

The Impact of Filming on the Heritage Sector in England

One Volume

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Abstract

English stately homes have been used as filming locations since the 1920s, as seen in *Dorothy Vernon of Haddon Hall* (1924, Marshall Neilan) which was shot on location at Haddon Hall. The use of stately homes and heritage sites has become synonymous with heritage films and television series, yet this new role for these visitor attractions has never been studied in detail. This thesis considers the financial and cultural impact of filming in the heritage sector in England and identifies the shift in the relationship between the screen industries and the heritage sector since filming became more common. Considering the process of becoming a filming location, the concerns during filming and the afterlife of filming, this thesis raises questions about representation, authenticity and accuracy. To understand these, this thesis utilises Jean Baudrillard's framework of simulacra and hyperreality complemented by Ning Wang's authenticity framework and Sue Beeton's film tourism framework. This thesis draws from twenty interviews with managers and owners in the heritage sector and has identified the processes, financial implications, conservation issues, class distinctions and cultural differences that stem from filming. Filming not only brings heritage sites to an international audience but also instates fictional narratives over the history of the site, sometimes borrowing from it but more often overwriting it, leading to questions of accuracy and the role of filming in the heritage sector going forward. This is balanced by the demonstrable importance of filming during the Covid-19 pandemic when the sites were closed to the public and relied on filming for income. This thesis provides an overview of the relationship between the screen industries and the heritage sector in England from before and during the Covid-19 pandemic.

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

1. Introduction

The 2022 heritage film, *Downton Abbey: A New Era* (Simon Curtis) has two parallel plots, the first, about the inheritance of a villa in France, and the second about a feature film shot at the titular house in the late 1920s. The characters have a variety of opinions about the latter, with one saying 'I think it's a horrible idea, actresses plastered in makeup, actors just plastered, scrambling over our things, we'd have to keep counting the spoons in the pantry' and another character states

A moving picture? At Downton? [...] Rough and vulgar actors and actresses strolling through the rooms with their sticky fingers, sitting on the chairs, eating at the table where the King of England once sat? This smacks of the worst excesses of the French revolution.

The eldest daughter, Lady Mary, leads her father up to the attic where she demonstrates the poor state of the roof as rainwater streams through. He is convinced, giving his approval for the filming, and Lady Mary ends the long sequence by consulting the dowager countess who agrees,

'Nothing is too common if it will help keep Downton afloat.'

'Well, we'd have enough money for a new roof'

'At the cost of one terrible month'¹

This exchange, and the conversations preceding it bring the realities of filming at heritage sites to the fore as the fictional narrative of *Downton* mirrors its real-life counterpart of Highclere Castle, and just as the characters of *Downton* use the fees from the film-within-the-film to fix the roof, so did Highclere which used the filming fees from *Downton* to fix theirs.² This situation brings filming in heritage locations full circle, as it demonstrates how essential filming fees are to the continued upkeep of these sites, it is so prominent that it has been included in a film.

It also introduces the tension between the high culture of the stately home and the perceived low culture of film as a mass medium. The screen industries have used

¹ *Downton Abbey: A New Era* (2022, Simon Curtis)

² Reported by Sebastian Conway, "Basildon Park Interview," interview by Rosemary Alexander-Jones, 2021.

heritage sites as filming locations since the early days of cinema,³ incorporating their authentically old façades to illustrate their moving pictures. However, it is only in the recent past that the sites have embraced and exploited these connections and during the Covid-19 Pandemic, income from filming became essential. This thesis will explore the impact of filming on the heritage industry in England, exploring and understanding the situations that have led to the sequence described above. This thesis asked the research question of what impact has filming had on the heritage industry which consists of stately homes and heritage sites in England and its responses to it. These sites are a feature of the English countryside, acting as tangible examples of England's past, seen as authentic examples of the past, usually unchanged and unaffected by the modern world⁴ they are maintained as private homes and visitor attractions. The image of the stately home surrounded by rolling green fields has become iconographically linked to films and TV that explore the English past. Andrew Higson, the originator of the term 'heritage film' describes the grouping of these types of films with genre conventions and recognisable iconography,⁵ saying

The luxurious country-house settings, the picturesque rolling green landscapes of southern England, the pleasures of period costume, and the canonical literary reference points are among the more frequently noted attractions of such films⁶

He identifies the country house (which this work will refer to as a heritage site) as the leading indicator of this type of film yet he doesn't expand his analysis to explore why. Higson's scholarship investigates nostalgia, nationality and the imagery of England that is exported overseas and follows a pattern seen in the work of other heritage film scholars (such as Belén Vidal⁷), but despite recognising

³ *Dorothy Vernon of Haddon Hall* (1924, Marshall Neilan) was shot on location at Haddon Hall in the early 1920s.

⁴ Though naturally they have been influenced by the 21st century, especially as visitor attractions

⁵ Films such as *Chariots of Fire* (1981, Hugh Hudson), *A Room with a View* (1985, James Ivory), *Howard's End* (1992, James Ivory), *Sense and Sensibility* (1995, Ang Lee), *Pride and Prejudice* (2005, Joe Wright), *The Duchess* (2008, Saul Dibb), *The King's Speech* (2010, Tom Hooper).

⁶ Andrew Higson, *English heritage, English cinema : costume drama since 1980* (Oxford University Press, 2003), 1.

⁷ Belén Vidal, *Heritage film: Nation, genre, and representation* (Columbia University Press, 2012).

heritage sites' importance as a stylistic choice in heritage film and TV (which will be referred to as heritage media in this work), the issues surrounding their use in screen media have not been examined.

