .

While it is accepted that all visitors are not the same, all the custodians felt that the

interpreters, which replaced the guided tours, were part of the problem. As Geoff implied earlier they are seen as a 'mixed blessing':

>...that probably is technology marching on, isn't it, do you not think?...and I gotta admit with this new system we got here, what is it in about eight seconds you can change it from English into German, or French, or Japanese. Well there's no way I could take round a group of Japanese and speak in Japanese so I've got to admit defeat on that....the hand-held things I can't knock it they're very, very popular...you can go at your own pace.... (Geoff)

While the interpreters are popular with most visitors they do affect visitor behaviour. Observations of the visitors revealed that people spend quite a bit of time standing around listening to the interpreters. Thus, conversation within groups and between people is affected. People do not point out aspects of the site to their companions to the same extent as they did at Hever Castle and at Chartwell. Although, this is partly because there are more 'things' to see at these places. Despite this people did not seem to discuss what they heard on the interpreters either, or to any great degree, tending to listen to the commentary while reading the information panels located around the grounds. There was also quite a bit of 'fiddling' with the interpreters as people decided which of the three versions of the story to follow at any one time. Children were observed to listen less than the adults, but this is obvious given their short attention spans. The following comments by the custodians illustrate these points well:

>one of the saddest things for someone that actually tries to write history is that a lady brought one back in the shop and she said... 'oh yes wonderful...it's such a change not to have to bother to read something' and of course my colleague said 'you've said the wrong thing there he writes books' so she said 'oh no, no, no I didn't mean not read at all', so I said 'no madam you have your opinion'....it seems a sad indictment that no one's ever going to read anything any more. (Geoff)

>no I don't think they appreciate it at all...there's not the personal touch anymore its got to the stage where the electronic gadgets...these wands, they're killing conversation...because you see people walking around with them to their ears and they even come back in the shop with them and wander round the shop thinking this is part of the exhibition or something. (Daryl)

>....as for tourists I think they get a rougher deal now...I can remember we used to spend time talking to them pointing at things giving them guided tours and things like that. Now we call them fast-track tourists, we process them, take their money, give them a handset, tell them to go up the path turn right switch it on, that's it. Then on your way out come by the shop and buy a souvenir and out again, it's almost like an assembly line operation. (Alan Lam)

>...when they come out together it's anti-social and gran and grandma...with the children, each one is silent walking round listening and they're all at various different stages so there isn't this togetherness going on and I thought that was quite interesting because that's a bit sad if you're on a day out..... just sort of wandering. When I go to the site that's what I like, the quiet and the birds and then you can really sort of get your own mind working on what the battle field and how horrible it

must of been that day...there is so much history here actually and I don't think people understand how much there is...they always think about the battle and that's it, they don't think about the monks that helped during the raids and tried to repel the French and they don't think about the house, as I say with the families and how they gambled so much and how they chopped the trees down to pay for the gambling debts and it goes on and on.....most will say 'oh I know it's a shame the English king lost' and that's it and they don't know what happened as a result of it (laughed). It did change the course of history quite a bit didn't it. (Eileen)

Whether these comments reflect what the visitors themselves think is debatable. The interpreters may appear to be anti-social but that does not necessarily mean that the visitors do not find them useful, interesting, or informative. This is an issue that will be taken further in the section dealing with the visitor interviews.

However, the comments of Eileen and Alan do highlight an interesting point and that is the need to experience, to feel the history depicted by the site. It is this sense of felt history, or rather the lack of it, that most custodians consider to be the main difficulty with the interpretation wands. As Geoff stated it is not so much what people are looking at that matters, but rather the remarkable events that happened there and which changed the course of history. The guided tours, he feels, were better able to give visitors *a feel for* these events and their consequences than the interpreters. These, Geoff believes are good at providing factual information, but less effective at getting across what he refers to as the 'feel of the building'. While the *Story of the Battle* is exciting (especially for children) and there are realistic battle sounds, cries and plenty of 'action' the implications of the battle do not really come across that strongly. The reasons why the battle is so important, why it is described as the birth place of the nation, is not the main purpose of the interpreters. They are concerned with recounting the progress of the actual battle. Moreover, because people can now choose three different versions of the story and choose to 'skip bits' they may not hear those parts that do mention the historic consequences of the battle. Likewise, people spent long periods of time not using the interpreter. They talked to their companions, wandered about and stopped to take photographs of each other and the site. Similarly, while some people appreciate the interpreters, others will not. As Alan Lam states '....they have a problem working it....half the people hate the thing, they don't like looking silly, like (with) a mobile phone wandering around listening...'.

From the custodians point of view it is difficult to ensure that the 'understanding' Louise Dando talked about has taken place and this partly explains their preference for the guided tours. They were able to control what the visitors heard and hence had some means of judging their understanding of, and their reactions to this inheritance. Furthermore, an understanding of, and a feel for this inheritance is important as regards a sense of collective belonging. As Connor (1993: 382) has argued 'it is not chronological or factual history that is the key to the nation, but sentient or felt history'. It is this that underpins the psychological bond that both joins a people and differentiates them from all others. Connor further argues that national consciousness cannot be explained rationally. By way of illustration he utilises Freud's depiction of his own sense of Jewishness as being based

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upon the 'many obscure and emotional forces' that bind people to a sense of nation-ness, '...*forces which were the more powerful the less they could be expressed in words*...' (Connor, 1993: 383). This then highlights the importance of Battle Abbey as *a site of the imagination.* For within this imaginary realm lies the possibility for visitors to experience, to feel, the ancestral kinship ties that underpin a sense of belonging and identity. As Connor (1993: 382) states '...nations are indeed characterized by a sense, a feeling, of consanguinity'.

Overall then, while interpreters are useful when it comes to dealing with vast numbers of visitors, there is a question mark over their effectiveness at communicating 'felt history'. As Alan Lam further states '....you are very much conditioned, it's not alive......they can't ask, they can't participate they are being talked at by a mechanical voice at the end of a phone line'. Moreover, the move away from employing people with historical knowledge, towards those with retail skills, further divorces the visitor from the significance of the site - unless they can be persuaded to buy a guide book - and lessens the extent to which they can *feel* their place in the history of the nation. What Louise Dando described earlier as the visitors having an affinity with the site. This, though, merely highlights the difficulties for contemporary tourism in general and for sites such as this in particular. The balance between cost-effectiveness and appropriate interpretation:

> ...I mean I would feel rather left out if I were going to see this nation's prime site and I look at it and ah this is where the Battle of Hastings took place and I should spend some time there and I should hope that there would be at least one, or a number of experts there I can talk to. Nowadays, for instance in the summer months they hired a few part time shop assistants who have literally no knowledge at all of the site. People coming in asking questions they say 'oh I don't know', really, buy a guide book...in the days gone by, only three or four years ago someone like yourself would pop-in you could talk to any one here instead of having to refer to someone like Alan Lam, or oh my God does he know anything about this lets get someone else in. (Alan Lam)

> it's quite frightening actually, because I think you have to go on and go on improving and giving the people more, we have history, but that wasn't enough we had to improve on it, do you see what I mean. We had the history, we had the buildings, we had the battlefield, it wasn't enough to compete with what people want today, they want ...entertainment so ...you have to keep improving the site...give them tea rooms, toilets go on to something else. I mean, I suppose if they had virtual reality they would never need to come would they? I hope we just don't do it too much and then, you know, they wont have to leave their living rooms (laughs).
> (Eileen)

Both these comments highlight an important problem as regards the sites ability to get its message across, what Alan Lam refers to as 'the conflict between tourism and culture'. The conflict between the need to make money and the need to educate people about their cultural roots. Most of the custodians accepted that the 'bucket and spade brigade' enable the site to exist. As Geoff states they must not get aggravated '.....you mustn't because those people are

paying your wages and that is what English Heritage is trying to generate, obviously and it's nice that people do come (and) it seems sort of a snob thing to say, well I only want the people to come here who I want to come here'.

However, what concerns them is that this group represents the majority of visitors, with the implication being that the site is failing to get its message across to sufficient numbers of people. This is exacerbated in the summer months because, as Carol stated, there are not enough interpreters to go round. As such, the majority of the visitors to Battle Abbey may come and go without ever understanding the site and moreover, without appreciating that it is a very different site to most other tourist attractions. Battle Abbey has to be approached, ostensively, from within the imagination. This opens up the possibility for visitors, in the summer months, to misunderstand the site. As Eileen explained when people say they have not enjoyed the site:

> ...that it's not what they thought, that they didn't have value for money...I don't think they really know what they're coming to see. So many times they come and say 'how much is it to get in the castle?', castle, so that's the first thing, then you explain it's an abbey, 'where's the abbey, we've been all the way round and we haven't seen the abbey', but it's in ruins, 'but where's the abbey?'. It's almost as if you can't quite get the point over that it is a shell and so I think they feel better in summer when they can get into the school building, they feel as if they've had something extra.

In many ways it has become a victim of its own success. It is now a 'must see' site as a result of all the marketing campaigns. The danger here is that the visitors may never get beyond the initial 'oh, we must see that' reaction:

> they feel that they must come and see 1066 Country now...they feel that they have to come and then they can actually say well we've been and we're intellectual enough to go to the battlefield, we've done all this, we've been to Chessington World of Adventures...it sort of cancels everything else out and makes it ok...now we can get on with the nice stuff, the good fun stuff without feeling guilty and the children can go back and write about it, can't they, after summer and say oh mummy and daddy took me there. (Eileen)

> ....nowadays you see they're catering for a different sort of clientele as well. Once upon a time people came because they were interested in history, now its been publicised you must come and we call them the bucket and spade brigade...obviously you need money to survive, but at the same time the monument's suffering for it...no I don't think they appreciate it at all I mean obviously you're going to get the people that are interested, who love it, but then you get a lot of other people thinking oh what have I just seen, you know, and some of them come in and out within a few minutes. (Daryl)

These last two comments highlight the difficulties not only for Battle Abbey, but also for the wider tourism industry. Both have to make money in order to survive and increased visitor numbers necessarily entails a different approach to interpretation than may of been the case in the past. As such, the need to entertain is much more important and this poses sites like

Battle Abbey with some difficulty. Where to draw the line between entertainment and education, or how to make education interesting. As Eileen stated earlier people want more and more and they do not always want to spend the time needed to fully understand a site. As if just being able to say I've seen it is enough, what Daryl refers to as the 'Disneyland mentality'. Yet what the above analysis has illustrated is the extent to which Battle Abbey is a *site of the imagination*. The visitor has to take time to think, to use their imagination to contemplate the story on the interpreters. Again not all visitors will want to be 'educated' at a site, or will want to spend time contemplating the relationship between themselves and what they are seeing and hearing. However, because of the way in which Battle Abbey is advertised such a relationship is almost required of the visitor. For example, the Story of Battle states it 'is almost like taking part' and in 1066 Country you can 'follow in the footsteps of William the Conqueror'. Both these require the visitor to imagine themselves as part of the historic scene, as argued previously, to put themselves in at the birth of the nation. The extent to which Battle Abbey succeeds as *a site of the imagination*, despite the pessimism and the frustrations of the custodians, provides the focus for the next stage of this analysis.

The Nation's Visitors

This section will examine the themes to emerge from the visitor interviews. It will also pick-up on some of the issues identified above. In particular the ability of the site to communicate 'felt' history and the role of the interpreters. Since the custodians understanding of the value of these may not accord with what the visitors themselves think. Again, to aid clarity and understanding this section is organised into three parts. *Why Battle?*, *1066 Remembered*, and *My Ancestors*.

Why Battle ?

The majority of visitors spoken to came to Battle Abbey because of an interest in history and what many vaguely referred to as a 'love for old buildings'. Others came because it was a good 'day out', somewhere to take the 'kids' during the holidays and as one teenager pointed out 'because we haven't been here before, that's good enough..'. However, it is not easy to divide visitors into neat categories of a) 'historically minded' or b) 'just a day out', as most people gave both these as reasons for coming to Battle Abbey. A more useful indicator of the site's affect upon the visitors is the level of emotional reaction displayed having gone round the site. This will be examined in the section entitled *My Ancestors*.

The following comments illustrate the variety of reasons for visiting Battle Abbey:

<u>A couple</u>
Woman - We've done everywhere else.
Man - Well er, you know, well we're National Trust you see and we're waiting for a National Trust to open their grounds, but I think it was just, it seemed to be a nice day.....well I like the fresh air. I'm doing some DIY and the paint got me down so we've come here.

<u>A group of four</u>
Researcher - What made you come here today?
Man - Just because we happened to be here.
Woman - No, because we like interesting old buildings and all and I particularly wanted to
see it 'cos I like anything like that.

<u>Woman</u> - Because it's historic and we wanted to come and look at the abbey grounds.

<u>A couple</u>
Man - Because it was foggy at the coast.
Woman - We'd aimed to go to the coast actually, but when we got to Eastbourne it was
foggy so he decided to take me out here.

<u>Man</u>- Um, we belong to English Heritage and this is one of the places we hadn't been to. It
was a day out so we thought we'd come down here.

<u>A family with one child</u>
Woman - Well we've driven, er, the heritage and we're on holiday so it just seemed like
something to do, we've been to see the place up the road, castle with a big moat.

<u>A family with two children</u>
Man - A day out, definitely.
Woman - Yes, somewhere for the kids, lots of space to run around, you know, they can't
come to much harm here and it's better than some big houses, I'm always terrified
they'll break something (laughs).

These last two groups could be seen as examples of the type of visitors the custodians have labelled the 'bucket and spade brigade'. Nevertheless, while highlighting the variety of reasons for visiting Battle Abbey, some of the above comments illustrate the difficulty some people have in expressing their reasons for coming. As one woman stated 'well we're just visitors aren't we, we don't know anything'. It is as if, for some, coming was an unconscious act prompted by the 'foggy' weather, or the need to entertain the children. Others referred to the pull of history, heritage and old buildings as the reasons for coming. These people often found it equally difficult to express what they meant by this, for example, the woman who previously stated she liked old buildings, when asked to explain what it was she liked about them stated 'I don't know, I mean I just don't know I just like old buildings and if we go anywhere and there's an old town I like to go in to see the old houses'. Some people were, however, able to give an explanation:

<u>A couple</u>
Woman- We're interested in all the old buildings. We've been to a number of places all
round England, haven't we, in our travels.
Researcher- What interests you about them?
Man- The history.
Woman- Its the history, how people used to live, you know, it brings back, I mean we, when
we were in Ireland it sort of, you could feel the people, I don't know it's ridiculous
isn't it.

Similarly,

Woman - Well I love history basically.
Researcher - What is it you like about history?
Woman - The past and how they used to live.

Likewise, the woman who said she liked 'heritage' went on to state:

> Well I don't know, just seeing all the historical things and my daughter whose seven,
> you know she's absolutely fascinated with everything and we joined (English
> Heritage) last year when we went to Cornwall because there was so many things
> that we wanted to do and it just seemed the right thing to do...so we joined the
> National Trust and the (English) Heritage last year and this holiday has been
> marvellous because there's stuff everywhere so we've been all over the place.

This illustrates an interesting point about history, heritage, that it is not only everywhere, all
around, a part of life almost, but it is also important. Thus, joining historical associations
such as English Heritage or the National Trust 'seemed the right thing to do'. In many ways
this reflects the underlying meaning of sites referred to as 'must see' sites. Visiting them is
also the 'right thing to do' and when aligned with a site such as Battle Abbey it is the right
thing to do because of the importance of the history associated with the site. Even the
overseas visitors spoken to felt that they 'must see' the site for various reasons. One young
woman, working as an au pair, stated that she had heard about it from the family she was
working for and had been given some brochures to read. Likewise, an American man
stated:

> we're in Rye and we wanted to go and see the battlefield, the historical importance of
> what is the United Kingdom, the last time that England was, the UK was invaded
> and conquered by a foreign enemy.....we planned on coming here so the issue of
> going onto Rye and then getting to Battle was kind of, they were linked, so if we're
> going to Rye better go see Battle.

Similarly, a Canadian woman explained 'well it's lovely and I'm glad we came, the person in
the information place said we shouldn't miss it and then there's Hastings tomorrow and Rye
we're told is also somewhere we should visit'. Even in the visitor comment book one
Australian had written that they 'have always wanted to visit here...'.

For the British visitors the 'must see' factor was a key motive behind their reason for
visiting. As one woman stated when talking about a recent trip to France to see the Bayeux
Tapestry '...I thought well this is ridiculous, I'm seeing the French end and I've never been to
the English end so when Harold said lets have a day out we thought this would be nice'.
What is 'nice' is tied in with the date 1066, as one man stated '....I thought to myself, well
one day I'll have to actually pay a visit, instead of keep driving past, come and see what it's

all about...'. In other words come and see what 1066 *means*.

1066 Remembered

The 'English end' is represented by 1066 Country as this is the historic setting in which the abbey is located. Only one British visitor was unsure of the date 1066, '...I don't know that I could of given you the exact date myself'. Similarly, those who did remember this date could not always explain why, 'I don't know really, probably 66, easy to remember somehow'. Those who could offer an explanation clearly linked the date to their school days, as one person stated 'yes its been drummed into you, hasn't it, and the arrow, all children know that, don't they, all of them'. For example:

A group
Woman - Harold being killed is always in my mind, you know, with the arrow. That's what we was always taught in school in a way.....we was just saying that, yes, you always remember that date, always.
Researcher - Why?
Woman - I don't know, that's what we was just saying just now, it's funny how everyone always remembers that date.

A family with three children
Man - It's probably the one that most springs to mind, 1066.
Researcher -Why?
Man - Um, yes I suppose, why is it?, I suppose it's because it's one of those stories that's the one that you know best, you know, there's a lot to it, you know, the battle and King Harold getting the arrow in his eye and all that sort of thing. Its all the surrounding circumstances that were involved, it's just the one that everyone knows about.
Woman - Yes, told in primary school upwards I suppose.

A couple
Woman - I suppose, yeah, the date that's stuck in your mind in history when you were at school.
Man - King Harold got killed, didn't he, which is why I think it sticks in your mind and William the Conqueror, I mean everybody at school, one of the first things you hear about is William the Conqueror, isn't it, coming over here....

Battle Abbey and 1066 thus represent remembered school history. Indeed, recurrent references to this are important as they highlight one of the key mechanisms by which a people are taught about, not only their nation, but also themselves. Moreover, an educationally sanctioned historic past not only legitimises the significance of that past, it also reinforces the state's interpretation of it. In other words this is what should be understood from this particular historic episode. Furthermore, this 'correct' reading of history is handed down from parent to child, thus further reinforcing the official line, as the following example of parental prompting illustrates:

A family with three children
Man- (To the children) do you know what it is all about? you know the story don't you?
Woman - Why were they fighting?
Man- Be sensible you know all about the story.
Woman - Who was fighting who and why, what did they want?
Child 1- The Saxons were fighting the Normans.
Woman - Right, because?
Child 1- Because they both wanted to be king.
Woman - Right.
Researcher- So what was the affect of the Norman Conquest and the victory?
Child 2- King Harold got beaten.
Woman - What happened in England though, to the Saxons? who ruled England?
Child 2- Harold.
Woman - No, Harold was killed. So who became ruler?
Child 2- King William.
Woman - And where did he come from?
Child 2- Europe.
Woman - France, which bit of France?
Child 2- Mmh.
Woman - He'd come from Normandy, hadn't he, so all the people he brought with him got
        to take over the lands that had previously belonged to the Saxons, didn't they?
Researcher - What main changes resulted?
Man- It brought in the feudal system, didn't it..they gave them the land and other people
        worked on it for the king.

So, while people 'knew' that 1066 meant the Battle of Hastings and the death of King
Harold, some could remember the significance of these events and some could not:

A couple
Researcher - What is the significance of the date 1066?
Woman- The Norman Conquest.
Man- The Norman Conquest of England and the Saxons trying to stop him.
Researcher- What happened after the Norman Conquest?
Man- I haven't really given it much thought to be quite honest, I mean obviously the French
        influence came over with the Normans I imagine.

Man - I don't know exactly because I'm still working it out you see so I can't give you any
        positives.

A family with one child
Researcher - What is the significance of the Battle of Hastings?
Woman - No, I'm sorry we tend to sort of fly round. I must admit my daughter's not very
        patient we tend to do everything in a hurry....no I can't say I do know the answer to
        that one....no I'd have to read up on all my, you know magazines and bits and pieces
        to understand, you know. If they (English Heritage) give an explanation themselves
        perhaps I'd be interested. No, I don't know.
Child - Well Harold got killed, didn't he?
Man - Yes we know that but...
Woman - it's awful, we should know I suppose.....

Three woman
Woman 1 - Can't remember because it was such a long time ago since we did it at school, but I suppose I was aware that the Battle of Hastings took place and that William the Conqueror won, but that's all.....it's hard to think, like, that 900 years ago it's like an actual battle and such a significant moment in history that happened here and the way of life was totally different.
Woman 2 - I remember about the arrow in the eye but that's all really, was it so important then?
Woman 3 - You two are hopeless, mind you I couldn't say exactly how it changed (us) but we did.

A family with two children
Man - Phew that's a hard one, I, er, well all I can say is I haven't got a clue, have you Andrea?
Woman - Don't ask me, but I suppose....
Child 1 - it's the battle when Harold died.
Woman - Yes we know that but what then?

Woman - Well the country changed, didn't it? The feudal system was introduced and everything changed and it was run by French people, rather than English, just totally different. Classes were divided..

Woman - I think, because it changed, we came under Norman rule. I suppose it changed our way of thinking, our government, language and so on.

A couple
Woman - ...a landmark in English history.
Researcher - Why?
Woman - Well is it anymore so than any of the others, Wars of the Roses?
Man - Well I think it's because we changed like, from Saxon to Norman.

Man - Yes, I think it's got a lot to do with England and the way its changed, a lot of influence came from the Normans, linguistic influence and the way they organised the country, sort of stabilised it, I suppose, in a way and the Domesday Book came as well...

Two women
Woman 1 - Well possibly it's because where England wasn't as one country was it, before, so it was really uniting all the different areas, that's how I would sort of interpret it.
Woman 2- And it's true what it say's on here isn't it really (interpreter) it doesn't matter whether you're Saxon or Norman we're all intermixed now, aren't we.

These last two sets of comments reveal the extent to which the date and the battle are seen as the point at which the unbroken tradition, that is so clearly associated with this nation, actually began. This represents the educationally sanctioned interpretation of 1066. Which is not to say that this interpretation is wrong, but merely that it illustrates a key aspect of the basis upon which this nation's identity rests. An aspect that the state considers its citizens should be taught about. As one visitor stated:

I think when you first start learning about history it's usually one of the first things that's ever taught to you and it kind of sticks in your mind and you learn about all the other things, like the Tudors and the, you know, you go through all the realms of history and yet it's almost where history really started, isn't it, you know, because you don't hear very much about before then and it's kind of, I suppose it's as far back as you really go in terms of really learning about history in this country. I think the fact that the date has got into four figures and it's, you know, it's sort of less than a thousand years ago I suppose.

While further underpinning the role of education in legitimising the status of 1066 the above comment is interesting for other reasons. Not least of which is the phrase that the Battle of Hastings is 'where history really started', that this is the point at which the nation began - what happened before then is not really important. Consequently, it does not really matter that visitors could not always remember the consequences of 1066, as long as they were able to connect with the sense, or the feeling, that this is the point at which 'our way of life' began. This is the significance of school history, it not only teaches facts, it also teaches what is an appropriate emotional response to these facts. It is this emotional response that is often the most remembered aspect of school history. Yes certain dates, figures or events may 'stick' in the mind, but they 'stick' because of the emotions they trigger and not because everyone can remember the specific facts associated with them. So when people directly, or indirectly refer to the date 1066 as the last time 'we' were invaded, they are making an emotional connection to the unbroken tradition this represents. Rather than connecting to particular events or consequences.

In many ways this explains the hold the date 1066 has on the imagination. Why so many people remember it to the exclusion, almost, of any other date. It is as, Sandra Barrett has stated, a shared national date, a date that everyone knows and accepts that others, from the same nation also know. This communal act of remembering marks the events associated with the date very clearly as 'our' history, 'our' national past. Furthermore, collective expressions such as 'we', 'us' and 'our', as opposed to 'them', highlight the extent to which individuals are recognising themselves and their fellow country-men as one group. As one woman states 'you're treading in footsteps, aren't you, of thousands of years'. Thus, this date and this battle are significant to the collective 'us'. In other words to the national 'us'.

So, while the custodians may feel frustrated that some people do not know the exact consequences of the date, it is felt that too much reliance may be being placed upon this issue. What is more important is that, as far as they are concerned, this date, this battle is where 'we' began. Thus, for most people academic debates about the accuracy of this 'fact' are largely irrelevant. The date of 1066 is taken as the beginning because it represents the last time 'our way of life' was forcefully altered. It thus enables the visitors to place themselves at the top of a line that stretches back down the ages like a family tree. As argued in the general section on Battle, such an imaginative link connects visitors to the beginning of the national line of descent. To their ancestors.

Visitor reactions to the site, their feelings and emotions, are also useful indicators of the extent to which the site is able to promote a sense of belonging and identity. Such reactions are also important as regards understanding this imaginative line of descent that links individuals in the present to those who have gone before. In the main the visitor reactions indicate that the custodians may be being unduly pessimistic about the extent to which the visitors appreciate their inheritance. For example, those visitors who were earlier described as fitting the description the 'bucket and spade brigade', were still affected by the site:

A family with one child

Woman - ....I wondered and this is my theory, if we came back here on the date the battle was, at that time would you actually hear the battle. That's what I was interested in more than anything and we tried to imagine how it would of been and the trumpets didn't go right or something, did they, and there was a lot of bad playing of trumpets and so that was really my thoughts. What would it of been like, or what would it sound like. I'd love to hear it. I'd love to come here and feel all the spirits around me, because we're very interested in ghosts and things and bits and pieces like that.

A family, two children

Woman - Yes, I'd say how lovely it was, quiet, even with children running about, it's outdoors isn't it, but we, well me anyway, I could imagine the cries of the men, you know, and the noise. These (interpreters) help a lot don't they.

Man - Mmh suppose so. I'd just of liked more to see, you know actors or something, fighting, but then I like battles, not the history stuff just the fighting, though I must admit it does make you think coming here, you know, about how we were beaten by them.

However, when asked if they had any particular memories of the day not everyone stated that they had thought about the site in this way:

A couple

Man - Can't say really.

Woman - Haven't really thought about it really, just sort of looked round.

Man - Not honestly, really. It's just one of those places that you remember, perhaps, from childhood and it's one of the places that we've always envisaged coming to...

Despite this the majority of visitor comments do indicate the power of the site to create these imaginative links with the past. These links were explained by one person in terms of the feel of the place, '...it gives you the feeling of the battlefield and the um, well the monastery came after I know, but it gives you the feeling.... '. This 'feeling' is what Louise Dando was referring to when describing what she wanted the visitors to understand about the site. She explained this 'understanding' in terms of the visitors having an affinity with the site and the

events associated with it. It is clear that most visitors spoken to did have an affinity with the site and this is evident by their reactions. These reveal how people make sense of the past by imagining themselves as part of that past, by imagining this line of descent that links them with their ancestors. However, each visitor expressed this imaginative link in different ways. For some this link was revealed by their emotional reactions to the site, as one woman stated '...I can hear their voices when their fighting down in the battle down there...'. Whilst for others the link was based on relating aspects of the site to their own, familiar, world view, as the following comments illustrate:

Man - ...they weren't paid by the hour then, they just had to work until they pegged out I expect....and how skilled were the masons and that, and they didn't have the tools that we've got now. Our craftsmen can't do the same.

A couple
Man - Feel the atmosphere.
Woman - Atmosphere and that the people are probably still there. Well I found that anyway. It's odd, but I think it's just when you think of how they built the buildings, you know, and the thickness of it and I mean and how we build things today it's almost totally different.
(later on in the conversation)
Woman - ...we were saying it's a small area isn't it, where the battle took place.
Man - That's something that you don't perhaps realise, you know, how small it really was. You kind of look around and you visualise all these bodies lying around and all these fights going on, don't you, and you just kind of imagine what it was probably like, you know.

Researcher - Do you have any particular memories of your visit?
Man- The battle site, the hill, the hill I think that's interesting the fact that the Saxons were at the top and the Normans were down in the well. I think I probably knew that but I forgot and so the fact that they were seemingly in a stronger position and then they lost at the end, it seemed to be only because of Harold being shot they lost heart or something at the end. It sort of makes it a lot more real when you actually see (it) it's like they were here and they were there, rather than they were on a hill.

Man - I tried to look across the fields and picture it, yeah like you do, and you think, you seem to think more deeply about how they lived in those times and exactly what they had to endure their suffering and what have you...

Two women
Woman 1- It was interesting on this (interpreter) when they told you, you know, when you listened to the Saxon and the Norman, what one was wearing, and what the other was wearing, it made you feel as if you could really see them,
Woman 2- and also having a female point of view as well was, er,
Woman 1- with the baggage, cooking and boiling, things haven't changed (both laughed).
Woman 2- Women we're very important, I should imagine, yeah.
Woman 1- Yes, they were because they were the ones that did the nursing really, didn't they, and that must of been horrific, mustn't it, what they had to do.
Woman 2- There couldn't of been very much they could do for them because with Harold there wasn't much left, was there.
Woman 1- No because we we're saying that if you lost a lot of blood there was no way you could give them a blood transfusion, was there, you just had to comfort the dying

really. Terrible.

Woman 2- And I think, well especially today, there's a sort of sense of peace, wasn't there, all around.

Woman 1- Yes, and...you do get the sense of the history there, don't you.

Researcher - Do you have any particular memories of your visit?

Woman - I'd say virtually all of it, really, it would be hard to pinpoint because everything was nice. I mean looking across to where the battle was was nice, looking at the great hall at all the wonderful ceilings was nice, just sitting here looking at that (gatehouse) it's wonderful and it's so clean.... and....I mean it's intact, isn't it, I mean the house that we're renting in Suffolk is practically falling down and it's only 30 years old.....it makes you wonder, doesn't it, in two hundred years from now these will all be standing, but our houses will probably be little rubble piles on the floor and people will say did they honestly live in that, what were they made of.

By imagining how it was in the past, how the battle was fought and who took part, people are identifying with what took place. They are recognising the events as significant to their national past. This does not mean that an individual's imagination is not triggered at sites located in other countries, where historic events significant to another nation's past are depicted. However, what is missing in such circumstances is the sense of kinship that Connor (1993) argues lies at the heart of national consciousness. A kinship revealed here by the use of collective expressions such as 'we' and 'us', what Connor (1993: 382) refers to as '...a group of people who feel that they are ancestrally related'. As one man stated '...the foreigners come over here and beat our chaps really'.

Furthermore, the previous visitor comments illustrate the part played by the interpreters in triggering these felt kinship ties. Although the custodians acknowledged that many visitors liked these, they criticised their affect on visitor behaviour. They were regarded as anti-social and unresponsive because visitors could not ask questions that would enable the story to be put into its wider context. Indeed, some of the visitor comments do support these concerns:

Woman - ...I must say I preferred the older tour where it just followed it all the way through. I think this is slightly gimmicky. I think it's aiming for more, and I don't mean this in a snobby way, but I think it's aiming more for the popular rather than, you know, actually educational. So I did prefer the older tour.

A couple

Man - Well to be honest we listened to about the first seven or eight and we thought this is going on and on and on so we sort of more or less cut it off and walked round and.....to see more about the actual abbey than the actual battle.

Woman - yes but then a lot of people would want that and enjoy that but I felt, when I got up to about number six I thought oh I've had enough, but I did listen to seven, eight, nine....but then we switched to the Chapter House didn't we forty-five, but then you can read it.

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While not all the visitors liked the interpreters the majority spoken to enjoyed the freedom they gave to take the tour at their own pace. Moreover, the visitor comments clearly reveal that the interpreters are important at triggering the sense of felt history that enables individuals to connect with the nation. As Connor (1993) argues it is appeals to the senses that help to explain the ancestral ties that bind people into a nation. As the following comments illustrate:

A couple
Man - I think it's good. I mean it's nice to go round the battlefield and kind of listen to the commentary. I mean we had this (interpreter) up to our ear all the time, didn't we, really.
Woman - yeah we did yeah....
(later on in the conversation)
Man - I think this (interpreter) kind of gives you the atmosphere doesn't it, you know, and there's a few sounds of the battle thrown in, as well as the commentary and that.
Woman - And also we were talking about the woman's point of view because you don't think, you know, it's always the men but we were on with the woman.
Man - We kept playing the woman actually... we were trying to work out the voice, actually I think it was Honor Blackman, but you don't think so do you?
Woman - No (laughing)...

A couple
Man - ...I was saying to you earlier, wasn't I, when you're learning this at school, text book stuff, it doesn't really hit home to you, does it, but when you come along here to where it actually happened and you're listening to this (interpreter) then you begin to take a bit more interest and then you do actually try to work out what went on after and how things might of been different if the battle was won by the Saxons, you know....
(later on in the conversation)
Woman - And these help (interpreters) don't they, as well, you sort of concentrate on these and I love coming round the old buildings as well and I try and visualise how they must have lived.

Two women
Woman 1 - well I thought having this (interpreter) I mean you can sit there and well try to imagine it actually happening. I think that's why its taken us so long. Some people are walking around listening as they walked and we sat and just tried to, I think we both did the same thing, trying to picture it, which I thought was really good once we got the hang of this (interpreter - both laughed).
Woman 2 - Picture it.

It is evident from the comments discussed in this section that Battle Abbey is an important site of the imagination. It enables individuals to imagine themselves as part of the ancestral line that links them, in the present, to what has gone before. This imaginative link is built around the sense of felt history that is triggered by the site itself and by the interpreters. Moreover, as felt kinship ties are one of the ways in which a sense of belonging is created, then being able to feel oneself as part of a long line of descent that stretches back into time, reinforces this sense of collective belonging. Thus, Battle Abbey brings the nation home to visitors by providing a space in which imaginative links with 'my' ancestors can be created. As Connor (1993: 382) states 'to aver that one is a member of the Japanese, German, or

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Thai nation is not merely to identify oneself with the Japanese, German, or Thai people of today, but with that people throughout time'. Battle Abbey enables this identification to take place.

Conclusion

This analysis further emphasises the importance of Battle Abbey as regards the creation of a sense of belonging. For the custodians it is a sacred site because it represents the birthplace of the nation, its roots. As such it should be accorded appropriate respect, not only by those who visit the site, but also by those who are responsible for managing the site. Thus, management decisions based on the need to increase revenue are, in their eyes, evidence of the sites diminishing status. This is what Daryl meant when he stated 'once upon a time the monument came first...'. The custodians regard themselves as guardians of the site's special status as the nation's birthplace. It is they who are responsible for the keeping safe of this inheritance in the face of what they see as increasing visitor apathy and an encroaching commercialisation. Even though they accept that not all visitors are unaware of the site's significance and that there is a need to make the site 'pay' so that it can continue to be conserved, their concerns about the future of the site are genuinely held.

Moreover, a significant theme to emerge out of the interviews with the custodians is this idea of felt history, that in order to understand the site people must be able to 'feel' its significance to them. In this respect the visitor interviews do give the custodians cause for hope as they reveal the extent to which visitors do 'feel' the significance of the site, its atmosphere. It is this atmosphere, a complex mix of the abbey ruins, the *Story of the Battle* on the interpreters and the 'empty' battlefield that combines to create this feel for the past in the imagination; what has already been referred to as 'speculative reverie'.

Furthermore, what the above analysis has shown is the importance of Battle Abbey as a site of the imagination. For it is in the imagination that the visitor re-connects with those who have gone before, with their ancestors. Speculative reverie enables the visitors to imagine the anguish and the suffering of those on the field of battle. It personalises the relationship between the past and the present, almost as if those who died were members of 'my' family. Hence comments such as 'it must have been horrific what they had to do'. By recognising past events as significant to 'us' in this way the visitors are acknowledging the kinship ties that bind them into a nation of common descent.

Moreover, references to the way in which the battle changed 'our' lives, 'our' government and 'our' language merely emphasise the fact that this site is about 'my' people, 'my' nation. This is why the date of 1066 is so well remembered. It is remembered not so much because it was taught in school - many other dates were encountered in this same way - but because it marks the point at which the nation started to evolve into what it has since become. As Umberto Eco (1986) states looking at the Middle Ages means looking at our infancy, they represent our roots, they are the forerunner of our today. Indeed, our laws, forms of government and the organisation of the land all owe their existence to the changes that were

brought in as a result of the Norman Conquest. So when visitors state that they remember the date because it was taught in school this is only partly true. Its remembrance lies in its ability to highlight the unbroken traditions of law, government and land usage that are directly traceable to the present day. It is these 'roots' that attract people to Battle Abbey and it is these 'roots' that are subsumed in the phrase 'our way of life'. This is the inheritance that the custodians are so keen for the visitors to understand.

Battle Abbey is thus a site of national belonging for those visitors who choose to identify with it. It enables what Connor (1993) has referred to as the non-rational core of identity to be triggered, the psychological bond that underpins national consciousness.

So what does this reveal about English national identity? While Battle Abbey does not represent particular national characteristics, it does represent the underlying core upon which this nation's identity rests. An ancient land, founded upon an unbroken tradition and a community of common descent with a characteristic 'way of life'. Battle Abbey is the start of this continuous national line of descent. It is this line that is being highlighted or, as Billig (1995) has argued, is being 'flagged' by the site. As such, it is a focus for national sentiment. As Carol Goddard stated it gets into your blood. However, this is merely one interpretation of the nation's identity, one aspect of the historic landscape. Not everyone who identifies with the nation would necessarily see themselves as having descended from this particular ancestral line. The kinship ties depicted at Battle Abbey thus represent some of the people, not all of the people. This does not diminish the abbey's significance as a site of communal belonging. It merely acknowledges that this is one, of many, interpretations of nation-hood.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Section One

Hever Castle: historical issues and tourist context

The Context

This section examines the main historical issues and themes surrounding Hever Castle together with relevant aspects of the primary research. It provides both a framework and a focus for section two, the analysis of the visitor observations and interviews.

Over the centuries Hever Castle has had a variety of owners, some obscure, some well-known. The most famous are the Bullen or Boleyn family, into which Anne, the second wife of Henry V111, was born and the Astor family, starting with the first owner William Waldorf Astor. These two connections form the basis for the marketing of Hever Castle. Although it is the 'Anne and Henry' association that is perhaps the most instantly recognisable. Nowadays, Hever Castle is privately owned. It was bought from the Astor family in 1983 by Broadland Properties, a private Yorkshire based property company owned by John Guthrie. In this respect it differs from the other two sites, which are owned by English Heritage and the National Trust.

The origins of the castle date back to the thirteenth century and over the years its fortunes have varied considerably. Successive generations allowed the external structure to drift into a state of disrepair. Had it not been for the Astor family Hever Castle would probably have 'become 'a picturesque, unoccupied ruin' (Hever Castle, 1995: 6). According to the 1972 guide the first owner, Walter de Hevere, or d'Evere was a Norman and it is from him that the name Hever is derived. The 1995 guide states that the oldest parts of the castle, consisting of the Gatehouse, a walled Bailey (outer wall of the castle) and the surrounding moat, were built around 1270. A variety of descendants of the 'Hevere' family owned the castle until 1462 when Sir Thomas Cobham sold it to Sir Geoffrey Bullen, a merchant who had been Lord Mayor of London in 1457. Sir Geoffrey was succeeded by his son Sir Thomas Bullen who was the father of Anne Bullen.

Although called a 'castle', Hever is not a 'true' castle in the mould of a Warwick or a Leeds which were built both as fortresses and as places in which to live. Indeed, the main part of the castle is quite small and is in effect a protective wall for the house that lies behind it. Hever thus resembles more a fortified manor house than a place from which invaders can be repelled. As an early guide to the castle states:

> ....Hever was never really much more than a manor house, although it is embattled and moated and possesses some of the stern features of what we call a Castle. It has been described as a 'castle in miniature', or a 'castle-ette' of the feminine gender. (Hever Castle and Gardens, 1972: 17)

The word 'castle', therefore, refers to the protective wall and Gatehouse, rather than to the small manor house built behind the wall. In a sense, then, the 'castle' is a medieval facade, an illusion of strength that masks a soft inner core. As the above quote states it is a feminine rather than a masculine structure. Moreover, the facade, this illusion, extends into the present day as part of the renovations carried out by William Waldorf Astor included the addition of a complete Tudor Village. A twentieth century imitation frequently mistaken by visitors as being part of the original structure. Hever Castle is thus not quite what it seems.

Indeed, as chapter four argued, a castle signifies the nation as ancient, powerful, majestic, strong and enduring, all characteristics that are essentially masculine. Yet in being described as feminine rather than masculine and as a castle-ette rather than a true castle this highlights the nation's alter ego. Hever Castle is the nation as a feminine construct. This is why it is described above as a facade, because its supposedly strong, outer masculine shell hides an inner feminine core, a home, a place of women and domestic life. This is the nation as a feminine entity, homely, domestic, a mother.

Hever Castle and English history

The castle's importance as regards English history is continually emphasised in all the guides and sources consulted. Indeed, the current guide book describes it as '...a treasured part of Britain's heritage' (Hever Castle, 1995: 11). The following excerpt from an earlier guide illustrates why this is so:

> At the end of the nineteenth century Hever was still probably one of the most exquisite examples of English building which arose out of the disturbed state of society following the Norman Conquest - when the Wars of the Roses were over, and when Henry V111's wise decree against fortified houses had left the way open for the splendours of Penshurst, Hatfield and Longleat...(However) even in Tudor times it was only a small and simple place of residence which would have escaped all distinction were it not for its Royal visits and romantic associations.
> (Hever Castle and Gardens, 1972: 17)

It is the history of the people who lived at the castle, just as much as the period reflected by the architecture of the building, that is the reason why it is considered an important historic monument. Although the castle has had a variety of owners, it is the Bullen family that are the most significant. Furthermore, the religious upheavals that took place during the period when they were in residence are central to the castle's status as a treasured part of the nation's heritage. The family's fortunes mirror the fall of Catholicism and the rise of Protestantism. Like the previous owners before them the Bullen family were Catholic. Indeed, the break with the Catholic Church, instigated by Henry V111, involved Sir Thomas Bullen being sent to Rome as a negotiator for the divorce between Henry and Catherine of Aragon: 'that he became a leader of the Protestant party goes without saying, for his daughter's greatness and his own fortunes hinged on the revolt against the Pope' (Gunnis,

1959: 15). They also altered the spelling of their name to Boleyn around this time. Thus, the Bullen family changed their religious affiliations for political reasons as well as for reasons of survival. However, Anne was still, or was merely treated as, a Roman Catholic on her death since she was buried in the Catholic Chapel of St. Peter within the Tower of London (Hever Castle and Gardens, 1972: 10).

Hever is thus 'treasured' for its part as a backdrop to the relationship between Henry V111 and Anne Boleyn. It was Henry V111's push to divorce Anne that provided the catalyst for the break with the Catholic Church in Rome and the establishment of the Protestant Faith as the 'official' religion of England. Hever Castle is thus a physical reminder of the birth of the nation's 'Official Faith' and it is the memory of this birth that is so 'treasured'.

The castle continued to mirror the nation's changing religious affiliations even after the death of Anne Boleyn. Following her death Henry V111 gave the castle to his fourth wife, Anne of Cleves and on her death it returned to the Crown. When Queen Mary (Mary Queen of Scots) ascended the throne in England the Catholic Faith was restored as the 'true religion'. Queen Mary rewarded one of her followers, Sir Edward Waldegrave, by giving him the castle in return for his support during her imprisonment in the Tower of London (Hever Castle and Gardens 1972). A variety of owners then followed, descendants of Sir Edward Waldegrave, until 1745 when the castle was bought by Timothy Waldo who was himself descended from a Dutch Protestant family. The religious affiliations of the owners thus became more firmly rooted in the Protestant Tradition.

A Protestant Nation

As stated above it was the need for a Royal divorce that provided the catalyst for the break with Rome and the Protestant Reformation. (A detailed discussion of the impact of the Reformation on national identity is provide in chapter nine). It is this significant event in the nation's history that is represented by Hever Castle. (See Sheils, 1989 for a detailed assessment of the religious causes and impact of the Reformation). This break did not merely represent the fall in popularity of one faith and the rise in that of another, it was something much more important than that. It represented the wresting away from Rome of a degree of control over the internal affairs of England and the re-investing of this control back with the monarch, '..there can be no doubt at all that it was the combination of Nationalism and Protestantism which determined the peculiar character of the Reformation in England' (Sykes, 1953:9). Furthermore, the changes heralded by the Reformation are seen by Whale (1955) as the real beginning of modern history, because of the way in which the relationship between church and state was re-written.

The Reformation is thus a seminal event in the building of the English nation-state (Haseler, 1996: 14) because it meant that the monarch, and thus the country, was no longer subject to the dictates of Rome. It could now manage its own affairs. From then on, not only did the king rule absolutely, but England was now identified as a Protestant nation. Although it was not until the Act of Union in 1707 that Great Britain was formally established by Parliament

as a Protestant nation under one ruler (Colley, 1994: 11). Furthermore, Kohn (1961) argues that the break with Rome not only resulted in religious and political freedom, but also helped to establish the concept of individual liberty. Which would in turn provide the backdrop for the Puritan Revolution of the seventeenth century between Cromwell and the king.

Hever Castle, still physically intact, thus stands as a reminder of the basis on which the battle with Rome was fought and of who was the eventual victor. It therefore represents a pivotal point in the history of the nation's identity as a Protestant country. As Haseler (1996: 23) illustrates, 'ever since Henry V111 the idea of a Protestant England set against a Catholic continent had been a subtle, though powerful, image in the forging of national identity'. Indeed, Hever's ability to remain in the background of the nation's religious upheavals is highlighted by the fact that Anne Boleyn was the mother of Queen Elizabeth 1. During her reign not only was Protestantism firmly restored to prominence - most notably by Sir Francis Drake's defeat of Catholic Spain - but this era also represents a time when 'England ruled the waves':

> ......Anne Bullen......was also mother of Queen Elizabeth 1 in whose reign the defeat of the Armada destroyed the power of Spain, the British colonies in America were established and England rose to Supreme heights of greatness....so this little moated manor house is full of romance, and has helped to weave a chapter both sad and great in the annals of medieval England. (Hever Castle and Gardens, 1963:1)

The castle's importance is not only due to its links with the Reformation and the subsequent consolidation of Protestantism under Elizabeth. It is also important because these events preceded the nation's rise to power and influence on the emerging world stage. Hever Castle is thus also 'treasured' because it serves to remind the nation of how great it once was.