When a heritage site is used for filming it is used differently than in any previous period as its original purpose, whether as a fortification or as a family home, was not to be a stage set for nostalgic narratives about England's past. Although these houses were designed to be seen and provoke awe, they were never designed to be filmed. Additionally, the use of heritage sites as filming locations is a key growth area within the screen industries and requires academic investigation as it is altering how the heritage sector operates.

As well as considering the impact on the heritage sector, this thesis examines the role of authenticity at heritage sites and in heritage films and TV, which for simplicity, this work will refer to as heritage media. Authenticity is used through the heritage industry to imply something which is truly historically, unaltered and untarnished. This authenticity then transfers to media shot at these sites, and as will be explored, understanding where this authenticity comes from and how it is manipulated is essential.

Understanding the impact of filming on the heritage sector in England raises these clear sub questions about authenticity, heritage and about the filmmaking process. Regarding authenticity and heritage, the questions asked include understanding what makes a heritage site authentic, and how does this relate to the authenticity of the heritage film location. It considers whether film tourism detracts from the authenticity of heritage sites and similarly, has filming affected the narrative of authenticity at the sites.

Considering the process of using a heritage site for filming, questions considered range from asking if different organisations and privately owned houses have different processes and standards for filming productions and whether any conservation issues arise (or have arisen) from filming? In the broader scheme of the heritage sector, questions such as understanding the financial impact of filming and the effect filming has had on merchandising and branding, as well as asking

why do heritage sites choose to exploit their connection to some films and not others? Also asking how has the Covid-19 pandemic affected the heritage sector's relationship with the screen industries and how has filming affected the visitor experience. Finally this work seeks to understand what the convergence of mass media and high culture spaces mean in the long term for the heritage sector.

Bringing all these questions together means that this work considers both the financial and cultural impacts of filming and how it relates to ideas of history, media, heritage, nostalgia and how it all links to authenticity. Although heritage sites have changed from contemporary homes of the elite to visitor attractions that are tangible examples of England's past, the meanings and associations are now changing more rapidly. A heritage site will be perceived differently as it changes from a site of historical importance to a site of filmic importance, therefore, it is imperative to understand how and why this is happening, and whether it is a way forward for the heritage industry.

The data collected and analysed in this thesis was gathered across four years, from 2017 to 2021, during which the global Covid-19 pandemic also took place. This has had an impact on the kinds of data that were available (which will be discussed in the methodology chapter) and has shifted the focus of this research.

The main set of heritage media considered for this work were released between 1980 and 2022. For television shows, this work will consider *Brideshead Revisited* (1981, Granada), *Bridgerton* (2020-, Netflix), *Dead Man's Folly* (2013, ITV), *Death Comes to Pemberley* (2013, BBC), *Downton Abbey* (2010-2015, ITV), *Poldark* (2015-2019, BBC), *Pride and Prejudice* (1995, BBC), *Sanditon* (2019-, ITV), *The Crown* (2016-, Netflix), *The Great* (2019-, Hulu), *The Tudors* (2007-2010, BBC), *Victoria* (2016-2019, ITV) and *Wolf Hall* (2015, BBC).

For films this thesis will consider *Belle* (2013, Amma Asante), *Brideshead Revisited* (2008, Julian Jarrold), *Downton Abbey* (2019, Michael Engler), *Downton Abbey: A New Era* (2022, Simon Curtis), *Emma*. (2020, Autumn de Wilde), *Mr Turner* (2014, Mike Leigh) *Pride & Prejudice* (2005, Joe Wright), *The Duchess* (2008, Saul Dibb), *The Favourite* (2018, Yorgos Lanthimos) and *The Wolfman* (2010, Joe Johnston).

Some heritage sites have connected themselves with heritage media and this is explored in detail by looking at sites such as Highclere Castle and their relationship with *Downton Abbey*, Chatsworth House and their relationship with *Pride & Prejudice*, and Castle Howard and their relationship with *Brideshead Revisited*.

Conducting the Research Methodology

To investigate the research question, a multidisciplinary, qualitative research methodology will be used. This research looks at both the screen and heritage industries; therefore, a strict film studies approach would be impractical. An approach that encompasses film analysis, tourism studies and cultural studies enables a full investigation of the financial and cultural impact filming has had on the heritage industry. This approach will draw upon interviews with the owners and managers of the heritage sites, as well as on policy documents, social media and review websites. This will provide a well-rounded overview of the choices being made by heritage professionals regarding accepting and acknowledging film tourism, and their reception by visitors. This methodology will also allow investigation of how the perceived meaning and role of heritage sites changed after they have been used as filming locations. This process will be explained in the methodology chapter.

This research will use twenty interviews with heritage site owners and managers from across the National Trust, English Heritage and private houses that are connected to the Historic Houses Association as well as incorporating material from the annual reports of the National Trust and English Heritage. The interviews will be complemented by data from fifteen site visits and 65 reviews from the TripAdvisor review website, as well as social media from the organisations and sites themselves. This mixture of data provides a clear picture of how the heritage sector is responding to film tourism and the changing priorities of visitors. If this work was not taken place during the pandemic, then further interviews or questionnaires with visitors would have provided a more thorough picture of how visitors' motivations and experiences play into the business models, but this is beyond this project's scope.