From Treasured Heritage to Tourist Attraction

While the historic importance of Hever Castle may relate to its association with the birth of the nation's religious identity, its importance as a tourist attraction is almost solely confined to the relationship between Anne Boleyn and Henry V111. Moreover, this association is juxtaposed alongside a 'modern-medieval' setting. The inside of the house evokes a twentieth century style of living with medieval artefacts presented side-by-side with the more contemporary pieces. In many ways Hever Castle has become a sort of medieval repository for various ancient and more modern pieces of furniture, objects d'art, pictures and general artefacts. Many of these are original to the castle, but over the years they have been added to by Broadland Properties who have increased the collection with 'suitable period items' (Hever Castle, 1995: 11). Moreover, the Anne and Henry association is not the only marketing theme, as the castle's medieval heritage is also highlighted. There are Merrie England weekends, jousting with The Knights of Royal England, a Falconry, a Tudor Herb

Garden and The Kent Bowman. The visitor is thus presented with a variety of historical themes and images all seemingly rolled into one. As Robert Pullin, the Managing Director of the castle, states, '...we try to have complimentary events, complimentary to the history, so you have jousting...then we also have the longbow archery, Henry was a great longbowman....prior to the longbowmen we dress the knight.....so you have these various aspects...'.

Such events are interesting as they highlight the extent to which Hever has evolved over the centuries from a country manor house, where visits could be made by appointment, into a full-time tourist attraction. Despite becoming a full-time attraction relatively recently Hever Castle does feature as a site worth visiting in many early travel books and guides. These provide an interesting insight into how the castle has developed over the centuries and into the social conventions of the various ages. Indeed, Hever is mentioned in these books as a place worth visiting because of its association with Anne and Henry, rather than for its location and degree of splendour (see Anon, 1807; Amsinck, 1810; Bewick, 1828). An early nineteenth century guide indicates that the various owners of Hever were well aware of the importance of the history of their 'castle-ette'. As it describes '.....a small portrait in a panel of Queen Anne Bullen, which has been preserved with almost religious veneration by the different possessors of the castle' (Phippen, 1839).

The interesting thing about the twentieth century guides is the change in their scope, size and content since the castle was officially opened on a regular basis in 1963. In fact the 1963 guide states that '...under present conditions the only way such a heritage of experience and achievement can be maintained and held together intact, is by inviting the public to share in its appreciation and upkeep' (Hever Castle and Gardens, 1963: 2). Indeed, the castle was initially opened to the public by the Astor family in order to raise money for its maintenance. While William Waldorf Astor may have had the money to renovate and maintain the castle, the later members of his family found the financial burden of the estate far from containable. Thus, Hever Castle, like many stately homes and manor houses before it and since, entered into the arena of the contemporary tourism industry.

In this respect, although Astor's alterations added considerably to the attraction of the castle, the primary focus for attention still lay with Anne Boleyn and her ill-fated marriage to Henry V111. It is this connection that captures the imagination of most visitors to Hever Castle.

The Anne and Henry Story

The guides for 1963 and 1965 are fairly basic in their descriptions about the contents of the rooms and in the main tend towards 'lists' of items with little expansive explanation. At the beginning of each is a brief account of the history of the castle, the owners and its association with Anne Boleyn and Henry V111. These descriptions are the forerunners of the more detailed 'story-lines' that appear in the later guides. All of the guides, including the present day ones, concentrate almost exclusively on the castle's links with Anne Boleyn and

the Astor family. Indeed, the relationship between Henry and Anne is given increasing amounts of space over the years and up to the present day, where it tends to take on the appearance of an extract from a historical romance novel. The following is an example of an early 'Anne and Henry Story':

> although Queen Anne Boleyn's head fell under the sword of an experienced executioner brought over specially from France, she gained for herself an immortal place in the history of England. She it was who aroused Henry V111's passions and brought about the breach with Rome and the Religious Reformation in England.
>
> (Hever Castle and Gardens, 1963: 1)

As stated above the scope, presentation and content of the guides changed in the late 1960's to larger, more 'glossy' guides. These more modern guides do extensively re-write the story of Anne Boleyn and Henry V111 and in so doing ascribe emotions and thoughts to the main characters:

> the King....lonely, bored...suddenly fixed his formidable attentions on...Anne herself and began to make repeated visits to Hever Castle - to the despair of Anne's mother...who found the constant...visits...a burden of insupportable size...Henry ....proposed marriage to Anne...she with rare and brave firmness, replied "your wife I cannot be...your mistress I will not be"...nothing was better calculated to push Henry over the edge of moderation....all Henry wanted was a son, and he....mortgaged his soul - and the soul of England itself - to get one.
>
> (Hever Castle, 1995: 5)

A further interesting point about the guides of the 1960's and the 1970's is the insight they give into the period before, during and after the Reformation. The changing 'fortunes' of Catholic and Protestant owners has been alluded to already and more specific information is given in the guides of the 1960's and the 1970's, with reference to a number of the paintings on display. The 1963 guide includes details of a picture in the Inner Hall of Archbishop Warham by Holbein. Underneath this the guide states:

> on the death in 1532, of this incorruptible Archbishop of Canterbury, Henry V111 was able to promote in his place Thomas Cranmer, who could be relied upon to act in accordance with the King's pleasure. The immediate result was a breach with Rome. The Pope's refusal to grant Henry a divorce from Catherine of Aragon was repudiated; permission was given for him to take Anne Boleyn as his second wife; and Henry V111 appointed himself supreme Head of the Church in England. This was the beginning of the Reformation in England.
>
> (Hever Castle and Gardens, 1963:5)

Likewise, the 1965 guide lists a painting, on the first floor staircase gallery, of Martin Luther by Lucas Cranach and offers the following by way of explanation:

This humble German, who lived from 1483 to 1546...became disillusioned by the religious abuses and scandals of the time. He challenged...the whole system of indulgences, sacraments and the Papacy itself, and encouraged those who read the Bible to form their own conclusions instead of being guided by the church. In 1521 one of the most momentous events in the religious history of Europe took p l a c e when Luther burnt the Papal Bull condemning his teachings.....His teachings...sparked off the Religious Reformation in Europe. Henry V111, who professed to be a Roman Catholic all his life, wrote a refutation of Luther's theories, and for this he received from Pope Leo X the title "Defender of the Faith" - a title which has appeared on all coins of the realm ever since. The impact of Luther's doctrine, however, made it easier for Henry V111 twelve years later to repudiate the Papal Supremacy and to establish himself as Supreme Head of the Church in England so that he could divorce Catherine...and marry Anne... .

(Hever Castle and Gardens, 1965: 6)

However, the 1995 guide merely describes the paintings of Anne Boleyn, Anne of Cleves, Henry V111 and the Astor family. Consequently, any sense of the effect of the 'swing' between Catholic and Protestant beliefs and the impact these had on the development of the nation is lost. For all intents and purposes therefore, Hever Castle, in the late twentieth century, is solely about the romance and the intrigue of Anne Boleyn and Henry V111 and of the renovations undertaken by William Waldorf Astor. Hence the increased reliance on telling a 'story' of Hever, where historical information thought extraneous to the 'Anne and Henry' romance is no longer highlighted. As Robert Pullin, the Managing Director of the castle, states 'from our point of view, in marketing terms, the Henry V111th and Anne Boleyn associations are very much the USP... (unique selling point)...the thing that one is actually seeking to establish...that is our main draw'.

After reading the earlier guides, there is a feeling that something has been lost with regard to the significance of certain historical events to the history of the nation. Such information is a relevant, interesting and important background to the political and religious events that helped to shape England (and thus Britain) and Europe, during the sixteenth century.

Early nineteenth century descriptions of Hever concentrate on the structure of the building, rather than on a detailed list of the contents. This is presumably because the castle was not opened for public viewing in the sense that it is today. Indeed, in the nineteenth century, the castle could only be viewed at limited times, as one guide states '...it is now the property of a private gentleman, who allows admission on a stated day' (Kershaw, 1880: 10). A book by Paul Amsinck, entitled *Tunbridge Wells and Neighbourhood*, published in 1810, concentrates initially on the origin of the Hevere family before going on to state that 'it is chiefly to the Bullen family that this place is indebted for its celebrity...' (Amsinck, 1810: 141). However, he rather strangely concludes that the decline and demise of the unfortunate Bullen's '...is too prominent a feature in our national history to need any further detail' (Amsinck, 1810: 142). Despite this he does go on to offer a description of the events between Anne and Henry at some length and in the style employed by the modern guides discussed earlier:

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who can enter these walls, without recalling to his mind the unfortunate Anne Boleyn? who can enter the great hall, and there see probably the identical oak table at which the Royal Henry has sat a suitor and a guest; and will not allow his imagination some play of fancy....Here we are to fancy the fierce and arbitrary tyrant, soothed into mildness by the fascinating charms of Anne Bullen; playing the lover..... (Amsinck, 1810: 143; 145)

Amsinck's book does, however, question the historical accounts, or 'stories', of the Anne and Henry period which are given to visitors to the castle 'on the spot':

many are the stories...respecting the royal visitor and his unfortunate mistress; the fruits of ancient tradition, or rather perhaps of modern invention. Those which relate to the Queen's confinement here during her disgrace...are evidently fabulous. She never was here at that period. The interval between her disgrace and execution was short: and the intermediate time is otherwise and satisfactorily accounted for.
(1810: 143-144)

Another interesting query over the accuracy of so called 'historical accounts' appears in the 1959 Guide to St. Peter's Church in Hever. Here, the then Rector, Denis Foster questions the local legend concerning the name given to the Henry V111th Inn which was only so named in 1830:

Formerly it was called "Bull". The legend runs that after the execution of "their Anne" the people of the village renamed it the "Bull and Butcher" as an indication of their indignation with the King. The earliest reference, however, to the "Bull and Butcher" is as late as 1799, and one fears that it must be concluded that the legend was invented to fit the facts! (The Guide to St. Peter's Church, 1959:9)

A slightly different version of this 'legend' is given by Martin & Row (circa 1900: 72n) who state that the 'Bull & Butcher' is an '...obvious play upon the words, 'Boleyn Butcher". It thus seems that a desire for 'historical accuracy' is not a modern preoccupation. Furthermore, it is interesting how a greater understanding of historical events, as a result of further discoveries, is reflected in the information given in guides and books. The guides of the 1960's and 1970's state that Anne of Cleves actually lived at Hever Castle and indeed the 1995 guide goes so far as to state, 'it was one of her favourite residences, and this.. (the Anne of Cleves Room)..was said to be her favourite room' (Hever Castle, 1995: 24). However, Amsinck (1810: 142) stated that '..it does not appear that she ever made it the place of her residence...'. However, these differences do illustrate the 'amendments and corrections to historical fact' that Gavin Astor notes were made in the guide book published in 1972. Thus providing very interesting insights into the development of historical understanding and its translation into what can be termed 'guide-book speak'.

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Hever Castle, Gentleman's seat.

The main thrust of Amsinck's book, and one of its most interesting features, is the way in which it describes Hever Castle in relation to the society and class structure of the time. Hence Amsinck did not considered Hever to be on the same social scale as other more 'grand' buildings:

> ...of those of the higher nobility we have many perfect specimens on the grandest scale: of those of the inferior orders there are few remaining; and, this is complete in its character and condition...we are enabled to form a very accurate idea of the mode of living appropriate to the class in society, at the time alluded to. (1810: 143)

He further wrote that the castle was of interest, not because of the beauty of its location, or for the magnificent building, but for the view it gives of a particular lifestyle. Such a view offers a revealing insight into the class structure of the early nineteenth century. Similarly, in the mid nineteenth century Hever was seen as a good example of how the character of the English had changed over the centuries. This, coupled with the more settled political and religious state of that time highlighted the extent to which castles, as fortresses, were no longer needed: '...the sterner features of defence...are greatly modified; the proud keep has disappeared, and there are no dungeons to tell of cruelty and suffering. A century or two had exerted some influence upon the savage character of our countrymen' (Blencowe, 1858: 118).

Towards the end of the nineteenth century Kershaw (1880) offers a short description of Hever in his book *Famous Kentish Houses; their history and architecture*. Like Amsinck he considered Hever to be a building not of the 'grand scale', 'if in Hever we miss the rich and vast elegance of Knole and Cobham, we find points of constructive interest as a building of defence' (Kershaw, 1880: 10). Although he very briefly alludes to the castle's association with Anne Boleyn and Henry V111 he focuses his description on the physical features of the building and avoids detailed reference to the actual contents and their layout:

> The approach and entrance-gateway is flanked by two towers, embattled and defended by a portcullis....From the quadrangle, several apartments, with high-pitched roof and gable, are entered and communicate by a fine staircase with panelled rooms. The long gallery with original woodwork has a large bay window...The external appearance of Hever is very picturesque - the grey stone walls of the fortified portion blending with the mellowed brickwork of the chimney shafts, affording some excellent sketching...The doors have riveted frameworks of oak, and small doorways now blocked up, through which those who had been defending the gate-house from above might withdraw. (Kershaw, 1880: 10)

Amsinck's and Kershaw's opinions of Hever probably reflect the state in which it was to be found at the time they were writing. As Amsinck (1810:146) wrote '....this place fell into

neglect..(and)..afterwards passed into a family, who dis-parked it, and allowed it gradually to sink into its present forlorn state'. The family referred to here are the Meade-Waldo's and this description of neglect is further enhanced in the 1972 guide:

> By the end of the nineteenth century the castle was occupied by humble farmers whose ducks and geese swam in the moat; whose kitchens were once the proud hall, whose bacons and hams hung seasoning from ancient beams; whose corn and potatoes lay stacked in chambers that were haunted by so many memories; whose shovels and hoes were piled in the ancient Guard House.
>
> (Hever Castle and Gardens, 1972: 12)

This contemporary description of owners reflects the social conventions of today, just as much as Amsinck's words reflected those of his time. However, the interesting point about all the above descriptions is their emphasis on the most appropriate type of person to own and live in the castle. This is significant because it goes to the heart of the reason why the castle was purchased by William Waldorf Astor. As Robert Pullin states Astor was a great follower of 'Englishness' and in this respect Hever Castle was seen as a typical English country gentleman's home.

The Astor Family

As already stated the second historical connection that attracts visitors to Hever Castle is that of the Astors, beginning with William Waldorf Astor who bought the castle from the Meade-Waldo family in 1903. At that time the castle was in need of extensive repairs and renovations and the 1972 guide talks of Astor having to 'rescue' the castle, he '...removed all traces of the farm and...effected various transformations of his own, restoring to it something of its former splendour' (Hever Castle and Gardens, 1972: 12). Thus, much of what the visitor sees today is the result of his imagination, determined standards of perfection - and of course money' (Hever Castle, 1995: 1). In this respect Astor is understood to have spent an estimated twelve million pounds during the period 1903 to 1908 on the restoration of the castle and grounds (Robert Pullin). The 1972 guide provides a useful brief summary of the Astor family members.

William Waldorf Astor was the great grandson of John Jacob Astor who emigrated from Germany to America in the late eighteenth century. The family fortune was based on fur which was traded in England and China for manufactured goods and tea. Profits were invested in New York real estate which succeeding generations extended into politics, hotels, magazines, newspapers, industry, racehorses and agriculture. It is William Waldorf Astor who was the owner of The Times newspaper group. The 1995 guide adds to this information with details of William Astor's reasons for settling in Britain and becoming a naturalised British citizen. According to this guide, Astor developed a 'passionate love' for Europe while serving as the American Minister (Ambassador) for Italy in the mid nineteenth century:

this feeling coincided with a disenchantment with his native land, and in 1890 he announced publicly that in his opinion "America (was) no longer a fit place for a gentleman to live"...here he settled...and totally absorbed himself with his adopted country...he bought Cliveden...in 1893, and ten years later bought Hever Castle....here he was able to translate into his own grand design his historical sense and romantic taste. (Hever Castle, 1995: 7)

William Astor was subsequently created the first Baron of Hever Castle in 1916 and a year later became Viscount Astor. Thus becoming the 'English gentleman' that the guides state he so admired. It is obvious from this that, in Hever Castle, Astor saw a particularly English way of life and his transformation from uncivilised American to civilised Englishman was completed by his ennoblement. As Robert Pullin states:

> yes I mean they actually were quite major players in British society from the...twenties onwards. William Waldorf Astor, per se, was somebody who had, shall we say, well worked for his position. We understand from what the Astors themselves have written that he determined that to be a gentleman one had to live in England.....at which point he sought a property of suitable standing.... .

Moreover, part of the attraction of Hever Castle for Astor was its historical connections. As Robert Pullin further states, 'I think it was the whole romance and sort of historical associations that actually caused him to actually want to acquire Hever...'. Indeed, the Anne and Henry saga was so prominent a feature of the nation's historic legacy that, in owning Hever, Astor was also appropriating a piece of the nation's past. Moreover, not just any piece, but a specifically English piece of the past. As the historian David Starkey (1998b) argues in a recent television documentary '...above all Henry defines our sense of England and Englishness'.

By purchasing Hever, Astor turned himself into a custodian on behalf of the nation. He was further emphasising his new found status as both an Englishman and a gentleman. Thus, Astors' drive to fill Hever with antiques and Italian sculptures exactly mirrored the type of activities that were part and parcel of the Grand Tour, undertaken by the sons of the British aristocracy. As Robert Pullin again illustrates:

> What was interesting though, I think, was that whilst in Rome of course he put together this most amazing collection of statuary, sculpture....he then determined that whilst he was putting in this whole concept of the restoration and the transformation...of the castle, put in a Tudor garden...and the maze, all of that you would say, well that fits in totally, but what didn't fit in totally was the Italian garden.....it's the most spectacular outdoor gallery that you can imagine and so, while on the one hand there was this aspect to drive someone of this whole vision and concept of the romance.....he also had aspirations that the great English gentlemen of the 18th century were on their Grand Tour and were picking up these bits and pieces all over and bringing them back to their own homes and actually adding elements within...so there was a great following of Englishness...

It was this desire, this vision of Englishness, that provided the basis for the restoration of Hever Castle. Astor was determined to restore the Tudor setting, because this served to reinforce the fact that he owned a piece of the national past. While his overriding aim was to '...live in twentieth century style and comfort and to entertain lavishly....' he was intent on doing so in a manner that would perpetuate the castle's historical associations (Hever Castle 1995: 9). As such, he spent his fortune on restoring the castle and filling it with furniture, paintings, tapestries and objects d'art from a variety of periods from the fourteenth century onwards. Astor also built a 'Tudor village' adjacent to the castle of around one hundred rooms with which to accommodate and entertain his friends. Craftsmen created panelling, carved screens, stone fireplaces, plasterwork, marquetry, stained and painted glass. In addition bathrooms, modern plumbing, electricity and central heating were added together with a fire-fighting system, waste disposal system, an electricity generator and a private water supply. All the ceilings throughout the castle (and the Tudor Village) were formed as far as possible from the same materials that would have been used in Tudor times and the workmen were forbidden to use any form of straight edge as everything had to be done by eye (Hever Castle, 1995). This ensured that the renovations appeared as far away from the twentieth century as possible and so were more in keeping with the origins of the castle.

Astor's 'vision' was, therefore, one of being the ultimate Englishman. A member of the aristocracy, a gentleman following in the traditions of his adopted 'class' and the owner of a castle, the previous occupants of which had played a significant role in the history of the nation. Interestingly, Astor's self-identification with Englishness, personified by his acquisition of Hever and The Times newspaper, have their contemporary parallel in Mohamed Al Fayed, the Egyptian owner of the Harrods Department store. His self-identification with Britishness led to his ownership of Harrods, the 'top people's' store and his acquisition of the former Paris home of the Duke and Duchess of Windsor. Again there are arguably no greater contemporary signs of Britishness than the store most associated with the Royal Family and the British aristocracy and the home of a former British monarch and the woman for whom he relinquished his crown. Unfortunately, for Al Fayed, such possessions have not assisted him in obtaining the British citizenship he so obviously desires. But the similarities between William Waldorf Astor and Mohamed Al Fayed remain.

Astor, meanwhile, was so keen for the castle to represent him as the archetypal Englishman that he 'didn't really want to share it with anybody else, so all other members of the family, guests, and or servants had to....live in the Tudor Village....effectively him in the castle' (Robert Pullin). So, although Robert Pullin states that Astor's previous home, Cliveden, was perhaps more characteristic of an Englishman's country home this, to some extent, misses the point. The point being that Cliveden did not possess the historical significance of Hever Castle. Its walls did not witness a royal romance that changed the course of the nation's destiny. Cliveden will not be forever associated with a moment in history that defined the religious identity of the nation, of the nation's future monarchs and the majority of its population. It is these aspects that make Hever a treasured part of the nation's heritage. It is also these which prompted William Waldorf Astor to turn what would of been a

picturesque unoccupied ruin, into a mirror in which he could bask in the reflection of his own Englishness.

The Tudor Village

As stated in the beginning Hever Castle is in reality a small Tudor dwelling house behind a protective 'castle' wall and this proved too small for the degree of entertaining Astor required. As such, in 1903 he started building a Tudor-style 'village' which he completed in 1906. In 1963 the village was converted into more than a dozen self-contained and separate cottages and flats to resemble '....a real village of small individual dwellings' (Hever Castle and Gardens, 1963: 2). Today the village is not open to general visitors but part of it is used by private guests and for conferences and corporate entertainment.

Originally this 'huddled', rambling village was designed to look as if each, apparently separate, 'cottage' had been designed and built by a different person, so that the whole would be made up of varying materials, shapes, angles and styles within the whole Tudor concept. The effect of this is one of '...quaint roofs, gables and chimneys...so old and crooked...' and possessing '....such individuality that they might have grown up one by one in various ages instead of in three years' (Hever Castle and Gardens, 1972: 21). Inside, however, all the rooms were joined by corridors and service areas providing bathrooms, bedrooms, servants quarters and estate offices (Hever Castle, 1995: 9).

According to the 1972 guide the chimneys were copied from those at Hampton Court and timber and oak from what was left of the Tudor stables were used to construct the village. Overall, the Tudor Village is a very impressive sight:

> Every chimney stack is different. Some of the roofs are tiled, some covered with stone slates, Every carved gable and barge-board is different. Almost every leaded window is of a different pattern. There are little internal courtyards, dormer windows, projecting first storeys - and perhaps more important than anything else, the whole 'village' has been kept down to a scale which allows Hever Castle, small as it is, to remain the dominant building. (Hever Castle, 1995: 11)

So, for Astor, Hever Castle not only highlighted his position as an English gentleman, but more specifically as a Protestant English gentleman. Thus, the building of the mock Tudor village was not solely about maintaining the Tudor theme. It was also about re-creating an era that marked the nation's struggle for supremacy over a Catholic Europe. This is in effect the importance of the Tudor Village. Yes it is an example of superb craftsmanship, but its significance goes beyond the purely architectural to what it, together with the castle, *represents*. The Tudor Era, the foundations of a national identity based on Protestantism and the beginnings of the nation's path to greatness. Furthermore, the size and scope of the village turns Hever Castle into a more substantial property than when in its original state. It stands out more, it is more of a feature, or a landmark property now than it ever was before.

This increased stature further enhances its role as a beacon of English Protestantism. As such, Hever Castle with its Tudor Village is a lasting physical reminder of the nation's core religious values.

Conclusion

The above discussion has highlighted the significance of Hever Castle as regards English national identity and the reasons behind its description as 'a treasured part of Britain's heritage'. In re-creating the Tudor era Astor was laying claim to this heritage, as if making a public declaration that this past was also 'my' past. As Such, he was recreating an outsiders interpretation of how an Englishman should live and of the type of characteristics he should personify. In his desire to become English he had to provide himself with a suitable English heritage, hence he followed in the footsteps of the British aristocracy by embarking on a Grand Tour. Yet the Grand Tour was not merely a *rite of passage*, the ritual coming of age of a young aristocrat, a young English gentleman. It was also an opportunity for a Protestant nation to purchase and appropriate the artefacts, sculptures and paintings of a Catholic Europe. In this way, the Grand Tour represents a symbolic conquering of a Catholic Europe by a Protestant people. A further reinforcement of the basis upon which the nation's identity rests, the struggle for supremacy between Catholicism and Protestantism.

Astor's ownership of Hever was thus his personal affirmation of nation-hood, his declaration of who he was. His ownership of The Times newspaper can also be seen as part of this desire to re-invent himself as English. This newspaper, above all others perhaps, was the newspaper of the establishment, read by politicians and monarchs alike. In acquiring both Hever Castle and The Times, Astor thus possessed both a suitable English heritage and a suitable English present.

So, while Hever castle legitimised Astor's status as an English gentleman and thus as a co-inheritor of an English historical legacy, its primary function today is as a tourist attraction. In this capacity it actively *invites* visitors to share in and experience key aspects of the nation's past, its medieval roots and its religious identity. This is not to say that there are not other, equally valid, religious identities within the nation at large, after all people can be both British and Muslim, or Catholic, or Jewish. However, the nation is primarily a Protestant nation and this is personified by the link between the Church of England and the monarchy. Hever Castle is thus a monument to both these core aspects of the nation's identity, the Protestant Faith and the medieval roots that underpin 'our way of life'.

Hever Castle thus resembles an historic arena in which the legacy of the Tudor era, as represented by the Anne and Henry Story, can be experienced in the imagination. Moreover, this story is essentially a romance and it is with this in mind that the visitors wander through the house and around the gardens. Thus, their relationship with the nation's core religious identity takes place from within the confines of this romantic imagining. Furthermore, as the Tudor Village is not open to the public this turns it into a spectacle that has to be viewed

from afar, again from within the confines of the romantic imagination. This spectacle resembles John Urry's (1990) concept of the tourist gaze, which was discussed in chapter one. However, it illustrates two different but complimentary gazes, the romantic gaze and the collective gaze, as Urry states:

> there is...a romantic form of the tourist gaze, in which the emphasis is upon solitude, privacy and a personal, semi-spiritual relationship with the object of the gaze...(however)...the collective gaze...necessitates the presence of large numbers of other people...other people give atmosphere or a sense of carnival to a place. They indicate that this is *the* place to be and that one should not be elsewhere.
>
> (1990: 45, 46)

Urry links the romantic gaze to the appreciation of nature and the landscape and the collective gaze to mass tourist attractions such as seaside resorts and stately homes that are opened to the public. However, Hever Castle exemplifies both types of gaze. Moreover, these particular ways of looking affect the way in which the visitor both encounters, and understands the nation and nation-ness. The romantic gaze suggests a more personal and private national imagining, in other words, this is 'my' national heritage. Whilst the collective gaze legitimises the images of nationhood on show because large numbers of other people indicate by their attendance that they too understand and relate to them. Otherwise, as Urry argues, they would be elsewhere. As one visitor stated ' (it) must be important because people come here even in the rain...they come here because it's heritage.'

While the over-riding message of Hever relates to the religious identity of the nation, it also represents another aspect of the national character. The nation as a feminine construct, a mother, homely, domestic and a romantic at heart because it witnessed a love affair that changed the course of history. This is why Hever Castle typifies the romantic gaze. Yet, as previously stated Hever is not quite what it seems, since the focus of this romantic gaze is confined within a masculine shell. This domination of the masculine over the feminine mirrors the domination of Henry over Anne, the domination of a masculine king over a feminine queen. So, while the nation may be a combination of male and female characteristics, it is those of the male that hold sway over those of the female.

Furthermore, the Tudor Village's contribution to this romantic, national gaze is its personification of an idealised village community. Indeed, Strathern (1982) states that the 'village' concept can reflect and magnify notions of kinship, belonging and class, both of the village itself and of the wider society of which it is a part. As such, she argues, the idea of village-ness can often command a powerful emotional commitment to the existence of both a core of 'real villagers' and of 'real' village concerns. Thus, the Tudor Village, as a spectacle to be viewed, concentrates the mind on a vision of the nation as being essentially a village. Indeed, the most frequently used description of England today is that it is a country of villages, small close-knit communities seen as the back-bone of the nation (see *This England*, 1996). Thus, the Tudor Village reflects those aspects of the nation based upon an idealised vision of what village life represents, a sense of community and tradition:

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villages...are traditionally associated with a close-knit society centred on a hall, which serves as a kind of community centre, a market, a parish church, pub and 'green', an area for fairs...cricket matches...and other sporting events or public gatherings...a village's focus is likely to be on continuity and community life, and it is often said that everyone will know everyone else's business. (Childs, 1997: 70)

However, the Tudor Village is not really a Tudor Village but a *representation* of one. This, though, is not important as it is what this representation *signifies* that matters. As Lowenthal (1975: 6) argues '...we feel at home with new products when their camouflage evokes the old. Thus modern fireplaces heated electrically, if at all, simulate true warmth with Victorian coal or Tudor burning log effects'. The Tudor Village is, therefore, not just a village but *the* national village and as such it is a good example of Anderson's concept of the nation as an imagined and limited community. It enables individuals to imagine themselves as part of the wider national community. By gazing upon the Tudor Village it is possible to imagine the whole nation living in similar traditional communities. While it is accepted that the nation is not all villages and Tudor beams, the point is that the individual is able to experience the nation on the basis of a recognisable aspect of the national past. This may not represent the nation as it is today, but it represents the nation as it once was. This is important because it highlights the continuity of ages that led up to the present day. In gazing upon the Tudor Village the visitor is linking the present with the past. They are acknowledging the historical lineage that connects them to their ancestors.

Overall, this analysis has highlighted three key themes as regards understanding the link between Hever Castle and national identity. The nation as both Protestant and essentially English, the nation as a feminine construct, the mother to its citizens, and the nation as a village community of common descent. These aspects illustrate why it was originally stated that Hever Castle is not quite what it seems. On the surface it is a medieval castle, strong, majestic and powerful, yet this is a facade behind which lies the nation's alter ego, the romantic-feminine aspect of its personality. It is from this perspective that the visitor first encounters the castle and it is the implications of this romantic, national imagining that will be examined in the following section.

Hever Castle- observations and interviews

Context

The aim of this section is to consider the previous discussion in relation to the interviews and observations undertaken at Hever Castle.

As argued, Hever Castle conveys a variety of meanings concerning the Tudor era and its impact upon the nation and the relationship between the nation and the communities in which people live. It also highlights one man's determination to identify himself with that nation. Yet Hever is not merely a monument to one man's sense of nation-ness. It is also a monument that reminds the nation at large of a defining period in its history. So, how do these aspects of Hever Castle help to connect the individual to the nation? As Billig (1995) would argue how do they 'flag' the nation to its citizens? The following analysis will take account of these questions. This analysis is organised into two main sections *A Treasured Heritage* and *A National Day Out*.

A Treasured Heritage

Even though interviews with the guides were prohibited the Managing Director of the castle was very happy to be interviewed. His contribution has already been incorporated, to some extent, in the previous section. Indeed, Robert Pullin's management title indicates the different approaches to heritage management revealed by this work. Whereas the National Trust and English Heritage are open to public scrutiny, Broadland Properties, the owners of Hever Castle are not. While this is not a problem it does affect the way in which each group approaches their site and how they view its long term future as a part of the nation's heritage. This is not to imply that Broadland Properties take less care over their property, but that their fundamental approach to it is different. This point will be taken further in the following discussion. Generally this section is organised around the key themes to emerge from the interview with Robert Pullin, *A National Asset* and *The Great British Romance*.

A National Asset

As stated above Hever Castle is owned by Broadland Properties, a private company specialising in the buying and selling of large estates. In fact the purchase of Hever was initially just another property deal, albeit a fairly substantial one. However, John Guthrie, the man behind Broadland Properties and his family were so taken by the property and its potential that they decided to keep it and open it to the public:

> well initially....if it hadn't of stacked up as a property deal they wouldn't have looked

at it. But in fact the family were very taken with it...and felt that it would be a lovely idea if they could possibly run it as a business, given that the Astors had already opened it to the public in 1963. So it had some sort of record behind it and so it was at that point felt that they would seek to sort of carry that on, and the Tudor Village of course is the other element. The Astors used (it) originally.....as a family accommodation, they then used it for one or two, what one would call more charitable type of events, functions and so on. So, again there had been some sort of history as to how the thing might be used other than for the family and guests living here. (Robert Pullin)

It is clear, then, that Hever is viewed primarily as a business investment and that if it had not been possible to turn it into a full-time tourist attraction it would have been sold-on. The castle, the Tudor Village and the grounds are thus both a national and a business asset. They are a national asset because of the history associated with them and they are a business asset because this history provides the basis on which to sell the site as a tourist attraction.

These points highlight the main difference between the three organisations involved here. Whilst English Heritage and the National Trust will also regard their properties as both business and national assets, the philosophy underlying their inception sets certain restrictions on what they can do with these assets. As chapter three established both English Heritage and the National Trust preserve places of historic interest and natural beauty for the benefit of the nation, rather than for the benefit of one particular company. The main issue here is that Broadland Properties are under no *obligation* to maintain the legacy of Hever Castle for the national good. This does not, however, affect their sense of responsibility, or their feelings for the site. As Robert Pullin states, they do consider they are conserving something for the nation and '..in real terms we do care very much about what we are caring for and the way in which we are seeking to present Hever Castle..'. Despite this Broadland Properties would be prepared to sell the castle under certain circumstances:

....(at) the end of the day we are a commercial organisation owning an historic property and at which point we seek to present that property to the public, to generate money in order to be able to both conserve, preserve and retain that historic property for the future and to that extent we make it available for people to view. And we certainly, if you look at the artefacts and so on that we have, regard them as part of an overall part of English heritage. However, at the end of the day we are also pragmatic enough to realise that one may have to look at them as a commercial asset and at some point or other in the future one may have to.....sell things but we wouldn't be the first, families are doing it all the time... . (Robert Pullin)

This is interesting as it underpins the comment made by Alan Lam, one of the custodians at Battle Abbey, that there exists a conflict between tourism and culture; between the need to maintain culture and the need to use it to generate money. What Hewison (1995) refers to as the *Enterprise Culture*. This enterprise culture highlights a shift in the power base away

from those who traditionally controlled the political, economic and cultural life of the nation, the aristocracy. Towards those whom Hewison (1995: 16) refers to as the *intelligentsia*, those who control the political and economic fortunes of the nation; politicians and corporate enterprise.

The important point here is that those who own aspects of the nation's culture are able to control the uses to which it is put and how it is interpreted. For example, English Heritage's remit to ensure that the public *understands* its sites becomes the primary means by which the political elite ensure that their version of what the nation stands for is promoted. As Hewison (1995: 16) illustrates '...one way of maintaining consent is to ensure that the culture of the dominant class is not enjoyed exclusively by that class, but that its values permeate the whole of society'.

Although Broadland Properties, as a private company, is under no obligation to ensure understanding, it still retains control over a significant part of the nation's historic past. The ability to control how this past is represented illustrates the powerful position of Hewison's corporate intelligentsia. Thus, Hever Castle is not only a business asset in financial terms, it is also one in cultural terms because it provides access to a defining moment in the evolution of the nation's identity. As Hewison (1995: 15) again states 'culture puts the flesh on the bones of national identity'.

The implications of private ownership and control is that culture becomes commercialised. It becomes a resource from which to pick and choose the most exciting and interesting elements; elements that may entertain but not necessarily inform:

> Whether it was, or wasn't, I think history's always been about that. If you don't know you make it up anyway and the thing gets embellished in a whole range of ways and clearly the Tudor gardens were not there during the time of Anne Boleyn and her family...in that shape or form...that doesn't stop people, though, saying that this is where Henry courted and round the maze well fine, but the maze was actually only put in in 1904.... (Robert Pullin)

The issue then is one that features fairly frequently in debates about heritage: firstly, the balance between entertainment and education and secondly, the selection, control and interpretation of our cultural heritage. Commercial organisations may have fewer objections to 'making it up' if it gives them an edge on the competition:

> ...entertainment I think is very much an important element of visitor attraction. You can't expect to present something in a dry dusty almost old museum style...it is a very competitive market and I think that there is no problem in learning being fun, I have no problem with that. (Robert Pullin)

However, only certain aspects of the nation's past can and will be chosen. Moreover, Hever Castle maybe a treasured part of Britain's heritage yet the heritage on show is almost exclusively the romance between Anne Boleyn and Henry V111. A tiny part of a greater and much more important picture. As illustrated by a recent television documentary on Henry V111:

> In his personal transformation from prince charming to bloated ogre he became the stuff of legend. The English bluebeard. The only king whose shape you remember. A one man and six wives band that is a mainstay of the English tourist industry. This is history that's good for a laugh. But Henry is serious history as well...... .
> (Starkey, 1998b)

At Hever the serious history is overshadowed by the history that is good for a laugh. How this romance underpinned the dramatic changes that caused the nation to become Protestant rather than Catholic is not really highlighted to any great extent. As Robert Pullin states:

> the problem with real history very often is that it's not living, it's not moving it's not visual as per television....and therefore different people look at it from a different standpoint and if you have no understanding from either reading, or study or anything else it's very difficult to get people....excited about the fact that Henry V111 might have visited Anne Boleyn here or that it was Anne Boleyn's childhood home or whatever, well fine it looks like a house to me sort of thing. Its very difficult, now, with virtual reality with a whole range of other aspects, even film...it can be portrayed in a way in which people want suddenly to see it and if it isn't like that it's difficult to actually relate to it.

It may be difficult to relate to a mere romance between two people, even if one was a king who eventually married six times, but people may relate more if they understood the relationship between themselves and what they were seeing. In other words, how does this particular romance affect *me*. After all, a romance is a romance is a romance, kings through the ages have had wives, mistresses and illegitimate children, but the effects of such liaisons can alter a nation's destiny. One only has to look to the present monarchy and debates over changing the succession, to favour Prince William, and the dis-establishment of the Church of England to appreciate the consequence of a mere romance. Yet what is important here is not so much the actual love affair, but the consequences of it. Without a thorough understanding of these the visitor may not be able to relate to what they see and no amount of edu-tainment, to borrow a phrase from John Urry (1990), will get them to relate. Moreover, real history may be dead, but the consequences of it very rarely are and it is these that affect not only how people live their lives in the present, but also how they see themselves in relation to others; their understanding of who they are and how they fit in. As Starkey further argues, Henry is serious history because:

.....his actions still present dilemmas to the living. Prince Charles, who agonises about whether he wants to be Defender of the Faith like Henry, or faiths as he'd prefer. To Tony Blair, as he ponders whether to reverse Henry's break with Rome and take us back to the heart of Europe......And most of all he challenges us, the English, to decide who and what we are..... (1998b)

Despite this, Hever Castle is not a site in isolation, the history that it represents is only one aspect of an historical era that most people learn about in school. Indeed, as the analysis of visitor interviews highlights later on, the six wives of Henry V111 are perhaps one of the more colourful most remembered historical 'facts'. Along with 1066 and the Battle of Hastings. Consequently, it is not necessarily the case that visitors to Hever do not relate what they see to information that they already possess. In so doing they may combine the historic consequences with the romance itself to provide them with an overall imaginative picture of the significance of the Anne and Henry Story. As such, the romance highlighted at Hever may actually enable people to put their previous knowledge in to perspective. It may, after all, link visitors to the nation because it triggers their imagination, helping them to recall other salient aspects of the overall picture.

The Great British Romance

Hever Castle, then, is the romantic setting for the love affair that changed the course of English history, what Robert Pullin has referred to as The Great Romance of British History. As such it will be forever associated with the period in history that incorporates the Reformation. In many ways the affair is not so much a love story as a doomed romance, since its continuation depended upon Anne giving birth to a male heir. After all his divorce from his first wife, Catherine of Aragon, was precipitated as much by his love for Anne as his desire for a son. All these elements of intrigue, an illicit love affair, an unwilling divorcee and a re-marriage are all factors that people can relate to. Apart from the subsequent beheading of Anne Boleyn most people today have either experienced, or know of people who have experienced, all or some of these elements. It is these that make the Anne and Henry Story relevant and what has probably helped to maintain this relevance through the centuries. While for most people the consequences of such intrigues are not nationally significant, they are still able to empathise with the whole idea of a romance. Moreover, although the Astors played an important part in restoring the setting of this romance most visitors are not persuaded to visit the castle because of them. 'I mean you could say well, ok the Astors were a major influence here, they might have been, but with all due respect to them they actually have very little following so to speak from any historical point of view....' (Robert Pullin).

It is not only the romance that draws people to Hever Castle, it is also the part played by the castle in the social history of the nation. As Robert Pullin states people have traditionally visited the 'Great House', the house of the lord or the squire because it appealed to their aspirational nature, '...the house of the...Lord of the Manor or whatever was always looked up to and people aspired to be close to that, to be associated with (it)...'. Indeed, such an

aspiration underpinned Astor's purchase of the castle. Hence, the castle not only represents a romantic love affair, it also signifies Astor's romantic longing for a place that reflected his social and national aspirations. Thus, Hever Castle is as much a site *of* romance as it is a site *for* romance, for romantic imaginings about oneself, one's past and one's place in that past. Moreover, because most people can relate to the type of intrigues that accompany an affair, a divorce and a re-marriage this enables them to relate to the castle on a much more personal level, it is familiar to them. As Robert Pullin again states:

> the great romance of British history and people do relate to that and the charm of Hever enables you to feel that, wouldn't it, couldn't it, we could just imagine how you could be taken along on this....a beautiful young lady in this environment wouldn't she be desirable, there are aspects of that. People do romanticise about it.

This illustrates the importance of the romantic gaze. It is more personal, more private - a person's imagination is arguably the most private place of all - and yet it takes place in a public setting. It is a collective act of remembering. This is not to argue that all visitors will respond to Hever in the same way, or that all will relate to the history on display. This is not the major issue. The point is that Hever provides a setting in which the nation can be felt in the imagination and some visitors will relate to this and some will not.

The aspect of the nation that is romanticised about is not only the affair between Anne and Henry, it is also the whole Tudor period and this is precisely because of the Tudor Village. As already stated Astor built the village to accommodate his family and friends. However, he did not have to replicate a Tudor village, after all the Tudor manor house is not visible from outside the castle. So for all intents and purposes his village could have been constructed with a medieval theme. Yet the result of his vision was to more surely emphasise the importance of the Tudor period and since the village is not open to the public the visitors are forced to gaze upon it as a representation of this era:

> .....adding the Tudor Village, which to all intents and purposes looks like Tudor cottages, to a castle the size of Hever Castle....that must have been terribly difficult to do, the scale of it, it's incredible that they got that right and you look at it now and you look at what appears to be the cottages and the different pitches, the roofs, the materials and everything else blending in and it could have been there all this time...The beauty of the Tudor Village, for the majority of people, is to see the series of cottage shapes, so to speak, in relation to the castle and to have that whole feeling.
> (Robert Pullin)

That 'whole feeling' is what the Tudor period signifies - as the previous section established - the religious foundations of the nation's identity. These foundations are triggered emotionally through the romantic imagination. It is in this realm that the nation is both 'felt' and experienced as a homely, even motherly, village community of common descent. As Robert Pullin again illustrates:

one of the things that keeps coming over to us from visitors, first of all 'gosh it's small' and when people first arrive they say, when they've been through the house, 'we didn't realise there's so much inside'...the other thing that then comes out is that they say 'but actually it's very homely and we could live here' and there is this natural sort of warmth and homeliness which actually pervades the castle and normally with castles, yes I mean there are spiral staircases, stone walls and all the rest of it, but there is this very warm sort of friendly sort of feeling to it.... .

This warm, homely, friendly, feel is important as it illustrates the extent to which visitors feel comfortable with this past. This, then, is the importance of the romantic theme. It represents familiarity and familiarity is something people can both understand and relate to. Thus, Hever's importance as a national asset goes beyond the commercial, it is an asset because it offers a potential link between the individual and their past, a link based on a sense of familiarity with the history presented. This is 'my' history connecting 'me' to 'my' present. The extent to which the visitors respond to this potential link will be examined in the following section.

A National Day Out

This section analyses the observations and the visitor interviews and is organised into two parts, *Heritage Speak* and *Heritage Observed.* In particular these areas will consider the extent to which the imagination can be said to create a link between the nation and its people. Hever may signify, or 'flag' the religious roots of the nation's identity, but do the visitors both understand and relate to this? In other words does this 'controlled use of reflection on history' (Giddens,1985) promote cultural attachment to the nation. If it does then what aspects of Hever Castle enable this sense of belonging to manifest itself.

Heritage Speak

Analysis of the visitor interviews reveal three key themes and these will be discussed as follows *Significant history, My heritage, my roots* and *English or British?*

Significant history

The visitors to Hever Castle come for different reasons variously described as 'a day out', 'history/heritage', 'the gardens' and 'the Anne and Henry connection'. Generally people stated that they came for a combination of these reasons, although there was also an element of 'must see' about some of the visits. As the following illustrates:

A Couple

Woman - Oh yes I've always wanted to come, you know, to see it Anne, Henry and all that, very interesting isn't it John?
Man - Yeah, and of course it's important history and all that.

Man - I'm more interested in the history of it all. I like history....I give a few talks to
children and various groups....I'm trying to   research the Battle of Waterloo at the
moment, I've got quite a few books on it....I need to go a bit deeper than the public
library.

A couple
USA Man - Well some people we met in the hotel we're staying in in London said we
should definitely come here.
USA Woman - Right, right and I just love all this you know so we wanted to come and take
pictures for everyone back home, er you know to show what it was like.

Another American visitor stated that, 'I have a real interest in castles, I love them and I've
been to quite a few throughout Europe and I wanted to add this to the collection'. She
further explained that she was interested in anything to do with castles, such as television
programmes and that the next castle on her 'must visit' list was that of Bodium. Indeed, this
desire to 'collect' castles is interesting as it further emphasises the 'must see' factor, as the
reasons behind her desire illustrate:

Researcher - What is it about castles that interests you?
USA Woman- The histories and the stories associated with a lot of them and the intrigue,
especially this one...basically because I've read so many books that have involved
castles and of course Henry V111 and Anne Boleyn, and I like to see what I've read,
see some of the spots where some of the intrigue happened and the romance.

This also highlights the importance of Hever Castle, it is a significant site because of its
association with Henry V111 and Anne Boleyn. Moreover, these 'key players' are deemed
important for a variety of reasons, such as the marketing campaign that describes the castle
as a 'treasured part of Britain's heritage', the assumption that because something is old and
has survived, therefore it is important and because the history depicted here is relevant in
the present. Thus, some visitors drew parallels between contemporary royal events and those
surrounding Henry V111 and his six wives. Indeed, the field work at this site coincided
with details of the breakdown of the marriage between the Prince and Princess of Wales in
1995 and this caused some visitors to make comparisons between Prince Charles and
Henry V111.