The sites visited for this thesis were Alnwick Castle, Baddesley Clinton, Burghley House, Castle Howard, Chatsworth House, Eltham Palace, Haddon Hall, Harewood House, Holkham Hall, Kedleston Hall, Kenwood House, Lacock Abbey and village, Lyme Park, Old Royal Naval College, and Somerset House. Additional heritage sites considered in this work, that weren't visited, include Basildon Park, Castle Ward, Chavenage, Clandon Park, Durham Cathedral, Dyrham Park, Highclere Castle, Hill Top, Greenway, Gloucester Cathedral, Lincoln Cathedral, Montacute House, Petworth House, Ranger's House, Royal Air Force Halton, Stourhead, Tredegar House, West Wycombe Place, Wilton House and Yew Tree Farm.

Together these sites are the key heritage sites considered throughout this thesis.

Thesis Structure

To establish the gap in the knowledge about filming at heritage sites, a literature review will follow this introduction and will focus on three key areas: film studies, heritage and postmodern theory, discussing the post-modern approach developed by Jean Baudrillard and how this will be an essential framework for understanding the role of the real and hyper-real.⁸ The literature review will be followed by the methodology, where the methodological approaches and tools will be defined and explored to demonstrate how the data will be gathered and analysed. Following the methodology, there will be four findings chapters. These will analyse the data gathered and investigate the processes and meaning analysis of filming at heritage sites, using the theoretical frameworks introduced in the methodology.

The Business of Heritage Film Locations

The first findings chapter of this work draws on four case studies across the National Trust, English Heritage and privately owned sites. This chapter examines the preproduction and production side of filming, explaining the financial benefits of filming for heritage sites and filmmakers; the process of how filming occurs on-site (including who is usually involved and conservation considerations), including how a site decides how much of the site to close. The chapter is one of the first to thoroughly examine the process of filming on a heritage location and what the

⁸ Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and simulation* (University of Michigan press, 1994).

implications are, it illustrates the industry process as well as considering the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic.

The Branding of the Heritage Film Locations

The second findings chapter draws on four case studies and examines how the branding of heritage sites has been shaped by the screen industries, understanding how the cultural diversity of mass media can be exploited for commercial gain as well as exploring the cultural distinction between the sites and mass media. This chapter discusses the aftermath of filming, and how sites engage with film tourism, including a detailed investigation of the cultural tastes hierarchy and how a site can be connected to a fictional person or a historic person. It demonstrates the boundaries that are enforced and the media that is celebrated or ignored.

The Authenticity of Heritage Film Locations

The third findings chapter investigates the role of authenticity at heritage filming locations, drawing on sixteen interviews and four authenticity frameworks from tourism studies. These include Ning Wang's theory of authenticity framework⁹ to analyse how the meaning of authenticity changes when a historic site becomes a visitor attraction, then a filming location and then a site for film tourism and Dean MacCannell's theory of staged authenticity at tourism sites.¹⁰ This chapter reveals the deeper answer to why heritage sites are used and celebrated as filming locations and what this means for their authenticity.

Hermeneutic Authenticity

The final findings chapter considers a new framework developed for this work, called hermeneutic authenticity, which is an authenticity framework that goes beyond the work of Baudrillard and MacCannell to examine how a diegesis is made authentic and believable by building on the authenticity of the filming locations. Hermeneutic authenticity is the filmmaker's interpretation of the authenticity of

⁹ Ning Wang, "Rethinking authenticity in tourism experience," *Annals of tourism research* 26, no. 2 (1999): 349-70.

¹⁰ Dean MacCannell, "Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings." *American Journal of Sociology* 79, no. 3 (1973): 589-603.

the heritage sites which leans heavily on ideas of repetition and audience expectation, rather than on ideas of historical accuracy.

The findings chapters are followed by a conclusion that will identify the key findings of this work and propose further study. The conclusion brings together the issues raised in the separate findings chapters and identifies the themes, patterns and commonalities. The thesis will end with the appendixes, which will include the ethics forms, consent forms from interviews and any additional information.

This thesis will answer the research question of what impact has filming had on the heritage industry in England using qualitative research and analysis. The findings will consider both the financial and cultural impact, as well understanding the important role of authenticity.

2. Literature Review

Introduction

This thesis draws on a wide range of scholarship from different academic fields to investigate the different kinds of impacts the screen industries are having on British heritage sites. This literature review is divided into three sections to focus on key areas: film studies, heritage (including film tourism, heritage tourism and Heritage, Screen and Literary tourism) and postmodern theory, which forms the principal conceptual approach.

The majority of screen media case studies considered here fall broadly within the heritage cinema or heritage television categories, so the first section of this literature review therefore defines and delineates this term within the field of film studies. This includes summarising the most prominent scholarly debates associated with heritage cinema and outlining the emergent research conducted on heritage cinema audiences. This is considered alongside an exploration of the relationship between nationalism and heritage cinema, and the increasing significance of multiculturalism and diversity to the category, which are pertinent discourses investigated throughout the thesis.

The heritage section considers the academic approaches to investigating buildings on screen, demonstrating the scholarly research which has already been carried out on filming locations and how it can change the meaning of a site. This section also defines the difference between a historical or heritage space, where history is tangible, and narrative space, which is a space seen on film; these distinctions are important to understand when looking at space on the screen. This section then considers heritage tourism in Britain. This includes a discussion of film tourism, the specific field of heritage-film tourism, and that is Heritage, Screen and Literary Tourism which only a few scholars have investigated to date, and to which this thesis will contribute.

The postmodern theory section establishes the broader theoretical underpinning of this thesis, drawing on Jean Baudrillard's concept of simulacra. As these films appropriate spaces which already have established stories and expectations,

postmodernism and the concept of the hyper-real are considered in relation to heritage sites and heritage cinema.

Film Studies

Heritage Cinema

As a genre or category, heritage cinema is a contested term and has also been referred to as costume drama, period drama or heritage film. While each of these terms has its merits, this thesis will be using the term heritage film or heritage media, to cover both film and TV productions. This framework is appropriate given the emphasis on the heritage sector and its cinematic appeal throughout the thesis. Andrew Higson's frequently referenced definition of the characteristics of heritage cinema in *English Heritage, English Cinema* (2003) states:

These films engage with subject-matter and discourses that have traditionally played a major part in determining how the heritage and identity of England and Englishness have been understood.¹¹

For other scholars, heritage media is not referred to as a genre, but as a 'critical construct'¹² or as Belén Vidal writes in her introduction to *Heritage Film: Nation, Genre and Representation*:

heritage film is a hybrid genre with porous borders, a genre that is becoming less consensual and more political through its staunch preference for emotional histories, and also more adventurous in its continuous incorporation of a popular historical iconography informed not only by literature or painting, but also by fashion, popular music and television.¹³

Work by Higson, Claire Monk and Amy Sargeant identifies two of the biggest debates in the study of heritage media: as a representation of England and a 'national past'¹⁴ and the element which this thesis is interested in – that 'British

¹¹ Higson, *English heritage, English cinema : costume drama since 1980*, 1. Higson is here referring to are *Chariots of Fire* (1981, Hugh Hudson) *A Room with a View* (1986, James Ivory), *The Madness of King George* (1995) *Sense and Sensibility* (1995, Ang Lee), *The Golden Bowl* (2000, James Ivory) and *Shakespeare in Love* (1998, John Madden).

¹² Claire Monk and Amy Sargeant, *British historical cinema : the history, heritage and costume film* (London: Routledge, 2002), 13.

¹³ Belén Vidal, *Heritage film: Nation, genre, and representation*, vol. 49 (Columbia University Press, 2012), 4.

¹⁴ Monk and Sargeant, *British historical cinema : the history, heritage and costume film*, 1.

period films have been burdened and constrained by the widespread and strongly held belief that the central duty of films set in the past is to document historical fact – or at least the material world of the period depicted – as faithfully as known sources permit.¹⁵ While it might seem obvious that the past cannot be accessed by the movie camera, and that any film which is set in the past is also in part a reflection of contemporary society, nevertheless many audiences fail to appreciate it as a construct. One significant aim of this thesis, then, is to uncover and investigate the influence of these historical reconstructions and examine their impact on filming locations such as stately homes.

Another issue in defining heritage media is its conflation with historical cinema. Higson argues that:

The historical film is often understood to comprise films that depict actual figures from history, in their historical context. The costume drama label, on the other hand, is sometimes reserved for films that present fictional characters in historical settings. If the historical film is perceived as tending to dwell on public events in the public sphere, the costume drama dwells on events in the private sphere. The boundaries soon become blurred, however¹⁶

Higson's focus on the locations highlights the importance of these spaces, and though both historical and heritage films¹⁷ may use a heritage film location, his reference to the public and private sphere is not as clearly defined as it could be. This distinction between the two fluctuates significantly from era to era¹⁸ and overlooks the complexities inherent in heritage cinema's lack of interest in accurately representing the past – it depicts the present in a curated historical space, where many visual elements are constructed to develop the film's narrative. Indeed, when comparing heritage and historical films, it has been argued that there

¹⁵ Monk and Sargeant, *British historical cinema : the history, heritage and costume film*, 2.

¹⁶ Higson, *English heritage, English cinema : costume drama since 1980*, 12.

¹⁷ Such as the films of Merchant Ivory, *The Duchess* (Saul Dibb, 2008) *Pride & Prejudice* (Joe Wright, 2005) to give a few examples.

¹⁸ For more detail on this see the work of architectural historian Mark Girouard, but to summarise, in the medieval great house the lord's family was part of the household and almost all the spaces were accessible to everyone. As the centuries progressed, the lord's family would be moved further and further away from the rest of the household through the design of the rooms, leading to drawing rooms (originally for 'withdrawing'). This culminates in the 18th century with the design of houses including an enfilade and only people of certain status being permitted further into the house.

are more similarities than differences between them. Sargeant, for example, suggests:

There is a parallel distinction between the history film, which reconstructs documented events, and the costume film, which adapts historical or classical novels, but allows lavish and spectacular displays to predominate over narrative content.¹⁹

The use of spectacle relates to the filming locations themselves – rarely are heritage film locations shown as anything other than pristine – there is no mould, dampness, cracks or peeling paint. Even wear and tear which would have been expected in the time when a film is set is missing – providing a sanitised and sparkling view of the past. Higson discusses this, noting that,

The image of the past in heritage films has become so naturalised that, paradoxically, it stands removed from history: the evocation of pastness is accomplished by a look, a style, the loving recreation of period details – not by any critical historical perspective. The self-conscious visual perfectionism of these films and their fetishisation of period details create a fascinating but self-enclosed world. They render history as spectacle, as separate from the viewer in the present, as something over and done with, complete, achieved.²⁰

In identifying a ‘self-enclosed world’ Higson overlooks the fan impulse to continue the experience of a heritage film by visiting the filming location and taking part in appropriate activities, as do other film scholars who are primarily interested in the texts. This impulse has evolved into an industry and it is increasingly inaccurate to claim that a heritage film and its reconstructed world ends when the credits roll. For many fans and viewers, this is a gateway to an experience they now want to explore, and perhaps some will want to uncover the ‘truth’ of the films and find out ‘what the film got wrong.’ This scenario is directly related to authenticity, which is a debate that features throughout this work as it seeks to understand the underlying

¹⁹ Amy Sargeant, "Making and selling heritage culture: style and authenticity in historical fictions on film and television," in *British Cinema, Past and Present* (Routledge, 2013), 301.