Man - (Laughing) it must have been hard in them days, look he chopped off all those
women's heads, couldn't do that today, even Charlie couldn't.

Man - He got divorced, like Charlie.

Man - History repeats itself, having many wives.

Researcher - Why is the Anne and Henry period significant?
Teenager- There's the Anne Boleyn connection with old Henry V111 and the arguments
that's going on now with Lady Di and all the rest of it, you can understand what's
been going on like, years in the past.

So, the Anne and Henry connection not only has a particularly poignant relevance today, it again represents familiar history. As one woman stated '....that was a period in our history everybody's familiar with' Furthermore, as with the *Story of Battle*, the Anne and Henry Story is familiar because it was taught in school. As the following comments illustrate:

Woman - I don't know why it's significant, but it's certainly something that you're taught at school, there's a lot of emphasis on it. I can't speak for school in general, but mine did.

Girl - Well everybody seems to study old Henry V111 at school so, and if you've got an idea of what he was like as in how he lived and everything then it helps.

A couple
Woman - Yes I suppose it is because it's historical, isn't it, and because we have all the main historical names that we know living here.

Man - Yeah the Henry and Anne business.

Woman - Well the position, the castle, the history. I mean everything and I mean the gardens they're magnificent, everything.

Two men
Man 1 - The fact that you've got all these people here in the rain.

Man 2 - (It) must be important because people come here even in the rain....they come here because it's heritage. That in itself proves that it's an attraction.

A couple, with small child
Man - Um, um, oh that's a good one, why is it?

Woman - Well I think that most people are very interested in Henry V111 and Anne Boleyn and that's part of it and to feel that you're actually in the place where they lived.

Woman - Well because of the history and the connection with royalty.

A family, two children
Researcher - Why is Hever Castle a treasured part of Britain's heritage?

Woman - ...Well I'm interested in history anyway so,

Man - Its history the kids can relate to, they've learnt about it at school, they can see it.

Girl - Henry had lots of wives and had their heads cut off, we've just done that bit.

Woman - Yes, and learnt that funny rhyme about it haven't you, we did that when we were at school, funny isn't it, the same I mean.

As discussed in the chapter on Battle Abbey an educationally sanctioned historic past not only legitimises the significance of that past, it also reinforces the values to be learnt from it. This links into an important point to arise from the above quotes and that is the reference to the 'funny rhyme' recording the fate of each one of Henry's wives. A rhyme that is printed in the main guide book:

Divorced	(Catherine of Aragon)
Beheaded	(Anne Boleyn)
Died	(Jane Seymour)
Divorced	(Anne of Cleves)
Beheaded	(Catherine Howard)
Survived	(Catherine Parr)

This rhyme is interesting for two reasons. Firstly, it highlights the danger of romance, that it can lead to death and secondly, it illustrates aspects of the historic values that are reinforced and sanctioned by education. Values which link into earlier discussions of the masculine dominating the feminine, of a masculine king dominating a feminine queen; where the ultimate act of domination is the power to control life and death. In terms of identity this raises the interesting perspective of the nation as a paternalistic society, run and dominated by a male hierarchy. Indeed, the extent to which this historic principle is recognised by individuals, even if unconsciously, is highlighted by the frequent references to Henry's predilection for be-heading his wives.

A couple with one child
Man - Well I suppose it's sort of romantic isn't it and people like that sort of thing, yeah.
Woman - Yes, it's lovely to think of Henry courting Anne, so to speak,
Man - yeah, but pity she had to loose her head, pity she didn't think of that really.

So, this familiar history, this familiar romance is something not to be missed. People feel they 'must see' this site, this history that is important both to the nation and to them as individuals.   While it is accepted that not all visitors responded in this way, some could not articulate why they came and others referred to the need to entertain the children, or to just get out for the day. Yet the fact remains that even such intentions necessitated a choice as regards where to go. Thus, Hever Castle's position as a treasured part of the nation's heritage is self-perpetuating. As long as crowds flock to see the site, as one lady noted '...it's something not to be missed isn't it', then the presence of large crowds merely reinforces the idea that others think this is important too'. This in turn further legitimises and reinforces the values inherent in the history on display.

Another key issue here is whether people understand the significance of the Anne and Henry period to the history of the nation. While most visitors talked at length about the Anne and Henry romance the relationship between Protestantism and the royal romance was only highlighted by two couples. As the following illustrates:

A couple
Woman - Well I suppose, it's always claimed, isn't it, but it wasn't really the beginning of
          Protestantism, but it certainly,
Man - it's a bit of history that everybody knows, isn't it....everybody's heard about it yes.
Woman - We divorced from the Pope, didn't we, over that, because of the papal dispen, or
          whatever it's called...it's one of the most important things. I don't suppose many
          people realise we broke with the Pope at that point.

However, despite the fact that most visitors did not directly acknowledge the religious roots of the nation, they were still aware that the Anne and Henry romance was significant in some way. As one man commented 'well he made a big impact on our history, didn't he, changed it, so that's important'. Indeed, what Henry 'changed' was discussed in the general section on Hever Castle. He 'changed' the nation's religious affiliation, he broke away from the ties of Catholic Rome. He also broke away from the matrimonial ties binding him to various wives. There is thus an undercurrent of the concept of individual freedom here. Henry's break with Rome was precipitated by his desire to be *personally* free from his first wife, Catherine of Aragon. Thus, Hever Castle is significant because it highlights a key aspect, or value, associated with the Tudor era, that of freedom: individual, sexual and religious.

Consequently, being able to articulate the actual historical facts associated with Henry V111, Anne Boleyn and the rise of Protestantism is not the most important point. What is important is that these two figures are recognised as 'key players'. As being associated with specific traditions and values that have a bearing on who 'we' are and what 'we' believe in. This past is thus significant to 'me' and to 'my' sense of belonging, because 'I' recognise and understand the values associated with that past. This does not mean that individuals will always agree with the particular values and meanings displayed, but that they recognise them as having played a part in defining the national self. The implications of this will be examined in the following section.

My heritage, my roots

Like Battle Abbey, Hever Castle is significant to people partly because it enables them to make a connection between their own personal history and that of the nation. This is not just heritage for heritage sake, but related heritage. Related to me and my roots. Indeed, one woman came to the castle to find out more about an ancestor of hers who once worked for Sir Thomas Boleyn: 'Thomas Nandike, Keeper of the Keys....one of her relatives, been trying to find out what keeper of the keys is but no one can tell her, even the guides...'. Thus, the history depicted here *means something* to the visitors. Indeed, for many of the visitors the heritage label was itself seen as an indication that what was displayed was relevant to them.

Researcher - Why are heritage attractions popular?
Man - It gives roots to a country.

A couple
Man - ...heritage is artefacts and buildings which are produced by artisans, history is all about, basically about the lords and the ladies and the royalty, not about the common people.
Researcher - So, history is not about ordinary people?
Man - Well, yes, to a certain extent, as far as classical history that is taught in schools...which is why I was never interested in history...

<u>Three women</u>
Woman 1- Well history's important isn't it? I mean it's us, you and me, who we are so to
speak.
Woman 2- Places like this, yes they are England aren't they? (researcher - Why?) well
because of the history they show.
Woman 3 - Yes we are our history, aren't we, heritage, history it's much the same really,
though I suppose with heritage you get a sense of permanence there, you know, our
heritage, static, handed down.

<u>A family, two children</u>
Man - Heritage is something you're actually part of, history is something that could of
happened anywhere...if it's something to do with your heritage you actually feel
you're part of it, it's more personal to you.
Researcher - History is not personal to you?
Man - History is a broad description isn't it, it's something that's happened years ago and
may have no impact on us at all but something like this...
Researcher - so you'd classify this (Hever Castle) as heritage not history?
Man - Absolutely, yes.

<u>Two women</u>
Woman 1-....heritage can come through various lines whereas history is sort of the trunk of
the tree...history is the trunk and the heritage is the little bits of gossip.
Woman 2 - History to me is the truth embellished by films, authors whatever and heritage is
something people can do, be part of...the entertainment side...heritage is made to live,
isn't it, for us.

While not everyone agreed that heritage was a more personal, less elitist concept, or that
history / heritage were in any way different. It is interesting that heritage was primarily
perceived as a concept that people could relate to, more so than to history which tended to
be seen as more overtly academic. As one couple noted:

<u>Man</u> - Heritage can be Walt Disney, can't it? Its not real history, second best.
Woman - Its better than nothing.

Moreover, in describing Hever Castle as heritage rather than history the brochures and
guides are further emphasising that what is on display here has been preserved for 'us'.
This is heritage as an heirloom, 'our' inheritance, which is why many people defined
heritage as being something personal to them. As the majority of people either directly or
indirectly highlighted, it links them to their ancestry, their roots:

<u>Two women</u>
Woman 1 - Yes, I think it sort of brings it home more, because they're names that you've
heard of and then you sort of tend to see where they lived and....it perhaps gives you
an interest to follow it through a little bit more.
Woman 2 - Yes.

<u>Two women</u>
Woman 1- Well it traces right back, doesn't it, and comes up to recent times with Queen

Victoria and all that, doesn't it, and I mean it's all part of where you came from sort of thing, isn't it really, yes your roots.

Woman 2 - ....you're rooted in the past, you've got to have a past to look forward, haven't you, you've got to see where you've come from and well there's so little of worth left now, isn't there? We seem to be sliding away from caring for things don't we.

A couple

Man - Oh fascinating, fascinating how they all lived and that.

Woman - Yes, and to think it all happened here, it makes you think doesn't it?

Researcher - What does it make you think about?

Woman - Er, well, er,

Man - well, for me this is about us, isn't it, our history, national history, the French have their Versailles etc and the Germans their, their, well you know.

Woman - Yes and we have this.

Three woman

Woman 1- Very interesting, all those wives and many rooms to see and pictures.

Woman 2 - It's very interesting this history, isn't it? It gives you a sense of yourself, you know, like tracing your family tree. My Albert was always interested in history.

Woman 3- Yes, it is, isn't it? My brother traced our family once, took a long time though.

This recognition of familiar roots, a familiar ancestry is important, not only for the creation of a sense of individual belonging, but because it indicates the existence of a collective attachment to the nation. As previous comments linking the history of Hever to information learnt at school illustrated. Moreover, Connor (1993) has argued that national belonging depends on the existence of felt kinship ties, that members of the same nation are all ancestrally related in some way. This is not to say that each individual is actually related in the genetic sense, but rather that their exists an assumed relationship that is just as important and powerful. As Connor states:

> With very few exceptions, authorities have shied away from describing the nation as a kinship group and have usually explicitly denied any kinship basis to it....This line of reasoning ignores the dictum that it is not *what is* but *what people perceive as is* which influences attitudes and behaviour. A subconscious belief in the groups separate origin and evolution is an important ingredient of national psychology.
>
> (1993: 377)

Moreover, the previous comments illustrate the important part played by the imagination in helping to foster this subconscious understanding of the nation's roots. As a woman stated above '....it's lovely to think of Henry courting Anne....'. Such romantic imaginings enable visitors *to feel themselves* part of the national past on display. What Robert Pullin described as 'that whole feeling', that this is my past, my history and I can just imagine how it must have been. However, this is not to say that all visitors will feel this way, after all most people are capable of imagining an historic scene, but this does not mean they feel connected to what it represents. Nevertheless, as argued in respect to Battle Abbey what is missing in such imaginings are the kinship ties. The sense of being ancestrally related that,

for Connor underpins our understanding of who 'we' are and where 'we' belong. Thus, comments such as '...it gives you a sense of yourself, you know like tracing your family tree', '...for me this is about us isn't it, our history, national history...' and references to 'our roots' are all expressions of these felt kinship ties. As the following comments emphasise:

<u>Two women</u>
Researcher - Why is the Anne and Henry period significant?
Woman 1 - It's difficult to explain because ordinary people don't live like this, so you've got to have something, I think, like our castles in the air kind of thing...and it's ours.
Woman 2 - Yes, there's a sense of reality when you're in the building that you can imagine what it was like and it doesn't have to be right. Whereas you come to a place and it's sort of authentic space,
Woman 1 - and it has a romantic image as well....Elizabethan and that was a period in our history everybody's familiar with.

These views are interesting as they highlight the fact that, like Battle Abbey, Hever Castle is not only a real, tangible edifice it is also a repository for speculative reverie, about the nation and the individuals relationship with the nation. Hence its description as 'a castle in the air'. Moreover, the sense of reality inherent in the building and its contents enables the visitor to experience in the present the ancestral line that connects him / her to those who have gone before. Indeed, so powerful is this sense of reality created by the castle that it does not matter if the setting is not historically accurate. The comment 'it doesn't have to be right...it's sort of authentic space' was made in reference to the Tudor Village and indicates that *perceived* authenticity is just as important as historically proven authenticity. As Connor stated above, it is not what is, but what people *perceive as is* that is important. Thus, the Tudor Village is able to trigger imaginative reverie about nationhood despite its being a twentieth century representation. It may not have stood since Tudor times, but its ability to symbolize a line of national descent is no less powerful because of that.

The ability of Hever Castle to represent both the individual's and the nation's historic roots necessarily signifies inclusion as well as exclusion. These are 'my' roots but not 'your' roots. While this is obviously so for people of different nationalities who come from countries outside Great Britain. It can also be true of people whose nationality is British, but whose ethnic origin is Scottish, Welsh or English. Indeed, the extent to which Hever Castle caused people to reflect on their particular ethnic origins is the third key theme to emerge from the visitor interviews.

English or British heritage?

The question asking visitors to reflect on the status of Hever as a treasured part of Britain's heritage quite often led into other interesting areas. Such as whether English and British were one and the same thing. Most of the overseas visitors spoken to clearly identified the castle with the wider nation, Britain. Perhaps this is understandable, as not only is it

marketed as Britain's heritage, but they may also not appreciate the finer distinctions between Britain and her internal regions and nations. However, the tendency to talk of England and Britain as being one and the same thing is not a problem confined to the English themselves. As the following illustrates:

Two women
Dutch Woman - These castle are so English.
Researcher - What do you mean by that?
Dutch Woman - I don't know sort of tidy, you know what I mean. They always remind me of stiff upper lips, that sort of thing. Its all sort of get-atable.
USA Woman - Oh yeah, real English, old...be able to almost touch things, in America you couldn't do that. All those 'do not touch' signs, in the States you'd never even get that close, they'd have plastic all over the tapestries and alarms everywhere....here it's all part of it, getting close is what it's all about.
Dutch Woman - Mmh yes, that's history and the British are so good at it, but then they have a lot of castles and things, so well kept and they're an organised people really.

The comments of British nationals were also interesting in that most, but not all, identified Hever Castle as being an English attraction, rather than a British attraction. The following illustrates the type and range of views expressed:

A couple
Man - Oh I never really thought about it before, but yes, I suppose so, places like this remind you of who you are because they tell of where you have come from, you know, like a family tree almost.
Woman - Yes I suppose we came here because it's of interest to us, although I can't say we consciously thought so at the time, but it's interesting as our heritage, England really.
Man - Yes England, the Scots and the Welsh etc. they have their own historical places and everything, but this, this is English.
Researcher - What is it that's English?
Woman - Oh you know, the knights and the building, the castle, the intrigue at court, the religious changes, yes they were I suppose what changed us to how we are today.
Man - Yes but if Charlie gets his way and becomes Defender of Faith, rather than THE faith, that will all change again.
Woman - Well I hope it doesn't happen, we are English, I mean Church of England, aren't we, not Muslim or anything. I mean they are part of us, but sort of ancillary, not mainstream.
Man - Well if it wasn't Church of England how would you know what we were and then they'd go and change something else, wouldn't they, and before long you couldn't distinguish us from anyone else.

A couple
Researcher - Is it important to distinguish between British and English then?
Woman - Um, um,
Man - yes (Hever Castle's) English, it's overtly English for the tourists.
Researcher - Why overtly?
Man- The Henry V111 pull, isn't it, people always associate it,
Researcher - so is that English not British?
Man - English, he's perceived as being an English king.

(later on in the conversation)
Researcher - So do places like this reflect England's national identity?
Woman - Yes.
Man - Yes very much so....the foreign tourists, they certainly will want to identify with what is, or what they think England is, or was and as regards the native population we're such a mixture of nationalities and identities now and none of us really know where we come from so, at least there's something to focus on here, everyone knows the Tudors.

This last comment is important as it highlights the extent to which places such as Hever Castle can provide a reassuring sense of place. They offer the potential for re-affirming attachment to the wider nation on the basis of the historic events associated with them. Indeed, many visitors stated that while the implications of the Anne and Henry saga were significant to Britain's history, the castle itself was essentially English. Not least because of the Tudor Village attached to it:

Two women
Woman 1 - We were absolutely riveted by this, but it should be in inverted commas 'Tudor Village' shouldn't it? Its unbelievable that it was 1905 or whatever,
Woman 2 - yes, looking from the castle it really does look authentic...they had servants or something there...
Woman 1 - it's a kind of Disney world Tudor Village, isn't it, yes. But I suppose it is in keeping really, isn't it? I mean with England and all that.
Woman 2 -Mmh, yes, very much.
Woman 1 - English makes me feel like a village person rather than a town person, for me English isn't towns like Doncaster it's this kind of setting I'm thinking about, small scale.

So for these two women the setting of the Tudor Village enhanced the Englishness of the castle. It conjured up images of home and nation at one and the same time. As Anderson (1991) stated in chapter two, attachment to the nation is via immediate family, friends and neighbours, rather than with the entire nation. Thus, the Tudor Village represents a version of home that people can relate to. This is the nation as a small village community. While this is so for some people there are obviously other views to be taken into account. However, even those who had not really thought about the Tudor Village, perhaps because it did not form part of the tour itself, still considered it significant in some way. As the following comments illustrate:

A family, three children
Woman - Oh yes, look we must of missed it, how amazing, we didn't go round it did we?
Man - No, it must have been blocked off or something.
Child 1 - Wow a real old village, can we go round it mum?
Researcher - Unfortunately it's not open to the public, it's used mostly for conferences.
Man - A pity. They don't make places like that any more. It would be great to go round to see the inside, that's history, isn't it? You don't get that in other countries, do you?
Woman - But it says here (guide book) it was built in the nineteenth century.

Man - Was it really? Well I never.

Child 2 - I'd like to live somewhere like that.

Woman - I'm sure you would, but you'd still like modern plumbing and heating (all laughed).

Two men

Man 1 - Gosh, look at that.

Man 2 - Yes, I noticed it when we walked in.

Man 1 - I wonder who used to live there then, servants I suppose.

Man 2 - I'm glad I've seen it, wait till I tell Margaret, she loves old buildings she says they're more homely, somehow, than modern houses.

A couple

Man - Gosh, yes, I never noticed it before, well saw it on the way in, but thought it was part of the tour.

Woman - Mmh wonderful, it reminds me of when we went to see Shakespear's house at Stratford that time.

Man - Yes, I see what you mean, sort of Cotswoldy, not like modern towns is it?

Woman - No, but it looks like that old drawing I found at home the other day of my great-grandmother's house, that was sort of higgeldy-piggeldy like that.

By referring to the Tudor Village as 'Cotswoldy' a link is being made to a town that is frequently described as quintessentially English. Indeed, a newspaper article discussing the decision of the Malaysian Prime Minister to build replica Cotswold villages in his home state of Kedah stated:

A piece of Malaysia will become forever England under proposals to build replica Cotswold villages, complete with working farms, among the tropical rubber and coconut plantations of the southeast Asian state.....the Prime Minister fell in love with the quintessentially English buildings and countryside of the Cotswolds after spending a holiday there...."He would like to have a Cotswold village in situ to recreate the feel of Britain.....". (Austin, 1997: 10)

This association of Englishness with both the Cotswolds and villages generally, is not uncommon. Moreover, Fees (1996: 128) has shown how the popularity of the Cotswold town Chipping Campden is based on its being perceived as '...a reservoir of an agricultural way of life and an honesty and depth of an unspoiled rural character...' which is rapidly disappearing elsewhere. So not only do villages like the Tudor Village and Chipping Campden represent an image of Englishness generally, they also reflect a set of values and a way of life based on a rural rather than an urban outlook. Which reinforces the point made previously that gazing upon the Tudor Village enables visitors to re-connect with a particular sense of Englishness, rooted in the ideals of continuity and community that village life is believed to represent.

Heritage Observed

The analysis of the visitor observations builds upon some of the issues discussed above and is organised under three broad headings: *A family home*, *My relatives* and *Signs of the past*. While these represent the key themes to emerge from the visitor observations there is not always a clear dividing line between them. Conversations can overlap and sometimes different topics and areas can be covered in the same conversation. Yet this is to be expected in natural speech. However, in general the three headings aim to link into the key issues identified above, namely, familiarity, individual and collective roots. Indeed, the issues discussed below are similar to those identified in the analysis of Chartwell, which can be found in chapter eight.

A family home

As previously stated Hever is not a 'true' castle. Externally the appearance is of a typical castle, albeit a small one, but inside the outer walls lies the Tudor manor house that comprises the main dwelling and thus the substantial part of the tour. Moreover, this dwelling is not a grand house in the manner of a stately home, but rather the type of house that most visitors could imagine themselves living in. Indeed, the majority of visitors made reference to the homeliness of the house as they went from room to room.

Woman 1 - Cosy, isn't it, warm,
Woman 2 - you can imagine being in there lying out on the sofa.

Woman 1 - I could live here it's cosy, nice.
Woman 2- Yes, I always feel if you can imagine yourself living here you like it more.

Woman - Its really livable this room, cosy not imposing.
Man- Very comfortable you could live here all right.

Woman - It's lovely, isn't it? You could just go and sit down.

Woman - Oh yes, isn't it livable, you could just squash all the cushions down.

Woman 1 - Which is you favourite room so far?
Woman 2 - Oh I don't know yet, maybe the drawing room you can see yourself sitting there somehow, cosy.

Child - There's something missing, a TV.

All these comments illustrate how individuals make the house their own. It is livable, cosy and warm, all descriptions of a typical family home. This is a home that invites the visitors to imagine themselves actively living in it, to stretch out upon the sofas, to plump up the

cushions and even to notice the absence of a television. In other words to treat it as their own home. This is important as it indicates the extent to which the house reflects the visitors personal lives and experiences. This is a home they can relate to. Not only that, but as they go round the house they hear similar phrases used by other visitors which confirms and supports their own impressions. This is not only typical of 'my' house it is also typical of 'your' house, it is as familiar to me as it is to you.

This process of familiarisation, whereby Hever is identified as 'our' family home, also involves visitors in discussing the type of mundane activities that would go on in their own houses. Thus, many of the women commented upon the amount of housework needed to maintain the home, others were prompted to recall memories of relatives, while others discussed forthcoming family events. Indeed, the layout and the furniture in the Drawing Room prompted two women to discuss a family get-together. They queried how many of the guests would fit into their house, who was likely to come, who it was not appropriate to invite and generally gossiped about what particular family members were up to. Such actions further legitimise the status of Hever as a family home, as a place associated with the type of mundane activities that go on in 'my' home.

Child - Its a very small castle.
Woman - Yes but it's more warming than the other big stone ones, much warmer.
Old man - (About the inlaid wood panelling) my uncle used to do all this woodwork stuff up in Tooting, he worked in all the big houses he did.

Woman - (About the carved pillars) fancy dustin" that everyday.

Dining Room
Woman 1- The chairs are very close together, you'd be crushed trying to eat.
Woman 2 - No, there'd be chairs at each end, that would make more room.

Woman 1 - Look at this lovely gallery here, a lot of dusting.
Woman 2 - It must of cost a bomb to restore, but at least he (Astor) did something with his money.

Library
Woman - This feels lovely, feels nice. They used to lock the tea up as it was so expensive. I'm sure it was never pink years ago.
Man - This whole room has been changed by the Astor's, he must of modernised it.

Morning Room
Woman - Years ago I used to embroider fire screens. I'm glad I gave it up really.

Woman 1 - Lovely table. I'd like one in my window to put flowers on.
Woman 2 - But the sun would get at it and the water from the flowers,
Woman 1 - well I'd put a glass (top) on it.
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The visitors familiarisation with Hever is not only due to the small proportions of the house, it is also due to the range and type of furnishings. These again reflect those to be found in every family home. There are sofas, tables, chairs, wall lights, beds, books, house plants and flowers. While not all the furniture is of contemporary style, most would still not look out of place in a 1990's house. Moreover, because the house was occupied by the Astors until the early 1980's there are some rooms that do reflect a more recent twentieth century style of living; namely the small bedrooms occupied by the three sisters of the present Lord Astor which the guide book describes 'The Dog Kennels' (Hever Castle, 1995: 29).

The visitor is thus presented with a set of rooms whose proportions are such that they resemble more a 'box' room than a full-sized bedroom. Indeed, their furnishings elicited a variety of reactions:

Foreign woman - This is a very English bedroom all the dressing table shape and the low chairs, the floral patterns and fabric.

Woman - You could bring your friend's up here.

Woman 1- Yes sweet, aren't they?
Woman 2- Do you think Thea's room would be nice like that?
Woman 3- Well it's a bit fussy, don't you think, crowded, alright for a while but it might get on top of you.

Woman - Horrid, too heavily patterned. You'd never get to sleep in that.

These comments are interesting as they further illustrate how Hever is able to symbolize 'our' family home. You could bring your friends to these rooms and imagine yourself doing all the things that friends do in each others bedrooms. Furthermore, making evaluative comments about the wallpaper and the furnishings is what most people tend to do when visiting other people's houses. Although they may not voice their thoughts out loud.

Rochford and Henry V111 Rooms
Man - They're not huge are they, like box rooms not bedrooms. You'd expect them to be bigger.

Party of children
Child 1 - Crikey, whose room is this?
Child 2 - Its Henry's, but it's not very pretty.
Child 3 - Well men don't like pretty things.

The interesting point about the furnishings at Hever is that most rooms contain a mix of styles reflecting the restoration undertaken by Astor. Thus, twentieth century furniture is displayed alongside antique furniture and tapestries from a variety of periods. It is thus a

little difficult to relate the house to an owner, to imagine someone living in it. Indeed, while the castle is advertised on the basis of the Anne and Henry connection there is little evidence of them actually inside the house itself. As one visitor stated 'lovely furniture. I like the pink (sofa) but hard to imagine Anne and Henry here at all'. Although there are rooms that are furnished more in the Tudor period and style for example, The Morning Room, The Rochford Room and the Henry V111 Room, the majority of the rooms have obviously been adapted to suit the taste of a twentieth century gentleman of independent means. Even the room labelled the Anne of Cleves Room is, for all intents and purposes, a 'modern' sitting room, with a carpet, pink sofas, walled book shelves, sideboards and tables. In fact the only items that seem to relate to the period are a portrait of Anne of Cleves and a large wall tapestry which is said to depict Anne Boleyn. The significance of this is that it serves to reinforce the image of Hever as a family home. This is not the home of a king and his prospective queen, but an ordinary home just like yours and mine.

My relatives

This last point leads onto another theme to emerge from the visitor observations and that is the perceived relationship between the visitors and the 'key players' associated with Hever Castle. The visitor's tended to refer to these two people rather in the manner of familiar friends or relatives. In the Inner Hall there hang portraits of the 'key players', Anne Boleyn, Henry V111, Henry V11, Anne's sister Mary, Edward V1 and other figures who were either associated with these, or related to them in some way. For example Philip of Spain, who was married to Mary Tudor the daughter of Henry V111's first wife. These pictures are, therefore, family portraits and their contemporary equivalent would be the family photograph album:

Child - Who are these people? How did he die?
Man - (At Henry V11 portrait) that's Henry's dad.

Man - Henry V111 was the man who had six different wives, he kept getting married.

Woman - Henry's a massive man, recognised him. That's Anne Boleyn I'd recognise her anywhere.

Man - There's another one of his wives, let's go and see another.
Child- Where's the knights in armour?

Man - (At picture of Marguerite de Valois) she's one of the extras.

Woman - (Reading) Alfonso Sanchez Coello, whose he then?
Man - (Reading) Don Juan of Austria.
Woman (Reading) yes, this is Don Juan, very young, but then they didn't live long then did they.

These comments illustrate the type of family rituals that serve to define the boundaries between those who belong and those who do not. As Geertz (1973) illustrates rituals reinforce the traditional social ties between individuals. They reveal the mechanisms by which the social structure of a group is strengthened and perpetuated as a result of the social values upon which the ritual is based. Thus, the visitors reacted to the portraits as if reviewing family photographs. They recognised the people in them as 'my' relatives, 'my' kith and kin. They pointed out familiar individuals to each other, just as if they were going through an album containing pictures of long deceased family members. Parents pointed out the pictures of Henry V111, Anne and Mary Boleyn to their children and recounted the story of their lives. In turn the children questioned their parents about those in the portraits. Furthermore, the visitors often 'gossiped' about their 'relatives'. They ascribed emotions to them, passed judgement on their actions, and offered suggestions as to how they should have behaved. Thus, demonstrating the structural boundaries demarcating 'us' from 'them'. As the following comments illustrate:

Woman - Mary Bullen, she was his mistress before Anne, but Anne stuck out for marriage, that was her fault.

Woman - (At spiral stairs leading to Anne's bedroom) it's amazing that someone of Henry V111's size managed to get up these stairs.

Child - (On Anne's Book of Hours) this is the book she hid in her hair so everyone would know she was a Catholic. It fell out when they chopped her head off.

Woman - (At layette made by Elizabeth 1) Mary, she kept on saying she was pregnant all the time, I think she really believed she was and of course Philip didn't want to be around her.

Exhibition
Man - It says here he was over six foot tall and handsome, must have been when he was eighteen, he was a big fat lump after that.

Woman - It's the history, romance lasted twice as long as their marriage.
Man- Didn't he like her then?
Woman - Well he wanted someone to give him sons.

Man - Look Simon, did you know that Elizabeth the first was the daughter of Henry V111 and Anne Boleyn?
Child - it's boring in here.
Man - Not if you read it. You might learn something if you read.

The portraits and the artefacts of the Tudor period enable visitors to get in touch with their roots, to connect with who they are and where they have come from. This is achieved by imagining themselves as part of the wider, national family that the castle represents. This does not mean that all visitors will hold such a view of Hever, some will and some will not.

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However, even though the visitors from overseas may not relate to Hever Castle in the same way, they were still able to recognise it as representing the ancestral line of England / Britain. The following comments illustrate these points:

USA Woman 1 - Hey look, there's Elizabeth 1 she's related to the present queen isn't she?
USA Woman 2 - Yeah, just think they can trace their ancestors back a real long way.

Life-size models depicting scenes from the life of Anne Boleyn
Man - Fascinating, aren't they, really life like, it brings it all home doesn't it, the history I mean.
Woman - Yes, it does, a good reminder really 'cos you forget, don't you?
Man- Yes, I suppose you do, that's why I like these old places, castles, they remind you of your ancestors.
Woman - Well not ours exactly.
Man - No, but they're part of us, aren't they?

A taped conversation between two people walking along the Staircase Gallery. They appeared to be British.
Man - Look there's Elizabeth.
Woman - Yes, not very pretty was she, but then none of them look very pretty, a bit stern.
Man - Mmh.
Woman - Interesting about history, but not like my ancestors though.
Man- You were born here.
Woman - Well yes, I know, but it's not the same. I am British, but not in my heart, there I'll always be a girl from Jaipore (?).
Man- Well, I think of you as British.
Woman - I know and I am, it's just that, this is your past, your history, not mine. Mine is very different and that's who I am, my past, just like you are yours. This is who you are all this Anne and Henry, but it's not who I am.

This last conversation is significant as it indicates that not all those who are British by birth will necessarily connect with the ancestral line reflected at Hever Castle. Which merely serves to emphasise the difficulties inherent in any discussion and analysis of how a sense of nation-ness is maintained and communicated.

This ritual identification of the ancestral line revealed interesting insights into the sense of self depicted by that line. A sense of self that links in with issues previously discussed concerning the association of the Tudor era with individual and sexual freedom and with the power of the male over the female:

Woman 1- She was really set up Anne Boleyn (on alleged adultery with four men including her brother).
Woman 2- (About Katherine Howard) that was real as they found her in bed with someone.

Woman 1 - Anne Boleyn was a bit of a tart then really,
Woman 2 - yes, it was worse then than it is now.

Henry had to have a reason for be-heading Anne, he could not merely execute her for not providing him with a son. Thus, a perceived, actual, or even a manufactured sexual licentiousness is some how deemed a suitable reason for Anne's condemnation. So the portraits not only link individuals to their relatives, to their ancestral line, they also illustrate some of the principles upon which that line has evolved.

Signs of the past

This last point leads into the final theme to emerge from the visitor observations and that is the concern of visitors that what they were seeing was *really* old. Almost as if trying to confirm the ancient-ness of their nation's heritage:

Woman (reading)- 'Elizabethan inlaid room' as it was then, not a real one that's why it's in such good condition,
Man - this is modern then isn't it?

Man - (About inlaid panelling) something you don't see these days.
Woman - Most of it's a copy then,
Man - no, restoration, it's not the same thing.
Woman - This window looks newer, the stone.
Man- No, that's old, original that is.
Woman - Hours and hours of work, but that cost peanuts in them days.

Man - it's a modern ceiling then, fireplace and that is modern.
Woman - They used to have a big fire and all the smoke go straight up, no roof.

Woman - (Henry V111 tapestry over fire place) that must be really old, they (chairs) must be old they're so worn.

Woman - That panellings not right at all, it's not in keeping at all. it's too light compared with the chests over there.

Woman - Quite recent carving really, you think it's all medieval but it's not.

Woman - Fantastic woodwork, look John, amazing.
Man - Yes fabulous, but it's not Tudor is it? Modern, restored or whatever, but not old.

Man   - It's amazing, isn't it, really fascinating. Mind you its changed over the years. If it wasn't for the tapestries you'd think it was more modern.

Woman 1- That table's lovely and old, look at all the marks, sometimes the copies are not so good as they're too cleaned up,
Woman 2 - having marks on it is part of it. I can't help thinking it's a shame they replaced so much.

Henry V111 Room
USA Woman 1 - Do you think he really lived here?

USA Woman 2 - Well he must have it says so, doesn't it, and it is called the Henry V111 room, isn't it?

<u>Man</u> - Great, but a lot of this stuff is modern, isn't it? I mean the warming pan and the fire irons, he wouldn't of used them.

This search for authentic signs of the past illustrates another familiar ritual whereby clan membership can be defined and that is the recognition of family heirlooms. Just as people today have articles of furniture, clothing, paintings and such like handed down from generation to generation so the contents of Hever are looked at in this way. Confirmation that they are old and that they are of the Tudor (and hence correct) period is sought because it legitimises their status as family heirlooms. As our national heritage. Anything restored or obviously modern is, in many ways, a disappointment. Just as when a valued heirloom is found to be a fake, or a replica of the real thing that was sold off many years before. Thus some visitors were not impressed by the Astor Suite because this was seen as too modern:

<u>Man</u> - I can't get too excited about the Astors they only lived here recently.

<u>Man</u> - We'll skip through here this is just the Astor Family.

<u>Man 1</u> - This is the Astors then, he did this, made it I mean, modern, it doesn't seen old anymore,
Man 2 - no, nice, interesting, but different from the other parts of the house.

Furthermore, mere signs of appropriate age are not enough in themselves and thus the visitors are presented with certain specific 'key' signs. Such as Anne Boleyn's bed, her Book of Hours, Henry V111's 'alleged' bedroom and the most frequently reproduced portraits of Anne and Henry. In many cases the visitors actively look for these signs and when they find them, or come across them accidentally, it is as if they have uncovered the fondly remembered belongings of a long dead relative. At other times a mere encounter with an appropriate sign of the times is sufficient, nothing remarkable, but it must be seen in order for the visit to be successful.

<u>Woman</u> - Oh there's the famous picture of her.

<u>Woman 1</u> - That's part of her bed Jean.
Woman 2 - Fantastic its survived so long really.

<u>Man</u> - (At Anne's portrait) I bet these are copies, they'll have all the originals locked up somewhere.

<u>Woman</u> (At Coiff and headdress made by Anne) look, she did that, marvellous.

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Man - Kept it all original.
Child- Whose is this bed?
Man - Anne Boleyn's I think, it was bought for Anne Boleyn.

Man-Do you think that is THE bed he slept in? Must have been a bit small for him.
Woman - Mmh yes, it must have, you can sort of see him here though and it feels really old,
     don't you think?

The visitors are presented with signs of the past both in the guide book which details the sequence of the tour and which highlights the not to be missed items of significance and on the tour itself. As previously stated a tour of the castle is mostly a tour of the manor house that lies behind the protective outer wall. Although the visitors do get to pass through the original thirteenth century gatehouse on their way out. This contains the Armoury which houses the Regimental museum of the Kent and Sharpshooters Yeomanry and the Council Chamber where a collection of instruments of medieval torture, discipline and correction are on display.

For the most part, the organisation of the tour follows the layout described in the main guide book and visitors can read about each room, their contents and history as they walk through the house. The tour of the house is quite extensive. Unlike other places, such as Blenheim Palace, where a family is in residence, there are few rooms denied to the public. The tour takes in the Entrance Hall, Inner Hall, Dining Hall, Library, Morning Room, Anne Boleyn's Bedroom, Anne of Cleves Room, the Staircase Gallery, the Rochford Room, the Henry V111 Room, the Long Gallery, Astor Family Bedrooms, the Astor Suite, the Armoury and the Council Room. In addition there are three exhibitions. One charting the love affair of Anne and Henry, another depicting scenes from Anne's life and a third concerning the castle's association with the Astors.

On the tour the visitor is presented with a variety of different eras set within the confines of a twentieth century style of living. Indeed, Robert Pullin describes the tour as:

> ....a bit of a sort of time-warp exercise in that you keep going through, sort of Edwardian and then you get glimpses of Tudor and then you go back to something else and OK all houses would tend to have evolved in that sort of way, if they've been around since 1270.......but the problem is because of the different ways in....going round, you get yourself slightly lost.

The Tudor connection is more evident in certain areas of the house, for example in the Staircase Gallery which contains the layette made by Elizabeth 1. There are also replicas of items associated with Henry V111 and Anne Boleyn, such as the silver clock Henry gave Anne as a wedding present and the door locks Henry carried with him when he travelled and which were fitted to the door of the room in which he slept.

The exhibition detailing the love affair of Henry and Anne included copies of letters they sent to each other before they were married and one from Anne just before she was beheaded. In the Long Gallery there is another exhibition showing scenes from the life and times of Anne Boleyn. The twenty-five costumed figures include Henry VlII, Anne Boleyn, Catherine of Aragon, Jane Seymour, Cardinal Wolsey and Thomas Cranmer. The 'scenes' are entitled 'courtly intrigue', 'feasting and merrymaking' and 'accused and condemned'.

After the Long Gallery the visitors pass into the corridor leading to the Astor Suite. This displays some of he original restoration plans and further on the three bedrooms used by the present Lord Astor's sisters. At the end of the corridor is the Astor Suite containing the memorabilia and possessions of four generations of Astors. The personal diaries of William Waldorf Astor are placed on his desk, which is laid out as if he has just vacated the room. There are extracts from The Times newspapers and letters from prominent men and women of the time, for example, Winston Churchill and George Bernard Shaw. The tour ends with a visit to the Armoury and Council Chamber. Visitors then exit the castle by means of the original spiral stone staircase, which re-emphasises the medieval aspects of the just completed tour. In many ways this 'ending' provides a good counter balance to what has gone before.

The content and layout of the rooms, Pullin's 'time-warp' tour, takes the visitor through a variety of different periods, medieval, Tudor, the seventeenth and twentieth centuries. These *Signs of the past* highlight the ancient roots of the nation's heritage, the line of descent that enables people to trace their lineage to the present day.

Conclusion

The above analysis has highlighted the part played by Hever Castle in creating a link between the individual and the nation. For most visitors it was the romance that triggered the national imagination, because it was recognised as being familiar to them. It was not only remembered history from school days, it was also relevant history, people could relate to it, it had meaning for them. Indeed, Connor (1993) has highlighted the importance of emotion by arguing that it is not appeals to *reason* that trigger attachment to the nation but appeals to the *emotions*. Thus, visitors connect with the nation on the basis of the romance (emotion) rather than with the consequences of it (reason):

> the non-rational core of the nation has been reached and triggered through national symbols, as historically varied as the Rising Sun, the Swastika and Britannia. Such symbols can speak messages without words to members of the nation, because, as one author has noted: 'There is something about such symbols, especially visual ones, which reach the parts rational explanation cannot reach'. (Connor, 1993: 384)

The 'message' of Hever Castle is illustrated by its guide book description as 'a treasured part
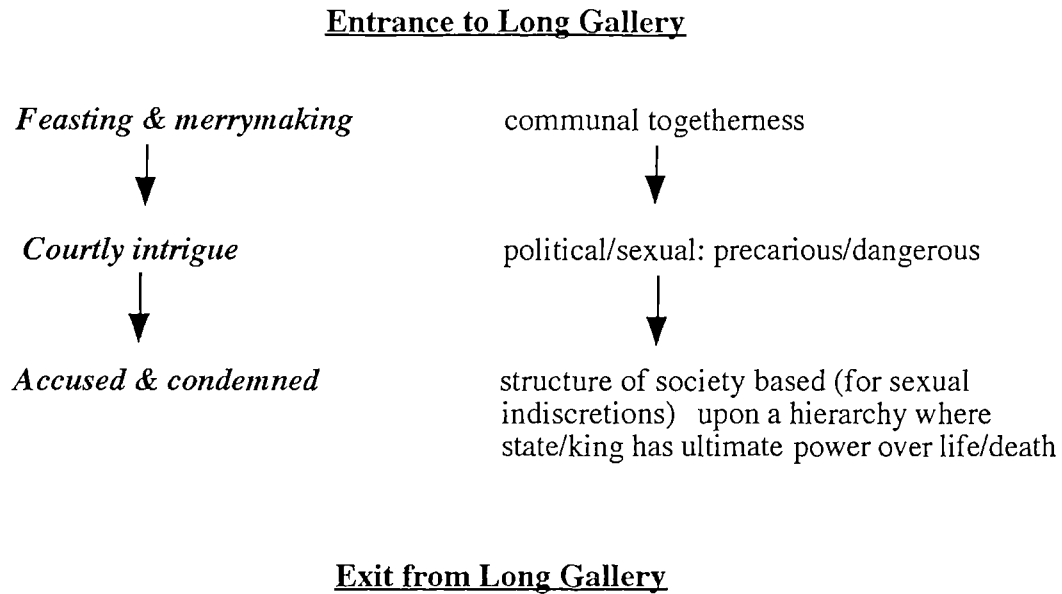
of Britain's heritage'. Not only is Hever part of our collective national inheritance, it is also treasured because it connects us with our ancestral line. Indeed, the majority of visitors either directly, or indirectly stated that Hever Castle represented their roots, their heritage, their ancestry. As one woman stated 'yes I think it sort of brings it home more...'. This sense of home illustrates the importance of the Tudor manor house behind the castle walls. This house, this home is not just anybody's home, it is the home of people significant to 'me' and 'my' past. Moreover, visitor reactions to the house and its previous occupants reveal the processes by which this home is able to *stand for* the national home. The house was described as homely, cosy and warm, people could imagine themselves and their families living in the house. They wanted to 'plump' up the cushions and stretch out on the sofas and they 'gossiped' about the 'key players' as they would their own family, their own relations. All these reactions are familial metaphors that enable people to feel the kinship ties that Connor argues underpins a sense of nation-ness.

Furthermore, even though overseas visitors may well refer to the house in similar ways, this does not mean that Hever Castle represents their identity, their sense of belonging. Such visitors may recognise the ancestral line reflected by Hever Castle, but this is in terms of 'your' kinship ties rather than 'my' kinship ties. As Geertz (1973: 373) illustrates in his discussion of Balinese kinship systems, a '....system of kinship terminology .....functions almost entirely as a cultural map upon which certain persons can be located and certain others, not features of the landscape mapped, cannot'.

Nevertheless, these familial processes illustrate Hever Castles' ability to act as a subconscious catalyst of nation-ness (Connor, 1993). They speak both of the nation and to the nation about the shared kinship ties that bind individuals together. Hever Castle is a visual symbol of this ancestral line and the visitors are taken on a journey down this line via the guide book and the actual tour of the house and castle. Visitors are thus able to visualise the generational links that bind the past and the present together. Hence the significance of 'signs of the past'. These operate rather in the manner of *sign posts* directing the visitors up and down the nation's generational line. Which helps to explain the concern of some visitors that what they were seeing was *genuinely* old, rather than a mere reproduction.