²⁰ Andrew Douglas Higson, "Re-presenting the national past: nostalgia and pastiche in the heritage film," in *Fires Were Started: British Cinema and Thatcherism*, ed. Lester Friedman (University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 96.

meaning of using, and the use of, heritage film locations. The idea of truth and film is complicated when a film includes real spaces such as a historic stately home, therefore, understanding what is meant by something being true and/or authentic must be understood as we proceed.

Stately homes and filming locations are an important feature of heritage cinema, indeed, many define heritage cinema by the key iconography, usually listing it near the beginning of their work. Cairns Craig, writing in *Sight and Sound* in 1991, was one of the first to explore the defining characteristics of heritage cinema, saying that these were so expected that 'this genre is in danger of turning into a parody of itself [...] It may be that the genre was viable only in the decade we have just left'²¹ this consideration of the 1980s and Thatcherism is explored more below. When Craig is describing the key attributes of a heritage film, he lists 'the country houses, the panelled interiors, the clothes [...] there are all those shots of crystal decanters'²²; the country house is mentioned as the first defining feature.

As we move beyond the visual identifiers to the thematic and cultural elements characterising this group of films, concepts of story, character and theme emerge. Monk's work summarising heritage film and its critics mentions the frequent, '(though far from universal)' quality of being associated with adaptations of classic novels which 'combine 'classic' or 'quality' cultural credentials with popularity and a wide readership or audience'²³ This focus on retelling classic stories is explored further below, and it intersects with the idea that these films are somehow demonstrating a national heritage. There is also a focus on production value, with Higson referring to them as 'luxurious'.²⁴ It is not difficult for heritage films to look rich and spectacular when they use heritage film locations, and this reliance and appropriation of a pre-existing aesthetic and iconography is discussed throughout this thesis.

As with many groupings of films, they tend to take the antithesis to the extreme – with action films there's danger around every corner, with romantic films no one

²¹ Cairns Craig, "Rooms Without a View," *Sight and Sound* 1, no. 2 (1991): 10.

²² Craig, "Rooms Without a View," 10.

²³ Monk Claire, "The British 'heritage film' and its critics," *Critical survey (Oxford, England)* 7, no. 2 (1995): 116.

²⁴ Higson, *English heritage, English cinema : costume drama since 1980*, 1.

can easily communicate through misunderstandings, and with heritage films, there is a curious blend of history, nostalgia, self-referential moments and reverence for a time gone by, all of which build into an exaggerated representation of the past coloured by a contemporary lens. Higson's statement in his updated 1993 essay suggests that heritage films 'work as pastiches, each period of the national past reduced through a process of reiteration to an effortlessly reproducible, and attractive consumable, connotative style'.²⁵ As evidenced by scholarly work on the cultural effect of *Downton Abbey* (2010-2015, ITV), it is also a commercial one as it is now almost impossible for a heritage film (or television series) to exist alone – there is often at least an accompanying book, behind the scenes photos and videos and due to social media, an online fanbase which stretches far beyond the original reach of the media. Adaptations of classic books are re-released with updated covers showing the film's stars and the imagery of the film pervades the lexicon of the text – after the 1995 *Pride and Prejudice* (BBC) inclusion of Mr Darcy meeting Elizabeth in a wet shirt, it is rare for a film or television show connected with *Pride and Prejudice*²⁶ or Austen not to feature a similar scene despite this not being present in the original novel.

National Identity and Representation in Heritage Cinema

Since early research on heritage cinema in the 1980s there has been an acknowledged connection between English heritage cinema and national identity. However, recent political developments such as Scotland's referendum on independence, Brexit and the Covid-19 pandemic have resulted in the four nations of Britain becoming increasingly distinct in their national identities rather than remaining as a unified whole.²⁷ Where once the arguments about British national identity in heritage cinema connected it to Thatcherism and Thatcher's image of what Britain should be, modern heritage cinema is more complex. Writing in *British National Cinema*, Sarah Street writes that 'an examination of genres associated with British films, such as Ealing comedies, Hammer horror, 'heritage' films and

²⁵ Higson, "'Re presenting the national past: nostalgia and pastiche in the heritage film'," 95.

²⁶ J. Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* (Penguin Books, Limited, 2012).

²⁷ It can be argued that there has never been a truly 'British' image as local identities often take precedence over national ones, but this argument is beyond the scope of this thesis.

hybrid forms, confirms the eclectic nature of British cinema.’²⁸ Belén Vidal summarises scholarly work on heritage films of the 1980s, stating that when a BBC documentary explored this decade of cinema it ‘combined documentary footage of a 1980s Britain ravaged by conflict (riot police, unemployment, the miners’ strike, the Falklands War) with the idyllic countryside and tea-room scenes drawn from some of the most successful British costume dramas of that era.’²⁹ Vidal argues that scholars suggested it was one image for Britain (the riots) and another image for the rest of the world (the idyll) and this thesis will build on these observations in relation to more recent case studies.