Furthermore, whichever 'period' the visitor is in he/she is continually reminded of, or brought back to, the Tudor era. Either by the name of a room, by certain of its contents, or by the view from a window onto the Tudor Village. The ritual repetitiveness of these Tudor glimpses, these Tudor signs, reinforces the particular images and meanings that lie behind them. Hence the labelling of the exhibition in the Long Gallery highlights certain structural characteristics underpinning society. As the following illustrates:
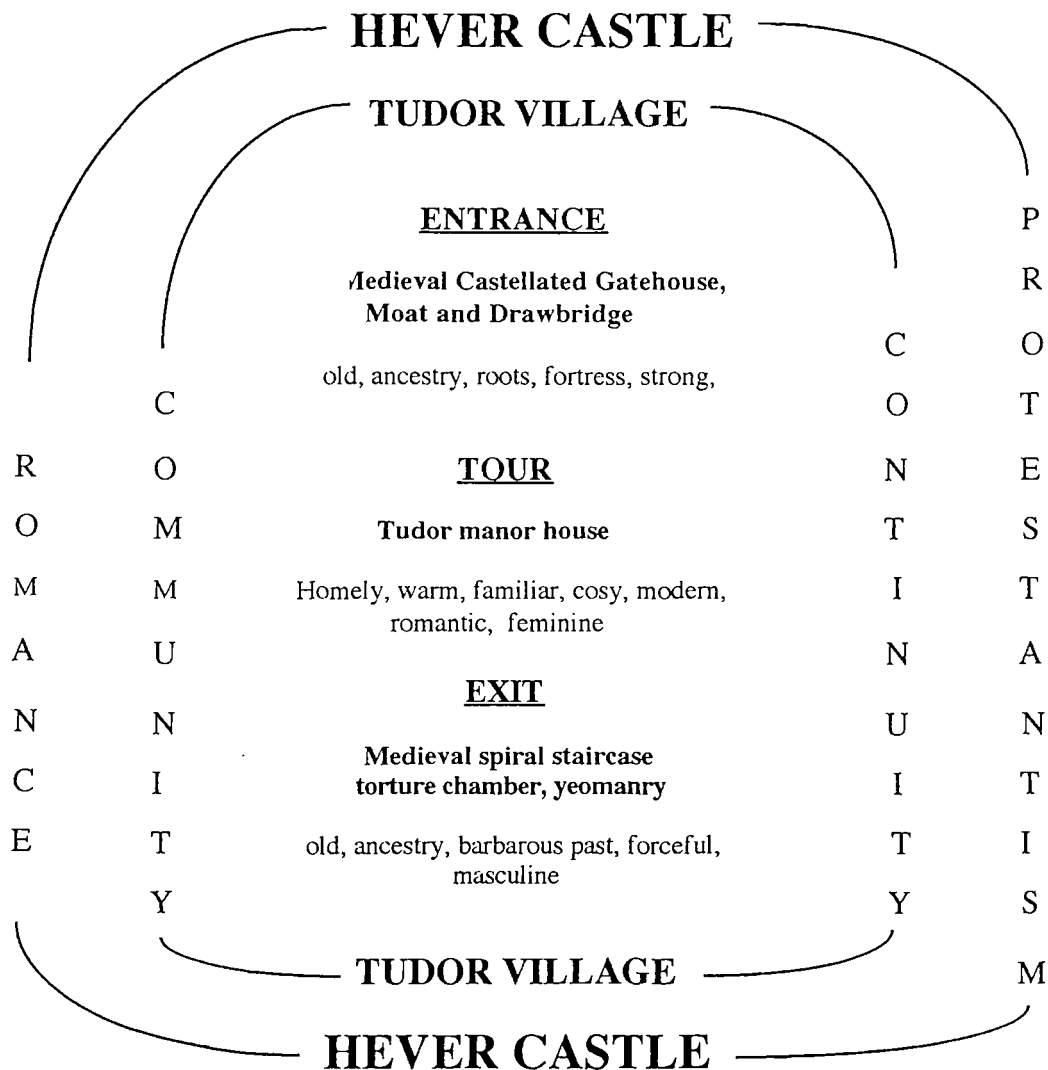
<u>Figure 3 - Tudor symbols</u>

<u>Entrance to Long Gallery</u>

Feasting & merrymaking   communal togetherness

⬇   ⬇

Courtly intrigue   political/sexual: precarious/dangerous

⬇   ⬇

Accused & condemned   structure of society based (for sexual
                                            indiscretions) upon a hierarchy where
                                            state/king has ultimate power over life/death

<u>Exit from Long Gallery</u>

So, while society revolves around a sense of communal togetherness, communal belonging, underneath the surface there is an inherent uncertainty, or danger in this position. Those who do not conform to the prevailing codes of political and/or sexual behaviour will suffer the full penalty of the state's (in this case the king's) condemnation. Hence Anne Boleyn's failure to conform by providing a male heir resulted in her condemnation on the basis of sexual infidelity - whether the accusations against her were true or not misses the point. The point is that she failed to conform to the will of the state, to the king's will. An heir was required, the queen could not provide one. She thus had to be sanctioned, sidelined, and ultimately executed. Today, the extent to which an understanding of the Tudor era is dominated by Henry's treatment of his wives, on the basis of whether they conformed to his wishes or not, merely serves to reinforce the fact that the state holds the balance of power over the individual. This is not to say that the contemporary state will be-head its citizens for non-conformity, but that ultimately the state *expects* the individual to comply. In many ways, therefore, re-visiting a remembered school history is in a sense revisiting the values and the societal characteristics that history represents. Values and characteristics that are still relevant to today, although they maybe implemented and acted upon differently.

In addition to these structural aspects of society the tour around and through the castle and the manor house also symbolizes specific aspects of the national character. As the following figure illustrates:

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Figure 4 - The nation's castle

HEVER CASTLE

TUDOR VILLAGE

ENTRANCE

Medieval Castellated Gatehouse,
Moat and Drawbridge

old, ancestry, roots, fortress, strong,

TOUR

Tudor manor house

Homely, warm, familiar, cosy, modern,
romantic, feminine

EXIT

Medieval spiral staircase
torture chamber, yeomanry

old, ancestry, barbarous past, forceful,
masculine

R O M A N C E

C O M M U N I T Y

C O N T I N U I T Y

P R O T E S T A N T I S M

TUDOR VILLAGE

HEVER CASTLE

Schematic representations feature in many anthropological works, such as that by Turner (1969), Bourdieu (1979) and Levi-Strauss (1972). These enable '.....the development of a whole series of classifications, symbolized in spatial orientations and in different kinds of objects' to be presented (Turner, 1969: 31). Furthermore, Bourdieu argues that it is important to look upon objects and actions as parts of a symbolic system:

it is necessary to postulate that each of the phenomena observed derives its necessity and its meaning from its relationship with all the others. This alone enables one to carry out the sorts of observation and questioning that are capable of bringing out the facts which escape any unsystematic observation and which the informants are unable to provide spontaneously because they take them for granted. (1979: 134)

As such, the above context sets the scene for the way in which the castle is experienced by the visitors. It is approached as a fortress representing the nation as strong, ancient and masculine. This is then juxtaposed beside an image of the nation as homely, feminine and familiar. This is the ancestral, national home, both for those overseas visitors who connect with Britain's heritage label and for those British people who have come to visit a place described as a treasured part of the nation's heritage. This dichotomy of masculine/feminine, mother/father is further enhanced by the gardens and the Tudor Village. Indeed, the gardens also emphasise this homely/feminine image of the nation via the Tudor herb garden and its association with the home, kitchen and cooking. Similarly, the Tudor Village, as *the* national village, symbolizes what the nation once stood for, namely community, tradition and a sense of continuity. All of which seem a long way from today's fast-paced, hi-tech, high-rise life styles. Finally, these images of nationhood are depicted within an historical context that highlights the religious roots of the nation's identity, Protestantism. Furthermore, this historical context symbolically reinforces certain aspects concerning the structures and moral codes that underpin the way society is organised and governed.

Overall, then, Hever Castle represents specific aspects of the nation which can be summarised by the following complimentary couplets: mother/father, community/tradition, roots/religion, state/power. In many ways these represent the icing that joins the different sections of the national layer-cake together. Sections that speak of who 'I' am, where 'I' belong and what 'I' represent.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Section One

Chartwell: historical issues and tourist context

The Context

This section examines the main issues and themes surrounding Chartwell together with relevant aspects of the primary research. It provides both a framework and a focus for section two, the analysis of the observations and interviews with visitors and stewards.

Unlike Battle Abbey and Hever Castle, Chartwell is a relatively 'modern' tourist attraction which, if it were not for the fame of its illustrious owner, would probably never have featured on the tourist itinerary. Indeed, it has only been a prominent feature since it was opened by the National Trust in 1966.

Churchill purchased Chartwell in 1922 for the price of £5,000, but he spent a further £20,000 renovating and extending it. Except for the period during the second world war, when the house was shut up, Chartwell was Churchill's home for the next forty years, until his death in 1965. The estate comprised 80 acres of lands, fields and woods, together with a house that the current brochure describes as a '...rather gloomy, mid-Victorian mansion...' (National Trust, 1992a: 2). He hired the architect, Philip Tilden, to up date and extend the house. However, despite having a reputation for modernising old and impractical country houses, Tilden was not initially overly impressed with Chartwell, finding it:

> ...a dreary house perched on the edge of the hillside, very close to the road...so embowering were the giant trees, so encroaching was the verdure, that the red bricks of the house were slimed with green, and upon on investigation I was to find that only the kernel of the old manor....had withstood the ravages of wet; the rest was weary of its own ugliness so that the walls ran with moisture, and creeping fungus tracked down the cracks and crevices. (1954: 116)

Nevertheless, over the next few years Tilden created a garden wing containing the Drawing Room, the Dining Room and Lady Churchill's Bedroom. He also considerably altered the entrance way, replacing the old porch with an eighteenth century wooden door surround. Lady Churchill also had her reservations about the house, considering it isolated, irredeemably ugly and expensive to maintain (National Trust, 1992b). Moreover, Churchill was to experience many periods of financially insecurity and in 1938 he put the house up for sale, only to be 'rescued' by friends. His finances never really improved during the war and in 1947 a group of admirers and friends bought Chartwell for Churchill. Thus enabling him to continue living there until his death in 1965. After his death the house was presented to the National Trust '..so that it should be preserved for the nation..' (National Trust, 1992a: 2).

Due to its illustrious owner, Chartwell featured frequently in magazines and journals of the day. The interesting point about most of the accounts of the 1920's and 1930's is the emphasis placed on Chartwell as a family home, rather than a public residence. At the same time Churchill's 'ordinariness' is emphasised by references to the hands-on approach he adopted to the renovations. Both these enable people to empathise with Churchill to a far greater extent, perhaps, than with other 'great' leaders, such as Wellington and Nelson. Churchill '...put on his boiler suit, seized a spade and plunged into the mud, shovelling like a navvy...he emerged plastered in mud...grinning like a child...' (Day, 1965: 55). Likewise, many accounts refer to the 'elegant' interior created by Lady Churchill. She '...decorated the house in contemporary 1920's style...with a simple good taste that has hardly dated. She favoured plain, light colours for the walls and ceilings...pale grey in the Drawing Room, duck egg blue in her bedroom' (National Trust, 1992b: 18). The furnishings were practical rather than ostentatious and the furniture was 'comfortable'. Indeed, an article in The Builder magazine described the house as having:

> ....no decorated cornices nor elaborate plaster ceilings, and Mrs Churchill made good use of this simple setting for the display of her quite exceptional taste in colour and furniture, the result being a "gay" house that seems to have settled into its surroundings quite naturally, yet with considerable assurance..... .
>
> (Anon, 1945: 228-9)

Furthermore, Churchill helped to build a cottage in the grounds for his chauffeur, and singlehandedly built part of the wall surrounding the vegetable garden. Such actions led him to be '..hauled over the coals by the Bricklayers Union....' (Tilden, 1954: 119) and in recompense he joined the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers as an adult apprentice. This further emphasises the image of Churchill as a 'man of the people' as 'one of us'. Although, in reality, he was the grandson of the 7th Duke of Marlborough.

Despite his aristocratic credentials Churchill has become something of an icon as an ordinary man, a sort of 'uncommon commoner' (Nunn, 1980's). As Lord Hailes, a former Private Secretary, stated 'he had no class consciousness at all. He was the furthest a person could be from a snob. He admired brain and character; most of his friends were people who had made their own way' (quoted in Gilbert, 1994: 305). Even Churchill himself seemed to understand the importance of his status as an ordinary man. When the Queen offered to make him a Duke in 1955 he refused, saying that, although tempted, he preferred to remain in the Commons until he died (Parker, 1995).

Furthermore, much play is made of the fact that he did not inherit wealth. He had little capital and was virtually dependent on his writings to keep up the standards he wished to maintain (Rodway, 1986). He had to 'make ends meet' like everyone else. In fact, when out of office, Churchill spent most of his time at Chartwell 'earning his living' by writing articles and books on political and historical figures and events. Indeed, his youngest daughter, Lady Mary Soames (1992: 5), describes how Chartwell was both his 'playground'

and his 'factory'. This 'impoverished' lifestyle enables people to identify with Churchill, as the following excerpt from a conversation with two visitors in the grounds of Chartwell illustrates:

Woman 1 - We were saying, you know, that they were poor, after the war, and their friends
        bought this house for them, you know.
Woman 2 - Yes, they were always strapped for cash, even when he went to South Africa
        he didn't earn much.

Furthermore, although imposing, Chartwell is by no means 'stately' and has little in common with Blenheim Palace, where Churchill was born and where he spent most of his childhood.   So despite his privileged birth and upbringing, a nanny, Harrow School and then Sandhurst, Churchill is frequently seen as a man of the people, as one of us. Indeed, at his funeral one woman stated '...people really feel that they really knew him like one of us' (Moller, 1965: 40). So when Barker (1974: 20) argues that '...Churchill was no ordinary man...' and Walden (1998: 4), more recently, that 'Churchill wasn't the average Briton writ large...', to some extent they are missing the point. Churchill was not 'ordinary' in the sense of background, talents and character, indeed Tilden (1954) likens him to a brilliant diamond with many facets. He is 'made' ordinary, he is made 'one of us' because so much emphasis is placed on his 'common touch'. As 'one of us' Churchill is endowed with a superior status that enables him to speak for 'us'. Indeed, he once said '...it was the 'nation that had the lion heart; I had the luck to be called upon to give the roar" (Normanbrook, 1968: 19). In being so 'called' Churchill was given 'legitimacy' by 'the people', he was given the moral authority to act and to speak for the nation.

This concept of legitimation is the dominant theme of Political Anthropology and the primary focus of the book by Georges Balandier (1972). Here Balandier discusses the various mechanisms by which legitimacy is conferred, such as religion and membership of a clan, or kinship. Indeed, kinship is established through the ability of individuals to trace their descent, their lineage, to other members of the same group. This legitimation of kinship can be employed by individuals for private, economic and political ends (Balandier, 1972: 70). So when Churchill is referred to as our 'kith and kin', as a member of 'our' family his authority to speak for 'us' is being legitimately acknowledged. This is the basis upon which Churchill is accepted as the 'voice of the nation'.

Chartwell's 'homeliness' and Churchill's 'ordinariness' are themselves mechanisms by which legitimation is conferred. Thus, Churchill was able to slip easily between the world of dukes and lords and that of the cockneys of the East End. He was accepted by both 'the people' and the 'establishment' as a legitimate head of the whole nation. This legitimacy was to prove crucial to the war years and to the hold that Churchill was to enjoy over the hearts and minds of the British people. A hold which he is still capable of exerting today through his home at Chartwell, '....one of the Trust's most popular houses, being to many people nearer to their dream house than the larger and grander mansions' (National Trust, 1996c).

Churchill's appeal as an icon of the 'ordinary man' is thus based upon the fact that people can relate to him. He had 'money worries', he had to work for a living and he had a happy family home. People could aspire to Chartwell as an achievable dream house they could imagine themselves living in. It was not an awe inspiring palace that merely highlighted the distance between themselves and its owner, it was homely and lived-in, just like 'our' house.

The ordinariness of Churchill and Chartwell is a good example of the concept of banal nationalism that was discussed in chapter two. Here it was argued that national identity is maintained and reinforced day by day, year by year, through the individuals relationship with their surroundings and the taken for granted habits of life. Visiting Chartwell is just such a taken for granted exercise. It is another example of Billig's (1995) 'flags of nationhood'. The quiet, understated and yet familiar symbols that represent the nation to its people. There are no loud brass bands accompanied by patriotic flags and songs, merely a house and a man so intertwined that every room symbolizes aspects of a national way of life. Chartwell brings the nation to the people. It is, as Billig (1995) asserts, an unmindful reminder of a national identity.

The Tourist Era

Although a 'modern' house by National Trust standards, Chartwell is considered a 'flagship' property, being amongst the top ten visited sites in the country. Its 'star' status is further enhanced by its historical significance and its ability to generate income. Since 1966 over 4 million visitors have passed through the house (National Trust, 1996c) and in the summer months as many as 240 go round it each hour (Gilbert, 1994). The majority of visitors are adults, predominantly aged 45 plus, and overseas visitors, especially Americans, the Dutch and some Japanese. Most people come as couples, or small groups of friends. There are regular coach parties and, although families with young children do visit the house, they are not the main category of visitor. The main motive for visiting is illustrated best by Barker (1974: 17) 'some are older people, keen to pay homage to the memory of the man who led them to victory in wartime, but many are too young to have lived through those stirring times, yet who find inspiration and interest in the Churchillian legend'.

Such a view is still relevant today as one woman in her sixties states '...it's a form of courtesy and respect to come back and just be here'. Chartwell is thus marketed as both an interesting day-out and '....a place of pilgrimage' (Girouard, 1965: 172). Indeed, following his death, some obituaries called for the house to become a 'shrine to his memory' (The Daily Telegraph, 1965: 17). Consequently, the National Trust have kept the rooms as they were in Churchill's lifetime so as to '....evoke the whole career of this remarkable man, whose long life is represented by maps, photographs, books and momentoes which summarise the history of Britain in the twentieth century' (National Trust, 1996c).

Accounts of the day the house opened to the public again emphasise the ordinariness of the house. In the Washington Post, Meyer (1966) described it as 'unpretentious', whilst the Hampshire Chronicle (1978) wrote of it being '..a small compact house of great beauty and

simplicity...a much loved family home'. In more recent times the Nottingham Evening Post (1981) talked of it being 'Sir Winston Churchill's favourite place' and Churchill's former private secretary, Anthony Montague Browne (1987: 4) remarked that, '....there is nothing there of echoing emptiness and dead memories. The grand sweep of Sir Winston's interests and activities...is reflected in some measure and in many aspects in his house and garden'. It is no surprise, therefore, when Martin Gilbert (1994: 299), Churchill's official biographer states 'a tour of Chartwell is a tour of Churchill's life'. This is true, but it is much more than that, as Gilbert himself acknowledges, each visitor will have a sense of Churchill's personality in the rooms and artefacts of the house. This sense is best illustrated by Barker (1974: 17) 'everywhere, indoors and out, one expects that bulldog figure in siren suit and sombrero hat to come ambling round the corner'.

As with most family homes the interior of the house has altered over the years, but at the request of Lady Churchill it was returned '...to its appearance in the 1930's, when it was a symbol of resistance to Fascism and the most important country house in Europe' (National Trust, 1992a: 2). This period during the 1930's, when Churchill was out of office, is referred to as the 'wilderness years'. It was the time when Churchill argued against appeasement and for rearmament. According to Carole Kenwright, the property manager, this time was the 'hey-day' of the house. It was always a hive of activity as many visitors and supporters came to talk to, advise and encourage Churchill in his crusade.

The 1930's is significant because it not only represents a time when Churchill 'stood alone', but also a time when the country was unsure about where it was going. There was a deep economic recession, mass unemployment and lengthy industrial disputes. The country was going through a period of change, both nationally and internationally. This was reflected in concerns about its status in the world and its increasing reliance upon the United States. A reliance which Haseler (1996: 86) argues brought about a crisis of identity based upon this '....American challenge to the culture of Englishness'. Coupled with this was the erosion of Empire, particularly in India which witnessed 'home rule' riots and the arrest of Gandhi. This 'identity crisis' was also affected by the country's relationship with its 'near' neighbours in Europe. Hitler became Chancellor of Germany in 1933, and the Spanish Civil War coincided with the German occupation of the Rhineland. All over the world the old established order was in a state of confusion and this contributed to a general feeling of national unease about Britain's future place in the world order (see Giles & Middleton, 1995).

In all of this Churchill stood out, 'alone', as the man able to understand, not only what was going on, but also what should be done about it. He was, in many ways, Ibsen's 'enemy of the people', the man with the 'truth' who is ignored by the establishment because no one wants to hear his message, but who is, in the end, proved to be right. Ibsen's (1882) 'enemy' was Dr Stockman, the public medical officer in charge of the town's healing springs. He was labelled both an 'enemy of society' and an 'enemy of the people' for his public declaration that the baths were contaminated by sewage, which could have led to an outbreak of typhoid. As he states to the town's mayor 'I am the one who has the town's real

interests at heart! I want to expose the evils that sooner, or later, must come to light' (Ibsen, 1963: 56), 'even if the whole world crashes about me, I shall not bow my head' (pg. 58). His crusade to clean up the baths turns him into an outcast, but '...he determines to stand his ground and to be a solitary voice of truth crying in the wilderness' (Boyesen, 1893: 245). At the end of the play, when he is finally proved right, he utters the words that have become so closely associated with Winston Churchill, 'the fact is, you see, that the strongest man in the world is he who stands most alone' (pg. 118). The parallels between Ibsen's Dr Stockman and Churchill are clearly evident. Churchill, too, stood alone exposing the evils of fascism 'that sooner or later must come to light'. The political establishment, who at the time did not want to hear this 'truth', later hailed him as a hero because of his crusade. Churchill's subsequent status as the nation's saviour is based directly upon this image of him as the 'solitary voice of truth crying in the wilderness'. Chartwell's 1930's clothes symbolize these aspects of Churchill during this time. A time when Churchill seemed the only person with a clear vision of who 'we' were, where 'we' were going and what 'we' stood for. As Walden illustrates:

> his message was stark. We were fighting barbarism, and we would never surrender to it. The survival of civilisation depended upon our winning and so we must win, we owed it to humanity, and this was our 'finest hour' - the work for which all our history had shaped us. (1998: 7-8)

Churchill's Imprint

The house is presented to the public in such a way as to evoke both the man and what he represented during a time of national unease. The sense of certainty that Churchill epitomised is re-created in the house by both tangible and intangible means. The whole atmosphere infers that Churchill still lives at Chartwell. There are fresh flowers in the rooms, up-to-date daily newspapers, glasses of whisky on tables and partially smoked cigars in ashtrays. There is even a sense of the smell of tobacco smoke in the house. In the Drawing Room the chairs appear recently vacated, with the cushions naturally dented. In the Dining Room the table is laid out for a family tea with real scones, cake and jam. In his painting Studio his overall hangs on the back of a chair and his paints and brushes are laid out ready for use. The overall impression is one of him having 'nipped out', of him having just left the room you happen to be in so that, if you walk fast enough you may encounter him around the next corner. This is important because it not only re-creates the sureness of identity that Churchill symbolized, but it also enhances the feel of the house as a lived-in family home. This is not an empty house, a museum or a mausoleum, this is a living house. It is the home of a man who knew exactly who he was and what he stood for and it is this essence of him which remains. As Day (1965: 28) illustrates it is as if 'his spirit still lives on in the house'. There is, therefore, the slight impression of being an intruder in another persons life. It is like walking around someone else's home after they have gone out for the day. Indeed, Chartwell is so replete with personal memories, artefacts and momentoes that

visitors cannot fail to encounter this 'spirit':

> As you walk in the front door you see the shooting-stick on which he often sat to paint out of doors...One of his cigar boxes lies on a desk in the Secretary's office...The Black Australian swans and the Canada geese wander by the lake verge. They await the master who will never feed them again. His golden orfe in the fishpond on the upper terrace swim to greet him - and dive when they see a new face.... (Day, 1965: 28)

This illustrates the significance of Chartwell as being something other than a 'mere' tourist attraction. It is intended to evoke memories and feelings. It is not a passive memorial, it communicates to the visitor something of the man and his time. A firm belief in what the nation stood for, in a world of anxiety, turbulence and war. This is the fundamental message of Chartwell.

The Message of Chartwell

For the most part Chartwell has tended to appear in articles or books, either as a backdrop to a piece primarily about Churchill, or as part of a feature on country houses generally. An article in *Homes and Gardens* magazine in the 1950's provided a 'guide book' tour of the house with descriptions of the various rooms, their furnishings and ornaments. It points out those aspects that are 'original' to the house and those that are 'modern'. An interesting feature of the article is that it is describing the layout of the house as it was lived in the 1950's, rather than as it is now depicted by the National Trust. Thus, descriptions of the Drawing Room are those of the room now layed out as Lady Churchill's Bedroom. The article also reproduces '....a legend that King Henry V111 stayed at the Manor....' (Grey, 1950: 38) and even labels one of the first floor rooms 'the Henry V111 room'. While this has never been substantiated it is interesting as regards the perceived need to create a link with a suitable and significant historical past. Like Churchill, Henry V111 was a larger-than-life figure who ruled over momentous times in the nation's evolution. It thus seems fitting that a connection between them is not only possible, but also desirable.

During the years after Churchill's death, and prior to the house being opened to the public, there was an obvious upsurge of interest in Chartwell. Even a motoring magazine, produced by the Ford Motor Company, carried an article on Chartwell. Unlike the factual detail of the *Homes and Gardens* article, this one resorted to a more eulogistic style. It emphasised Chartwell's primary function as a 'home' and the fact that it could be the house of an 'ordinary man':

> Drive in from the road through a gateway in a high red-brick wall and you find facing you a medium-sized, rather austere English manor house...the sort of house in which the village squire who farms most of his small estate would live with modest comfort. It is no grand house. It is no Stately Home of classic porticoes...it is...in short a family home. (Day, 1965: 30,32)

While there are the usual room by room descriptions of contents and furnishings the beginning of the article is written to suggest awe, inspiration and reveration. This is not just any country house it is 'the home of the Greatest Englishman' (1965: 27) and the writer is at pains to make the reader well aware of this. In fact, what are considered suitable reactions to, and opinions of Churchill and Chartwell are obvious from the writers style. The 'literary tour' starts in Churchill's study:

> In this silent room the greatest man of this century, worked, thought, planned, dreamed and communed with himself...no room in England is more redolent of the history of our times...when you sit at that historic table you face the stone fireplace, a Union Jack, stained and tattered, hanging above it. Below the flag is a great and splendid oil painting of Blenheim. (Day, 1965: 27, 28)

This illustrates one of the important key aspects of Chartwell and that is the extent to which specific Churchill habits and accoutrements have come to 'stand for' Churchill. These are referred to time and time again in articles and books. They include his study 'the true heart of Chartwell' (Barker, 1974: 20), his siren suits, particularly the bottle-green velvet suit with matching initialled slippers, his cigars, his collection of 'funny' hats and walking sticks and the parliamentary dispatch boxes. All these are meant to conjure up images of Churchill, his character and achievements. These items symbolize all that Churchill was, is, and probably always will be in some people's eyes, 'the greatest living Englishman'. Moreover, by coming into contact with them the visitor is also encountering Churchill. They are, in many ways, a physical link with the 'great man' himself:

> I remember that for a brief moment I sat in Sir Winston Churchill's chair at his own writing-table under the high, beamed rook of his study....I sat in his chair at his desk - not for vainglory, but to try to imagine for a fleeting moment some of the thoughts, the inspirations which had gone through his mind as he sat at his table by the window where you could look for miles over the beauty of the Kentish Weald.
> (Day, 1965: 27)

The last few words indicate the second key aspect of Chartwell and that is the landscape in which it is set. In the Weald of Kent, 'the garden of England' whose '...orchards and hopfields speak for the maintenance of a characteristic way of life...' (Chartwell brochure, 1960's). Like the previous signs, the siren suit and the cigars, the garden of Chartwell is symbolic of the national garden. It is Churchill's home-land as much as it is the national home-land. So, while Churchill is described as the greatest *English*man, his home is similarly identified with Englishness.[1] As one visitor states '...I think a lot of people do think it's frightfully English...'. Indeed, Churchill's third daughter, Sarah Audley, in

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1. Churchill's own writings on this point are interesting as he frequently treats England and Britain as if they were synonymous terms and refers to aspects of the British Constitution as English. For example, the English Monarchy. (See Churchill, 1909; 1957; Coote, 1954).

describing a journey to Chartwell with her father '...past neat crescents of suburban houses with tidy front gardens', stated that 'my father....liked the English cosiness of these homes, clustered together as if for comfort' (Woman's Realm, 1960's). For Churchill, Chartwell epitomised England and even those writing about the house seem similarly smitten. Day (1965: 27) refers to the 'utter Englishness of Chartwell' and Barker (1974: 17) describes the views which face towards the English Channel as undeniably the finest '...from anywhere in England, and all the main rooms face the green patchwork quilt that is Kent'. From the windows of the house Churchill '...could look out over his lawns and grass terraces, past a soaring oak as English as himself' (Day, 1965: 32). In fact the views that symbolize 'the best of English countryside' (Anon, 1977: 140) are the main reason why Churchill bought Chartwell. As the following illustrates:

> The setting captivated him immediately...But most important to Churchill was the panoramic view south over the gentle landscape of the Weald of Kent towards Hever Castle. Churchill's beloved nanny...had filled his head with stories of the 'Garden of England'...On a misty morning it still speaks powerfully of an older England..... (National Trust, 1992b: 12)

Just as certain specific contents at Chartwell symbolize Churchill, the house itself is a metaphor for the nation. Chartwell is England, the nation, during the second world war and it is this time which is evoked in the visitor's imagination. Even those who stated they were not admirers of Churchill acknowledged that the house brought back memories and emotions. As one woman stated '...I do as a child remember his speech at the end, you know, about the airmen'. Similarly, another visitor, who did admire Churchill commented, 'well yes, it made me think in a way how lucky I was to be a child old enough during the war to realise what was going on, yes, you know, it does bring it all home to you'.

What are 'brought home' are not only memories of the time, but memories of the man and what he represented. As Walden (1998: 3) states Churchill '....is judged to personify the unique characteristics of the British at their very best'. Yet, this merely highlights the extent to which Churchill's character is often described as the personification of both Englishness and Britishness. As the journalist Keith Waterhouse (1997: 12) illustrates '...if you wanted it (Englishness) in one word it would be an abstract one: bloodymindedness'.

However, this does not mean that all visitors will admire Churchill, but that they *recognise* him in Chartwell, because it is endowed with his unique characteristics. Churchill not only transformed Chartwell, he also transformed the nation. In its renovation Churchill 'delved and sweated' with his own hands (Tilden, 1954: 119), he was 'impatient for action', 'an indefatigable client' and 'a dynamic personality' (Garnett, 1994). In his work there he exhibited 'sudden bouts of physical energy', an 'immense vitality' (Girouard, 1965: 172) '...optimism...(and)...singlemindedness' (National Trust, 1992b: 23). Finally, just before his death he released his prized collection of butterflies '...he opened the door and let the lot go. That was the Churchill spirit: Let Them Be Free' (Day, 1965: 55). Thus, Churchill,

Chartwell and the nation are so entwined that it is difficult to think of them as separate entities. As Tilden illustrates:

> I would first of all strip the old house down to the naked trunk, and then, putting if possible the souls and hearts of Winston Churchill and his beautiful wife into it, add the right arms and legs to fit this composite creation. The test is always in its completion. Will it then live as a creation?.....Is it alive at all? (1954: 118)

Chartwell thus symbolizes both the soul and the spirit of Churchill and that of the nation during the second world war and this endows it with a strongly patriotic aura. So when Tilden asks is Chartwell alive? Perhaps in many ways it is. It has a heart, Churchill's Study, it has the soul and the spirit of the man, and it is endowed with 'Churchillian' characteristics such as, indomitable courage, singlemindedness, defiance, and love of freedom that are so redolent of the second world war. Thus, Chartwell not only *stands for* the archetypal English home, it is also the national home. It is not just a metaphor for the nation it is a 'living' metaphor, that speaks of the man, his nation and his people. Furthermore, immediately after his death the historian A.J.P.Taylor was reported as stating that '...historians of the future would ignore at their peril the spiritual contact which one man found in 1940 with the rest of his fellow countrymen' (quoted in Fairlie, 1965: 6). Chartwell is the physical manifestation of this 'spiritual contact' and its promotion as a shrine, as a site of pilgrimage, only emphasises this link.

Faithful Kin

While it is accepted that not all tourists will consider a visit to Chartwell a pilgrimage to a national shrine, there are enough indications to suggest that the majority of them do. This is clear, both from the observations and interviews carried out at the site - and which are analysed in section two - and from letters and memorabilia contained in the archives at Chartwell. Furthermore, it is not just a shrine for a specific group of individuals, whether tourists, or those associated with Churchill. It is also a shrine for those who feel it is their duty to preserve and to carry forward the legacy of Winston Churchill. For example, official Churchill appreciation societies. These different, but complimentary, 'groups' highlight the significance of Chartwell, both historically, and in terms of the present day. It is not only a site of interest because it was the home of an important historical figure. It is also one because its former owner is able to influence contemporary political debate, even though he has been dead for over thirty years. The power of the Churchill legacy is such that to be described as 'Churchillian' is seen by many - at least in the Conservative Party - as a high accolade. Likewise, if Churchill's speeches can be used to support, or undermine, a particular point of view - most notably over greater European integration - then that is taken as evidence of the 'righteousness' of that particular stance.[1] Thus given the point made

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1. See the comments of Churchill's daughter in law, Pamela Harriman on this point (Memo, 1986: 1-5).

above, that Chartwell can be seen as a metaphor for the man and the nation, then the relationship between both these 'groups' and Chartwell warrants further investigation.

Faithful Individuals

The letters, diary transcripts and documents held within the archives at Chartwell testify to the powerful hold Churchill had, and still enjoys today, on the imagination and the hearts of people. In a letter to Lady Churchill just after his death, students from a High School in Calgary, Canada wrote:

> The great and beneficial influence of Sir Winston has been experienced by the world for many decades and we ourselves are deeply grateful that we have lived, if only briefly, during his own lifetime. Through his own shining example he has taught us courage and determination - to be intrepid no matter how great the adversity, and to wish to continue to try our utmost in order that we may fulfil our purpose in life. Most important of all, he has taught us loyalty to our country - to her government, to her beliefs, and to her many ideals.

Likewise, in 1988 a copy of a letter written in 1965 from a French national to a Captain Hallifax of the Royal Navy, was sent to Chartwell by the latter's daughter. An extract from the letter reads:

> It is with real sorrow that we have learnt the end of the last struggle put up by Sir Winston Churchill...We, in France, despite some cruel moments, can never forget that we would not be alive to-day and have come back to vigour and health as a nation if it had not been for him...His passing away, the way it happened, the unity and dignity of a whole nation, and what a nation...are a great example to all...excuse these few lines written perhaps in haste, but you see the years go by, the friendship remains and that is all that counts.

Both these examples indicate the level of affection in which Churchill was held. Even though there are probably less favourable opinions of him around, the important point is that the writers felt strongly enough to write in the first place. Moreover, with the second example the sender obviously considered Churchill to be of contemporary significance, otherwise she would not of forwarded the letter. Furthermore, the second letter was sent to Chartwell, rather than to Churchill College Cambridge which houses Churchill's official archives. So, either the sender was not aware of the archive centre, or she considered Chartwell to be a more fitting recipient as it had been Churchill's private home. There is also a greater chance of more people being able to read the tribute at Chartwell, than if it were held at Cambridge University.

One very interesting file in the Chartwell archives contains letters from visitors and other

interested people. These letters present anecdotes about Churchill, and or, offer to send Churchill memorabilia for possible display within the house. The letters date back to the 1960's and include the offer, in 1969, of Churchill's paint brushes and the tin box in which they were kept, with details of how they came into the senders possession. 'He gave them to me when I used to stay with him and Lady Churchill in the South of France...they are....very treasured possessions...I feel they should go to their right place'. Similarly, in 1979 Churchill's London opticians sent a pair of his glasses from their own museum to Chartwell, for display on his study desk. The reply from Chartwell indicates the importance of this gift. 'I have, as you suggested, put them on his desk in the study and they add immensely to the feeling already strong, that the owner will be back any minute!!. To have such a close and personal link is really wonderful...'. In the 1980's and the 1990's other gifts were similarly well received. These gifts included a cigar box, donated by relatives of the gentleman to whom Churchill had initially presented it. Several letters sent by Churchill to the recipients when they were children, one of which was offered for use '..in showing his human side and attention to detail...'. A 1994 letter from a lady enclosing a poem she had written for the 50th anniversary of D-Day. She had felt inspired to compose the poem '...as it mirrors the thoughts of all of the people who lived through a difficult time'. Gifts were also received from overseas visitors to Chartwell. A man from South Africa sent a photograph of the school in which Churchill was imprisoned during the Boar War, 'this was the very building in which my high school years began'. Two men, one from Sweden and one from the former Yugoslavia, sent copies of books they had written on Churchill and translations of ones written by Churchill. The first letter extract is dated 1969 and the second is dated 1988:

Slovenia, Yugoslavia

permit me, please to express to you - after having returned to my country - in the name of my wife and in my own name sincere thanks for you guidance through ...Churchill's home. The visit to Chartwell was to both of us one of the most remarkable experiences during our visit in your great country.
As you will remember, we discussed...my idea to send a copy of the slovene translation of "The Second World War" by Winston S. Churchill...we would be honoured if (it) would find its place among the translations in other languages in the house of one of the greatest men of the 20th Century.

Sweden
In July of this year I had the privilege and the pleasure of visiting Chartwell, a name which echoes history....To-day it is exactly 33 years ago that I wrote a letter to Sir Winston including my biography "Glimtar ur Winston Churchill's liv"....Since then I have never ceased giving talks on Winston Churchill...(he) has been a wonderful companion...when I have felt the need of comfort, consolation and curiosity I have consulted the words and wisdom of Winston Churchill...he has....been a source of inspiration to the present and coming generations...I consequently enclose a copy....and my very best wishes for the fine job you are doing.

Another interesting aspect of the Chartwell archives is the inclusion of information from people who, either worked with Churchill at Chartwell or, who came into contact with him.

The first example is an extract from the diary transcript of Captain Terence Cook, who had accompanied Churchill on a drive from London to Chartwell in 1944:

> I leapt out of the car and rushed to open the door...he started to speak first before I got a chance to open my mouth. "Where did you come from" he said. "I've been leading you about the countryside all day, sir", said I...."Oh! thank you very much indeed", shaking me warmly by the hand, "you'd better come in and feed the gold fish with me. Would you like to do that?"....I followed him into the house...was immediately told to sit down, and offered a whiskey and soda, if you please. So there I sat drinking with Mr Churchill....We finished our drinks, and then came the feeding of the fish...We wandered round...talking and chatting away all the time...It was as if I'd known him all my life...We had been on the road for twelve hours that day, but what a twelve hours; and the first eleven were nothing to the last one when The Prime Minister entertained Captain T.L. Cook as his personal guest! A day never to be forgotten.

The second extract is by Grace Hamblin, Churchill's secretary from 1935, on her thoughts about the opening of Chartwell to the public:

> June the 22nd, 1966 was a thrilling and important day for all those who had worked so hard for months to ensure that Chartwell should be a worthy memorial...My personal feelings....were of great happiness...The house looked as though the family were possibly in the garden and would be back for lunch. There was again, the old atmosphere of warmth and welcome and of family life which...still remains...Two things about that day crowned my happiness...The first was of a very young man and woman who went slowly through the rooms...The young man...asked if they might look again at the Drawing Room...They stood silently for a very long time...and finally he said "coo, I could live here". My heart was full. Wasn't that just what we'd been working for? The other cause arrived in the post...a letter from a distinguished gentleman who had been at Chartwell on that crowded day. He said "Chartwell is a living memorial - arrested in time". I have never forgotten those words.

A final example of the range of correspondence received at Chartwell is a more recent letter in response to the exhibition on Churchill's life. This was written in 1995, when there was much debate in the press about closer ties with Europe and whether Churchill would have approved of this. The writer clearly found exception to what he saw as Churchill's former residence being '...used as a propaganda weapon in aid of the cause of a Federal Europe'. The National Trust's reply, however, pointed out that:

> It may well be that others seek to use Churchill's views as propaganda for a Federal Europe, although in my personal opinion that would be somewhat unhistorical since Churchill could not have envisaged in detail the way European political institutions would evolve. But to accuse the National Trust of having had that in mind in setting up the exhibition is simply false.

All of the examples referred to above indicate the diverse range of correspondence received by the National Trust. It also emphasises the emotional attachment many people feel they have, both with Churchill and Chartwell. It is evidence of the 'spiritual contact' that Churchill had with ordinary people and it highlights the extent to which Chartwell has become the focus for that contact. In visiting Chartwell, and by donating personal items or memories, people are able to re-connect with Churchill and with the specific period for which he is remembered. His and their 'finest hours'. Chartwell is thus, both a repository for many people's memories about the war, and a touchstone by which people can re-live the experiences associated with their memories. It is, as previously argued, one of the links connecting people to both the soul and the spirit of Churchill and that of the nation during the second world war.

The Organised Faithful

There are many organisations, both great and small, involved with aspects of what is referred to as the Churchill legacy. Most were founded during the late 1960's after Churchill's death and include: the Nebraska Churchill Freedom Foundation, the Winston Churchill Memorial and Library in Fulton Missouri and the International Churchill Societies (ICS). All these are dedicated to honouring the memory and the ideals of Churchill, such as freedom and the quest for liberty and fraternity, among like-minded nations. ICS define such nations as, the Great Democracies of the United States, Great Britain, Canada and Australia.

In many ways ICS' aims and objectives can be said to reflect those of most Churchill societies. They are keen that Churchill's legacy should not only be remembered, but 'kept alive' for the benefit of future generations. The following extract from the 50th Anniversary of VE day brochure illustrates their intentions well:

> Friends of the Society honour Churchill's faith in the great principles of democracy. We are inspired by the way he wrested freedom from extinction. We admire his character, convictions and courage, and we are delighted by his humour and optimism...Our Quarterly journal, *Finest Hour*, often touches on Churchill's political philosophy and its uncanny relevance to today's issues...We come together to study Winston Churchill's myriad experiences...as a guide to our own time...we are developing a Churchill Centre for the Study of Statecraft, imparting Churchill's wisdom and experience to tomorrow's leaders through teaching and philosophy. (International Churchill Societies, 1995: 8)

While agreeing with many of these aims the Churchill Memorial in Fulton is more specific about its overall purpose, which is to promote Anglo-American relations within the context of Churchill's Fulton Missouri Speech of 1946. In this speech Churchill famously referred to the Iron Curtain which had fallen across Europe and called for greater co-operation between Great Britain and America. This co-operation is achieved through such schemes as student exchange programmes, tours, conferences, study programmes and seminars. In

addition to the organisations mentioned there are also various Trusts which award Winston Churchill Fellowships to support study and exchange programmes. Indeed, the 1997 brochure advertising for UK applications states, 'The Winston Churchill Trust is a living tribute to Sir Winston, whose example is the inspiration' (Winston Churchill Memorial Fellowships, 1997).

Both the Churchill Memorial at Westminster College in Missouri and ICS publish official journals and newsletters to keep members and interested people informed, and organise international conferences on aspects of Churchill's life and career. *Memo*, for the Churchill Memorial and *Finest Hour,* for ICS also include articles and information about Churchill, undertake book reviews, answer queries and generally keep 'the memory green and the record accurate' (Finest Hour, 1995).

Another interesting aspect of both are the sections devoted to the sale of Churchill related memorabilia, or Churchilliana. For example, the *Memo* includes a 'Stichery Corner' offering a holiday gift to remember: 'Winston Churchill's silhouette done in black on white needlepoint. When complete this unusual piece is suitable for framing...' (Memo, 1981: 5). In the gift shop there are various Churchill artefacts available from Toby Mugs to figurines, all of which are designed to reflect specific Churchill characteristics. As the following examples indicate:

> For Sale Toby Mug: A recent addition to the gift shop is a handsome Toby Mug of Sir Winston Churchill. This beautiful collector's item was crafted and hand-painted in England. It stands 4 1/2" tall, and has an opening in the top hat for liquids. The cane serves as a handle $15.00 each. (Memo, 1984a: 5)

> London's famous House of Nisbet has created a portrait figure of Winston Churchill. Done by hand, the detail includes tiny covered buttons, a key chain, and of course, a cigar! 8" tall $45. Limited edition. (Memo, 1984b: 3)

Both these illustrate the fascination with purchasing 'a piece of Churchill'. Or more precisely, perhaps, with purchasing a particular aspect of Churchill as personified by a mug or figurine. In fact the depiction of Churchill in this way is believed to date from 1900 and over the years such 'Churchilliana' has come in a variety of materials from, china to marble, silver and wood (Hall, D. 1996). However, no matter what the material, all have to include some, or all, of the expected 'props'. Such as, '...homburg, bow tie, waistcoat, watch-chain, cigar, V-sign...the "props" are there to ensure that the carver's intentions could not be mistaken...' even if he failed to 'catch' any obvious facial characteristics (Hall D, 1996: 37, 38). Moreover, the importance of Churchill's cigar is highlighted by the following description attached to a portrait of Churchill:

His cigar is as inseparable as
Chamberlain's umbrella
It is the terror of the Dictators
It is the secret of Churchill's power
Try it and see.

(quoted in Hall D, 1996: 38)

It is not only important that Churchilliana resemble the expected 'props' but that the articles bought, whether contemporary productions or 'antiques', are above all 'genuine' and reasonably priced. Indeed, in 1995 ICS formed - perhaps rather tongue in cheek - 'an official society for "the prevention of rip-offs to expatriates and yanks', or OSPREY for short (Hall, 1995). A section devoted to this issue is featured in most editions of the ICS journal. Churchilliana is important because, as with the siren suit and the dispatch boxes at Chartwell, they conjure up images of what Churchill stands for, his character and his achievements. Furthermore, as visits to Chartwell enable people to re-connect with Churchill, the purchase of Churchilliana provides another physical link with the 'great man' himself.

As stated above a particular aspect of the societies mentioned is the organisation of tours and conferences. In 1985 an ICS tour to Great Britain, entitled *Churchill's England*, was described by Richard Langworth, the President of ICS in America, as:

> ...we hope you will leave with many fond memories - and conclude as we do, that in a small way such journeys cement the bond between the English-speaking peoples. We have come to honor the memory of one who might be called the father of that bond....We are left with many opportunities to follow his concepts in our own way, informally: we shall walk where he walked, dine where he dined, pray where he prayed. We shall meet with many of his friends and members of his family. To us this is a very high privilege. (Churchill's England, 1985: 1)

This tour took in various places including, the Cabinet War Rooms, The House of Commons, Blenheim Palace, Churchill College Cambridge and Chartwell. In fact Blenheim, Chartwell and Parliament feature on most ICS tours to Britain. They also featured on a programme of visits as part of the 1996 International Conference. While the reasons behind the inclusion of such sites are obvious, it is Chartwell that is of particular significance for many ICS members. Indeed, David Boler, the UK Chairman of ICS states that Chartwell is '..very much our spiritual home...it does have a magical quality...and I believe it does have an atmosphere'. For him, going into Chartwell is a 'very moving' experience because he can imagine Churchill standing at the entrance greeting the many famous people who came to visit him over the years. Furthermore, when asked which was his favourite room in the house he straight away replied, the Dining Room. Again this was because of the imagined conviviality associated with the room, due to the variety of people and the conversations that must have taken place there:

> I can see the conversation. You just look at that dining room table and you can think of the conversation, the brilliant conversation that went on there and most of it, sadly, never recorded...I can see people sitting at the table. I can see them eating, see them talking, drinking and being dominated by him... (David Boler)

David Boler's 'love affair' with Churchill, which began at school with the televisation of Churchill's funeral in the school assembly hall. From then on Churchill became a hero figure:

> I suppose a lot of it was, you know, the Dunkirk spirit, standing alone, we shall fight them on the beaches, there was this one colossus standing between us and domination by Germany...I still see this man who, through the strength of his character and his determination, just stood up at the right time and said, no we are not going to do this, we are going to stand and fight and that is what he'll be remembered for.

It is perhaps because of such feelings that David Boler finds Chartwell both, a spiritual home and a moving experience. Visits to Chartwell, for all ICS members, will focus their attention on what Churchill represents. Moreover, because it is where Churchill lived as a private family man and where he wrote his books, it has a more personal atmosphere than say the Cabinet War Rooms. Here, as in Parliament, Churchill was surrounded by others, in what were official government locations. While at Chartwell, despite the numerous visitors, he was perhaps able to be more himself. As Grace Hamblin illustrates:

> when you got to the precincts of Chartwell, on the edge of Chartwell he was so pleased to be back and he'd throw his rugs, and the dog would be pushed aside and the boxes and the secretary and he would say 'ah Chartwell'. Chartwell to him was heaven. (Chartwell Exhibition)

Furthermore, because Chartwell so clearly embodies the characteristics of Churchill and the spirit of the nation during the second world war, that makes a visit to the house a moving experience for such as David Boler. The bulldog spirit, the standing alone, the determination. In addition to these characteristics it is also Churchill's 'common touch' and those aspects of his character that reveal his more 'human side', that are brought to mind at Chartwell. As the following illustrates:

> yes he had the common touch but....he had the ability to be able to switch off....and my favourite Churchill quote, if you'll forgive me for saying it....I often wondered how on earth was Churchill able to go to sleep at night, you know with all the massive stress and worry of what was going on, you know certain defeat and then I happened to come across a quote where it seems he was actually asked this question and he said, 'well I get into bed at two or three in the morning, put my eyeshades on say out loud sod the buggers and in thirty seconds I'm fast asleep'. Isn't that

amazing. But that is the man, literally it was just a job of work....you know, right that's it, two o'clock in the morning, time for bed, bumpf out like a light, just amazing. (David Boler)

All the above Churchill attributes, the determination, the defiance, the common touch are encapsulated in the word *Chartwell* and it is these images of him that are conjured up by the imagination when visiting the house. Thus, whether buying a piece of Churchilliana or in joining a Churchill society, the individual is affirming his/her desire to foster the 'spirit of Churchill', to keep the legacy alive. This spirit, which is so apparent at Chartwell, is what makes the house an icon for The Faithful. It is the most genuine piece of Churchilliana there is.

Conclusion

The themes that have been discussed here relate to Churchill's status as an icon of the 'ordinary', to the ability of Churchill to represent the nation and Englishness, and to the position of Chartwell as a metaphor for the nation. It is difficult to discuss any of these issues in isolation, as Churchill and Chartwell are inseparable. All that Chartwell represents is based entirely around the character of the man whose home it was and the time in history when he came to prominence. That this is so for other houses and attractions is not disputed, but what is different here is the wealth of material that forms the Churchill legacy. Because Churchill spanned the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries he was able to take advantage of 'modern' technology and this has resulted in a much greater depth of material capable of being preserved. For example, it has been possible to preserve radio and television broadcasts and to re-print books in many different languages.

Furthermore, few other great leaders of the past have international societies dedicated to preserving the ideals to which they put their name. Even though Churchill is 'recent' history and one could debate the extent to which these societies will be around fifty, or a hundred years from now, the evidence suggests that they will survive. The Winston Churchill Memorial Trust of Australia has, for example, $39.8 million dollars worth of assets. Added to this there are a diverse (some may say eclectic) range of fellowships available on such areas as: the study of a travel topic to improve the Australian tourism industry, the study of flora in Israel and Australia and the study of bread manufacturing (Winston Churchill Memorial Trust of Australia, 1995: 12). Likewise, the International Churchill Societies have many student members, some as young as fourteen. James Milner, a student from the University of Toronto, sums up how his generation should view Churchill:

> For my contemporaries, Winston Churchill is a name that is applied only to history, and then only to the Second World War. What my generation needs is to see Churchill as a brilliant thinker for all time, rather than a character within the dusty books of history. By understanding Churchill's wisdom in the areas of leadership, language, and political discourse, the next generation of leaders will be well-equipped for tackling their future stages of life. (1995: 139)

Moreover, Churchill's shadow still haunts contemporary politicians and contemporary political debates. As David Boler again illustrates:

> I think there's a wider perspective....if you open up any newspaper, if you've opened up a newspaper in the last two days you'll see and read about Churchill and the problems that he had with the Duke of Windsor. You know I'm continually reading in the Daily Mail and the Daily Telegraph where they're referring to the greatest, the biggest, the lowest, the highest, the smallest since Winston Churchill was Prime Minister in the war. He's the yardstick by which so many things are measured.

It is, therefore, highly unlikely that Churchill will disappear into the historical ether. The important issues in this case are not so much the extent to which Churchill is, or is not still referred to, or what he would of thought about the European question, but what he represents and how this relates to Chartwell. What do Churchill and Chartwell tell us about English national identity? This section argues that the answer to this question lies in Churchill's ability to stand for the nation. He is the archetypal Englishman and it is his characteristics that Chartwell embodies. Furthermore, as Billig (1995) has argued, in recognising the familiar flags of nationhood we are recognising something about ourselves. *We are noticing the depths and mechanisms of our identity*, embedded in the routines of our *social life. Indeed, tourism is a routine aspect of life for many people, with the annual two* weeks in the sun a taken for granted habit for most of the developed world. Similarly, Chartwell and Churchill are familiar to 'us'. Chartwell is 'homely', it could be 'our house', Churchill is one of us, ordinary and down to earth. As such, they are both examples of the type of mechanisms by which our identity is brought home to us. As Billig (1995: 175) states they '...remind us that we are 'us''. So, while we may recognise ourselves at Chartwell, what we are seeing are aspects of Englishness, rather than the complete picture. For Chartwell represents a particular view of Englishness based upon the characteristics of one man and his era. This is perhaps its greatest strength. In being so entwined with Churchill and the second world war, Chartwell's *homeliness* reminds us of the reasons why people were prepared to give their lives for their country. It reminds us that the nation is worth the ultimate sacrifice. The power of such an overtly patriotic appeal cannot be ignored.

In view of the above it is important to consider the issues raised here within the context of the interviews and observations undertaken at Chartwell. Likewise, the relationship between Englishness and patriotism needs to be examined more closely and this provides the basis for the discussion in chapter nine.

Chartwell- Observations and Interviews

The Context

The aim of this section is to consider the previous discussion in relation to the interviews and observations undertaken at Chartwell. In particular the analysis follows up on some of the issues already identified. Such as Churchill's status as an icon of the ordinary, the ability of the house to stand for the national home and the embodiment of Churchill's characteristics in both his house and his 'props'. These issues will be examined three main sections: *The Voluntary Faithful, The Faithful Speak* and *The Observed Faithful*. These are organised so as to highlight the main themes to emerge from the research. While these themes will be discussed within the relevant section it is important to emphasise that they do overlap. As such, it is not the intention to examine all the possible implications of these as they appear, but rather to confine the bulk of the analysis to the final section, *The Observed Faithful*. It is here that the links and the interdependencies between all the sections is revealed to the greatest extent.

The Voluntary Faithful

As room stewards employed by the National Trust work on a voluntary basis they require both the spare time and the motivation to want to do so. At Chartwell this does not appear to present any problems. The majority of the stewards are aged between forty and seventy-five and are thus very familiar with Churchill and the second world war. Both of which represent their recent history. The following analysis is divided around four key themes, *The Churchill Spirit, A Man of the People, A Symbol of the Nation* and *Stewards on Tourists*.

The Churchill Spirit

The length of time the stewards have worked at Chartwell varies, from a few months to several years, with two in particular having been involved with the house for a significant length of time. For example John Solway is in his twelfth year and Daphne Briault her sixteenth. John is a Churchill enthusiast and whilst he never met Churchill, he did 'see him around' during his years as a senior London police officer. Carole Kenwright, the property manager, has a high regard for John's 'enthusiasm' stating that, he '...has the most amazing knowledge and regard and respect and I think what you would call patriotism...' for Churchill. John describes his feelings for Churchill thus:

> I used to admire him during the war of course, like everybody did, he inspired everyone and after the war I started to get the books about him and reading all the things that, sort of was published, always interested in photographs of him, collected

quite a few at home.....when I retired I wondered what to do to amuse myself and I phoned up here and asked them if they wanted me to come and work here and they said yes...and I've been here ever since.... .

The Churchill connection also influenced others to work at Chartwell. Derek describes how, as a boy during the war he knew about the part played by Churchill and was fascinated by this 'leader of men'. This fascination was what 'attracted' him to come and work at Chartwell. Likewise, Ron and his wife Cynthia, who were actively involved in the second world war, expressed a great deal of admiration for Churchill. Indeed, Ron talked about the pride he felt when he first came to work at Chartwell:

I experienced that most I think when I first came here and I wanted to be a volunteer steward and they sent me along here and it was the fact I had to ring the front door bell and I thought, I can't believe this, that here am I ringing the front door bell of the house that Churchill lived in. it's a silly thing, but it certainly had an impact.

However, not all the stewards came because of Churchill, as Daphne explains:

....I came here just as a room steward...I do love the house. I wouldn't say that I came here in the first place because of Churchill, because in fact my parents were very ante Churchill. Well I think there were a lot of people thought that he was a bit of a warmonger. I don't know that I ever really thought about it, but once I came here this place grew on me and you hear some of his sayings and you read about him and he had a wonderful way with words, such a clever way, I envy him.

So even those who were not particularly keen on Churchill are still affected by the house and the spirit of the man that lives on inside it. Moreover, the fact that Daphne had 'never really thought about it' before is an important point. It highlights Billig's (1995) comment that attachment to the nation often bubbles along underneath the surface of everyday life waiting to be connected, or flagged, in response to a suitable national symbol. As Billig (1995: 7) states, a national identity is like a mobile telephone, it lies quiet for most of the time until a call is received that triggers a response in the emotional subconscious.

A further illustration of this national flagging is given by Sue who, although initially ambivalent about her reasons for coming to Chartwell, went on to state how proud she now felt working there. Her sense of pride had been triggered on a Quantas flight from Australia when a map was shown of the plane's current flight path and Chartwell had been specifically marked. This is an interesting comment as it supports the point made in chapter four that tourist maps indicate the values and beliefs that a nation stands for and reveres. Sue not only 'understood' the meaning behind the dot on the map marked 'Chartwell' but, more importantly, she also 'understood' how she should respond to it. She perceived the Chartwell 'dot' to be of significance to her, it meant something and that something

manifested itself in a patriotic response based upon the house, its former owner and what they symbolized to her. As the following excerpt from a Churchill video illustrates:

...'Winnie' the man...strode the world stage like a colossus, symbolizing not only this country's bloody minded refusal to surrender but also the ingenuities and eccentricities that were to prove so valuable in defeating the forces battering the forces of his beloved Britain....he is best remembered as the war leader who rallied the British nation in the darkest days after the fall of France and used his superb mastery of the English language to give hope to the vanquished and to strengthen the resolve of all who shared his indomitable fighting spirit.

(The Finest Hours, 1964)

The comments of Sue and Daphne indicate the emotional / psychological effect the house and the man is able to exert over those who work there. As discussed in the chapter on Battle Abbey felt, or sentient history has a powerful community-creating potential. It does, as Connor (1993) argues, enable the kinship ties that bind individuals to a nation to be experienced in the imagination. As Daphne states the house has the ability 'to grow on you', it creeps up behind and takes you unawares, turning once ambivalent emotions into meaningful expressions of national pride. It matters not whether someone is 'ante-Churchill', what is important is the ability of the house to re-kindle the sense of community, determination and national togetherness that is felt to epitomise the second world war. In effect to re-kindle the spirit of Churchill. Churchill is thus the lightening rod that triggers an emotional attachment to the nation. As Ron illustrates '...he's a great public figure for the wartime experiences...'.

This emotional attachment is expressed by most of the stewards in terms of the atmosphere created in and by the house. As Ron and Cynthia illustrate:

you've got a property and the property is not really terribly significant in itself, but its association with Churchill, I think, is tremendous and this is what people feel, they can almost feel a kind of atmosphere as if he still lives here, I mean it's not only the stewards, I think, that feel that, but everybody that comes round. (Ron)

oh absolutely, absolutely.....I think   one can be in these rooms and imagine that perhaps, that the Churchill's have just gone out of the room for a few moments and that they'll be back. I always have that feeling especially in Lady Churchill's bedroom and here I think (the Dining Room). (Cynthia)

One steward describes the atmosphere as 'the magic of Churchill', whilst others expressed themselves in similar ways to Ron and Cynthia. In fact, all agreed that the house was so 'alive' with Churchill that it was as if he still lived there. As John explains:

...I feel often that his presence is here still, I know that sounds a bit remote and odd,

but it's just true, especially down in the studio. I know, I've been down there alone and there's nobody else there and it's quiet and been sitting there and I often think, you know, if he came back he was so interested in painting that's probably where he is, amongst his paintings.....I would certainly appreciate meeting him, if he came back I'd like to talk to him.

Churchill's 'spirit' brought back many personal memories for the stewards, either of their war time childhood, or of their active service. In the main, however, their memories are of the man himself and of what he meant to them, then and still today. As Cynthia remarks 'he gave us hope'. Similarly:

....he was the voice, he was the voice of Britain. He said all those things in the most perfect way that we would have liked to have said and he was the man who inspired you. People used to all break off from what they were doing, he's on, he's on the wireless talking, so everybody would stop and listen. (John)

Even though Churchill is held in high regard by the stewards they still acknowledged his weaknesses and his mistakes and the fact that he was not liked by everybody. As Daphne states above, some thought him a 'warmonger'. Thus, for all Churchill's greatness he was still human. He made mistakes, just like 'us'. Furthermore, even though John respects and admires him, Churchill he is not his favourite historical character. That accolade falls to Horatio Nelson. Overall all, the consensus of opinion is summed up by Ron 'he was a bit iffy as a politician, but a great wartime leader'.

A Man of the People

While memories of the man and his time are never far from the surface, the interviews with the stewards again highlight this image of Churchill as a man of the people. This is reflected in their attitudes towards his house and in those towards the man himself, '....people think that the house isn't too grand, it's very manageable, they can relate to it and it's not over full of antiques either, it's a very comfortable house, it's a very warm house.... (Daphne). Chartwell is very much the ordinary house of an ordinary man, even though he was the Prime Minister. As Jenny illustrates '... a lot think that the house should be more grand than it is. They find it difficult to believe...that a prime minister would not live somewhere more like a palace...'. The previous section highlighted the importance of this aspect of Churchill as an 'icon of the ordinary', as a man of 'the people' and this comes across in the comments made by the stewards:

a lot of people tended to believe that because he was related to the Marlboroughs....that somehow he inherited great fortune and....when they come in the Dinning Room here they expect a great banqueting table and it's only then that they start to realise, you know, that this is really a persons home and he lived here like a normal person..... . (Ron)

he's a real person not someone from history...but he also had this, well it attracts me quite a bit, was his puckish sense of humour, you know I like some of the things he said and did because it, some people say well it was childish, but it wasn't it was something that made him a man instead of a remote unapproachable personality, he was somebody that saw humour in things that perhaps other people wouldn't.

(John)

Another steward referred to the present Royal Family to illustrate how Churchill was 'accepted' by 'the people', '...I mean most of us, I think, only read about them, we haven't actually experienced a country weekend, or what they actually would say or do and yet a lot of people sort of talk about (them) as they're own'. However, Churchill is both ordinary and 'extra'-ordinary at the same time. He was one of 'us' and yet not one of 'us'. As another steward states 'he had a charisma about him and...when he talked on the radio...it certainly inspired you, you felt that you had somebody you could trust and rely on...'. This is an important point as charisma is one of the means by which kingship is conferred (Balandier, 1972). This further reinforces previous discussions concerning the legitimation of Churchill's status as a leader able to speak both for 'us' and of 'us'.

So, while Churchill was very much a 'real person', our kith and kin, this was more in the manner of a father figure, someone to be revered, than as 'one of the boys'. He was, and perhaps still is, the all knowing parent that a child looks up to, he was important, he could be trusted. As one steward states 'we can't lose with him there, you know, that sort of attitude'. Moreover, Churchill was not only the nation's father figure he was, as previously argued, the nation itself:

....you know he did represent...a sort of bulldog, yes, that was him and that was Britain... the bulldog....is the British symbol I suppose, in much the same way as if you said Churchill, that was Britain, and if you said in the nineteenth century, Napoleon, that was France. You know he was synonymous with the country.

(John)

A Symbol of the Nation

John's comment highlights another important theme, what it was about Churchill that made him the nation's representative. As John illustrates Churchill was an individual, he was an 'unusual man' who '...developed into a sort of character which wasn't repeated much elsewhere'. So Churchill 'stood out', he was as identifiable to the British as he was to foreigners:

....he was a personality in as much as lots of other politicians can walk along the street and nobody would recognise them, but Churchill couldn't, everybody knew him, even foreigners would know he was Churchill. So if he was ever on foot anywhere he stood out, in as much as everybody knew him and his figure. He didn't

have to do the V signs and he also, 'cause he tended to dress the same and he used to, always seemed to have a dark suit, three piece suit, and that hat of his, a homburg, he was so identifiable. (John)

Churchill was instantly recognisable by his 'props'. The Churchill habits and accoutrements that have come to stand for Churchill. As Daphne explains, a lot of visitors '..say they can smell cigar smoke, but they can't because, I mean that would set all our security alarms off, but they do say I can smell that'. These physical reminders of Churchill enable the stewards to connect with Churchill the man, to experience once again the sense of trust, admiration and bloody mindedness that figured so highly in war time Britain. This is also true for the majority of visitors to Chartwell who, like the stewards, tend to be predominantly middle aged and upwards:

> ....elderly people come because of their memories of the war and as a thanksgiving. They like to see the context and the background of the man they admire.....he epitomised everything, people idolised him as a political figure, still today and they realise the paltry insignificance of todays politicians.....he did win the war, he's the nucleus of victory....Part of why people come here is patriotism. I've had Belgians actually hug me and thank me for all Churchill did during the war.... . (Penny)

People re-connect with Churchill through the house and the physical manifestations of the man displayed within it and as Penny states patriotism is the most common emotional response to these. The other stewards agreed with this. John stated 'I think it makes them feel proud to be British certainly...Churchill is a part of our history which makes you proud...'. Likewise, '...it's very interesting that people come round here all speak well of him and often quote the same...saying 'they'll never be another like him' and there's a lot to be said for that remark' (Derek). Indeed, Chartwell can induce great emotion in some visitors, as Jenny illustrates:

> a lot of people get overwhelmed sometimes by it, particularly older people. They get completely overwhelmed that they are in Churchill's house.....they are emotional, you know. I haven't had anyone actually breakdown and cry but, you know, you can tell that they've got a lump in their throat.

The sense of pride relates to what Churchill and his time represents, what John refers to as the time '...when we were standing with our backs to the wall..'. But essentially it is a pride tinged with a nostalgia for something lost, for a sense of community and determination no longer thought to exist and for a time when the country was a powerful force in the world:

> ...we were a marvellous nation. Alright people disagree now...the rest of the world seem to think that our colonialism was all wrong, but that's their point of view....it (matters) to me that Britain is not great any longer because I was brought up in the

era where the map was pink all over because the flag flew everywhere. There's only one flag that flies all the way round the world now and that's the Shell flag....my grandchildren for instance, they haven't got the tremendous patriotism that we saw engendered when we were children, you know, we're British we are the best in the world, you can't go anywhere better than Britain. We were brought up with that attitude even though you come from a poor family you still had it.   (John)

So far the analysis of the stewards feelings about Chartwell and Churchill has revealed the extent to which the house is seen as a repository for national sentiment and belonging, because it *stands for* certain aspects of the national character. Although these represent *a* version, rather than *the* version, of identity Chartwell's symbolic power is not diminished because of this. The analysis also illustrates the importance of this image of Churchill as the 'ordinary' man, living in an 'ordinary' cosy house. This enables a personal relationship to develop based upon the idea of Churchill as a member of 'my' family. Where 'my family' stands for the national family, as well as my genealogical family. This is what Connor (1993) refers to as a sense, a feeling of consanguinity. The stewards are 'feeling' the kinship ties that link them to Churchill, to each other and to the wider nation.

Thus, Chartwell is not only Churchill's home, it is the national home and this enables it to act as a touchstone of national sentiment. It means 'something' to those who work there. It is an example of the type of the catalysts that, Connor (1993) argues, trigger an emotional attachment to the nation. Like Billig's mobile telephone it enables people to dial 'N' for nation and 'I' for identity.

Stewards on Tourists

According to the stewards it is the combination of pride and patriotism that is the main reason why so many people visit Chartwell. While they acknowledge that not all visitors consider Chartwell a site of 'pilgrimage', the majority are interested because '..it evokes memories in those who come...' (Penny). As the majority age group is 45 plus then Chartwell represents their own personal history, and many visitors feel a need to share this history with the stewards. For instance, Penny recalled a conversation with someone whose mother-in-law had been Churchill's dresser. Another with a woman who had been in the WRAF during the Battle of Britain and yet another with a woman who had talked of her war time memories as a kitchen maid. Likewise, Daphne recalled conversations with people who had come into contact with the house and the family:

...I've had men in the kitchen downstairs who say, 'oh well, I used to deliver from Westerham station....the office used to get a phone call to say the maggots had arrived for Churchill's fish and then the gentleman would come up here with them and say, you know, 'I've bought Winston's maggots.....I've sat in this kitchen having cocoa with cook', you know......I think it's war time memories. A lot of them served in, perhaps, the same regiments....some of them have come back who, of course have said they were at school with Mary, because Mary went to school in Limpsfield so some of her contemporaries have come here and know the family well... .

There are other visitors to Chartwell who do not fit into the majority age group. There are some day trippers, although these are not 'typical Chartwell visitors, '...people come here for a purpose, not for a day trip really...' (Penny). Children do visit Chartwell, but not in significant numbers and overseas visitors, predominantly the Americans, the French and the Dutch. The Dutch '...never forget the war...and never forget how the British liberated them. They love coming here. The Americans come for the Roosevelt connection...not so many Germans, and Canadians of course...' (Jenny). Furthermore, there is, according to John, an element of 'roots' tourism at Chartwell for those, former British nationals, who emigrated to other parts of the world. For this group Chartwell enables them to re-connect with the nation they left behind:

> Australians and New Zealanders are very interested. When they come here they come for a visit to the UK. Some of them they are coming home, as they see it, *because they emigrated in the period after the war. Those people come back here and they've got the same sort of respect and memory of him* as being the leader during the war. So, if they come to the UK they must come to Chartwell. (John)

However, the stewards acknowledge that not all overseas visitors consider Chartwell in this light. For Japanese visitors Chartwell is a popular coach party 'stop'. It is another 'must see' sight, even if not everyone is too sure why. As the following conversation between two stewards illustrates:

Steward 1- (laughing) oh dear but there are obviously people on these tours that are doing the sites.
Steward 2- That's right the Japanese are the same.
Steward 1 - ....but I mean one can understand, you know the language barrier, that it must be very difficult if you don't understand what's going on around you.
Steward 2- I can remember last year we had big coach fulls of...Japanese.
Steward 1- The Japanese are everywhere.
Steward 2- They're regimented they get off the bus stand in a line and one can speak English and they arrive and they look like a little crocodile going through.

Other stewards relate similar experiences with Chinese visitors, one party of which came in late, near to closing time. Even though there was still time to view the house the party went in through the front door, straight through the house without stopping and out the back door into the garden. The steward was concerned to see them back at the front door so quickly and asked the tour leader if there were any problems. The answer came back that they were not interested in the visit, only in the tickets which were to be kept as souvenirs. Obviously, this may reflect different cultural approaches to tourism and to the practice of visiting historic houses. However, it also illustrates the fact that some visitors, both overseas and domestic, visit Chartwell because it is a place one must go to, it is on the tourist itinerary of Britain. Those putting the tours together have identified it as a site that must be seen, as a site of national importance. As John states '...I mean this place is out of the way of the usual

tourist places so they have to want to come, if you know what I mean'. This is true, but visitors come not only because they *want* to, but also because they feel they *ought* to, as the following conversation illustrates:

Jenny - ...we get asked so many different questions...all sorts of silly questions...many,
　　　 many silly questions we get asked.
Researcher- What kind of silly questions?
Jenny - (laughing) Whose house are we in? Whose house did this used to belong to? You
　　　 know they've been round the gardens, they've been round the shop, they've been
　　　 everywhere and they come to the house and they say 'oh who used to own this
　　　 house?'.

Overall, the visitors have been described as being on a continuum that ranges from the 'uninterested' to the 'devotees', as one steward illustrates:

> ...they vary enormously. You get, from the very interested....they ask the questions,
> they look at everything, look at the guide books, spend a long time in each room
> they go through. You get the intermediate ones who come in, look at the guide book,
> look at the room and are on their way and....then you've got the other end of the
> scale....the last group the ones who take about ten minutes to get through the house.
> You know you see them come in and they're walking out again before you've turned
> round. You think to yourself, you know, you've wasted you're money, you've
> wasted your time, you know you shouldn't come here. But that's the spectrum, of
> people who come round... .

The 'devotees', as John refers to them, are those who have 'an intense interest in Churchill', such as writers and historians and those more 'ordinary' visitors who exhibit an emotional response to Chartwell. Those that Jenny previously described as having a 'lump in their throat'.

The steward's interpretations of visitor reactions to the house are important because they are the people who come into contact with them on a daily basis, in a highly concentrated setting. They are acutely aware of the variety of responses to the man and his time and are well able to judge the 'meaning' of Chartwell for those who come to visit it. Thus, their comments highlight the areas that they consider to be important, as far as the visitors are concerned. These include the ability of Chartwell to induce feelings of pride in the nation and to evoke personal memories based upon a particular period in the nation's history. These memories form the basis for the idolisation of Churchill as the man who saved us. Furthermore, the cosy homeliness of the house is familiar to the visitors, they too feel as 'at home' here as they would in their own homes. Thus, Churchill is almost a part of their family, a man of the people, one of 'us'. The extent to which visitor reactions to, and feelings about the house coincide with these interpretations provides the basis for the analysis of the visitor observations and interviews. These help to give a more rounded analysis of the symbolic importance of Chartwell and its relationship to national identity.

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The Faithful Speak

The tourists that were spoken to in the grounds of the house exhibit similar reactions to those observed inside the house. Although their conversations were more lengthy, being in response to specific themes and questions. The majority of visitors in the grounds reflected the main age group of 45 plus. However, children, families and those younger than 45 were also present. Those spoken to do fit in with the continuum of visitors described previously as ranging from the uninterested to the devotees. Indeed, the devotees would talk at length about Churchill, their feelings for him and his house and how the contemporary world is diminished without him and 'his like'. Others, however, were not particularly taken with Churchill, or affected by the house and its contents. Some disliked him, whilst others viewed Chartwell as merely an interesting day out. One couple in their twenties stated that they hadn't really taken much notice of the house and that they had only come because it was a National Trust property. The house did not evoke any particular feelings or thoughts as far they were concerned and was, in fact, not really any different to other National Trust properties. Likewise, those with young children considered Chartwell a day out and an interesting diversion. Thus, for some Chartwell and Churchill are central to their feelings about themselves and their country, for others it is not.

The analysis of the conversations with visitors outside the house has been organised into three categories, *The Hero*, *His Legacy* and *His House*. As with the comments made by the stewards there is a degree of overlap between these areas and so, again, they should not be looked upon as having clearly defined boundaries.

The Hero

Many visitors consider Churchill to be a saviour, a hero who defeated the Germans and ensured the survival of the nation. Even those from overseas consider him an interesting and important figure. One American, in his forties, describes Churchill as a 'fascinating man'. Whilst another, in her thirties and from a different group states, 'well I think we all think very highly of him, sure'. The following comments illustrate the high regard in which Churchill is still held by some people:

A couple in their 80's
Woman - Oh he was marvellous, what would we have done without him. He was heaven
  sent at the time. We're not very bright, but quite wonderful...we've had two wars and
  I don't know what we should have done.
Man- During the war I can remember....when I was an officer during the war and people
  used to wait at lunchtimes, sitting down as we've been sitting down today, talking
  about what Churchill had said the day before and it's amazing how people were
  encouraged by everything he said, he was a remarkable man.

A couple (60's)
Man- Well the end of the war, I don't remember the beginning of the war...
Woman- we're not quite that old. He was a great man to us, you know, well to me anyhow.

Man- Yes, yes.
Researcher- Why?
Man- Well his wartime activities was what we recall, obviously. He was a bit of a hero because of the things he did and the leader and obviously was very domineering and he obviously put the world to rights and he obviously, in his earlier thoughts, I think he gave the ideas that, you know, of what people should be doing and they didn't take any notice of him...ignored him.

A group of three
Woman (70's)- super feller.
Man 1 (40's)- he was a great leader in wartime, not so in peace time mind you.
Woman (70's) - A wonderful leader, yes definitely.
Man 2 (70's)- We would have been under German occupation without him, wouldn't we? I'm sure about that.
Woman (70's)- We would.

Man (60's) - Yeah, well, being twelve years old in 1939 and seeing what led up to the second world war and then along comes this man who everybody, not attracted to, but he was a natural leader.

Two women (60's)
Woman 1 - Well you'd better ask my friend she's more erudite than me.
Woman 2 - Absolute nonsense.
Researcher - What are your thoughts about Churchill?
Woman 2 - A hero of course, yes...he was our great leader in time of war and all modern journalists and chatter boxes who rubbish him now ought to be hanged, drawn and quartered.
(Further on in the conversation)
Woman 2 -He saved us, without his leadership and inspiration we wouldn't be here now we'd be under the Narzi and he always called them the Narzies, not Nazi it was Narzi he used to say. You wouldn't be standing here, neither would we. We'd be under the Narzi jackboot and the French crumbled and I mean the French have never forgiven us, have they?

Churchill is thus revered as both a hero and a saviour because of what occurred during the second world war. Indeed, he is seen as the architect of, and the inspiration for, the survival of the nation and its way of life. The fact that he saved 'us' and 'our' way of life is a powerful memory for all those quoted above. Indeed, many people commented that the researcher was herself too young to really understand the significance of what Churchill did, '...you see you weren't there at the time and it's hard for you..'. These reactions to Churchill again illustrate Balandier's (1972: 177) concept of the charismatic chief, he who possesses '....a special relationship with the people, the country and the system of forces that regulate fertility and prosperity'. This serves to explain why certain people continue to look upon Churchill as our rightful leader. Indeed, 'our' only true leader, because he was in ultimate control of the nation's survival, of its fertility and prosperity.

As a saviour Churchill is thus elevated to the status, almost, of a sacred icon. As such what he stood for, his legacy if you like, should be preserved and protected from those who would diminish it by criticism. As the lady above stated, such people should be 'hanged'.

Others expressed similar opinions. For example, '...don't take any notice of what young people say about him, they are criticising him and saying he was bloodthirsty', and 'oh absolutely yes. Lots of young writers are writing the most awful things that are completely crazy, because they just weren't there'. It is almost as if those who revere Churchill are members of some imaginary society, united by their common understanding of, and veneration for, Churchill. Members of the society may not know one another, but they are sure other, like-minded, people exist who 'were there' and who do 'understand'.

However, not everyone spoken to thought highly of Churchill or considered him a hero:

A group of four (60's)

Man 1 - Well he was my great childhood hero (women laughed), he was, because I was brought up just after the war when everybody hailed him. If it hadn't of been for the war he'd of still been, probably, a very unsuccessful MP, wouldn't he.....and the war made him. But my parents used to, and probably yours, but I can't answer for him, my parents idolised him because they (the Churchills) came from the stiff upper lip society.

Researcher - Ladies, why do you disagree?

Woman 1 - Why don't I have any particular feelings? Because I don't have particular feelings for heroes if you like. I don't have any particular admiration.

Researcher - So if heroes are not important to you...what things are important to you?

Woman 1 - ...just ordinary people and how events happen and I suppose the tide of history if you like and how it shapes things, but not heroes as particular people.

A couple man (70's), woman 60's

Man - Well personally I didn't like the bloke.... he was probably the guy for the occasion during the war, but it shows what people thought of him when they chucked him out in '45.

Woman- My husband knows more about it than I do, I being a little bit younger.....well people didn't talk about it so much, 'cos I originated from Devon, perhaps my husband living nearer London, I just thought, oh he must of been a great man, you know, because everybody was talking about him...

Man - he was a very good orator but I remember he made one or two bad boobs like Gallipoli and things like that in the first world war and in the second, which are really coming to light now, anyway we're all human.

(Further on in the conversation)

Man - Well, as I say, he was a marvellous orator there's no doubt about it, so was Hitler come to that (laughed). I find his speeches, even though I don't understand a damn word, some of it's the magic of the verse I guess.

These examples are interesting as they indicate the differing and often contradictory basis upon which individuals interpret their nation's history and what it means to them. The last comments are also important as they highlight the fact that Churchill, although disliked, was human, he made mistakes. Likewise, he was still able to exert an influence over such people through the 'magic' of his oratory. This is significant as it testifies to the 'pull' of Churchill and his memory, or legacy, even for those who are not 'devotees'. As one man stated, '..I wasn't old enough to realise that he'd done a great deal in the war, or before that, or rather after that, until you get older and it makes sense to you. But I wouldn't say he was a hero'.

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Making sense of the past does not, therefore, have to indicate approval of those involved in the past. It is more an acknowledgement of the differing events, people and reactions to them, that comprise the make-up of the nation. Thus, what matters is not that everyone agrees that Churchill is a hero, but that they all agree he is important in some way, that he is significant to the nation's past and thus worth remembering. As Connor (1993: 385) argues the emotional depth of national identity involves '...the passions at either end of the love-hate continuum which the nation often inspires'.

His Legacy

The love-hate continuum that surrounds Churchill is based primarily around what is considered to be his legacy, most notably his war time achievements. It also involves the ability of Churchill's memory to evoke personal reminiscences within individuals, a factor also observed by the stewards. These personal memories enable people to review their place in the nation's past:

A couple in their 80's
Man- I was a secretary of a very big choir in those days in an amateur way and on
        September the, the day before, when the war was declared on the Sunday by
        Chamberlain, I remember we'd got a big concert fixed up in Manchester for the
        Wednesday of that week and the cuffuffle there was then, because we had to make
        announcements and say that this concert wouldn't take place, because all events in
        the evenings, and nights of course, were banned straight away.
Woman- If you had a car and had petrol coupons you had to have a cowl on your
        headlights....we had blackout shelters you know....we had a bomb on our tennis
        lawn and my father was ill with pneumonia at the time and that was the night that
        the bomb came, wasn't it.

Two women (60's)
Woman 1- Well, I was only tiny, I'm a little younger, I don't remember, I was only four
        when war broke out so, but I mean yes there are memories of my father and what
        was going on.
Woman 2- Yes, I was eight when war broke out and the thing I remember, and I was
        saying to Hilda, we lived in Hove and we saw all these strange bits of, we couldn't
        think what they were, being taken along the channel and realised afterwards that it
        was all the component parts of the Mulberry Harbour and they went a long past
        Brighton and Hove out towards, obviously towards Normandy, and it wasn't until
        long after that I remember us saying, as a family, well that's what we saw, you
        know.

This links the speaker into a significant moment in the nation's history as the Mulberry Harbour played a crucial role in the Normandy landings that marked the beginning of the end of the second world war. Furthermore, the personal memories triggered by Churchill's legacy enable visitors to identify a common bond between them:

A couple (50's)
Man- I tell you one thing I once remember reading about Winston Churchill. It must of

been when I was about ten and not getting very good school reports.
Woman- Were you comforted by his? (Laughs)
Man - I was comforted, because I read somewhere a copy of his school report which said
he was lazy, not very bright and wasn't a good leader of men and was easily led,
that was it, was easily lead and.....I got this appalling report saying, but I was a
good leader and I remember showing it me mother and saying, well it was better
than Churchill's (both laugh) that must of been in the early fifties.

The significance of Churchill's legacy is not only that it enables people to re-connect with
the nation on the basis of their links with its history, or with the man who played an
important part in it. It is also significant because it provides a basis upon which individuals
can interpret contemporary events. In other words Churchill's perceived opinions are
considered relevant to current issues. This is illustrated by the comments some people
made with reference to the debates that were then going on about closer ties with Europe:

Man (40's) - I think he just hated Germans that's what made him a   good, you see I hate
Europe, believe it or not you know, because   of the agriculture, where they've
actually bulldozed all the hedgerows down and said well, we've got to produce
more and ....the Spanish coming in and whipping all the fish and having very ultra
fine mesh. Then it's the BSE crisis which every country has got in fact...now in
these circumstances he might of changed his mind.....he hated Germany and
Germany is going to be the people leading Europe, aren't they?

However, one lady commented that '...I don't think really that they should compare it with
what he would of done, because he's not here anymore and you've got to make your own
decisions'. Despite this the interesting point about the above quote is that it reveals the
extent to which people link their own opinions with those they believe Churchill would of
held. This turns him into a kind of confidant, someone who is just like 'me' who has the
same values and beliefs as myself. As one lady stated 'he would turn in his grave' at the
'appalling behaviour', the lack of respect and courtesy evident in 'the young' today.

So, Churchill's legacy is more than his role during the second world war, more than his
status as a hero and a saviour. It is his ability to act as a catalyst, enabling individuals to
'tune into' the nation and what it stands for, on the basis of their personal memories and
experiences of the nation's past.   This often involves people turning Churchill into a
personal confidant, not a friend exactly, as this would entail a more direct relationship, but
someone with whom one empathises. Someone who shares 'my' concerns, values and
opinions. The implications of this will be discussed in more depth later on.

His House

It has already been noted that not everyone reveres Churchill or comes to Chartwell because
it is a shrine to his memory. Despite this, for most of the visitors Chartwell is considered a
place that should be visited because of its association with Churchill and the second world

war. As one man states it conjures up memories of the '....hopelessness of 1940 when we thought, and then he made his speech, blood, sweat, toil and tears'. Furthermore, the importance and the 'pull' of Chartwell is so significant for some that they do not even have to go around the house to re-connect with the man and his time. As one 'devotee' stated '...we live down near the coast now, we're just on our way home, so we always call here and have some lunch, we've been through the house so often that we don't go in now'. It seems that merely having lunch and walking around the grounds of Chartwell is enough to tap into the nation and what it once did, and perhaps still should, stand for. This reflects the point made above about Churchill and his ability to evoke memories of past times and past experiences. Chartwell, too, triggers memories that link people's own lives to significant events in the history of the nation:

Man (80's) - Well it's particularly interesting and I think it's interesting to see, as far as he's concerned all these various awards he was given by so many very important people. The sultan of somewhere and the president of somewhere else, they're all there and it's part of the sort of Churchill tradition now, you can't do without it really, its got to be there.

A group. Americans (40's) British (60's)
USA Man - Well certainly the war years come across loud and clear ...I didn't apply it to today...these are our tour guides (indicates British couple) they said we mustn't miss it.
Researcher - So why should they not miss it?
UK Man - Well because you can relate to it, most people can relate to Churchill whether they have lived in his time, or read about him, because he's current history really...I think as an alternative to some of the other, older houses it's quite a change and you could live in this house for the next hundred years without it having to be altered in any major way.
USA Woman - In fact we were just suggesting we'd like to move in.
UK Man- So long as the gardeners are kept (laughs).

American Couple (30's)
Woman - I loved the books and it was a very lovely home, very livable,
Man - and it's successful, it humanises someone whose in the media.

These last sets of comments highlight the point made previously about the house that it is a place visitors can relate to, it is homely and people can imagine themselves owning it. This is part of the process of familiarisation that links in with Churchill's position of confidant. Not only can people empathise with his opinions, but his lifestyle is also like 'ours'. Again, this is true for some visitors rather than for all visitors. However, even those for whom the house did not evoke memories it still managed to reveal 'something' to them that they felt they perhaps should encounter. As one woman states '...my husband does not particularly like houses, do you, or even looking at old things, but I thought it was very interesting and in fact I think it showed me things that, perhaps, I didn't even know about'.

While Chartwell is clearly important to the interested and the devotees it is also a good

example of an attraction that reflects one interpretation of the nation's identity. As stated in chapter one there are many different interpretations based upon the multi-cultural society that comprises the British nation. Having said that some people stated that Chartwell is specifically English, with the implication being that it would not appeal to everyone. The following comment illustrates this point well:

Woman (60's) - When you consider that a great percentage of our   population,
          particularly in the cities, are not English, Irish, Scots, or Welsh they have no sense
          of our history, have they?They call themselves British, but their history is Asian,
          West Indian, African and they are fighting for their own culture and fair enough, so
          the majority of all those people are not the slightest bit interested, apart from some
          of the young West Indians who have been called Winston (laughs), like Winston
          Graham you see, but they wouldn't give a monkey's cuss, would they?

Thus, Chartwell is 'our' history, 'our' identity and not 'theirs'. It is, for some, a house that not only reflects a significant period in the nation's history, but also one that speaks of a time when the majority of the country seemed to share the same background and thus, presumably, the same values and beliefs. This emphasises the point made in the section on Chartwell about the 1930's setting for the house. This was the time when the nation was unsure of itself and its place in the emerging world order. In the midst of this uncertainty Churchill stood out as the only person with a clear vision of who 'we' were, where 'we' were going and what 'we' stood for. Visiting Chartwell not only reminds people of how much the nation has changed, but also reassures them that there is still a part of the country that is 'home' for their interpretation of nation-ness.

The Observed Faithful

In terms of analysing the observations and the overheard conversations it is important to bear in mind the comments made in chapter five concerning the issue of selectivity. This is particularly important here as Chartwell is an attraction whose primary appeal is to a specific age range. It is thus necessary to observe those who do not fit the typical visitor profile to see what effect, if any, Chartwell has on a younger generation. As it was not possible to ask the observed visitors their specific ages, an 'educated' guess had to be made. Furthermore, whilst the gender of the speaker is noted, the age range is only given if the comments are not those from a typical Chartwell visitor. For, example, children, adolescents, and people who 'appeared' to the researcher to be under the age of 45. Similarly, where appropriate the 'presumed' nationality of the speaker is noted, except for those who appeared 'obviously' British.

The themes identified here have been broadly grouped into three headings: *Our Home*, *Our Family* and *Meaningful Signs*. The most important aspect of the previous discussion is the process of familiarisation that has gone on, whereby the man is identified as 'our' kith and kin and his home as being just like 'our' home. The implications of this familiarisation

process are discussed below.

Our Home

The steward's description of Chartwell as a home, rather than a palace, is echoed by the visitors, who made reference to this fact as they moved from room to room. It was more frequently stated in rooms such as the Drawing Room, Lady Churchill's Sitting Room, Lady Churchill's Bedroom and the Dining Room, as these reflect the sort of rooms to be found in the 'typical' house of the 'typical' visitor. Likewise, the type of furniture in these rooms was of sufficient unpretentious functionality that it would not have looked out of place in such homes. The following comments illustrate these points well:

<u>Man</u> - That's like our fireplace.

<u>Woman</u> - Grand room, isn't it?
Man - Yes, but cosy though.

<u>Man</u> - That's a nice sofa, not too deep.

<u>A couple (40's)</u>
Woman - You see, that's an American style set out with all those cushions like that, what do you reckon then, Michael, feather down over there or over here? There's a rare old mixture of styles Mike, see that old chair, that's like one we've got, isn't it?
Man - That looks like Rosewood, that table,
Woman - smashing when they had all that wood to work with.

<u>Woman 1</u> - That's a nice portrait of him, so relaxed. Look books everywhere.
Woman 2- Look at the chairs, they look as if they've just been sat on.
Woman 1- I wonder what the insurance is on all these books.

<u>Woman</u> - Oh, I would have loved to have lived in a place like this, it must of been wonderful.

<u>Woman 1</u> - It really is a lovely house, like a home.
Woman 2 - Yes, and it's in keeping, isn't it?

<u>Woman</u> - I like her dressing table.

<u>Man</u> - (Looking at family photographs on a desk) that's the family, over there.
Woman 1 - Lovely view, isn't it?
Woman 2 - Its really peaceful and quiet
Woman 1 - £5,000 he paid for it.
Woman 2 - Really.
Man - A bargain, absolutely.

Man - (Reads aloud from the brochure to the others in the group about Lady Churchill's bedroom).

Woman 1- This is lovely. Look, next time we decorate I want our room like this.

Woman 2 - You see, posh people have a desk in their (bed)room.....this is nice because usually you go to places you can't relate to because they've been dead hundreds of years.

All these comments illustrate how individuals personalise their encounter with the house and its contents, even those who do not fall into the 'typical' age range. In referring to the house as 'homely', and by putting themselves and their personal belongings into the picture, visitors are able to relate to the house to a much greater extent than with other, more grander, mansions. Moreover, as previously argued, part of the process of legitimation that endows individuals with the authority to represent the family, the clan, the nation, involves just such a process. That of bringing the individual into our own lives, our own personal sphere. Which, in this case, is achieved by equating his house to 'our' house. In other words to familiarise the unfamiliar, to make Churchill, through his home, an honorary relative. This process of familiarisation involves passing judgement on Churchill's home and his taste in furniture. This is similar to the way in which friends and relatives tend to comment upon each others lifestyle choices. The following discussion between a steward and some visitors in Lady Churchill's Bedroom, illustrates this point:

Steward - (Indicating porcelain figures) presents to Lady Churchill from Brendon Bracken,

Woman - Oh, that's OK then, if presents. They seem a bit un-feminine in a bedroom really,

UK Man (Laughing) - I wouldn't mind making an offer for those,

Steward - She chose all the colours in the house, duck-egg blue is on the walls,

Man - I love it. I think it's super. Its the modern thing now to have everything in your bedroom and they had it then,

USA Man - Yes a great room, the whole house feels as though he's still here.

The familiarisation process also involves visitors imagining they owned the contents in the house, which again, entails evaluative judgements:

Woman 1 - (About the display china) - oh, look, beautiful.

Woman 2 - Yes, gosh.

Woman 3 - Can you imagine using them for your coffee?

Woman 1 - Oh yes, a bit thin.

Woman 1 - Oh yes, I could do with that as a dinner service. Simple but elegant.

Woman 2 - Well I'm not that keen really.

Woman 1 - Good, then it'll do for me!

Woman 1 - (On the gifts presented to Churchill in the Museum Room) oh, look at that bowl, amazing, a bit ornate. If it wasn't for the silver end bits you'd think it was that crystal d'arques stuff.

Woman 2 - Oh get away, it's lovely.

Woman - (About the gift of a malachite box from the Belgian Congo) a bit ornate. I
wouldn't like that in my house.

Woman - I recognise this (wall)paper, they seemed to like the trellis a lot. Its down in the
Dining Room.

A couple (20's)
Woman - I like the wacky wallpaper.
Man - Mmh.

Man - His study, not very interesting.