Vidal also considers the importance of the filming locations in relation to Higson’s argument. Higson writes that ‘the past is displayed as visually spectacular pastiche, inviting a nostalgic gaze that resists the ironies and social critiques so often suggested narratively by these films.’³⁰ Vidal elaborates that:

Architectural sites, interior designs, furnishings and, in general, the mise-en-scène of objects, settings and period artefacts become not just a conduit for narrative and characterisation but carry an ideological effect: they help construct a sense of Englishness according to a certain bourgeois ideal of imperial tradition, stability and propriety that belies the subtler ironies of the novels faithfully adapted. The heritage film would thus encourage a nostalgic look back to the certainties and the visual splendour of the national past.³¹

Recent developments in British culture, however, are becoming increasingly visible in heritage film and television shows. As definitions of Britishness become more disparate, and less associated with Englishness, heritage television has started to reflect a growing diversification in national and regional identities. Where once *Downton Abbey* reigned and showed the class divides in a ‘Yorkshire’ stately home filmed at Highclere Castle (Hampshire) and filled with RP accents, more recent television shows such as *Poldark* (set and filmed in Cornwall) display strong Cornish

²⁸ Sarah Street, *British National Cinema* (London, 1997).

²⁹ Vidal, *Heritage film: Nation, genre, and representation*, 7. The films she is referring to are *Dangerous Liaisons* (1988, Stephen Frears) *A Room with a View* (1986, James Ivory) and *Maurice* (1987, James Ivory).

³⁰ L. D. Friedman, *Fires Were Started: British Cinema and Thatcherism* (Wallflower, 2006), 91.

³¹ Vidal, *Heritage film: Nation, genre, and representation*, 9.

accents, *Outlander* (2014 -, Starz) focusses on its Scottish setting with appropriate accents and the BBC's *Peaky Blinders* (2013 -) which follows a Birmingham-based crime family after WWI, includes Brummie accents for the majority of characters.

Recent heritage cinema has varied its focus in terms of story, setting and character, and yet continues the tradition of 'English/British' stories being directed by non-British directors, such as James Ivory (American) and Ismail Merchant (Indian) and even back to Alexander Korda who was Hungarian. *The Favourite*, about Queen Anne (1665 – 1714) was directed by Yorgos Lanthimos, a Greek. *Far from the Madding Crowd* (2015) was directed by Dane Thomas Vinterberg. *The King's Speech* was directed by Tom Hooper, who holds British and Australian citizenship, *Love and Friendship* (2016), an adaptation of Jane Austen's *Lady Susan* (1871) was directed by American Whit Stillman and similarly *Emma*. (2020) was directed by the American Autumn de Wilde. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss why heritage cinema is so connected to the idea of Britishness when most of the directors are international in origin, but it remains an important point.

There is also greater diversity apparent in the stories being told, moving away from narrative dominated by royal families and completely white casts, such as *Belle* (2013, Amma Asante) a biopic about the mixed-race aristocrat Dido Elizabeth Belle (1761 – 1804), *Vita and Virginia* (2018, Chanya Button) about the love affair between Vita Sackville-West and Virginia Woolf and *Peterloo* (2018, Mike Leigh) about the Peterloo Massacre of 1819. Other films such as *The Personal History of David Copperfield* (2019, Armando Iannucci) featured Dev Patel, a British actor of Indian descent in the eponymous role which has traditionally been cast as white, and the role of the white Elizabethan Bess of Hardwick (1527 – 1608) was played by the British-Asian Gemma Chan in *Mary Queen of Scots* (2018, Josie Rourke). Both films demonstrate the relaxation of the all-white casting prevalent in heritage cinema since its infancy, however, it is yet to be fully embraced. This democratisation of heritage media can only be a good thing – more stories on the screen mean more representation and more reflection of the cultural diversity of Britain. The regency-era series *Bridgerton* (2020, Chris Van Dusan) commissioned by the streaming giant Netflix brings all these elements together. The eight-part first

series features a multicultural cast that more accurately reflects the modern-day diversity in Britain and employs heritage film/television tropes which viewers have come to expect, though exaggerated. The costumes are extremely bright and colourful – recalling Sofia Coppola’s *Marie Antoinette* (2006) and its banning of the colour brown from the aesthetic. *Bridgerton* also uses familiar filming locations such as Bath and Castle Howard, as well as some of the London palaces such as Syon House.

Defining heritage cinema is difficult – some scholars, such as Sarah Street define it as a genre, while others claim otherwise. There are signifiers which could establish this group of films as a genre, but inevitably there are a variety of hybrids present – it is rare for a heritage film to be ‘pure’ heritage. Often it is successfully merged with comedy (*Emma*, *The Favourite*) or with magical realism (*Anna Karenina* (2012, Joe Wright) *The Personal History of David Copperfield*) or detective stories (*Enola Holmes*) and often biopics (*The Duchess*, *Mary Queen of Scots*, *Lady Jane* (1986, Trevor Nunn) *Elizabeth* (1998, Shekhar Kapur), *Mrs Brown* (1997, John Madden) *Henry V* (1989, Kenneth Branagh), *The Young Victoria* (2009, Jean-Marc Vallee), *Marie Antoinette* (2006, Sofia Coppola)), which make up most of this grouping. As is often the case, opinion differs – some would consider only films set pre- 20th century to be heritage, others take the boundary up to the 1960s. The recognition of films such as *The Favourite* and the milestone of Netflix producing a regency-era themed series means that heritage audiences are expanding and, therefore, more people will be seeing the sites on film and will be enticed to visit, and it is crucial to understand what they will see when they arrive. If heritage cinema is one of the key images Britain sends abroad then it is important to understand what it is telling the rest of the world. Diversity and inclusion are gaining traction as a new era of heritage film and television incorporates new stories and looks outside the white experience – though the majority of stories still detail the lives of the aristocracy.