This familiarisation process further involves identifying those aspects that are deemed to be
missing, or hidden from view and which reflect the more personal, and perhaps 'secret'
habits of life. For example, bathrooms, toilets and in this case Churchill's own bedroom and
en-suite bathroom. While Lady Churchill's Bedroom is on view, what was her bathroom has
been turned into the Ante-Room. This displays various related artefacts such as china,
signed photographs of those most closely involved with Churchill during both world wars
and some of Churchill's medals. Some visitors did, however, wish to see what it would have
looked like as a bathroom, 'I'd like to have seen her bathroom, the sink and toilet. And where
would all her clothes go? Surely the one wardrobe in the bedroom couldn't take them all'.
Wishing to see sinks and toilets conjures up images of 'spying', in the rather titillating
manner of 'what the butler saw'. Catching important people in embarrassing circumstances
is one of the methods by which they are 'brought down to size', in other words dispel the
mystique and make them 'one of us'.

Dispelling the mystique is at the heart of visitor questions about where Churchill slept. In
common with the aristocracy Churchill and his wife had separate bedrooms, although this
was also for practical reasons as Churchill worked long hours. As one of the stewards
stated, 'he hardly slept at all'. His bedroom and bathroom are thus located at the back of his
Study, the room where he wrote his books, speeches and organised his engagements. The
bedroom is not open to visitors for two reasons. First, practicality. It is small, capable of
accommodating no more than three to four people at any one time, and access is only
possible if visitors walk through the Study. This would be an impossibility. Secondly, Lady
Churchill expressly requested that it not be shown, possibly for the reasons just mentioned.
This does, however, render the visit to Chartwell a little 'odd' as there is evidence of
Churchill being there during the day but not at night. Thus, it is not possible to de-mystify
Churchill and Chartwell completely, to make him totally one of 'us', to make his house 'our'
house. He therefore remains slightly aloof, slightly removed. Part of us yet not part of us all
at the same time. This is important as it highlights another of the mechanisms by which
Churchill is authorised by 'the people' to represent them, as Balandier (1972: 60) states

'...legitimate power depends on the possession of a mystical quality...'.

Our Family

Just as the visitors personalised Churchill's home they also reacted to Churchill the man in a similar way. They brought him within the sphere of their own family again turning him into a kind of honorary relative and confidant. This was achieved by references to his sense of greatness, his physical features and characteristics, and the fact that he 'saved us'. Thus, visitor reactions to Churchill depict him as a genial, but firm 'grand' father, or patriarch. One who looks out for his family and who takes difficult and unpopular decisions for the good of all. Furthermore, as a family member Churchill is also subject to the type of family rituals that serve to define the boundaries between those who belong and those who do not. Indeed, as argued in chapter seven, such rituals reinforce the traditional social ties between individuals by revealing the mechanisms by which the social structure of a group is strengthened and perpetuated, as a result of the social values upon which the ritual is based (see Geertz, 1973). One example of this is the 'leg pulling', or jocular repartee that goes on within many families. Other examples are the references made to portraits and photographs of Churchill, as if remembering a fondly deceased 'grand' father:

Woman - (Looking at a photograph of Churchill) a nice little impish smile, didn't he?
Man - Rather a resemblance to your father.
Woman - Yes, funny, isn't it?
Man - (Looking at a photograph of Churchill as a young child) You can see his characteristics, even at that age.
Woman - Yes.
Man - Something about the eyes.

USA Man - That's his mother, Jenny Jerome.
USA Woman - Oh, he looks like Kieran, he does.

Woman - That's a fantastic photograph of him over there. (Reads out inscription on a racing trophy won by Churchill's horse Vienna in 1961). That's the year Andrew was born. (At a photograph of Churchill laughing) Look, Winston's got a bottom lip like yours! He was really highly thought of, wasn't he?
Man - Well obviously, he was a great man, he did a lot for this country.

By remarking on Churchill's likeness to their own family, the visitors are further highlighting the extent to which Churchill was one of 'us', part of 'our' family. This is a common ritual among families, pointing out the resemblance of current members to those in the past. As Balandier (1972) further illustrates legitimacy is also established on the basis of a clan descent that is defined in relation to a distant (and often mythical) ancestor. One of the ways in which this clan descent can be acknowledged is on the basis of '...an entourage of relations...' (1972: 69). Hence Churchill's physical features are likened to those of his visitor 'relations'. He is accepted as part of the clan, or family, even though he is

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not, biologically speaking, one of 'them'.

Moreover, his physical characteristics and his academic record are referred to in such a way as to highlight the extent to which family members gently mock those who belong. Thus, Churchill is described as 'podgy' and his school days as 'disastrous' and 'unhappy'. Some even disagreed about his facial appearance as the following comments from two visitors in the grounds illustrates:

Man (60's) - ......and if you go round the house there and you see all the other politicians who were in the government, in the twenties and thirties, he was one of the better looking ones (woman laughs) no, seriously he was an attractive person.

Woman (60's) - Well, actually I find that he looks like a pasty faced, doughy Englishman. I don't think he's attractive at all, but he wasn't as ugly as he seems.

Likewise, his skills as a painter received a mixed response:

Two women (30's)
Woman 1 - He painted an awful lot.
Woman 2 - Yes, you forget don't you. In fact Kev always says he was the greatest worst painter this century.

Man (20's) - You can always tell his paintings. The style is so similar, sort of amateurish, but not, if you know what I mean.

Woman - I think they're lovely, I admire them. I know some people don't, but considering all his other talents.

Man - His paintings. There good, aren't they? Sort of semi-impressionist.

Man - That's a bit of a daub.
Woman - Yes truly awful.

A couple (20's)
Woman - He painted most of these. He wasn't very good.
Man - Neither am I,
Woman - and that doesn't say much!

Woman 1 (Laughing) - Look at this Trich, we used to paint like this, no one put ours on a wall.
Woman 2 (30's)- No, but then you weren't called Churchill mother
Woman 1 - Mmh, more's the pity.

Churchill is thus part of the family, but with a level of mystique that sets him apart from

other members. He has 'his leg pulled' about his weight, his talent as a painter and his indifferent scholastic record. Indeed, the high achiever who succeeds despite his lack of academic qualifications typifies the classic 'rags to riches' story, or that of the self-made man. Such people are often seen as role models in society. Thus, Churchill is the brother, son, father 'made good', the one who others can look up to and this manifests itself in the many references to his perceived greatness. This is no ordinary family member, but rather a high flyer whose achievements and successes reflect back onto the whole family.

USA Woman - That's a good picture of him, isn't it?
USA Man - Well, he was a big man, I guess he needed space.
USA Woman - Oh he was such a great man.

Man - You forget how old he was really, during the war, not a young man at all.

Woman 1 - He was a great man, you know, really special. There is none of them can touch him today.
Woman 2 - No, no there isn't. At least you trusted Churchill, that's more than can be said today.
Woman 3 - Mmh, your right, a big loss he was.

Woman 1 - If he was living now he'd be appalled at how people are living, and the young.
Woman 2 - The siren suit. I shall never, never understand why they took against him.
Woman 1 - Well, you'll still hear stupid people in the House saying he was a warmonger.

UKman - (Reading) ...oh look, 'commemorative Medal City of Amsterdam 1946'.
Dutch Man - Oh yes.
UKman - The grateful nation gave them.
Dutch Man - Yes, yes, well we were all grateful then.
Dutch Woman - Yes and I still am. The Germans terrified us and murdered us and he saved us.

Woman - (Reading the inscription on a photograph of Lord Ismay) '...to my Chief', ah, see he must have been greatly admired as so many in the military admired him. When you read in the papers they say they all disagreed, but you can't believe all that, can you.

Woman - He was held in such affection, wasn't he? Such esteem.
Man - Yes, and we all thought he was like God at the time. We would all have died for him, you know.
Woman - Yes, I know, sad wasn't it, so many lives.
Man - Yeah, but many more if it hadn't of been for him and he's still a great man today.

A further example of the kind of family ritual that denotes belonging is the tendency to reminisce about a particular relative. Thinking of a deceased relation in this way may cause the individual to remember anecdotes about that person, or to recall events associated with the era in which they lived. This tendency, or ritual, was noted in the majority of visitors

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observed:

Man - I remember that time, my father was wounded during the Normandy landings.

Man 1 - (At the relief model of the Mulberry Harbour) that's the Normandy landings, Arromanches.
Man 2 - Yes, I remember that. So many people (died) and we still didn't know the war was really going to end.

A group (20's)
Woman 1 - (At photograph of Lady Violet Bonham-Carter) do you think Helena Bonham-Carter is related to her?
Woman 2 - Yes, I suppose so. The same delicate face. Well they weren't supposed to eat, the aristocracy.
Woman 1 - Yes, too delicate.
Man - When I was young my grandmother used to make me sit and chew my food thirty times before I swallowed it

Man - (At photographs of world war two military leaders) there's Bomber Harris, he was the Dresden one, you know, the bomber chief.
Woman - Yes, terrible really, but I suppose it had to be done.
Man - Yes it did and they would have done the same to us. No mercy that lot.

Man - You've heard the joke about Churchill. After the war Churchill went to the King and said 'I think Monty is after my job', 'thank God for that', said the King, 'I thought he was after mine'.

Man - Oh, it brings back memories all these pictures. Bomber Harris, old Eisenhower, Monty.
Woman- Yes, tough times weren't they? Well for you more than me really.
Man - Yes. It seems such a long time ago, but it's still very vivid, especially coming here. I can remember my old mate Archie, he was killed after the Battle of Britain, a good bloke he was. Blimey here's Alexander, a big man he was.
Woman- Mmh, yes.

Man (40's)- Yes, that's just before Pearl Harbour, isn't it?
Woman - Yes it is, how amazing.
Boy (about 10) - What's Pearl Harbour dad?
Man - Well, that's what brought the United States into World War Two. The Japanese bombed the US ships and they then joined us against Germany and Japan.

Girl (about 12)- He was an interesting man, wasn't he mum? Look at all these presents.
Woman (30's) - Yes, well he did a lot for this country.
Girl- He must have been very busy.
Woman - Yes, I think he was. They say he hardly slept.
Girl- Blimey he must of been tired.
Woman - Well he obviously thrived on it.
Girl- You'd think he'd fall asleep, wouldn't you?
Woman - (Laughing) no, not him.

Girl- Well I would.

Woman - Its a good job you're not Prime Minister then, isn't it?

Two men - looking at a case of medals. (Due to their ages they must be talking as medal collectors rather than as medal recipients).

Man 1 (20's) - Here we go.

Man 2 (40's) - I've got that one, the Victory medal and I should have that one, the Africa Star.

Man 1- What's Frank got?

Man 2- Franks got that one, the Burma Star.

Man 1- You don't get anything for being a silly bugger then!

Man 2- No!

Man 1- (Reading brochure) you can really get a feel for those days here. I can remember what my friends and I were up to when the war ended.

Man 2- Yes, I was in France, a bit older than you and he was thought of as like a God ,you know.

Man 1- Yes. I can remember sitting listening to his speeches on the wireless. We were all mesmerised. I couldn't wait to join up. A bit too late though.

The memories Churchill evokes thus range from those that depict war time military service, to those highlighting the eccentricities of a man who 'hardly slept'. Even those who were too young to remember the war are able to equate their current lives to that of Churchill. Such as the collectors recognising those medals they already owned and those they should, or would like to own. Yet, as previously stated, Churchill is one of 'us' and yet not one of 'us' all at the same time. He retains a remoteness that marks him as a respected family or clan elder, what Balandier (1972: 61) has referred to as a 'symbolic father'. Thus Churchill, as the 'grand' father of 'the people', has a mundane, or familiar role as well as a symbolic role. He is the family member who *stands for* something. As a symbol, he represents, to those with whom he resonates '...what is known about the way the world is, the quality of the emotional life it supports, and the way one ought to behave while in it' (Geertz, 1973: 127).

Meaningful Signs

As previously argued what Churchill represents is to be found at Chartwell in the signs and symbols epitomised by his 'props'. The dispatch boxes, his hats, siren suits and cigars together with his garter robes and uniforms, the portrait of him by Salisbury, the relief map of the Mulberry Harbour and the writing desk in his Study. All these symbolize a man who stood out 'alone' as being the only person with a clear vision of who 'we' were, where 'we' were going and what 'we' stood for. Unlike today, of course, with all the confusion over closer European ties and worries about the loss of sovereignty, independence and a cultural 'distinctiveness' deemed to be at the heart of our national identity.[1] All these

1. See the Financial Times report of the speech by Tony Blair to the French National Assembly where he makes reference to the concerns of ordinary people that greater European integration will affect national identity (Graham & Parker, 1998: 1).

'meanings' are conjured up by the phrases most frequently applied to Churchill, his bloody minded refusal to surrender, his determination, his indomitable spirit.

Moreover, visitors are directed to these familiar signs by the brochures and by the room stewards. Some visitors look expressly for them, possibly as a result of a previous visit, or from their own memories. Older visitors, particularly, tended to stand, as if in quiet contemplation before the Mulberry Harbour relief map of the D-Day landings. Whilst others merely went from room to room reading the brochures, or guide books, and noting the 'signs' highlighted within. Such visitors often carried on conversations unrelated to Chartwell, or Churchill, as they went around the house They talked of the weather and family events, they gossiped about friends and talked of work and other mundane matters. Yet in the midst of this carry-on of everyday life they would interrupt their conversation to point out one of the signs to their companion/s and then take up the conversation where they had left off. Almost as if being able to say 'I've seen that' is all that was required. The following comments illustrate some of these points:

Woman - (About the Salisbury portrait) that's wonderful, he looks so lifelike. Where's the dispatch box? (Reading from brochure) oh, over there, there's the dispatch box.

Man - The relief map, it brings it all to life, doesn't it?
Woman - Yes, wonderful, almost as if it were today.

Two Children (about 10)
Girl   - (Looking at a photograph of Churchill holding a Tommy Gun) he looks like a gangster there.
Boy   - (Laughing) yeah he does, a real hard man.
Girl - No he looks like someone play acting.

Woman (40's) - Look, his paintings, aren't they funny, dreadful really.
Man (40's) - Yes, mmh, one place to see is the Brighton Pavilion.
Woman - Oh yes, when I was down with Jenny the other day we said we'd like to go.

Man - I don't know, what are we going to do about the garden, bit of a mess. Mmh nice table. Bit tedious all this.
Woman - What is, oh here. Well we could ask next door couldn't we.
Man - Look Margaret the cigar, whisky, smells a bit.
Woman - Oh yes, hate the smell myself. Shall we go to Dover next time, we could pop in on Jane and Simon, haven't seen them for ages.

A woman (40's) with a group of children (aged 7-9)
Girl 1- Is that him? (Reading the guide whilst looking at the Salisbury picture).
Girl 2- Look the big box.
Girl 1- Someone's been in here again, with the flowers.
Woman- You've found the cigar and the flowers, where's the photographs?

Girl 1- Oh yeah on the table.
Woman- That's the Queen mother now, we can see the bedroom too!
Girl 1- Oh no, not more flowers.

The search for signs is not always an interesting diversion, especially for children. However, the young are directed to more appropriate signs of Churchill by the stewards and by a guide book specifically aimed at them:

Steward (taped)- Hello how are you? When you go through here you're going to look for some things for me. The fish in there, you can look for that and you can ask how Mr Churchill came to own a fish tank and then look for the pandas and remember to see all of them. And you're a big lad, when you go down to the Dining Room ask the person down there if the room was ever used as a cinema and see what they say. And if you get them right then I'm sure the person who brought you here today will buy you a bag of crisps in the tea room.

Steward - (Points out items to people in the Study) the fish in the tank were from two little boys who bought Mr Churchill two fish and he was so touched he built a tank for them.
Two women (Together) - oh how sweet.
Steward- On the windowsill is the piece of shrapnel that injured Churchill in World War One.
Woman 1- Gosh, I never knew that. To think he might have been killed and this may never have been.
Woman 2- Yes the war, and who knows what might have happened.

Man - (Laughing) fish have lasted well!

The most frequently noticed and talked about sign was Churchill's cigar: 'the cigar, look', 'the famous cigar', 'there's a cigar, all ready in the holder, there'. This, more than any other sign, or 'prop', symbolize Churchill and his war time record:

Two men (both 30's)

Man 1 - Look, the cigar. Good touch except for one thing, the smell of the smoke!
Man 2 - Yeah, but it does evoke him though, that is his trademark.

Woman 1 - Is this the Study?
Woman 2 - No, Library
Woman 1 - Look at the cigar. There's Franklin Roosevelt. A large dispatch box it says (reading from brochure).
Woman 1- (Looking at the many gifts received by Churchill) look, these are Russian aren't they?
Woman 2- Yes, really beautiful, beautiful.
Woman 1- See how many cigar boxes he was given.

USA Woman- My, look at all these. I wonder where he put them all.

USA Man- Yeah, a lot of cigar boxes too, he really liked his cigars. You know whenever I think of him I can never see him without one of his cigars. A great man.

USA Woman- You're right about that. Several of my mother's friends named their sons after him you know, funny name though, Winston, very British.

Man - Hey, look at this Joan.

Woman- What?

Man - This cigarette box.

Woman- Oh yes.

Man - Trust De Gaulle to give him a cigarette box when he smoked cigars!

Woman- Mmh, that's the French for you.

All the signs not only stand for Churchill and his 'bloody minded refusal to surrender', but they also contribute to the atmosphere of Chartwell. What one steward referred to as the magic of Chartwell. It is this atmosphere that endows the signs with an almost mystical quality. Thus, the fresh flowers, the half smoked cigars and the tumblers of whisky create the impression that Churchill has just left the room:

Woman 1 - It still feels lived in,

Man - even though it's not,

Woman 1 - but it still is alive though, isn't it?

Woman 2- Isn't this a neat way to keep books, set into the wall.

All 20's

Woman 1- I love this house it has such a feel about it.

Woman 2- Yes, sort of like you can imagine him here, or as though he's just gone out.

Woman 3 (Laughing) - really eerie.

Woman 2- I suppose so.

Woman 4- Its good to see where he lived, somehow it's more personal than other houses you visit.

Woman 1- You feel he's just going to walk round the corner, don't you?

Woman 2 - I've always liked that portrait of him over the fireplace, it's really very good.

So Churchill is kept alive within the physical confines of his home, Chartwell, the contents of which enable visitors to maintain the link between themselves and the man they admire. Even those who do not admire Churchill, and the children to whom he is hardly known at all, are able to have a relationship with him on their own particular terms. Thus, the children encounter him through the eccentricities of the fish and the pandas and those 'uninterested' visitors can, no matter how fleetingly, assure themselves that they have seen what they ought to see. It does not really matter that not every visitor views Churchill as an icon and Chartwell as a site of pilgrimage. What is important is that all visitors are presented with the symbols and the signs of the man and his time, which they can choose to identify with, or not, depending upon their individual circumstances. Certainly the majority of the visitors

observed came within the categories identified by one steward as the interested and the devotees. As the following comments of two men, talking in response to the excerpt from the BBC commentary of Churchill's funeral, illustrate:

<u>Man 1 (70's)</u> - You can feel the lump in your throat today just listening and remembering.
Man 2 (30's) - Yes I can imagine and the speakers right, I suppose we have not seen anyone like him since.
Man 1- No, and we wont, well not in my life time anyway. He was a great, great man, men died for him you know and for the country, but it was him that made it all feel so personal.

These last comments highlight an interesting aspect of Churchill and that is the sense that something has died with him. Comments like 'we shall never see his like again', 'unrepeatable' and 'unique' all emphasise this sense of loss. Even the BBC commentator at Churchill's funeral stated '...certain it is that something....has gone out of our lives forever' (Chartwell Exhibition). However, Churchill is frequently referred to as being still alive, 'you can see him, puffing on his cigar after we've all gone, striding up and down'. Thus, Chartwell is an even more powerful symbol. It not only emphasises the extent to which something important about 'us' has gone, never to return, it also offers the prospect of a temporary recovery. A visit to Chartwell rekindles the national self-confidence and unity symbolized by Churchill.

Conclusion

The above analysis has highlighted the importance of Chartwell as a touchstone of national identity. This psychological bond is, according to Connor (1993) a crucial, and often underrated, aspect of national identity. As important as the tangible characteristics that are more usually associated with national sentiment. Such as, language, territory and religion. Moreover, Connor argues that it is important to identify and understand the many ways in which the non-rational core of identity can be triggered - Billig's banal nationalism. Chartwell and Churchill are just such 'triggers' or 'flags' of nationhood. Their role as catalysts is based upon three key factors. The process of familiarisation, the legitimation of Churchill as one of 'us', as 'our' kith and kin, and the symbols and signs that stand for the man, the time and the values he is seen to represent. All these enable Chartwell to stand as a metaphor for the nation. As Connor illustrates:

> The core of the nation has been reached and triggered through the use of familial metaphors which can magically transform the mundanely tangible into emotion-laden phantasma....it is, then, the...appeals made through and to the senses......which permit us some knowledge of the subconscious convictions that people tend to harbour concerning their nation. The near universality with which certain images and phrases appear - blood, family, brothers, sisters, mothers...home....tell us much about the nature of national identity. (1993: 385)

Just such images are evoked by Chartwell and Churchill. This highlights the importance of the symbols and signs of Churchill that are displayed within the house. It is these that evoke, or trigger, the images of kinship.

Furthermore, the layout of the brochure represents a map indicating the route to be taken through the house and the landmarks to be noticed on the way (see Appendix E, pg. xi). Roped off areas are not just a practical, and in this case essential, means of directing visitor traffic, they also indicate the order in which the signs should be discovered. This ordering is important as each room contains certain specific signs that gradually build up to present an overall image of the man. A tour of Chartwell is thus a tour around the man himself. As one of the stewards commented about the house, 'yes, this is him, this is his life...'. Thus, both the soul and the spirit of Churchill are subsumed within the confines of Chartwell. The following figure illustrates these points:

Figure 5 - Chartwell: symbolic meanings

Sequence of the Tour	Significant Signs	Meanings
Door way		
Entrance Hall	- walking sticks - walking canes - Churchill's paintings - visitor book open at 1964, Montgomery's signature	House of Importance
Drawing Room	- current daily papers - card game in progress - sofas, cushions - views over the 'Garden of England'	Family Man
Library	- Salisbury portrait of Churchill in siren suit - half smoked cigar - dispatch box - Mulberry Relief Map of the D-Day landings	National Significance
Staircase / Corridor		
Lady Churchill's Bedroom	- absence of Churchill	Mystique
Ante Room	- significant others:- military and world leaders, notes of regard and admiration - medals	International respect

Landing	- Churchill's paintings	Human Being
Museum / Uniform Rooms	- gifts, awards - photographs of Churchill from childhood to old age - uniforms, hats, medals	Signs of Greatness
Study	- writing desk, glasses - appointments chart, - Union Jack (THE first British flag to fly over a liberated European Capital in June 1944)	National Hero
Dining Room	- table laid for tea - painting of the family taking tea - Golden Wedding present from Churchill's children	Family Life
Kitchen	- domestic appliances, - open recipe book and fruit out ready for weighing	Domestic Life
Exhibition	- photographic, audio and written record of his life, achievements and funeral	Patriotic Sentiment

The tour of Chartwell requires the visitor to look out for and to recognise these significant signs, or landmarks. Furthermore, the exhibition at the end of the tour provides visitors with an indication of what is an appropriate response to these, patriotism.

Visitor's understanding of the house and the man is thus primarily based upon two key themes: Churchill the family man and Churchill the national hero. The order in which the signs are laid out means that these two themes are alternated in the visitor's minds, as the following illustrates:

House of importance

Family Man

International Figure

Human Being

National Hero

Family Life

Patriotism

This sequence serves to reinforce the view of Churchill as an 'uncommon commoner', as one of 'us' yet not one of 'us'. As the symbolic 'grand' father of our nation, entitled to speak for us and about us to 'others'. Furthermore, as previously argued, Chartwell's garden, and the views that symbolize the best of Englishness, was the main reason why Churchill purchased the house. To him it epitomised England and this was in large part due to its location in Kent, the Garden of England. Thus, the gardens surrounding the house stand for the national garden, they are as much 'our' garden as Churchill is 'our' family and Chartwell is 'our' house.

All the significant signs previously mentioned are examples of what Turner (1967) refers to as a forest of symbols and Geertz (1973: 129) as 'clusters of sacred symbols woven into some sort of ordered whole....'. This ordered whole mediates knowledge about society and its values, encompassing its basic beliefs and mores. For Turner (1967: 31), these symbols can be divided into two structural elements, dominant symbols and instrumental symbols. Dominant symbols can include shrines '..consisting of several objects in configuration'. Chartwell is just such a shrine, housing a variety of symbols that represent, to some, the axiomatic values of the wider society (see Turner, 1967: 32). The symbolic contents of Chartwell are what Turner refers to as 'instrumental symbols'. According to Turner, these symbols must be seen in terms of their wider context (i.e. the shrine of Chartwell). For it is the instrumental symbols, and the way in which they are interrelated, that help to fulfil the 'goals' of the dominant shrine (1967: 32). Thus, the clusters, or forest of Churchillian symbols at Chartwell depict various aspects of the nation that are considered worthy of reveration. These aspects closely reflect the characteristics so associated with Churchill. For example, determination, single-mindedness, dynamism, endurance, defiance, love of freedom, 'standing alone' and indomitable courage. All these represent the values and basic beliefs that some people consider to be inextricably tied to a sense of nation-ness. It is these 'values' that are being referred to when people state 'we shall never see his like again', or when commentators seem to 'despair' at the 'lack of Churchills' today (see Finest Hour, 1996).

This forest of symbols turns Chartwell into a sort of totem of the nation. The word totem is used here as defined by Seymour-Smith's (1990) *Dictionary of Anthropology* as denoting clan membership. A totem is primarily an emblem of identity representing kinship in relation to a mythical ancestor, often seen as having descended from the animal world. Today various aspects of contemporary western society have been referred to as totems. Foe example, in a televised documentary about the British monarchy the anthropologist Ilse Hayden argues that the Queen is a totem of the British nation:

> the Niska have their totem poles the British have their Queen....the Queen is the special possession of an elite group within the British nation. Much as this totem pole does not represent the entire Niska tribe, but rather an elite group within the tribe, in this case the chiefs family. A totem pole was a public monument of very important events in the history of the clan....and I think in the same way the Queen is a totem pole in that her genealogy is a public record of the great mytho-historical themes of the British nation..... . (Monarchy. The Enchanted Glass, 1988)

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Chartwell is the special possession of an 'elite' group, the stewards, the devotees and the members of various Churchill Societies. As a tourist attraction it is a public monument and one which relates to a pivotal and turbulent period in the nation's recent past. It thus represents one aspect of the nation rather than the aspect. Chartwell is the totem for a particular clan, and it is accepted as such by those who consider its owner, Churchill, to be an honorary relative. To be the 'grand', or symbolic, father of the clan. This process of acceptance as one of 'us', is achieved by the symbols and signs that represent him and which are laid out within the house for all to see.

As already stated, however, symbols are not always accepted positively, or interpreted in the same way, as there is an inherent divergence between those people who accept what they mean and those who do not. These opposing views are, according to Geertz (1973: 131) 'fundamental ingredients' of reality reflecting the variety of beliefs, values and perceptions that comprise a societies 'world-view'. Some people will connect strongly with the fundamental ingredients of Chartwell, seeing them as integral to what the nation was, and perhaps still should be about. Whilst other people will connect with different, but complimentary, aspects of nation-ness. Chartwell thus symbolizes one version of the nation's identity, one 'piece' of the overall jigsaw of nation-ness.

CHAPTER NINE

Section One

Religious Influences

The Context

Following on from the ethnographic analysis this chapter takes an overall view of the three sites and seeks to extract from the analysis certain key thematic threads which bind them together, namely religion and patriotism. These threads are not the only aspects to emerge from the sites, merely those considered central to the formation of Englishness. The role of religion is examined here whilst section two concentrates on the concept of patriotism.

One of the key, underlying themes to emerge from the historical research is the part played by religion in the history of both Battle Abbey and Hever Castle. The Norman Conquest enabled the papacy to gain a foothold in the country's economic and political affairs, whilst the romance between Henry V111 and Anne Boleyn provided the catalyst for the Protestant Reformation. Indeed, the historian Linda Colley (1994: 8) argues that the invention of Britishness (and thus of Englishness) is closely bound up with the rise of Protestantism and the decline of Catholicism. This conflict between the Catholic and Protestant faiths over who controls the nation politically, socially and culturally has already been highlighted as a key feature in the history of both Battle Abbey and Hever Castle. However, Haseler (1996: 23) maintains that these religious roots of identity have rarely been given the recognition they deserve because historians have tended to concentrate on the divisions within Protestantism, rather than on those *between* Protestantism and Catholicism. *The following discussion* will, therefore, examine the implications for identity of the religious struggles underpinning each of these two sites.

Sites of religious identity

As chapter six revealed, the Norman Conquest brought a measure of order and routine to the daily life of people at that time and this ordered existence revolved to a large extent around the religious institutions. The churches, abbeys and cathedrals. Religious influences not only affected the day to day lives of individual people, but also affected the way in which the country was organised and governed. Norman Sykes, a Cambridge Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the 1950's, argues that although the Norman Conquest brought England into the sphere of European civilisation and culture, this inevitably resulted in an expansion of the influence of the papacy. This influence enabled the papacy to strengthen its power over and its independence from the state (Sykes, 1953:10). As a result, the English became increasingly antagonistic towards the papacy because it represented rule from another country, namely Italy, since the English monarch was subject to papal authority. Furthermore, financial support for the church meant that English taxes had to be raised to

pay for its upkeep and this became a source of contention with Rome (Sykes, 1953). Thus, for the English, Catholicism represented a pervasive and expensive form of foreign intervention in the running of the country. Monies from the taxes levied did not benefit the English, they were sent out of the country to support the appointment of papal provisions '....the appointment by the papacy to benefices in England of clerics employed in the Roman curia; who were not expected, of course, to leave their duties there and reside upon these distant cures' (Sykes, 1953: 10-11). Such arrangements were to prove a thorn in the side of the English for many centuries to come.

The seeds of future conflict between Rome and the English Crown were thus sown by the success of the Norman Conquest. In the following centuries England evolved on the basis of its being a Catholic country since her political, social and cultural institutions were largely defined by the doctrines and practices of the Catholic Faith. The king ruled, but was subject to the religious authority of Rome. Although there were disagreements with Rome over the centuries that followed, it was the Tudor Dynasty that was to prove the catalyst for further momentous change in the evolution of the nation.

Just as Battle Abbey represents the beginnings of the country's relationship with Catholicism, Hever Castle represents a time in English history when this relationship became severely strained. Even before Henry's reign the 'controlling' hand of Rome had often resulted in conflict between the monarch and the papacy:

> ...this might find expression in conflicts between kings and archbishops, as between Henry 1 and Archbishop Anselm, or, most famous of all, between Henry 11 and Becket; but the reliance of these archbishops on the backing of the papacy greatly strengthened their hand against the monarchs. Indeed   so   submissive   was England to the policy of Rome during the long reign of Henry 111....that it became known as the milch-cow of the papacy. (Sykes, 1953:10)

It was the relationship between Henry V111 and Anne Boleyn (and of Henry's first wife Catherine of Aragon) which was to provide a further catalyst for the break with Rome and the Dissolution of the monasteries. Henry's need for a divorce, 'the King's Great Matter' brought to an end the harmony that had existed between the king and the pope. When aligned with the long standing dislike of the clergy and of foreign interference in English affairs it presented the king with a specific and insurmountable point of confrontation (see Starkey, 1998b). This is in effect the place which the divorce occupies in the ensuing break with Rome, 'it did not alone cause the Reformation.......but without it there would still have been no Reformation because the powerful intercession of the crown would have been against it and not for it' (Elton, 1974: 114).

It was the Reformation of the doctrines and practices of the Catholic Church which resulted in the establishment of the Protestant faith as the 'official' faith of the country (see Sheils, 1989 for a detailed assessment of the religious causes and impact of the Reformation).

This break did not merely represent the fall in the popularity of one faith and the rise in that of another, it was something much more important than that. It represented the wresting away from Rome of a degree of control over the internal affairs of England and the re-investing of this control back with the monarch: '..there can be no doubt at all that it was the combination of Nationalism and Protestantism which determined the peculiar character of the Reformation in England' (Sykes, 1953:9). Furthermore, the changes heralded by the Reformation are seen by Whale (1955: 5) as the real beginning of modern history because of the way in which the relationship between church and state was re-written.

The Reformation is thus a seminal event in the building of the English nation-state (Haseler, 1996: 14) because it meant that the monarch, and thus the country, was no longer subject to the dictates of Rome. From then on, not only did the king rule absolutely, but England was now identified as a Protestant nation. Although it was not until the Act of Union in 1707 that Great Britain was formally established by Parliament as a Protestant nation under one ruler (Colley, 1994). However, despite the existence of separate English, Scottish and Welsh churches, Robbins (1993) maintains that the Church of England has rarely hesitated from claiming for itself the position of 'national' church. A claim that '....rested upon the intertwining of church and state at many levels, consolidated over centuries' (1993: 87). Even today, where there exists a rich diversity of religious faiths from Muslim to Catholic, this linking of church and state is still powerfully evident in the *British* monarchs position as head of the Church of England.

Kohn (1961) argues that the break with Rome not only resulted in religious and political freedom but also helped to establish the concept of individual liberty. Which would in turn provide the backdrop for the Puritan Revolution of the seventeenth century between Cromwell and the king. For all intents and purposes, therefore, the Reformation provided England with a religious identity based on the doctrines and practices of the Protestant faith. Moreover, Sykes (1953: 13) argues that the history of religion since the Reformation is confirmation of the fact that 'an Englishman is an inveterate Protestant'. That his character is more in tune with the 'freedom' of Protestantism than with the 'subservience' of Catholicism.

The religious upheavals that took place between the Catholic and Protestant Churches following the Reformation represent a struggle, not only for political power, but also for the power to control the independence of the individual; what Wood (1986) refers to as 'English individualism'. After the Reformation England no longer saw itself as the milch-cow of Rome subject to papal rule. Rome's control over the country's internal economic or religious affairs was effectively ended. Catholicism, which had been seen to represent control, lack of freedom and autonomy was replaced by Protestantism which represented the opposite, liberty, choice and freedom; or as the Earl of Warwick states in *St. Joan*, Protestantism '....is the protest of the individual soul against the interference of priest or peer between the private man and his God' (Shaw, 1946: 98-9). England's national identity now rested on the fact that, not only was it a Protestant country, but it was an *independent* Protestant country. So the link between nationalism and Protestantism highlighted by Sykes above, is a link based on the characteristics of one religion at the expense of another. As the Oxford

historian Jennifer Loach (1994: 2) illustrates, during the reign of the Tudor's '....protestantism was to become so marked a feature of 'Englishness' that it is difficult not to see it as an inherent aspect of the nation's character'.

A Conflict of Religious Identity

The difference between the Protestant identity and the Catholic identity is more than merely the difference between independence and foreign intervention. It represents a means of defining oneself on the basis of the difference between 'us' and 'them'. As Colley (1994: 6) states, '...men and women decide who they are by reference to who and what they are not'. In this sense the struggle between Protestantism and Catholicism is a struggle with the 'Other'. It is this struggle, over many centuries, which has resulted in Great Britain for the most part being defined as a Protestant rather than a Catholic nation. (The Northern Ireland conflict is a salutary example of the complex and intensely powerful link between national allegiance and religious identity). Thus, the wars and conflicts between Britain and France that took place over the centuries were not solely about economic and military concerns, they were also about the right of the monarch to act independently of the Catholic Church in Rome. Time and again, the war with France brought Britons....into confrontation with an obviously hostile Other and encouraged them to define themselves collectively against it. They defined themslves as Protestants struggling for survival against the world's foremost Catholic power' (Colley, 1994: 5).

Colley (1994) goes into detail about how the Catholic faith was increasingly demonized by a Protestant majority during the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Books and pamphlets such as *The Book of Martyrs* (1563), *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678) and *Old Moore's Almanac* (1700's) all helped to fan the flames of intolerance and distrust of Rome. In fact John Bunyan's pilgrim, Christian, is accompanied on his journey to the Heavenly City by various characters such as Faithful, Honest and Piety. On his travels he comes across a cave in the Valley of the Shadow of Death which is guarded by two giants, Pagan and Pope. Pope is described thus:

> ...I have learned since, that...though he be yet alive, he is, by reason of age, and also
> of the many shrewd brushes that he met with in his younger days, grown so crazy
> and stiff in his joints, that he can do little more than sit in his cave's mouth, grinning
> at pilgrims as they go by, and biting his nails because he cannot come at them.
> (Bunyan, 1953: 80)

In addition, Evans (1995: 223) argues that the publication of such anti-Catholic sentiments was only partly due to the threat of war and the desire to increase patriotic awareness. It also appeared as a direct response to the perceived economic threat caused by the substantial influx of predominantly Catholic Irish into Britain in the nineteenth century. This 'threat' fuelled a form of Protestant propaganda which placed great emphasis upon awakening nationalist feelings. Indeed, the journal *Protestant Penny Operative* (1840's) printed overtly

patriotic messages that emphasised the status of the skilled worker as a freeborn (Protestant) Englishman:

> Ye Protestant Christian arise!
> England summons you now to her aid
> Protect and defend me, she cries
> Ere freedom and liberty fade.
> Firm as a rock be the trust
> Of our loyal and Protestant bands
> Rome never shall crush to the dust
> Our Protestant free artisans.
>
> (Quoted in Evans, 1995: 237)

Such a quote serves to highlight the extent to which Catholicism was viewed as a negative force by certain sections of society. Whether associated with foreign intervention in state affairs, with military conflict, or with Irish workers taking English jobs the Catholic faith was seen as the antithesis of freedom and liberty. As such it was a direct threat to the whole country. However, Evans (1995: 238) argues that although numerous examples of anti-Catholic sentiments can be found it is much more difficult to determine the extent to which such sentiments were absorbed by society as a whole. Since the publications could only have been read by the literate elite. The mass of the working classes being wholly or only partially illiterate at that time. Nevertheless, the publications referred to above served to define the characteristics of Protestantism as being based upon religious freedom, as enabling rather than obstructing economic prosperity and as subscribing to the belief that suffering and adversity were a sign of Grace. In other words Protestants were a chosen people (Colley, 1994: 28). Catholics on the other hand were not so blessed, they lacked religious freedom because they could only commune with their God through their priest and they lacked political freedom since Rome held sway over both economic and social concerns. As Colley again illustrates:

> ....the central doctrines of the Reformation were disseminated intensively in print.....ordinary men and women now had increased access to religious material in their own language...However poor or unimportant or ill-educated they might be, they still had direct access to the word of God in a way (they believed) Roman Catholics did not...Protestants, even the poorest of them, were free men. (1994: 42)

This linking of Catholicism with a lack of individual freedom has been commented on by other writers such as Manhattan (1952) and Crabb (1975). Indeed, Manhattan, a forceful critic of the Catholic Church has published several polemics against the Vatican and the influence of Catholicism (see *The Catholic Church against the Twentieth Century*, 1947). Even Rosemary Haughton (1964: 111), a Catholic writer arguing on behalf of the papacy, acknowledges that this '...belief that the Catholic Church is the enemy of freedom has become the first article of the anti-Catholic creed'.

Manhattan is a fully paid up member of the anti-Catholic lobby referred to by Haughton. According to Manhattan (1952: x), freedom, for the Catholic Church, means Catholic freedom '...total Catholic dominion over the world....total extinction of whatever is non-Catholic' . His view is based on his rejection of the Church's claim that its authority springs from direct divine commission which enables the Vatican to promote its interpretation of the Bible and of Christianity as being that directly sanctioned by God:

> ...she believes herself.....the only true Church, the only true religion, divinely instituted, divinely commissioned, divinely inspired, divinely protected, the unique repository of truth....those outside her are in error...The Catholic Church, being the only true Church, must, therefore prevail over error - i.e. over all other Churches.
> (Manhattan, 1952: 16)

For Manhattan, Catholicism represents an inflexible and irreformable doctrine whose aim is to see that Catholicism is universally accepted. As such, he argues, it not only controls what should be believed, but how the economic, social and political life of the nation should be organised. Furthermore, through the workings of the confessional and the ability to give absolution from sin, the Church is able to control the individual's personal relationship with his / her God. By contrast, he argues, Protestantism allows the individual freedom to control the way in which his / her faith is expressed; for Protestants the Church is a means to an end whilst for Catholics the Church is seen as an end in itself (Sykes, 1953: 13). It is this emphasis on freedom of conscience and individual liberty that differentiates the two faiths. Where Catholicism is intransigent, Protestantism is characterised by 'an exceptional theological elasticity' (Manhattan, 1952: 14).

To a degree the early twentieth century Sussex writer and social commentator Hilaire Belloc provides an apt example of the type of views that have helped to underpin Manhattan's intolerance. In his book *Essay's of a Catholic Layman in England* he states that 'for a Christian man or society is one that has some part of Catholicism left in him...when every shred of Catholicism is lost we call that state of things "Unchristian"' (1931: 13). Despite this Manhattan can still be accused of expressing views that betray a degree of xenophobic fear of the Other. However, the association of Catholicism with lack of freedom is also examined by Gerald Crabb, an American Theological academic. In what can perhaps be described as more measured language Crabb (1975) states that although freedom of conscience was a point of contention between the two faiths, particularly during the seventeenth century, what was more important was the extent to which the Vatican was involved in the politics of the nation. Could Catholics, Crabb (1975: 160) argues, ever be loyal subjects? Did not their faith inevitably involve them in treason against a Protestant ruler? Thus, a religious faith countenanced by a pope, rather than on the basis of the individual's conscience had far more wide ranging implications in terms of whose word had more authority, that of a pope or that of a king. As Alan Lam, one of the custodians at Battle Abbey comments 'it's a loyalty problem you see, I am Catholic but I am loyal to the king, I am Catholic but I am loyal to Rome, it's that sort of problem...'.

According to Edward Norman, the anti-Catholic sentiments expressed by such as Manhattan stem from the reactions of Catholics to their fear of persecution. He argues that, from the Reformation onwards, Catholic life was characterised by a social withdrawal behind 'an old-fashioned house of gloomy appearance...with high walls...an iron gate, and yews'; for Catholics this represented a discrete form of worship but for the Protestant majority it signified a deliberate attempt at secrecy '...and encouraged popular suspicions that dark and superstitious practices took place' (Norman, 1985: 3). It thus appears that the conflict between Catholicism and Protestantism was not solely based upon the extent to which the characteristics of each faith impinged upon both the freedom of the individual and the political freedom of the state. The struggle for acceptance as the official faith of the nation was also affected by the suspicions each had of the other, particularly Protestant suspicions of a Catholic 'religion entangled forever in superstition' (Colley, 1994: 34).

Characteristics of an Identity

Whether a nation is predominantly Catholic in affiliation, or Protestant, it is the specific characteristics of each religion that provide the platform upon which a national identity can be built. 'The association of English constitutional freedom, liberal institutions, and the rule of common law with national Protestantism has always involved, in contrast, condemnation of 'popery' as the embodiment of 'medieval' subservience' (Norman, 1985: 4).

Norman's words serve to underline the point that the ascription of certain characteristics to each faith lies at the heart of the way in which religion is used to help define a nation. However, it is not how each faith describes and understands *itself* that is important, it is how it is described and understood by *'Others'* that is of more concern. And this was (and some may argue still is) the central problem for Catholicism at the end of the Middle Ages. Dissatisfaction with the doctrines and activities of the Catholic Church were in evidence despite the matrimonial problems of Henry V111 (Powicke, 1941; Sheils, 1989) and this enabled Protestantism to get a foothold on the basis of its perceived superiority. As Whale illustrates:

> Protestantism asserted the sacred right of freedom in religion, as something higher than life itself. But Protestantism also had a new sense of the sacredness of c i v i l society...its great doctrine of the Calling meant that *all* life was now recognized as, in some sense, sacred, and not only the monastic life of the cloister to which the word 'religious' had hitherto been confined.   (1955: 308)

As a result, whether a nation was perceived as being predominantly Catholic or Protestant, determined not only the relationship between church and state it also determined the characteristics ascribed to the people themselves. In other words the spiritual and political basis of their national identity. In fact Whale introduces an interesting thought that is pertinent today given the 'conflict' between Great Britain and Europe over closer political and monetary union. He argues that the rise of nationalism throughout Europe at the end of

the Middle Ages should be seen as a victory of the unitary over the federalist conception of human society (1955: 310). Thus the interventionist, controlling ethos of Catholicism was supplanted by a Protestant ethos that proclaimed the freedom of the individual in religion and the freedom of the state in political, economic and social concerns. A federalist Vatican was replaced by an independent sovereign nation. A sense of English individualism was thus becoming irrevocably linked to Protestantism. As Engels (1844) has stated, 'the national character of the English is essentially different....The English have no common interests, only *individual* interests' (quoted in Wood, 1986: 167).

This notion of English individuality is discussed by Alcock (1991) as being at the root of Britain's current problems with the European Union. He argues that in its approach to the organisation of society, the role and operation of government and the development of economic and social institutions Great Britain is markedly different to its European neighbours (p.43). It is this sense of individuality, of independence, which Alcock (1991: 42) argues was at the heart of General De Gaulle's lack of support for British membership of the European Community in 1963, '...President De Gaulle....spoke of Britain as being insular, maritime, and 'in all her doings, habits and traditions very marked, very original...'. Indeed, a recent Sunday Times editorial championed Britain's unique and original status in Europe. A status too important to be abandoned in the face of monetary union, '...Britain's history is unique and its independence is not ready to be subsumed' (Sunday Times,1998: 4). It would be interesting to discuss these comments further in the light of recent debates about the nature of the relationship between Europe and Great Britain. This, though, would be taking the current study too far from its main focus of attention (see Haseler, 1996 on this point). However, it is necessary to consider the relationship between Protestantism, individualism and independence in more detail.

English Protestant Identity

This definition of the English character, the English identity as being essentially Protestant, essentially individualistic, is taken a step further by Belloc (1931). He argues that the Reformation and the subsequent defection of England from the Faith actually caused the break-up of Europe in the first place and that if Europe is to be reunited then England must once again re-embrace Catholicism. What is important about Belloc's statement is the reasons he gives as to why he considers such a conversion to Catholicism is probably impossible. This, he argues, is because of the inherently anti-Catholic characteristics of the English themselves which he describes as:

> ...the English imaginative power, rendering Englishmen strongly emotional and also strongly attached to national myths...... English patriotism, which is by this time fixedly associated with anti-Catholic ideas; English homogeneity, which makes England present a solid block of hostility to Catholicism...... and English self-sufficiency, which makes Englishmen certain that....(being) anti-Catholic, is necessarily superior to what they might be. (1931: 90)

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Belloc adds to this by arguing that the first characteristic was not the product of the Reformation (but he does not elaborate on this), the second characteristic was enhanced by the Reformation and the last two characteristics are the special creations of Protestantism. Thus, the Reformation and the subsequent emergence of the Protestant faith are, for Belloc, of fundamental significance as far as the development of a national identity is concerned. As such he elaborates at length on how the characteristics described above make the English inherently anti-Catholic in nature.

What Belloc calls the 'peculiar sympathy' of the English for animals and animal rights is for him evidence of a kind of emotionalism that would not be tolerated by Catholicism. The Catholic system of morals does not recognise animal rights as such 'we have duties to God in regard to animals, but they have no duty to us....they are made for our service' (1931: 92). Whether a 'love' of animals is a peculiarly Protestant trait is highly debatable. However, the assertion that it represents an English (or British) trait is illustrated in a comment made by the journalist Linda Lee-Potter (1997: 9) 'it's a fundamental British characteristic that, on the whole, makes us a humane country with a natural compassion for the weakest and most vulnerable'.

Belloc further maintains that the myths and legends of English history, for the most part, hold up for reveration anti-Catholic figures such as Sir Francis Drake and Henry of Navarre. Whilst reviling those on the Catholic side such as Philip 11 of Spain, Mary Tudor and James 11. This, Belloc argues, ensures that Catholicism remains fixed in the individual's imagination as being associated with all that is anti-national. Meanwhile, the English prefer to worship the corporate body of the nation, to set the nation up as the religious icon. Causing Belloc to argue that:

> Protestantism is the religion of the English...(it) is the main cause of English Homogeneity. Such a religion of nationalism demands the close cohesion of the national character, which is the very object of its adoration.....when you touch the patriotic nerve in Englishmen.....you are.....asking England to be other than she is..... this solidity, this unity, opposes in a block all prospect of essential change.
> (1931: 94-95)

Belloc's sense of nation presupposes the authority of the Catholic Church rather than the authority of the sovereign, 'love of nation will not find the Church' (1931: 157) because the church is above the jurisdiction of a nation, the church is spiritual whereas a nation is essentially mortal. It is this reversal of the prominence of God's authority for that of man's (specifically that of a king's) that Belloc argues was enhanced by the Reformation. The break from Rome enabled men to separate the authority of God from that of the state. In other words, the state would still listen to the church's opinion but could now choose to ignore it.

However, Belloc maintains that the characteristics of unity and homogeneity are particular

products of the Reformation. As is the fourth of his English characteristics, self-sufficiency. This characteristic is not peculiar to England, but rather a mark of all Protestant cultures. 'It is very genuine, and so profoundly rooted to-day that it co-exists with the very being of the nation' (1931: 99). For Belloc, self-sufficiency translates as a sense of superiority. Superiority over people, as foreigners, and superiority in the fact that English forms of government and English legal and social institutions are far above those of other countries. Overall, then, Belloc considers the characteristics of the English to be largely attributable to the forces of Protestantism (and thus of the Reformation) and that they are in many ways distinctly different to the characteristics of Catholicism.

Although Belloc was writing in the 1930's his views are still relevant to this discussion and although he is expressing a personal opinion this does not make his views any the less interesting. However, exceptions to Belloc's views can and should be argued. For example, there is no evidence that Catholics are any the less fond of animals than Protestants, or that they have a less vivid imagination, or are less patriotic about their nation and why does self-sufficiency have to be defined as a sense of superiority? Nevertheless, what is important is the definition and attribution of certain characteristics as being specifically Protestant in nature, rather than Catholic. For Belloc (1931: 92) then, England's national identity is based on that of being a profoundly Protestant nation. One where an Englishman instinctively feels that a change in his religion represents a change in his philosophy of life. As the French prelate in Shaw's (1946: 99) *St Joan* states 'scratch an Englishman, and find a Protestant'.

The Protestant Ethic

The fifteenth century marked the end of Medieval England and the rise of powerful new forces that shaped society from then on. These new forces have been described by Wood (1986) as the establishment of a 'bourgeoisie' and the emergence of a capitalist spirit and the transition from feudalism to an absolutist state based on market relations: '...the secular spirit of the Tudor age and....the 'Protestant' work ethic are fitting heralds of the modern age' (1986: 202). Thus the evolution of the nation's identity had reached another pivotal point. The tight control of the nation by state and church which had stamped its imprint on the characteristics of the people, was now in need of change. As the above quote indicates other interests and loyalties had come to the fore and the old order had to go (Powicke, 1941: 6-7).

The new order that was ushered in by the Reformation is, according to Weber, specifically linked to the forces of Protestantism. Indeed, the Reformation as a catalyst for the emergence of a Protestant ethic is one of the central arguments of Weber's controversial book *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904-5). According to Weber, the Reformation heralded a new era whereby the individual's moral obligation was first and foremost to fulfil his duty in worldly affairs. Prior to that, Catholicism had directed men through the elevation of a monastic ideal towards the need to transcend the demands of such concerns. For Weber, this fulfilment of an earthly, rather than a spiritual duty represented

the 'calling' of the individual. Only by satisfying the obligations imposed upon him by his position in the world could the individual hope to gain salvation (Weber, 1989: 80). If by carrying out his calling the individual was able to profit financially, as well as morally, then this, Weber argues, is all to the good. The accumulation of wealth is not in itself a bad thing if it is done in the name of God, it is only morally wrong when achieved '...with the purpose of later living merrily and without care' (Weber, 1989: 163). Weber does not dispute that the pursuit of wealth was also a feature of earlier times and places, but rather, that the Reformation introduced a new way of organising that pursuit. This new form of capitalist spirit entailed the pursuit of what Weber (1989: 17) refers to as 'renewed profit' on the basis of a continuous, rational enterprise, '.....trade especially was for a long time not continuous...but consisted essentially in a series of individual undertakings. Only gradually did the activities of even the large merchants acquire an inner cohesion (with branch organizations, etc.)' (Weber, 1989: 19).

For Weber, then, the Reformation provided the impetus for the evolution of an organised, corporate capitalist system of enterprise that was specifically encouraged by a Protestant ethic that set men's earthly obligations above those of the spiritual. Thus, the promotion of a Protestant cultural identity for the nation did not solely relate to its inherent religious characteristics. It also promoted and morally sanctioned the organisation of commerce for the pursuit of profit. In other words, the decline of Catholicism and the rise of Protestantism laid the foundations for the economic basis of contemporary English society.

Conclusion

The seeds of the conflict between Catholicism and Protestantism were sown by the success of the Norman Conquest. The outcome of this invasion enabled Rome to achieve a stronger and more pervasive hold on the life of the nation and this enabled it to influence the way in which the country developed. The ruins of Battle Abbey are a physical reminder of the establishment of the Catholic Church in England and of a tyrannical rule that changed the way the country was to be governed forever. From 1066 onwards England became one nation under one monarch and these seeds of one nationism continued to grow throughout the Middle Ages. Although not always united and not always free from internal conflict. The deep rooted changes that were ushered in by the Norman Conquest perhaps required a despotic hold on the country in order to force them through. As Loyn (1991: 326) has argued Norman arrogance was such that they felt no inferiority to the conquered Saxons, their '.....abounding self-confidence was a hallmark of their race, and a principle reason for their success'. Furthermore, this hold could not be maintained unless the church was basically supportive. William thus controlled the secular needs of an earthly life, access to land, to work and to property whilst the church controlled the individuals spiritual needs. What Sheils (1989: 68) describes as the one essential required of the church 'a well-mapped path to salvation'. Together these two 'despots' controlled the pace and the substance of change over the next three to four hundred years and it was not until the intransigence of medieval Catholicism met the ego of Henry V111 that a parting of the ways was inevitable:

> Henry's conscience is, indeed, the clue to the whole affair. Extreme and uncompromising egoist that he was, he possessed to perfection that most dangerous weapon-a complete conviction in his own rightness....it was this unshakeable conviction....that carried him...through the vast and profound revolution which grew out of Catherine's childlessness and Anne's winning ways.   (Elton, 1974: 101)

Henry's personal difficulties were obviously not the main reason for the Reformation, '...things of such magnitude do not happen in so superficial a manner' (Elton, 1974: 101). Nevertheless, when combined with the conflicts that had been gradually developing between church and state, it provided further impetus for the ensuing war with Rome. This brought the king's personal life into the conflict. It was one thing for the church to hold sway over matters political and religious, but it was quite another thing for them to impinge upon the king's personal ambitions.

Hever Castle, still physically intact, thus stands as a reminder of the basis on which the battle with Rome was fought and of who was the eventual victor. It therefore represents a pivotal point in the history of the nation's identity. As Haseler (1996: 23) illustrates, 'ever since Henry V111 the idea of a Protestant England set against a Catholic continent had been a subtle, though powerful, image in the forging of national identity'.

While the events of 1066 laid the foundations for the political, religious and social organisation of the country the Reformation added a further layer to the building of the nation. The bricks and stones that were used built, not only a new political and religious order, but they also served to construct another layer of the nation's identity. A layer based on a sense of individualism and freedom of conscience and on what Weber (1989) refers to as the 'Protestant Ethic', the commercial spirit of the nation. Moreover, the religious upheavals that continued for several hundreds of years after the Reformation acted as the cement that gradually binds these bricks of identity together. As Sykes illustrates:

> the English religious tradition has achieved a balance between recognition of the Christian character and profession of the State by the maintenance of an established Church....on the one hand, and full acknowledgement of the principle of liberty of conscience and freedom of religion for all its citizens on the other hand.
> (1953: 115)

For Belloc, whether a nation or an individual is part of a Protestant culture or a Catholic culture this automatically confers a sense of identity, because each faith has a different cultural identity of its own. Moreover, he argues that the boundary between these two cultures is *the* great line of cleavage between one national identity and another (1931: 311). He does not dispute the existence of other areas of potential conflict, such as those based on language, forms of government or state boundaries, but he maintains that conflicts based on the religious identity of the nation and of the individual are the more important ones. 'All social life is conditioned by the mode of thought under which a society lives; its morals, its intellectual habits, its strong traditions of behaviour, all these proceed from the religious

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doctrines under which it has been formed' (Belloc, 1931: 312-313).

In many ways, Hever Castle symbolizes this battle between two religious cultures, as represented by the church and the state. A battle for the substitution of the papal headship of the church in favour of royal supremacy. What Sykes (1953: 16) refers to as the 'principle of nationalism applied to religion'. Although Hever Castle is advertised as depicting the trials and tribulations of a 'royal romance' the underlying story of Hever concerns the struggle for political power and for the religious identity of the nation. It was perhaps the need for this to be more clearly understood that prompted Loach to state:

> ...although much that happened in England in the sixteenth century was the result of an over-weight, middle-aged man falling in love with a younger woman - and subsequently, with many others - it is sad if the history of England in the sixteenth century is reduced to a story of royal romances. (1994: 3)

Moreover, as Sykes (1953) and Whale (1955) have argued, nationalism began its life in the womb of the Reformation, and the child that was born would eventually be named national sovereignty. Or as Whale (1955: 289) describes it '...nationalism, in the sense of state absolutism, was born...'. Thus if, as Colley (1994: 369) argues, Protestantism lies at the core of British (and also English) national identity then both Battle Abbey and Hever Castle serve to illustrate some of the building blocks that have helped in its construction: constitutional independence, individualism and freedom of religious thought.

Section Two

Patriotism

The Context

The second key theme to emerge from the research carried out at Battle Abbey and Chartwell, is patriotism. Indeed, the promotion of the date 1066 as the origin of the nation clearly marks it as a significant period in the evolution of the nation. Likewise, Chartwell recalls a time when this nation had to defend its interests, its way of life and its borders from the threat of invasion. It is the implications of these associations and their relationship to national identity that is to be discussed here.

Although the previous section highlighted the link between religion and identity, religious affiliation does not, on its own, explain why people choose to support a nation's existence. What binds all the differences within a nation is the willingness to support what the nation stands for, its 'way of life' and this is often summed up by the term 'Englishness'. The all encompassing repository for those aspects of life that underpin a sense of nation-ness. As Giles and Middleton illustrate:

> Englishness is not simply about something called the 'national character' but has to be seen as a nexus of values, beliefs and attitudes which are offered as unique to England and to those who identify, or wish to identify as, English. In other words Englishness is a state of mind: a belief in a national identity which is part and parcel of one's sense of self.   (1995: 5)

This belief, this willingness to belong, is manifested in the phrase 'love of country' and is invariably subsumed within the terms nationalism or patriotism. While both these words may appear interchangeable, the way in which they are often used highlights key differences between them. It is thus necessary to briefly discuss these two terms so that the focus of this section can be clearly identified.

Terms and definitions

Whilst nationalism and patriotism may appear to be technically interchangeable many writers caution against their conflation (Kedourie, 1960; Smith, 1994). Indeed, Walker Connor (1993) insists that they represent two very different mind sets and as such they should not be confused by the careless use of language. In Connor's (1993: 374) definition nationalism refers to an emotional attachment to one's people, or ethnonational group, whilst patriotism represents an emotional attachment to one's state.   Doob (1964) similarly maintains that patriotism is the psychological state that underpins nationalism, the more or less conscious conviction of the need to preserve one's country. Whilst nationalism is the

set of actions required to achieve this, which may or may not include personal sacrifice (1964: 6). Moreover, Smith (1994) argues that whilst patriotism is commonly thought to be positive, nationalism may be positive or negative. Indeed, Billig (1995: 55) maintains that this distinction is invariably employed as a means of differentiating 'us' from 'them'. Hence 'our' love of country is to be praised and defended, whilst 'theirs' is more often irrational and overheated. This good/bad dichotomy is also supported by Grainger (1986: 10) who defines nationalism as a transmutation of patriotism, 'in nationalism there is an unfolding will and an insatiable appetite, a programme and an ideology....Patriotism on the other hand....remains a relatively sober moral commitment....it does not engross and remains at home'.

It is for the reasons stated above that the term patriotism, rather than nationalism, is used here. This term more precisely reflects the sentiments and feelings, 'the love of country', engendered by the sites investigated, especially Battle Abbey and Chartwell. Indeed, Samuel and Thompson (1990b: 5) argue that '...the implications of British pride in 'splendid isolation' have been all too rarely aired.....'. The research undertaken at Chartwell was specifically intended to consider this point in more depth. Moreover, Grainger's (1986) comment that patriotism is often to be found 'at home' is interesting as all three sites are part of this 'home' (in the sense of national 'home') environment.

Thus patriotism, as a subject, is not only suitable for research, but also one which is receiving the current attention of writers in the field. Indeed, it has been the focus of discussion, either directly or indirectly, in a range of recently published books. For example, the three books edited by Raphael Samuel (1989) referred to in chapter four, Angus Calder's (1991)*The Myths of the Blitz*, Giles and Middleton's (1995)*Writing Englishness 1900- 1950* Stephen Haseler's (1996) *The English Tribe*, and Storry & Childs' (1997a) *British Cultural Identities*. However, before going on to examine this concept in terms of Churchill and Battle Abbey, it is first necessary to look at the general subject of patriotism and Englishness in a little more depth.

Patriotic Roots

Kohn (1961) argues that the Puritan Revolution of the seventeenth century was a time when patriotism came to the fore because it established the principles of liberty and reason that instilled a new sense of dignity in the common people. The state ceased '...to be the king's state; it became the people's state, a national state, a fatherland. The nation, no longer the king, felt itself responsible for the country's destiny' (Kohn, 1965: 15). This sense of 'ownership' gave ordinary people a feeling of attachment to the nation that had not really existed before. Prior to this, loyalty was owed to the king, an individual, rather than to the nation as a whole. When battles were fought they were done so on the basis of saving the position of the king, rather than for the salvation of the common people. The Puritan Revolution replaced the king with a 'people's parliament' which, however unrepresentative of the common people initially, at least gave them a stake in the future development of the nation. This revolution thus set the foundations for a 'national spirit' to permeate all

institutions (Kohn, 1961: 183), a spirit based upon the fusion of people and liberty.

This burgeoning patriotic attachment to a nation of democratic intent became more widespread through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In fact Haseler (1996: 17) states that the eighteenth century witnessed the making of the English character 'it was...the incubation in which the *culture* of Englishness - its very DNA was born'. Moreover, because this birth preceded the industrial age, the idea of Englishness that emerged was founded upon a pre-industrial trinity of land, class and race (Haseler, 1996). Thus, as chapter three argued 'official' Englishness was the property and reflection of the aristocratic landed classes. The 'ideal Englishman' was thus drawn from their belief in their own moral and intellectual superiority, from the notion of the honour and uprightness of the 'nobility':

> 'Honour' was a serious idea taken extremely seriously....morality supposedly set you above the common folk....Thus, any Englishness constructed during this time was bound to be ladled in goodness. *Sincerity* emerged as a key moral attribute....And by 'sincerity' was meant an amalgam of innocence, honesty, originality, frankness, above all truthfulness and moral independence....And these characteristics came to be known, over time, as 'character'. (Haseler , 1996: 27)

Even today this 'character' is still considered to be part of the make-up of the aristocracy. In a recent television programme entitled *Class* (1997) the journalist A.A. Gill argued that, 'the whole premise of aristocracy is that you can inherit something other than blue eyes and blond hair. That with your blood you inherit some innate tribal goodness'.

Nevertheless, the emerging 'love of nation' that grew out of the eighteenth century was not altogether a selfless sentiment. As Colley (1994) argues, many Britons did make the step from a passive awareness of nation to an energetic participation on its behalf. Yet, they did so partly because they expected to profit from it in someway:

> men and women became British patriots in order to advertise their prominence in the community, or out of ambition for state or imperial employment...or out of fear that a French victory would damage their security and livelihoods, or from a desire for excitement and escape from the humdrum, or because they felt their religious identity at stake..... (Colley, 1994: 371)

This illustrates that patriotism, like nationalism, has many roots. It is not only an altruistic support for the nation's ideals, it is also strongly founded on a degree of self-interest, and why not. Agreeing to fight on the basis of a patriotic call to arms is about self, as well as collective survival. This combination of self and collective interest is important as it highlights the individual's role in defining patriotic sentiment. Indeed, every individual's definition, emotional reaction to and expression of patriotism will be different. One persons patriotic gesture, such as flying the Union Flag on a pole outside their home, may cause

others to respond with ridicule. Likewise, events designed to engender a patriotic response, such as the Festival of Britain and the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth 11 (see Weight, 1995), may leave some, not only unmoved, but decidedly antagonistic (see Nairn,1988; 1989 on the British Monarchy). An understanding of the variety of individual responses to patriotism is important because, as chapter eight revealed, Chartwell is for some merely another house, another tourist attraction. Whilst for others it is a place of special significance, a place of pilgrimage precisely because of its owner, Winston Churchill. It is therefore important to understand what specific aspects of Churchill's life and character have become readily identified with patriotism and Englishness. Similarly, for some visitors, the events of 1066 are merely an interesting back-drop for a day-out. Yet for others, such as the custodians, they represent a crucial time in the evolution of the nation and as such should be accorded appropriate respect and reverence.

The above discussion highlights the importance of understanding the many ways in which a sense of patriotism can be both encouraged and displayed. Indeed, one of the most important communicators of patriotism relates to the way in which the nation is described in books and articles. This is of particular relevance as regards English patriotism and its relationship with heritage - generally and with tourism in particular - because such works reveal the source of inspiration for many contemporary tourist brochures.

Literary Patriotism

While literary constructions of patriotism are not confined to this century this discussion will concentrate primarily on twentieth century writings, as these help to underpin some of the key themes to emerge in relation to Battle Abbey and Winston Churchill.

Samuel (1989a) refers to the displays of patriotic sentiment in published works of the 1930's as cultural nationalism. This period, in between the two world wars, was a time when society was particularly inward looking and this manifested itself in a mistrust of foreigners and in attitudes of 'Little Englandism' (Samuel, 1989a: xxii). J.B. Priestley's *English Journey* is a good example of this, when at the end of his travels he writes:

> I thought about patriotism. I wished I had been born early enough to have been called a Little Englander...That *little* sounds the right note of affection. It is little England that I love....Not until I am safely back in England do I ever feel that the world is quite sane...Never once have I arrived in a foreign country and cried, "This is the place for me"....I am probably bursting with blatant patriotism...And my patriotism, I assured myself, does begin at home. (1934: 416; 417)

For Priestley, England was not a singular entity but a combination of three different 'Englands': Old England, Nineteenth Century England and New England. However, his preference was decidedly for Old England, rather than New England: "New England' is all by-pass roads, giant cinemas and bungalows with tiny garages, it is epitomised by

Woolworths, hiking and factory girls looking like actresses' (p. 402). Meanwhile, Old England at its best cannot be improved upon '....I am for scrupulously preserving the most enchanting bits of it, such as the cathedrals and the colleges and the Cotswolds...' (p. 398). This latter view illustrates the point made by several writers today that England's greatness is nearly always seen in terms of an unbroken link with the past. This 'idealised continuity' was glorified as a virtue and as an achievement and was the fulcrum upon which the notion of identity turned (see Cottrell, 1989).

This idea that national identity can only be seen in terms of the past, in terms of a continuity of tradition is also reflected in the writings of other authors at this time. Indeed, the 'romantic-patriotic' prose of the journalist Arthur Mee (1936, 1937), the historian Arthur Bryant (1940; 1953) and the writer Henry Morton (1932: 1933) are good examples of what Cottrell (1989) sees as a fetishisation of the past. In Bryant's *English Saga* he prefaces his book with a patriotic overview of English history:

> As a result of long and un-broken Christian usage, it became native to the English to live and work in a society in which moral responsibility existed...Without justice and charity there can be no England. That is the historic and eternal English vision.....With her un-broken island tradition, England....consistently tried to make herself a land of decent men and women esteeming justice, honesty and freedom.
>
> (1940: xii)

Bryant is unashamedly patriotic and even though his interpretation of history has not always earned him the respect of his peers (see Ramsay, 1993), he sees himself as the 'people's historian'. This is evident in the opening pages of *The Story of England* where he states that his history has been written with the masses in mind, 'my history contains fewer names, battles, political events.....but dwells longer on certain deeds and words that stirred the hearts of Englishmen and awoke their imagination' (1953: 24). These words are important because they represent a shift in focus in the way in which history is presented. Bryant's history is not merely a list of events, dates and facts. It is something that has to be felt, imagined and in a sense re-lived. Only in this way can it be truly understood. Furthermore, throughout his books Bryant links historical events with the development of Englishness and the virtues and traditions he reveres explicitly inform the reader what they should feel proud of. However, Bryant's views merely reflect the dominant and restricted sense of Englishness and English identity that were being articulated at that time (Giles & Middleton, 1995). This narrowness of interpretation is also evident in the work of Morton whose journeys, *In Search of England*, are about finding the essence of the nation, its heart, its identity. As Morton (1932: 64) illustrates by reference to the town of Ripon, 'in a restless world that changes often for the sake of change you feel that in little places such as Ripon that you touch the sturdy roots of England firmly locked in a distant and important past'. Morton's sense of nation is not only primordial in appearance, but also based on an idealised vision of the country. 'I can conceive no greater happiness than that of going out into England and finding it almost too English to be true' (1932: 203).

In a similar vein, George Orwell's *The Lion and the Unicorn*, written during the second World War, describes Englishness and patriotism as being based upon a self-confidence that in moments of crisis brings the nation together as one homogeneous being. He argued that the Blitz confirmed the essential security of English identity because it brought people together from all classes in society and united them in a common cause. At the end of the day loyalty to the nation was more important than the class divide, 'patriotism is usually stronger than class-hatred....' (Orwell, 1941: 217). Despite the fact that Orwell was advocating a socialist agenda his descriptions of England, at times, echo those of Priestley. For Orwell (1941: 11) Englishness had a flavour all of its own 'it is somehow bound up with solid breakfasts and gloomy Sundays, smoky towns and winding roads, green fields and red pillar-boxes'. It is essentially a family - albeit one with the wrong members in control - and like a family '...at the approach of an enemy it closes its ranks' (1941: 35). Orwell's depiction of England has, however, been criticised for being insular and xenophobic (Taylor, 1994: 189). This maybe because, like Priestley, he tended to glorify England on the basis of its inherent domesticity, rather than on the basis of it being a great Empire. 'The true English spirit...was to be found at home, was provincial and practical - not outward looking, cosmopolitan and full of grand visions' (Haseler, 1996: 61).

A former Conservative Prime Minister, Stanley Baldwin, was particularly prone to eulogise Englishness and England in this way. In fact, the tone of many of his speeches echoes the written style of writers such as Morton and Mee. Baldwin (1926: 6) was also prone to conflate England with Britain, 'to me, England is the country, and the country is England'. Moreover, his relief at being able to express this sentiment is evident in his speech given to the Royal Society of St. George in 1924. Here he states his thankfulness that he could use '... the word "England" without some fellow at the back of the room shouting out "Britain"' (Baldwin, 1926: 1). Baldwin's patriotic attachment to England was based on his belief in the superiority of the English character and his firm conviction that this was in someway handed down from God. It was also rural in nature, traditional and maintained by the widespread decency of the ordinary man (Smith, 1987).

Many of the characteristics and traditions that Baldwin considered markers of an English way of life were included in a book commissioned by Country Life magazine in the 1950's entitled *Our Way of Life*. The contents page lists the features of nation-ness as, Our Faith, The British Constitution, The Administration of Justice, Our sea Heritage, English Cathedrals, Poetry, Music, Art, Life and Work on the Land, Wildlife and Cricket. Within these separate essays particular aspects of the English Tradition are provided. However, as all the authors are male and either MP's, Bishops, military leaders or minor aristocracy the views expressed are essentially those of the 'Establishment'. For example, the Bishop of London, the Right Reverend Wand (1951: 11) states that, 'the most prominent architectural feature of England is a series of noble cathedrals....with them lies the secret of that sense of continuity which has given such remarkable toughness to the English spirit'. This identification of traits that are seen as somehow peculiarly English, and the reflection of these in the people, the culture, the landscape and the buildings is, in effect, a discussion of what it means to be English. A description of all those factors that help to create and

communicate a sense of Englishness and which should be revered, preserved and protected.

England's Character

This ascription of country with national characteristics was a favoured theme of many writers of the 1930's and the 1940's. Indeed, Williamson (1939: 19), in his book *The English tradition in the world* goes so far as to state that, 'it is a pity that local historians so seldom treat their studies as illustrations of the growth of character, and of English character too'. However, the English character depicted by Morton and Bryant merely reiterated the type of qualities that, as previously argued, were defined by the self-perception of an eighteenth century aristocratic elite. Thus, in Morton's England every town and village has something to 'say' about the English character and every local spoken to exhibits a 'sturdy honesty'. England's counties, towns, buildings and even her people are seen as epitomising aspects of her national identity. However, the books of Morton and Bryant also highlight the move towards a 'cult of the ordinary' where the virtues of the common man are seen as important co-definers of Englishness. So, while Englishness still contained the rather 'high-brow' qualities of virtue, honour and moral independence, best summed up by the phrase 'a stiff upper lip', they now promoted the virtues of the 'ordinary' man.

The link between country, Englishness and the virtues of 'an ordinary man' is also apparent in more recent books. For example, *English Journey* by Beryl Bainbridge (1983) and J.G. Ramsay's *England, This England* (1993). As the titles imply both these works are based around that of Priestley. Although Ramsay's to a lesser extent than that of Bainbridge's (1983: 7) which was expressly intended to '..follow in his footsteps..'. While neither of these books resort to the type of romantic-patriotic hyperbole that characterised the books by Morton, Bryant and, to some extent, Priestley, they are concerned with presenting visions of Englishness. Even when Ramsay (1993: 153) declares he is '...sceptical about so-called regional differentiations in popular character...' he goes on to describe the people from the Potteries as displaying an extraordinary courtesy and friendliness. 'Nowhere else in England, perhaps with the exception of parts of East Lancashire...do you encounter such gentle humility from ordinary people out in the street' (1993: 154). Furthermore, both Bainbridge and Ramsay conclude that, not much has changed since Priestley's day, '..not fundamentally anyway..' (Ramsay, 1993: 337); which is not only reassuring for the reader, but also perpetuates this idea of a country founded on the basis of an unbroken tradition.

A further characteristic of Englishness to be revered is that of liberty and this is extolled by both Priestley (1934) and Bryant (1940). Indeed, the idea that the essence of Englishness combines ordinariness with a 'sturdy' love of liberty is something which can also be traced back to the eighteenth century (Haseler,1996). Specifically it dates to the time of John Wilkes, the radical English nationalist, who advocated patriotism based on an assertion of English rights, on a belief that all Englishmen were born free and on the 'undeniable' fact that England was the primary force within the newly formed United Kingdom (Colley, 1994). For Wilkes, all these were inherently aspects of Englishness. Wilkes' views provided the impetus for a debate that has intensified over the years about the distinction

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between English and British - more specifically perhaps, the extent to which they can be seen as one and the same thing. This distinction is not confined to the pages of history - nor to those of heritage, as chapter three maintained - but is a frequent topic of debate today when questions of Englishness and patriotism are brought into the public arena.

Contemporary Englishness

In many ways John Major's Orwellian eulogy of Britain at the 1993 Conservative Party Conference owes much to a Baldwinesque style of rhetoric. It also brought the topic of Englishness to the forefront of contemporary political and cultural thought. Britain, he said, was a country of long shadows on county grounds, warm beer, invincible green suburbs, dog lovers, pool fillers and old maids bicycling to Holy Communion through the morning mist (Arena, 1996). However, the characteristics he celebrates are very English. For example, there is no county cricket in Scotland, and very masculine, 'he evokes beer and cricket, not sweet sherry and needlepoint' (Billig, 1995: 102). Thus, Major's vision of England, resonates with some of the people, but not with all of the people. Furthermore, the emotions and sentiments expressed are explicitly meant to evoke a 'love of country'. Moreover, given the context in which they appeared, the implication always was that such values and traditions were 'safe' with the Conservative Party, but not with the Labour Party.

There is thus much to be gained by mobilizing patriotic sentiment. Whether for political ends, or in order to attract tourists to a heritage site. Patriotism forces people to think about their nation and to decide what it and they stand for. It requires people to make decisions about their views, in relation to alternative interpretations held by others. Furthermore, the characteristics of Englishness featured in the works discussed earlier are merely reflecting the patriotic sentiments that grew out of an earlier age. Englishness is thus an eclectic combination of values and traditions which, because they are seen to have evolved through the eons of time, have become the markers against which 'our heritage' is defined in the present day. Moreover, as chapter three argued, the contemporary tourism industry often relies upon these 'time-honoured' descriptions of Englishness in order to create a link between the tourist attraction and the nation. Thus, feelings of patriotism and of pride are engendered via the language of tourism as a means of attracting people to a particular 'heritage' site. Some of the brochures referred to in chapter four illustrate this point well. Consequently, the relationship between tourism and patriotism needs to be considered in more detail and this will be achieved through a discussion of Battle Abbey and Winston Churchill.

Battle Abbey

The link between Battle Abbey and patriotism relates to the events of 1066 and the ensuing changes brought in as a result of the Norman victory. A detailed discussion of these changes has already been given in chapter six. This section is primarily concerned with the way in which 1066 has become associated with the emergence of a sense of patriotism. The sentiment so clearly evident in the way in which the custodians related to their site.

As the last successful invasion of the British Isles the Norman Conquest was different to those that had gone before, because the motive was not to plunder, but to rule. Thus, what was at stake was not only the Crown, but the right to shape and to control the evolution of a country. As Bryant (1937: 29) states Battle is the place where Saxon England died, 'that morning England was Saxon; Norman England began in the afternoon'. Hence, the battle's frequent depiction as the 'origin of a nation':

> National independence and political unity, which theoretically may date from a few years before the Norman Conquest but in reality stems from 1066, enabled the English to develop....a centralised and representative form of government and a judicial system which laid the basis....for a political stability that....provides the English with a source of pride and belief in their institutions. (Alcock, 1991: 45)

Such changes were so profound and so far reaching that many authors have stressed the need to preserve the memory of what occurred. As Bryant (1937: 30) rather prosaically states, '...the glorious grounds of Battle Abbey...our English earth....should be forever guarded as one of the most impressive scenes in our Motherland'. Such sentiments are not confined to the twentieth century, as a similar view was expressed by one travel writer over one hundred and seventy years ago: Battle is a place that '...inspires with the ardour of patriotism, and prompts to heroic deeds' (Fussell, 1818: 266) and as such it has a powerful hold on the imagination. In fact, such is the impact of what took place that Fussell was moved to state:

> it is impossible to traverse a district so interesting to the feelings of an Englishman, as that on which his progenitors bravely shed their blood in a struggle for the liberties of their country...without impressions of the most affecting nature. Cold and callous must be the heart of him who can recollect such a scene without emotion. (Fussell, 1818: 264)

Over the centuries, the date and events of 1066 have become wrapped in a patriotic blanket that can be put on whenever the nation feels threatened. During times of war, or as a result of profound political and cultural change. Indeed, Evans (1995: 242) argues that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the development of patriotism and a sense of Englishness '....drew on old myths, such as the 'Norman Yoke', to establish the model of the 'freeborn Englishman'. Indeed, the politics of John Wilkes and his calls for the universal rights of Englishmen to be upheld, was specifically founded against the backdrop of a Norman yoke which had overthrown English liberties (Colley, 1994). Likewise, references to this 'Yoke' were made during the Puritan Revolution of the seventeenth century, which established the principles of Parliamentary democracy. At this time people looked to the past to legitimate new found feelings of destiny and liberty (Kohn, 1961). Likewise, they looked to the traditions of English Common law in a reassertion of the Saxon common people against the Norman Conquerors who had 'destroyed all English liberties'. As Kohn

(1961: 167) illustrates 'the awakening common people constructed a legendary past of freedom and equality as the background for the struggle of their ancestors against their "Norman masters" and regarded the liberty of all Englishmen as historically grounded'.

The date 1066 is also vested with a patriotic aura because of its association with the emergence of a sense of Englishness. There is, however, much debate among writers about the exact period when people became aware of themselves as distinctly English. While there is no dispute that the *idea* of England, Englishness and patriotism were medieval creations (Nelson, 1990: 103) there is disagreement over the role played by the Norman Conquest. The historian Geoffrey Elton favours a pre-Norman perspective, whilst the American medievalist, Norman Cantor, comes down on the side of 1066 (Haseler, 1996). Nevertheless, the date is seen as a rallying point in the history of the nation because, as previous discussions have shown, so many developments can be traced back to its influence. Even the conduct of the Saxon soldiers on the battlefield is often taken as representative of the qualities upon which the English character is based (Bryant, 1953).

Furthermore, chapter six highlighted the importance of the date in terms of the marketing of Battle Abbey and its associated 'country' and as regards English Heritage's *The Story of Battle*. Indeed, the brochures and guides play a key role in the construction of the patriotic aura that surrounds the site. As the following extracts from two brochures illustrate:

> The one date in English history that everyone can remember is 1066, the Battle of Hastings....Today you can visit this famous site....you can experience the height of the battle at its fiercest. Battle Abbey stands at one of the turning points in time.
> (English Heritage, 1997b)

> 1066 was the year when England had three kings, when the blazing trail of a comet heralded disaster for one of them and a crown for another...and when one battle changed the English way of life for ever. The Battle of Hastings was probably the most important event ever to take place in England - and it happened right here in 1066 country...the birthplace of England.... (Hastings Borough Council, 1997: 2)

Both these extracts are designed to emphasise the fact that 1066 is THE date when England began. In visiting the site of the battlefield and the ruins of Battle Abbey the visitor is thus paying homage to their roots. As the visitor comments discussed in chapter six clearly illustrated. Moreover, such descriptions operate in a similar way to the romantic-patriotic prose style adopted by writers such as Morton and Bryant. This style heightens expectation about the significance of the site and engenders a sense of communal belonging and understanding. It also provides the visitor with an interpretive framework on which to base their own reactions by detailing exactly what it is they should take pride in. The following two quotes about the Battle of Hastings illustrate this point well:

> William now launched his third attack...His archers, who had replenished their

ammunition, were ordered to fire high in the air.....The dropping arrows distracted the defenders; one pierced Harold through the eye and, though, with an effort, he wrenched it out, the report of his wound spread quickly through the English ranks....Yet the tradition of five hundred years held; the flower of the English infantry went on fighting, after all hope of victory had faded, for something more than victory. "The valour of the English", wrote a Norman, "and all their glory raged". (Bryant, 1953: 161)

Aelfric: Our wall of shields held but those Norman charges certainly took their toll....by late afternoon our forces were pretty well depleted. Then their archers took over again...This time they aimed deliberately high....Some of our men foolishly looked up as arrows soared over our shields, then rained down on us. I heard an agonised shout.

Saxon: The King is hit!

Aelfric: We fought on.... desperately....more savagely than we had done all day. Several Normans lay at my feet dead before I fell...A Norman sword briefly flashed before my face, and my life ended.

Henri: How those Saxons held out so long I'll never understand, but hold out they did. Each time we charged....their wall of shields remained as daunting as ever....we suddenly found ourselves surrounded by Saxon fighting men determined to exact revenge for their defeat.....defiant and courageous to the last.

(The Story of Battle - recorded tour)

The similarity in these two accounts is interesting and the latter extract underlines Bryant's (1953) call for a version of history that is more than dates and facts, but rather something that can be felt, imagined and re-lived. This is precisely why heritage tourism is popular and why it is so important to concepts of nation-ness. It generates a culture of ownership. This is particularly evident in the success of the 1066 Country campaign which, as Sandra Barrett has previously stated, represents a shared national date.

Moreover, the important point in all this is not whether the Norman Conquest does, or does not represent the origin of Englishness from a strictly historical perspective. But rather, the fact that it has become the emotional repository of patriotic sentiment *inspite* of this. It does not matter whether Englishness is found to have begun in an earlier century, 1066 was the last time this country was invaded and it is almost irrelevant what happened before then. At least as far as patriotism is concerned. Furthermore, because the country has never been invaded since 1066 this reinforces the perception of the nation founded on the basis of an unbroken tradition. Every monarch thereafter is believed to follow in an unbroken line from William the Conqueror, there have been no '...breaks in a continuous royal, and so national, descent from the Norman invasion in 1066' (Hewison, 1995: 7). Thus, for most people this date is synonymous with the start of modern England and everything associated with the Battle of Hastings is touched by the patriotic aura of it.

Sir Winston Churchill

Chartwell, Churchill and patriotism are closely intertwined and it is difficult to separate them in any discussion. However, this section will deal primarily with Winston Churchill and patriotism as it is the life and character of the man that endows Chartwell with its aura of patriotism.

As chapter eight revealed, Chartwell is Churchill. It is the physical manifestation of the 'spiritual contact' between Churchill and the rest of the nation during the second world war. Chartwell's appeal is thus unashamedly patriotic as it reminds visitors not only of those who died to preserve 'their' way of life, but also of the man deemed to be 'our saviour'. Indeed, David Boler states that Churchill engenders feelings of patriotism and pride and that both these emotions are brought to the forefront of his mind by a visit to Chartwell. Such sentiments are aptly illustrated by Churchill's daughter, Mary Soams, in a letter to her father shortly before his death, 'I wish I could express more adequately my love and gratitude - but please believe me they are real and dear and in addition to all the feelings a daughter has for a loving, generous father, I owe you what every Englishman, woman and child does - liberty itself' (Quoted in Brooke, 1996: 33).

Given the association of liberty with concepts of Englishness it is hardly surprising that a nation should feel gratitude towards the individual so closely involved in defending its freedoms. This is one of the reasons for the cloak of patriotism that will always be attached to Churchill's shoulders. Not only inspite of, but in many ways because of the criticism's that have since been laid against him. Heroes with human frailties are even more appealing than those without (Calder, 1991: 90). As one of Churchill's advisors during his 'wilderness years', states '...a man conceived on grand and magnificent lines, displaying fortitude and magnanimity and vision, yet with the engaging frailties of personality which make him an essentially human character....these are endearing traits....' (Wheeler-Bennett, 1968: 9).

As already established, it is Churchill's characteristics and achievements, constantly alluded to in many articles and books, that are given as the reason why he is considered to be the greatest living Englishman. His achievements are seen as such that 'in character, intellect and talent he had the attributes of greatness' (The Times, 1965: 1). Even though it was acknowledged that he made mistakes his achievements as a soldier, strategist, statesman and leader were, and to some extent still are, overwhelmingly eulogised (see The London Illustrated News, 1954, Harris, 1993). Moreover, the fact that he changed 'sides' politically many times, from Conservative to Liberal and back to Conservative, seems to have merely added to his stature (Connell, 1956). It also gives further weight to the idea that an Englishman is at heart an individualist:

> The young aspirant to political honours would do well to remember that Sir
> Winston has never been a strong party man in the ordinary accepted sense of the
> term. Indeed, it is probably no accident that there has been a certain ambiguity about
> the party affiliations of nearly all the greater British statesmen....nor is this in
> anyway remarkable, for a man with such a record would be more likely to win

distinction as a good partisan than as a great statesman. In this respect, then, Sir Winston Churchill has been in the great tradition. (Petrie, 1954: 947)

Churchill was a man of many talents, a painter, writer, orator and bricklayer. He '...has written history as well as made it' (Connell, 1956: 7) and his skills of oratory, despite a slight speech impediment, have become almost legendary. Indeed, Maurois (1965a: 27) states that his words encapsulate a 'devotion to duty, pride.....the ability to ride upon the surf of imagery...short Saxon words which sparkle, explode and reach the very heart of the audience...what was in his mind....was always what the British people were waiting for'. Moreover, it is the 'beauty of the words' that so enthral David Boler to this day, '...the joy I get from reading Churchill's letters, whether it's to a tradesman or his publisher, or whatever, the way his words are beautifully crafted and I agonise over writing a letter to anybody...'.

Churchill's oratory is probably what he will be most remember for, especially that which relates to his most famous war time speeches and radio broadcasts. At his death the Prime Minister of the day, Harold Wilson, wrote '...Winston Churchill had...that rare ability to....inspire a slumbering nation...because of this...the words and deeds...will form part of the rich heritage of our nation...'. (The Times, 1965: 8). Wilson listed Churchill's other characteristic qualities as being indomitable courage and humanity. Others have variously described him as being tireless, compelling, obstinate, defiant, heroic, steadfast, undaunted. All of which have been subsumed in the word 'Churchillian'. Arthur Bryant (1965: 8) described him as having a '...simple, direct and manly character'. Jo Grimmond, a former leader of the Liberal Party stated that '...great leader though he was, he was never haughty...never remote. He might be overbearing, he might be unfair, but never mean or cynical' (The Times, 1965: 8). An article in the The Daily Telegraph sums up the majority of views:

> There was much of him in John Bull; tenacity, intolerance of dictation, refusal to own defeat, simplicity and affection...a love of plain dealing, fidelity to friends, a good sound hatred of enemies...and...an unflagging passion for the glory and greatness of Britain....These qualities are the traditional norm and staple of our race. In this anything but normal man they were strong, salient, ineradicable.
> (Anon, 1965: 12)

Churchill was THE Englishman, 'he provided the British people with an image of themselves as they wished to be...' (Maurois, 1965b: 4). His characteristics were, however, nearly always described as being typically English rather than British. Although given what has already been said on this point it is clear that, in this instance, England and Britain are being taken as one and the same thing. 'It was a vision of England which people discovered in themselves, and for themselves....voiced for them by one man...' (Fairlie, 1965: 6). Even foreigners seemed to see Churchill as typically English. Radhakrishnan, a former President of India, referred to him as the '...greatest Englishman we have ever known' (The Times,

1965: 8). Likewise, even when acknowledging that Churchill was in fact half American, he was still considered 'very English'. The following is from a set of quotes by ordinary people about Churchill on the day of his funeral:

<u>American</u> - Why do you say he was a "typical Englishman" - John Bull   personified, or some such? He was not that at all.....*He* was half English....and more than half American...Yet strange to say - and I don't quite know how he managed it - he *was* the Englishman personified....the less typically English he was by class and birth, the more English he somehow managed to become. I seem to be contradicting myself....he was the kind of man....who makes you do this: I mean re-think your ideas and contradict yourself. (Quoted in MacInnes, 1965: 12)

As THE Englishman Churchill was following in the footsteps of another great leader, Wellington, whose character and the qualities he symbolized '...became built into the national consciousness as part of the essential fabric of Englishness' (Pears, 1992: 217). Like Wellington, Churchill's characteristics and the nation's identity were one and the same thing. As one nineteenth century writer stated of Wellington, 'in him England admires her own likeness' (quoted in Pears, 1992: 233).

There are, however, other aspects of Churchill's life that are frequently referred to as key moments for patriotic reveration. His funeral in 1965 is one of these. It was this event that brought patriotic sentiment out into the open during a time when the Empire was shrinking almost daily and the country was going through a period of social and technological change. As the historian David Cannadine (1983: 157) argues, the state funeral '...was not only the last rites of the great man himself, but was also self-consciously recognized at the time as being the requiem for Britain as a great power'. Churchill symbolized a time when the Empire was at its greatest. He represented wartime solidarity, a time when the nation had never been more politically and socially united (Hewison, 1995). His death, twenty years after the war, concentrated people's minds and emotions around, not only the man and his 'finest hour', but the nation and its 'finest hours' of imperial supremacy. As Bryant (1965: 8) illustrates 'only twice before, I think, in our history has any funeral evoked such a sense of universal mourning and national pride as that of this wonderful man'. Obituaries labelled him 'the greatest Englishman' (Bacon,1965), and The BBC commentary of his funeral summed up the national mood:

what emotions are uppermost in our hearts, pride to have lived with him in the hour of danger, gratitude for all he did, sadness that we shall never see him, or indeed his like again. Certain it is, as the west doors open and the shafts of morning light come in to enfold the coffin, certain it is that something, as we go outside, has gone out of all of our lives forever. (Chartwell Exhibition)

The other key aspects of Churchill's life that require specific mention in terms of patriotism are his 'wilderness years' during the 1930's, and his 'finest hour' during the 1940's blitz. As

argued in chapter eight, Churchill is revered partly because of this image of him 'standing alone' to oppose the governments appeasement stance. However, Churchill was not actually on-his-own in the views he held, as there was a constant stream of like-minded advisors and supporters at Chartwell during this time. Indeed, Martin Gilbert, Churchill's official biographer, has since written that:

> the more I delved...into what Churchill was doing during that decade, the less apposite did the concept of wilderness appear. Of course, he was out of office and out of favour...but he was...a Member of Parliament, and an active and forceful one...he became a kind of one man unofficial opposition, complete with his centre of operations at Chartwell...his fortnightly newspaper articles, and frequent magazine articles...gained an extraordinarily wide circulation. (1994: 108)

The important point here is the resilience of this persistent myth of Churchill standing alone, out in the wilderness. For it is this image of him that maintains such a powerful hold on the imagination today. In many ways Churchill was more 'psychologically alone' than he was physically alone and this is crucial for understanding the patriotic appeal of both his name and the term 'wilderness years'. His psychological alone-ness enabled him to become the manifestation of a collective, seemingly unrepresented voice of concern. As one of those who 'remotely' served under him explains:

> ...I, like many others, tried desperately to convince those in authority of the growing menace of National Socialism...we failed miserably. The forces of apathy, of wilful myopia and of general delusion in high places were too strong for us...Sir Winston was a tower of comfort and encouragement...he understood the warning...he perceived....the danger.... . (Wheeler-Bennett, 1968: 11)

It is this image of him 'alone', as the only one who recognised and foresaw the war with Germany, that has turned Churchill into a patriotic icon for the nation to revere. He became, as Lord Avon's obituary stated, '...the talisman of free men everywhere' (The Times, 1965: 8). Moreover, just as Churchill represents THE Englishman, the image of him standing alone is also taken to represent the nation standing alone in its hour of need. Both in the first years of the war before the entry of the United States in 1941 and during the Blitz of 1940-1 when the nation fought Germany 'alone' in the skies above the south coast of England. Parallels have again been made here with Wellington. As Pears (1992: 232) illustrates, in the Second World War the image was once again '....of an England standing alone, threatened by a foreign tyrant and...a...more aggressive foe....Churchill took on the previously Wellingtonian role of the lone outsider convinced that victory was possible and getting on with producing one'.