When national identities are articulated through film and television dramas, the media simultaneously becomes a product which feeds back on itself as an influence. This thesis will therefore explore how heritage cinema and the use of filming locations feed back into the heritage industry and can affect the way visitors

interpret the sites and perceive the past. It is important to consider the role of national identity in heritage cinema as it is a highly exportable image of Britain – and the criticisms of the 1980s, that it showed an idyll when the opposite was more accurate may still ring true when heritage cinema only tells one type of story.

Audiences of Heritage Cinema

Although heritage cinema arguably holds a specific appeal for domestic audiences, it also commands a significant interest with global audiences, demonstrated by the recent best picture Oscar winners *The Favourite* (2018, Yorgos Lanthimos) and *The King's Speech* (2010, Tom Hooper). Likewise, there is a similar appetite for heritage television – both *Downton Abbey* and *Poldark* (2015-2019, BBC) have become huge hits in the USA.³² Despite their popularity, relatively little has been written about the heritage cinema audience and several books and articles all draw on Claire Monk's work on heritage film audiences, which utilised market research. Monk's sample is drawn from the readers of London's *Time Out* magazine, which she describes as 'predominantly young sexually liberal and left leaning', and from National Trust members who belonged to local groups - these members are described as 'older' and demonstrate a higher investment in the National Trust by being part of these local associations.³³

Monk develops Higson's description of the heritage film audience as a monolithic group 'primarily middle class and significantly older than the mainstream film audience and they [heritage films] appeal to a film culture closely allied to English literary culture and the canons of good taste.'³⁴ This is borne out by the broad conclusions Monk draws; there aren't significant differences in their attitudes to heritage cinema; readers of *Time Out* are just as likely as National Trust members to

³² Hannah Greig, "The New Downton Abbey? Poldark and the Presentation and Perception of an Eighteenth-century Past," *Journal of British Cinema and Television* 16, no. 1 (2019): 94-113. And James Chapman, "Downton Abbey: reinventing the British costume drama," in *British Television Drama* (Springer, 2014), 131-42. Details about Downton's popularity in the USA can be found in *'Downton Abbey' By the Numbers: Farewell to A Multimillion-Dollar Dynasty* (2016), Forbes Available at: <https://www.forbes.com/sites/hayleycuccinello/2016/03/06/downton-abbey-by-the-numbers-farewell-to-a-multimillion-dollar-dynasty/> Accessed date 10th May 2023. Details about Poldark's popularity in the USA can be found in Anita Singh's article 'Hot Damn, Poldark! Aidan Turner fever reaches the US' (25th June, 2015) The Telegraph available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/celebritynews/11699275/Hot-damn-Poldark-Aidan-Turner-fever-reaches-the-US.html> accessed date 10th May 2023/

³³ Claire Monk, *Heritage film audiences: Period films and contemporary audiences in the UK* (Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 4-5. Both of which could be described as coming from a similar socio-economic group. There are also questions to be raised about the length of Monk's questionnaire, which apparently took about two hours to complete.

³⁴ Higson, "Re presenting the national past: nostalgia and pastiche in the heritage film'," 109.

go to see this type of film. One interesting result is that National Trust members have narrower film tastes, and are therefore more likely to choose heritage films, whereas the *Time Out* respondents' film tastes are wider.³⁵ This reflects the perception that the National Trust recruits more narrowly, from a limited age and socio-economic group, and it is evidenced that the two groups have different motives for enjoying heritage cinema. The National Trust respondents focused on period 'authenticity', the 'quality' of the films and 'respect' for the literary source.³⁶ The *Time Out* respondents brought up similar but different concepts which Monk summarises as "quality', strong performances, visual pleasure, literate, witty dialogue, and complexity of characterisation'³⁷

However, Monk's *Time Out* group provided a more varied idea of what constituted 'quality', and barely mentioned authenticity or respecting the literary source.³⁸ Monk concludes that the culture of the *Time Out* audience 'was further distinguished from that of the NTs [National Trust group] by a strong prioritisation of narrative engagement and a valuing of complexity – and (in some cases) political or social engagement, and contemporary or personal relevance – in the period films TOs [the *Time Out* group] enjoyed.'³⁹ As Monk discusses the results further, it becomes clear that the National Trust group have a sense of connection with, and sense of ownership of, the historical past being represented by the films, and needs to demonstrate this by seeking out any anachronisms or perceived errors.⁴⁰ This is not encountered in the younger readership of *Time Out*.

While Monk reaches some interesting conclusions, her results are limited by the small sample size of her study, (92 respondents) and its limited demographic. It is by no means an exhaustive study and overlooks key aspects of fan culture in relation to these films. Although the research is valuable, it has not been updated since its publication in 2011 and there is a lack of contemporary work on heritage audiences. Shelley Galpin's recent thesis provides one exception; this research

³⁵ Monk, *Heritage film audiences: Period films and contemporary audiences in the UK*, 168-9.

³⁶ Monk, *Heritage film audiences: Period films and contemporary audiences in the UK*, 170.

³⁷ *Ibid*, 171

³⁸ *Ibid*

³⁹ *Ibid*

⁴⁰ Monk, *Heritage film audiences: Period films and contemporary audiences in the UK*, 129.

explored teenage responses to British period dramas and found that there was significantly greater interest from the teenage sector than previously assumed.⁴¹ This thesis, therefore, builds on existing research by investigating whether there is a greater drive to attract the younger heritage film audience to stately homes than in previous years, by capitalising on film and television fandoms.