However, the Social historian Angus Calder (1991) refers to the Blitz as a myth, because its blanket association with British unity masks the fact that the country was neither united nor

confident of victory. Rather, sixty thousand people were conscientious objectors, the Communist Party was invulnerable in its industrial strongholds and Churchill and the royal family were booed while touring the aftermath of air raids (see Calder, chpt. 5). Nevertheless, just as Churchill symbolizes the nation's identity, the Blitz has come to symbolize its unity. Furthermore, despite Calder's (1991) assertion that Churchill essentially spoke for an English 'dominant particularism' and that the Blitz was not all it was cracked up to be, both retain a powerful hold upon the patriotic imagination. It almost does not matter that certain 'facts' have been conveniently left out or forgotten (see Harlow, 1997). The important point is, as the historian Norman Davies pointed out on a radio programme about Churchill, Churchill is '... the totem of our greatest hour' (Start The Week, 1996). This is inspite of, or perhaps because of, any faults, errors of judgement or glossed over mistakes that actually occurred and this is why Churchill still carries an emotional resonance today.

Thus, Churchill's patriotic aura is based on the fact that he symbolizes the entire nation. His characteristics and qualities, his struggles and achievements represented how the nation liked to see itself. He is, therefore, both the nation's identity and its collective will: '...he did no more than express the will of the country....It was by his strength of will - it might almost be said that it was by his strength of will alone - that we were carried through the greatest crisis in 1940' (Normanbrook: 1968: 19, 27). Furthermore, just as the versions of Englishness promoted by Bryant, Morton and others were based upon the self-image of an eighteenth century aristocratic elite. Churchill's symbolic Englishness adds another leaf to the page of identity. As Pears (1992: 217-8) again argues with regard to Wellington, Churchill's character did not create a new image of Englishness rather, '...he encapsulated a newly forming vision of national type...', personified in this instance by an indomitable courage, a sense of defiance and a refusal to own defeat.

Moreover, the journalist Melanie Phillips has likened Churchill to a mirror whose reflection reveals something very fine about the nation as a whole (Start The Week, 1996). In many ways Chartwell is the frame within which the mirror is set, a frame that represents a physical manifestation of patriotism Chartwell may not represent what the nation actually stands for today, but it does represent what it perhaps should stand for. As Levi-Strauss (1989: 43) once memorably wrote when describing the importance of travel books '...I can understand the mad passion for travel books and their deceptiveness. They create the illusion of something which no longer exists but still should exist...'.

Conclusion

As argued in the beginning of this section, patriotism enables individuals to contemplate their relationship with, and their feelings about, their nation and the foundations of its identity. This emotional and psychological relationship is in many ways inextricably entwined with a sense of Englishness. The repository of values, beliefs and attitudes that are subsumed within the phrase a 'way of life'. The previous discussion has illustrated how contemporary visions of England and Englishness have their roots in the 1930's and the 1940's. This period witnessed a prolific output of books which in various ways strived to

encapsulate and define the essence of the nation's identity. Yet for writers such as Bryant, Orwell, Morton and Priestley this nearly always meant defining Englishness and Britishness as being one and the same thing. Furthermore, their images of Englishness were endorsed by politicians such as Stanley Baldwin and John Major. Consequently, the 'Establishment' was able to promote its interpretation of the type of values and characteristics that the nation was deemed to represent. This dominant interpretation became the moral yardstick by which the nation and the people could be measured. Thereby providing a patriotic rallying point around which the nation could unite in times of insecurity or threat.

The visions of Englishness that were highlighted as representative and enduring were described in such a way as to generate a sense of belonging and of patriotism. The 'romantic-patriotic' prose of these writers succeeded, whether intentionally in Bryant's case, or unintentionally in Ramsay's, in bringing the nation home to the reader. Counties, towns and cities were personalised and seen as embodying specific national characteristics that everyone understood and accepted. These books are not just about journey's through any country, they are journey's through *my* country, through *my* towns and these are *my* people and *my* instincts. As Williamson (1939: 12) explains at the beginning of his book, his purpose in writing it '...is to state and defend my faith and traditions not because they are mine, but because I believe they are English qualities that I share with multitudes of my fellow-countrymen'.

All the characteristics deemed inherently English were linked in someway to the idea of an unbroken tradition. To be a patriot one had to revere and want to preserve and protect this tradition. This is why Battle Abbey and the events of 1066 are so important to the concept of Englishness and patriotism. In being referred to as the 'origin of a nation' and highlighted as the last time the country was invaded it provides a starting point for this unbroken tradition. It matters not whether, from a strictly historical perspective, an 'English' nation existed prior to the Norman Conquest. What does matter is that this time is seen as the origin of the nation as we know it today. In symbolizing the roots of the nation the battle of 1066 provided the basis upon which later concepts of Englishness were formed. It thus has the potential to become a patriotic touchstone for those wishing to re-affirm their sense of self, their sense of nation-ness.

Through its association with Churchill, Chartwell has a similar potential. A visit to Chartwell is thus a visit to 'our' national identity. As the journalist Andrew Roberts states, Churchill is 'epicentral to self-perception' (quoted in Storry & Childs, 1997b: 33). Moreover, the national characteristics Churchill reflected represent a re-working of the national 'type' based on a 'cult of the ordinary' rather than a 'cult of the aristocracy'. This new 'type' is exemplified by the '...cheerful cockneys of 1940 who survived the Blitz by 'smilin' through" (Giles and Middleton, 1995: 5). Moreover, as identified in chapter eight, this cult relies upon the image of Churchill as a man of the people, as someone who, despite his upbringing, had to work for a living. Someone who took a 'hands-on' approach to the renovation of his house. Someone who was a member of a bricklayers union.

Furthermore, as 'the architect of our liberty' Churchill focuses the mind back to the events of 1066. Thus, the second world war was not only about defending the nation *today*, it was also about defending the unbroken tradition that stemmed from the Norman Conquest. Churchill is thus following in the tradition set by other historical figures such as, Sir Francis Drake, Nelson and Wellington. The patriotic appeal of all these men is partly to do with their role as guardians of the legacy of 1066.

While these figures have their own patriotic significance, Churchill's is based upon three key aspects of his life. The image of him standing alone, Samuel and Thompson's 'British pride in splendid isolation'. His ability to represent THE Englishman, so that his characteristics are emblematic of those of the whole nation; and the outpouring of sentiment attached to his funeral.

Battle Abbey and Chartwell thus illustrate the sentiments and attitudes that underpin a sense of nation-ness: patriotism and Englishness. The impact of these on national identity needs to be seen alongside the religious influences discussed in the previous section. All these aspects interact with each other to provide a foundation upon which concepts of nation-ness can evolve.

Chapter Ten

Conclusion

Context

The purpose of this chapter is to draw together the analysis of the three sites and to present some concluding remarks about the relationship between heritage tourism and English national identity. As stated in the Introduction the aim of this thesis has been to investigate the relationship between heritage tourism and aspects of the formation of English national identity. This investigation has focused upon three sites, Battle Abbey, Hever Castle and Chartwell. It is these sites that have provided the symbolic foundations for what is referred to here as a gaze of Englishness. Furthermore, as argued throughout, this work has not been concerned with analysing the composition of national identity generally, but merely *one aspect* of what is an ambiguous, multi-faceted and continuously evolving entity. Or to borrow a phrase from Roshwald (1993), national identity is a 'notoriously gelatinous' concept.

This 'gelatinous' concept fulfils various functions on behalf of a nation. Externally it underpins the state, its territory and its economic, political and legal institutions, whilst internally it enables the nation to provide a social bond between individuals and classes (Smith, 1991). This internal role, what Smith (1991: 16-17) refers to as 'intimate' functions, provides the nation with '....repertoires of shared values, symbols and traditions. By the use of symbols - flags, coinage....monuments and ceremonies - members are reminded of their common heritage and cultural kinship and feel...their common identity and belonging'. While the former functions have been discussed to some extent - for example in chapter two - it is the way in which these intimate functions operate that has been at the forefront of this work.

Themes and observations

The key theoretical themes and observations relevant to this thesis, and which were discussed on pages 25-26, relate specifically to the intimate, internal functions of national identity. These themes referred to:

1) How Anderson's 'imagined community' actually came into being and how it enabled the individual to reaffirm a sense of national identity.

2) Whether Gidden's 'controlled use of reflection on history' enabled the three sites to promote cultural attachment to the nation and if it did then what aspects of the nation's identity were being represented.

3) How the language and symbolism of nation-ness enabled the sites to maintain and communicate a sense of national belonging.

4) Whether, and how, Connor's subconscious, psycho-emotional bond promoted attachment to the nation.

The analysis of the fieldwork at the three sites addressed all of these points. Indeed, as stated in chapter one the site analyses have highlighted the extent to which the heritage industry's concept of Englishness is based upon a view of identity as being essentially primordial in character. When it is in fact highly contingent and contested. This interpretation represents the imagined community of heritage tourism. *Imagined* because it is based upon the wrongly held premise that England's identity is founded upon a set of fixed and unchanging characteristics that have been handed down through time.

Furthermore, the controlled use of reflection on history, exercised by the owners and managers of the sites, enables many individuals, as tourists and as guides, to imagine their communal links, their shared history and identity. In many ways this reflection, what has been referred to as speculative reverie, highlights the importance of the imagination in constructing a sense of nation-ness. At Battle Abbey this imaginary link is triggered by reference to 1066 Country and its accompanying map. At Hever Castle it is the romance between Henry V111 and Anne Boleyn that is the key. Whilst at Chartwell, Winston Churchill and the Second World War provide the focus for patriotic sentiment about the nation and society.

In addition, Battle Abbey and Chartwell operate rather in the manner of war memorials to the nation's dead. They evoke memories of sacrifice and of renewal. They remind people of the core values of the nation, the ones worth dying for that is. It does not matter that these values may have changed over time. What is important is that they are seen as part of the foundations that underpin the nation, both in the present and in the future. As Rowlands illustrates:

> war memorials are a part of a monumentalising discourse of the political and emotional construction of national identities....Properly orchestrated in a sense of the past linked to place, war memorials root the living in a distinctive cultural identity which assures national pride and self respect....(they)...perhaps no longer (have) the function of healing but emphasise rather the duty to remember....the origins of the nation. (1996: 10, 15)

All three sites thus provide a focus for contemplation about those aspects that underpin what it means to be English. As Geertz maintains when discussing the concept of what it means to be human:

...the comment that Cromwell was the most typical Englishman of his time...in that he was the oddest may be relevant....it may be in the cultural particularities of people....that some of the most instructive revelations of what it is to be generically human are to be found. (1973: 43)

In this respect it is the cultural particularities of both historic people and historic places that reveal what it is to be generically English. Furthermore, as previously argued, this generic identity is more often than not employed to define the wider nation to which England belongs, namely Great Britain. However, the symbols of identity represented by the three sites do not fall into neat English or British boxes. For example, while Henry V111 was an English king the implications of his romance with Anne Boleyn are nonetheless relevant to Great Britain in the twentieth century. Since Protestantism is still the 'official' state religion. Heritage tourism's place in all this is as a symbolic channel of transmission for certain, specific aspects of what is considered to be this generic English identity.

In all three sites the language and symbolism of nation-ness has been shown as central to the way in which identity and belonging is both constructed and communicated. This is not to say that individuals will interpret these symbols in the same way. As the analysis reveals some do and some do not. However, the key point here is the underlying tug of the communal heart strings, Connor's psycho-emotional bond, that all these sites rely on to attract tourists. Constant references to the 'origin of the nation', to 'a treasured part of Britain's heritage' and to 'the greatest living Englishman' all trigger speculative reverie about the nation, about the elements upon which its identity is based and about the individuals relationship with the nation. It is upon this basis that Battle Abbey, Hever Castle and Chartwell are described as flags of identity, as important co-communicators of Billig's (1995) concept of banal nationalism. The routine habits of everyday life that serve to flag the homeland to its citizens and to those of other nations.

Moreover, this flagging of identity is emphasised by the ritual nature of tourism. The ritual of sightseeing, the ritual of the guided tour, the ritual of the same phrases and pictures to describe key aspects of the sites. All such rituals serve to create and reinforce the 'idea of nation', both within the visitors and within those who work at the sites. An 'idea of nation' based upon the ritual identification of symbols that stand for aspects of the national character. This ritual uncovering is not haphazard. It is organised and controlled by those who own and manage the sites, what Hitchcock (1998) previously described as the creation and re-creation of identity through 'intentional agency'. Thus, what is signified, when and how, structures the ultimate message received by the visitors. This highlights the importance of tourist brochures and guides as these provide visitors with maps of meaning that guide the feet, as well as the imagination, towards key symbols of the nation. Symbols that communicate specific aspects of nation-ness.

Communicating nation-ness

The three sites are communicating, or rather telling, stories about the nation that can be handed down to descendants of the national line. As such, they operate rather in the manner described by the psychiatrist John Byng-Hall in his discussion of the therapeutic importance of family stories, myths and legends:

> family stories can give a feeling of continuity, of how the past led to the present, of rootedness and family tradition, and so help to make sense of a complicated and fraught family life in the present....it is not so much the story itself as the story-line which matters most, the family ethos which it transmits. (1990: 216, 220)

Visitors to these three sites are able to get in touch with the soul and the spirit of the nation, its beliefs and values. Indeed, the analysis of visitor behaviour and that of the interviews with visitors and guides has revealed interesting and important information concerning the ways in which individuals relate to and understand this national spirit. The basis of their national identity. This analysis clearly highlights a sense of attachment to the nation is triggered in relation to the memories evoked by the times and events depicted. This feeling of attachment reminds 'us' about aspects of ourselves and 'our' nation. These remindings are familiar to 'us', we recognise them as relating to 'us' as individuals and to 'us' as a collective national entity. These are 'our' cultural and historic roots, 'our' way of life.

Recognition of 'our' roots is based upon the visitor's identification with key aspects of the sites and their contents. These were variously described as cosy, warm and homely. Safe and comforting in their familiarity. Furthermore, these familiar triggers of nation-ness are primarily concerned with communicating a sense of kinship. This links the visitors into the ancestral line of descent that connects the 'us' of the present to the 'us' of the past. As Connor (1993) states felt kinship ties link individuals to the fully extended, national, family.

Thus individuals recognise themselves and their ancestors as being related in someway. This is 'my' history, these are 'my' people, 'my' kith and kin. This emotional recognition takes place from within the imagination, which is important because it enables people to visualise themselves as a part of their history. Either in terms of their personal memories of the period depicted, such as at Chartwell, or in terms of imagining themselves as one of the characters from history, such as at Battle Abbey. In this way visitors can both feel and experience their roots, their sense of belonging.

This illustrates the point made by Connor (1993) that the key to the nation is sentient, or felt history, rather than chronological history. Hence, it is not important that visitors to Battle Abbey and Hever Castle could not 'remember' the consequences of the Battle of Hastings, or of the romance between Anne and Henry. What matters is that they 'felt' the significance of the history, what Louise Dando described as poignancy, they 'felt' the kinship ties connecting them to their ancestors. Comments such as '...it becomes part of

your blood...' and 'to have that whole feeling' merely serve to highlight the importance of this emotional link between nation and citizen. As Carol Goddard, the Head Custodian at Battle Abbey stated, '.....the nicest thing is not the history, it's the fact that occasionally, when you go out and there's nobody else with you, you've got 105 acres to yourself and you're just standing there totally amazed by the, not the building so much (as) the actual ground itself'.

The intermingling of phrases and images of home, family, kinship, ancestors and common blood, with expressions of emotion and feeling are central to the way in which a sense of nation-ness is communicated and understood. It is this intermingling that enables the internal, intimate function of national identity to promote a sense of belonging and identity Intimate because the sense of attachment is felt and experienced within the privacy of the individual's imagination. The creation of intimacy is thus a key component in the communication of nation-ness. Intimacy is not only personal but also deeply felt It about close, personal relationships. Imagined intimacy is perhaps the most private relationship of all as it goes to the heart of a person's most secret thoughts, values and beliefs. These may relate to a variety of areas, from sexual fantasies to the possession of material goods. In this instance it relates to the fundamental relationship between the nation and its citizens. to a persons thoughts about their nation and what it stands for. It is th s important to understand what aspects of the nation are symbolically communicated by each of the three sites as these aspects help to construct the visitors intimate, national imaginings.

As such, it is now necessary to draw together the interrelated themes identified by this work so that their significance to. and relationship with. English national identity can be more fully understood.
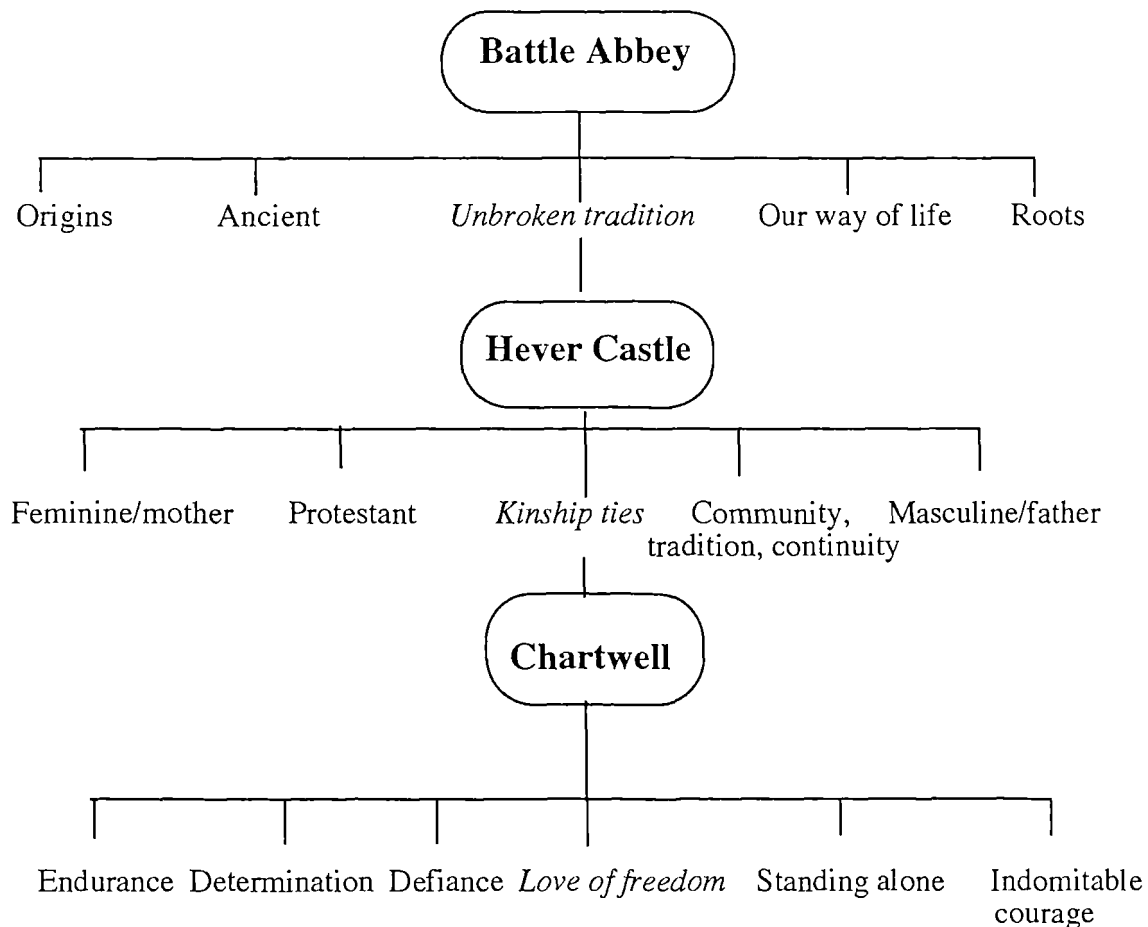
Symbolic themes of English-ness

The three sites not only communicate the relationship between the nation and its citizens but also the foundations upon which this relationship is based. Such foundations represent a particular vision of the cultural aspects of Englishness and it s these that the tour t i encouraged to gaze upon Indeed, as stated in the introduction it is the continual repetition of and emphasis on certain specific cultural aspects that imputes the belief that Englishness s founded upon a set of primordial givens. That the values, beliefs and characteristics the sites represent have somehow remained fixed throughout time. When r fact they are not universal truths nor exclusive to the English nation.

As components of the English gaze Battle Abbey and Hever Castle exemplify the nation' roots, both historic and religious Hever presents a dual nationality in its juxtaposition of images that have both masculine and feminine connotations. A masculine castle protects and shelters a soft inner core a Tudor manor house femi ne homely and vulnerable Similarly Chartwe reminds visitors of the type of characteris cs that differentiate us from other nations. Character stics based upon those of the man whose finest hour' saved the legacy of 1940, the legacy of a nation unconquered and inviolate namely indomitable o brave

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defiance, endurance, love of freedom and determination; all of which serve to inspire a patriotic attachment to the nation. These, then, are the main representative themes to emerge from the analyses of the three sites. These themes can be viewed diagrammatically rather in the manner of Geertz's (1973) generational layer cake of Balinese kinship ties - previously discussed in chapter seven.

Figure 6 - Kinship Diagram

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                        ┌─────────────────┐
                        │   Battle Abbey   │
                        └─────────────────┘
                                 │
     ┌──────────┬──────────┬─────┴──────┬──────────┬──────────┐
 Origins     Ancient    Unbroken tradition   Our way of life   Roots
                                 │
                        ┌─────────────────┐
                        │   Hever Castle   │
                        └─────────────────┘
                                 │
     ┌──────────┬───────────────┼──────────┬──────────────┐
Feminine/mother  Protestant   Kinship ties  Community,   Masculine/father
                                            tradition, continuity
                                 │
                        ┌─────────────────┐
                        │    Chartwell     │
                        └─────────────────┘
                                 │
   ┌────────┬────────┬────────┼────────────┬──────────┐
Endurance Determination Defiance Love of freedom  Standing alone  Indomitable
                                                                   courage
```

The presentation of these themes as a family tree is intentional as this illustrates the generational links between each site. Moreover, this tree operates in a similar way to the more usual family tree. Which depicts not only a family's descendants, but also the era to which each belonged and its associated social, moral, political and economic values and beliefs. Each site thus symbolizes aspects of the nation relating to the particular period represented. These various national pasts join and intermingle to form a legacy that evolves down through the ages and into the present. The present takes on this legacy, which it too develops in accordance with its own circumstances, and then hands down to the generation that follows. This generational intermingling of past and present represents one of the ways

in which a national identity evolves. As Hewison illustrates:

> within a cat's cradle of dynamic forces, between the counterbalances of solid and fluid, chaos and order, inner and outer, dark and light, physical and spiritual, national and emotional, abstract and concrete, idealist and realist, male and female, the symbolic elements that constitute the particularities of a culture are shaped.
>
> (1995: 17)

In referring to the development of identity as an evolutionary process this is not to imply that this process is always smooth, well ordered and without disruption. Internal and external factors can affect it, such as wars, invasions and political instability. As Geertz (1973: 408) illustrates 'culture moves rather like an octopus.....not all at once in a smoothly coordinated synergy of parts.....but by disjointed movements of this part, then that, and now the other which somehow cumulate to directional change'. Moreover, the interrelated themes highlighted by the kinship diagram are in themselves clusters of sacred symbols guiding individuals towards an understanding of what the nation stands for. As Geertz (1973: 408) states the analysis of culture involves a searching out of clusters of significant symbols - the material vehicles of perception, emotion and understanding. So what do these various aspects of the kinship diagram 'tell us' about the nation?

The main symbolic message is highlighted in the connecting links between each site in the kinship diagram namely, unbroken tradition, kinship ties and love of freedom. These present the nation as a family. As a group of relations with a common history, a common set of values and beliefs handed from each generation and as possessing common, basic characteristics. The key link here is kinship ties, the recognition of which is a prominent feature of the site analyses. Thus, Battle Abbey is 'our way of life', Hever Castle is 'our' ancestral line and Chartwell is Churchill, 'our' honorary relative.

Moreover, this is a family that is 'free'. Free in the sense that it is independent of other nations and free in that it has remained inviolate since 1066. As Peter Vansittart (1998: 84) illustrates in his recently published review of English history 'the much-trumpeted English love of freedom....usually meant not individual liberty but resolution to defend national independence'. This is one of the reasons why Chartwell is the focus of patriotic reveration, because it reminds visitors of Churchill's determination to protect this freedom from outside interference. He is seen as a guardian of the unbroken tradition that enables the nation to *imagine* its evolution as being somehow independent of outside forces. Even though this is obviously not the case, the important point is that it is *perceived to be so*. As Connor (1993: 377) states 'a subconscious belief in the groups separate origin and evolution is an important ingredient of national psychology'.

The perceived sense of commonality here, common culture, family and religious beliefs, further enhances this image of the nation as a big extended family. Furthermore, this is a family that possesses both a feminine and a masculine aspect, both a mother and a father

who are capable of producing new members, of their being a *birth* in the family. This birth produces an offspring that carries the genetic characteristics of each parent, an X and a Y chromosome. Thus, the key point about Hever Castle is that it symbolizes this intermingling of the X and the Y, of the male and the female. Where the X is represented by the castle and the Y by the Tudor manor house. Moreover, Hever is associated with an actual physical joining, that between Henry V111 and Anne Boleyn. A union that demonstrates the power of a king over a queen, the power of the male to control and ultimately kill the female. This power relationship is also represented in the physical structures of the site, the male castle protects and dominates the female manor house. These points illustrate a fundamental principle underpining English nationalism. That the nation's identity is founded upon a powerful hierarchical structure whereby the masculine dominates the feminine. It is accepted that such a principle is more an undercurrent bubbling beneath the surface of English nationalism, and one that is perhaps challenged in all sorts of different ways. Nevertheless, the overarching symbolic message of Hever Castle presents the national family as patrilineal in nature rather than matrilineal. As a family and a society dominated by a patriarch. It was this principle of patriarchal dominance that Astor was aiming to maintain and protect by his purchase of Hever Castle. His restoration of Hever did not solely relate to the physical fabric of the castle, to the fixtures and fittings. It also involved restoration of the symbolic fabric, this mingling of male and female, this principle of male domination.

This principle is further emphasised by the undercurrent of religious change, the clash between Catholicism and Protestantism. Both these religions were (and to a large extent still are) dominated by men. The Catholic Church certainly is and the Church of England is finding it hard to break its masculine image. As the ongoing furore over the ordination of women priests illustrates. Thus, Henry V111's position as defender of the nation's religious beliefs further enhances the 'power' of the male principle. Indeed, his ability to ignore and over-power a male dominated church in order to divorce, or kill, his various wives also emphasises the strength of the patriarchal principle. That this principle is still in evidence today can be seen in the fact that the present queen is only queen because there was no male heir. With the inherent implication that this represents 'second best'. However, the proposals of Lord Archer to change the constitution to allow a first royal child, whether male or female, to ascend the throne is interesting food for thought.

That the nation is essentially a male construct can also be seen at Chartwell where the Churchillian characteristics highlighted in the kinship diagram are fundamentally male. Even though it may be argued that women can and do display these characteristics, this does not alter the fact that these are, more often than not, attributed to men. For example, Bernard Shaw's Joan of Arc was certainly courageous, defiant and 'stood alone', determined to the last, yet she was seen as encroaching on male territory. She took part in wars, she marched with her troops, she fought like a man and '....she wears men's clothes, which is indecent, unnatural, and abominable' (Shaw, 1946: 131). It is almost as if she was ultimately killed for being too male, for trying to appropriate not only male clothes, but also male characteristics and the implicit elements of power and control that went with these. As the wording of her 'confession' states:

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I, Joan, commonly called The Maid, a miserable sinner, do confess that I have most grievously sinned in the following articles.......I have blasphemed abominably by wearing an immodest dress, contrary to the Holy Scripture...... Also I have clipped my hair in the style of a man, and, against all the duties which have made my sex specially acceptable in heaven, have taken up the sword, even to the shedding of human blood, inciting men to slay each other..... (Shaw, 1946: 136)

Overall, then, these three sites symbolize fundamental aspects of English nationalism with each one communicating different yet interlinked components of nation-ness. These components are organised around the basic principle that the nation is a patriarchal family rooted in ancient, unbroken traditions that underpin 'our way of life', who we are and what we represent. While these elements combine to create what is termed a gaze of Englishness, they also illustrate one of the issues discussed in the Introduction. That such a gaze represents a process of closure, the point at which alternative definitions are excluded, rather than a unified whole.

Concluding remarks

Overall, this thesis illustrates the importance of heritage tourism in the construction and promotion of specific aspects of the nation's identity. Indeed, this work highlights the effectiveness of material culture in promoting particular interpretations of identity. Effective both because of its high visibility and its often taken-for-granted appeal. The paradox here is that whilst a material culture is so solid, so tangible, the sense of nation-ness it communicates is pliable and contingent.

The analysis of each of the three sites clearly identifies the mechanisms and the processes by which attachment to the nation is promoted and reinforced. A key finding relates to the studies of visitor behaviour which reveal the many ways in which this attachment is understood and internalised. Thus heritage tourism represents another means by which identity can be communicated and maintained. As such it highlights the importance of examining the context in which nation-ness is re-created, manipulated and communicated, what Hitchcock (1998) terms situational uses of identity.

The kinship diagram and the cluster of national symbols are, however, merely one part of the total national tree. Other, related parts exist that reveal different, but complimentary, evolutionary stages to those depicted here. For example, there will be elements of the tree relating to the political, religious and linguistic components of the nation's identity and these can be linked into the total tree as appropriate. These various intermingling parts of the national tree operate rather like a kaleidoscope whose multi-coloured 'chips' are formed and re-formed into a variety of different, yet complimentary, structures. As Geertz illustrates:

...the chips of the kaleidoscope, are images drawn from myth, ritual, magic, and

empirical lore...Such images are inevitably embodied in larger structures - in myths, ceremonies, folk taxonomies, and so on - for, as in a kaleidoscope, one always sees the chips distributed in *some* pattern, however ill-formed or irregular. But, as in a kaleidoscope, they are detachable from these structures and arrangeable into different ones of a similar sort. (1973: 352-3)

Battle Abbey, Hever Castle and Chartwell thus symbolize one version of the nation's identity, one 'chip' in the total kaleidoscope of differing interpretations and understandings of nation-ness that comprise today's multi-cultural world. This is why these sites will resonate with some people, but not with all the people. Others will resonate with alternative, but complimentary 'chips' from within the total kaleidoscope of identity.

In view of this, potential avenues for future research include investigating different aspects of this total kaleidoscope. For example, different types of tourism/sites may illustrate alternative components of national identity, such as those relating to the industrial, military, architectural, or multi-ethnic aspects of modern Britain. Furthermore, visitor behaviour at such sites may reveal different mechanisms and processes by which national identity is communicated and understood. All these areas are worthy of investigation and analysis.

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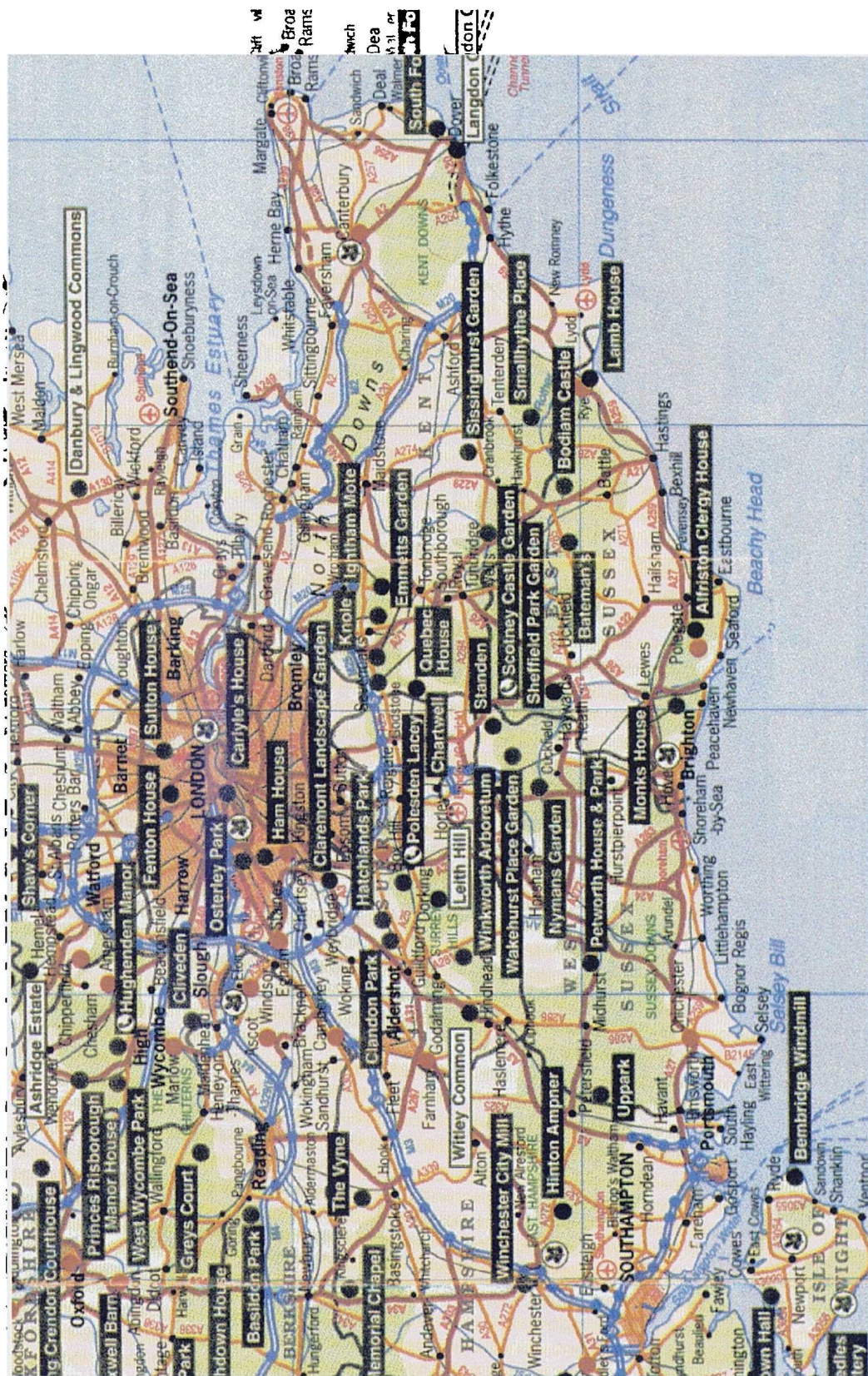
APPENDICES

Appendix A

1066 Country Map

Appendix B

Site interviewees and related individuals

Battle Abbey / English Heritage

General custodians and the Head Custodian
Louise Dando - regional marketing manager English Heritage
Sandra Barrett - marketing manager tourism & leisure (Hastings Borough Council)
John Springford - President Battle & District Historical Society

(Plus 50 tourists)

Hever Castle

Robert Pullin, Managing Director

(Plus 75 tourists)

Chartwell

Carole Kenwright - property manager
General guides
David Boler - UK President International Churchill Society

(Plus 75 tourists)

Appendix C

Interview themes / issues for the site employees and other related individuals (excluding the tourists)

Battle Abbey

Head Custodian
1. How does English Heritage view Battle Abbey - relationship with other sites

2. How funded, visitors, grants, shop.

3. Any current archaeology / conservation at the site.

4. When were the interpreters introduced and why. How this has afftected type of staff employed, motivation, training.

6. Affect upon tourists, satisfaction levels.

7. Why is Battle Abbey referred to as the birthplace of England, do tourists understand this.

8. Why has the marketing strategy for the Abbey changed.

9. English Heritage's requirement to educate people, how this is balanced with the need to entertain.

10. Links with Battle and District Historical Society.

11. How long she has worked at the site, what is it like to work here, feelings about the site.

General custodians
1. How long they had worked at the site, why they had chosen to work there, main duities and how they felt about the site as a part of English Heritage.

2. How has the site changed over time.

3. How do they feel about the changes, attitudes towards the shop, interpreters, loss of guided tours.

4. Feelings on the site as the birthplace of England, what does that mean to them, if anything.

5. Their own visitor observations, do people think they ought to come here, difference between summer and winter visitors, typical questions, typical reactions.

6. Do they have any interest in history generally, its importance, or otherwise, to people.

7. The significance of 1066 and the Battle of Hastings.

8. Thoughts about the future of the site.

<u>Louise Dando</u>
1. Her role / responsibilities within English Heritage.
2. English Heritage's definition of heritage.

3. How does English Heritage decide on what should be classed as an hiastoric property.

4. Given English Heritage's remit to conserve, enjoy & understand what is it do they want people to understand, how can you judge they've understood.

5. Profile of a typical English Heritage member.

6. How does English Heritage view Battle Abbey, its significance, why is 1066 a remembered date, 1066 Campaign.

7. What does special marketing entail, strategy for overseas marketing.

8. Recent attitudinal survey.

<u>Sandra Barrett</u>
1. The organisation of tourism within Sussex generally & Hastings B. C. role.

2. The significance of 1066 and the Battle of Hastings.

3. Main aims & objectives of the 1066 Country marketing campaign, sucess of the campaign. Its role within the overall tourism strategy.

4. How they decide the boundarys of this new country, who is in/out and why.

5. Main market aimed at, characteristics etc.

6. Links / relationship with Battle Abbey & English Heritage.

<u>John Springford</u>
1. How long the society has been going, main aims & objectives.

2. His personal association / role within the society.

3. The role of local history, the need for such societies.

4. Society membersip, younger members hard to attract.

5. The significance of 1066 and the Battle of Hastings. Feelings about living in / near the birthplace of England.

6. Battle Abbey generally and the 1066 marketing campaign.

Hever Castle

<u>Robert Pullin</u>
1. General questions about the castle.

2. Who is John Guthrie, his company generally and why did he purchase the site.

3. The company's plans for the castle and the Tudor Village.

4. Hever Castle's importance to English history, its description as a treasured part of our

heritage.

5. Main heritage images of England and their significance. The attraction of heritage, Merrie England theme.

6. Visitor reactions / comments.

7. Balance between education and entertainment

Chartwell

Carole Kenwright
1. General purpose of the research, churchill's role in English history, his legacy / memory.

2. Observations of visitors, what is written about chartwell, how it is advertised etc.

3. How the NT views Chartwell. Its policy towards Chartwell. The 1930's theme, significance.

4. Churchill the greatest living Englishman. WW2 association. What, if anything is Chartwell a symbol of now.

5. Do the visitors have a different relationship with the house as opposed to other NT properties? Is there a friends of Chartwell society, links with Churchill supporters, visitor profiles / reactions.

6) Length of time she has worked at Chartwell & her feelings about the house and its owner.

General guides
1. How long they had worked at the site, reasons for working here.

2. How they felt about the site, any personal memories of Churchill.

3. Feelings about the man, his time and the site.

4. Churchill's legacy, the way he is still referred to today / contemporary use of Churchill to support political perspectives.

5. Observations of visitors, why they came, typical reactions / questions.

6. Future of the site once no longer recent history.

David Boler
1. General questions about the society, its aims / objectives, other countries involved.

2. Why Churchill is revered still today , his legacy / contemporay use of it.

3. The significance of Churchill generally, what he symbolises.

4. Chartwell and its importance, links to Churchill, how the society views the house.

5. Why he is a member, personal views upon and feelings about Churchill / Chartwell, his family's reactions to his interest.

Appendix D

Visitor interview themes / issues (200 interviews)

Battle Abbey

1. Whether they have been to BA before - why they came again - have they noticed any changes.

2. Whether they are aware of who owns and operates Battle Abbey, the role of English Heritage, whether a member or not.

3. Why they decided to visit Battle today - why specifically Battle Abbey as opposed to any other attraction.

4. The significance of the date 1066, why it is remember above all others - shared national date.

5. The significance of the Norman Conquest. 1066 the origin of a nation, meaning of this to them.

6. Any memories / feelings about the site and the events depicted.
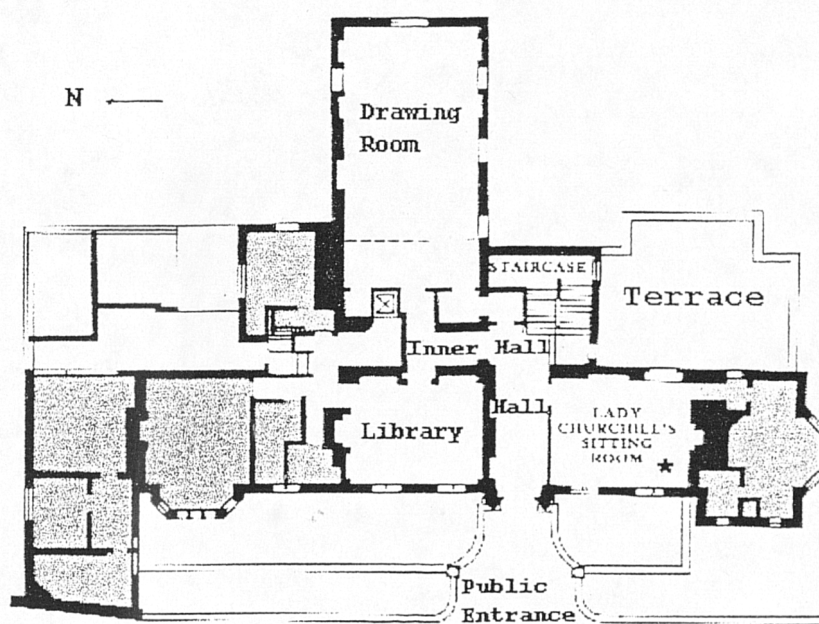
Hever Castle

1. Reasons for visiting the castle. Any interest in history / heritage.
2. Any knowledge of historic period depicted, source of this.

3. Part played by Henry viii & Tudor period generally in historical terms. Specific significance, if any, of the Anne and Henry period.

4. Any perceived difference between history / heritage. British or English heritage and does it matter.

5. Whether the castle has meaning for them personally. How they relate to it.

6. Feelings, emotions evoked in going round the castle / gardens.

Chartwell

1. Why they visited Chartwell today, whether they have been before. Whether they have a particular interest in Churchill / Chartwell.

2. Feelings and opinions about Churchill, his role, any legacy, the use of his name today. Personal memories of him / WW2.

3. Significance of Chartwell, if any, to the nation, tourism / heritage. Popularity of the house as time goes by.

4. Memories of their visit to the house, key rooms / objects, feelings inside the house.

5. Churchill's links to patriotism and heroes.
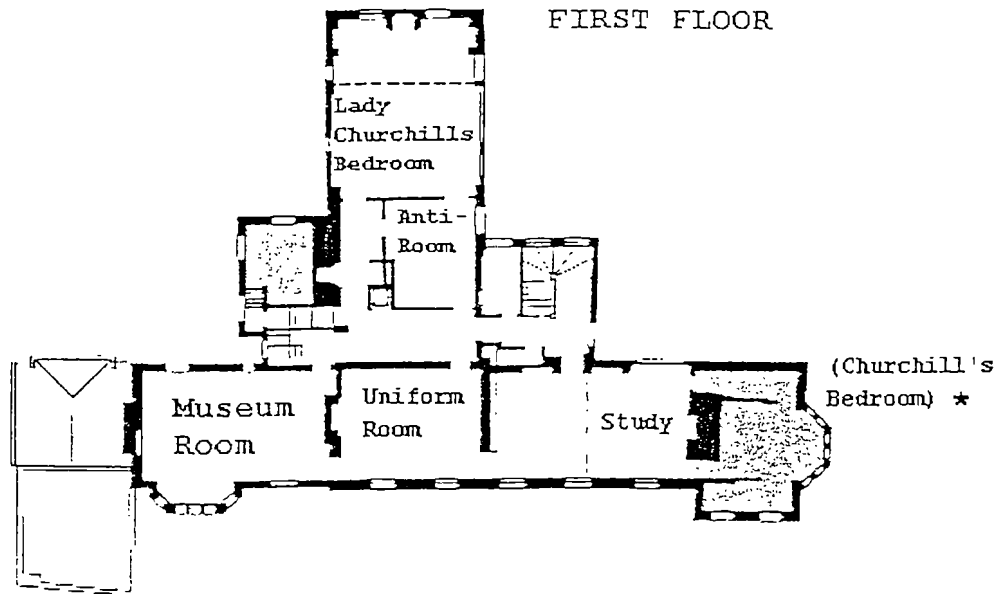
Appendix E

Plan of Chartwell

GROUND FLOOR

N ←———

Drawing
Room

STAIRCASE

Terrace

Inner Hall

Hall

Library

LADY
CHURCHILL'S
SITTING
ROOM ★

Public
Entrance

Shaded areas not
open to the public

★ Not always open to the public

Chartwell

FIRST FLOOR

Lady Churchills Bedroom

Anti-Room

Museum Room

Uniform Room

Study

(Churchill's Bedroom) *

* Not open to the public

Dining Room

Public Exit

Exhibition

Kitchen

BASEMENT