Heritage

Buildings on Screen

The construction of space both on and off screen is a concept that will be explored throughout this thesis. The distinction between narrative space and historic space is important because of the lasting effect the former has on the latter. Narrative space, that is, the space seen on film, can affect audience expectations which then feed into the visitor experience, and as discussed this can feed into ideas of heritage and history which are developed from visiting these stately homes. It is also essential to understand that these spaces were never designed to be filmed or photographed, they were designed to be experienced in person. This is explored in greater depth in the heritage tourism section of the literature review, where this thesis argues that these spaces already had a purpose, a function and even a narrative before they were filming locations.

There are at least two types of space to be considered with historical filming locations – the first is historical space, which has not been widely used as a term outside of the work of Andrew Higson⁴² but applies here. Historical space is, put simply, a space where history took place and where there is clear, visible evidence of that history. Maoz Azaryahu and Kenneth Foote consider historical space as a narrative medium; 'historical sites provide a tangible link to the past that they evoke'.⁴³ It is about the meaning and visual signifiers of the past. It could be argued that all sites have history, but the definition of historical space is that it attempts to

⁴¹ Shelley Anne Galpin, "The people no-one imagines anything of: teenage responses to British period drama," (2019). Unpublished PhD thesis, University of York.

⁴² Andrew Higson, "Nostalgia is not what it used to be: heritage films, nostalgia websites and contemporary consumers," *Consumption, markets and culture* 17, no. 2 (2013): 120-42.

⁴³ Maoz Azaryahu and Kenneth E. Foote, "Historical space as narrative medium: on the configuration of spatial narratives of time at historical sites," *GeoJournal* 73, no. 3 (2008): 1.

be in the past – it is ‘unchanged’ and ‘as it was’. When discussing the narratives and development around town squares

Visitors should be able to experience and have an ‘enriched understanding’ of the significance of a historic place, as it is a ‘carrier of historical values from the past. This requires our understanding of how places acquire meaning from people, and how people ascribe meaning to places.’⁴⁴

In contrast to the many meanings that people can apply to a site, narrative space refers to just one narrative – that of the film shot at the site. Narrative space or cinematic space is the space when shown on film and crucially, that version only exists on film. It does not exist outside of the diegesis – though it can affect and influence the real world. Whereas a historical space may have many associations – here is the great hall where there were Tudor feasts, Victorian banquets and 1920s cocktail parties, a narrative space is ‘the space represented in the articulation of the images.’⁴⁵ It is directly connected to the film’s ‘version’ of the space, it relates to the images shot and shown of the space and the order in which they are viewed.

Stephen Heath, in his seminal essay *Narrative Space*, writes that,

The spectator will be bound to the film as spectacle as the world of the film is itself revealed as spectacle on the basis of a narrative organisation of look and point of view that moves space into place through image-flow; the character, figure of the look, is a kind of perspective within the perspective system, regulating the world, orientating space, providing directions⁴⁶

Heath’s thesis is that the diegesis is revealed through spectacle – or spectacular imagery – shot through the camera and displayed on the screen. It is the progression of shots which conveys the narrative and informs the audience of the space. He continues by writing that it is the ‘character’ or protagonist who guides the viewer through the scene by informing them what is occurring, how one should

⁴⁴ Khalilah Zakariya, Nor Zalina Harun, and Mazlina Mansor, "Place meaning of the historic square as tourism attraction and community leisure space," *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences* 202 (2015): 479.

⁴⁵ Stephen Heath, "Narrative space," *Screen* 17, no. 3 (1976): 88.

⁴⁶ Heath, "Narrative space," 91.

react and most importantly, that where it is occurring is the logical and natural space for this event to happen in.

Graham Cairns, who explores architecture on film in his book *The Architecture of the Screen: Essays in Cinematographic Space*, refers to narrative space as 'cinematographic space' and defines it as 'as the on-screen perception of space constructed by the director and cinematographer. It demonstrates how the medium of film can alter our perception of the architecture we see, and how architecture, in its turn, can influence the way the camera “looks” at space.’⁴⁷ He also writes about Dietrich Neumann, and his discussion of stage and film sets having symbolic content:

Although Neumann centres on the stylistic and physical characteristics of these stage sets, he does hint at the fact that the way they are filmed is key to how they function. He thus references the territory that this work intends to operate in by identifying that, beyond the use of cinema as a representative medium, such films employ the cinematic medium to “manipulate our reading of the architecture they present”⁴⁸

Something which is assumed by these authors and not explored is how convincing the narrative spaces are. It is essential for the filmmakers to create a believable diegesis – for the audience to quickly understand the film world and its rules. Filmmakers use all the techniques available to them to create a diegesis which not only meets the narrative requirements of the plot, era and characters it also meets audience expectations so that the story can progress unquestioned. Considering the diegesis is often constructed out of historical sites which were never designed to be filmed and sets which are built to complement them there should be more work considering these issues.

The use of singular filmmaking locations does not merit much discussion, as the process for filming in a heritage film location is similar to filming in any other location. The space is dressed, lit and rehearsed, and the actors perform their

⁴⁷ Graham Cairns, *The architecture of the screen: essays in cinematographic space* (Intellect Books, 2013), 4.

⁴⁸ Cairns, *The architecture of the screen: essays in cinematographic space*, 155.

scenes. There is often discussion before-hand about how the spaces will be dressed and the conservation issues, and this is discussed further in the business chapter and in the authenticity chapter. The focus for the director is creating an effective and believable diegesis, therefore, questions of historical accuracy, so keenly mentioned by the reviewers and those on twitter, are briefly examined then ignored in favour of the narrative requirements of the script. One of the most filmed heritage spaces is Wilton House's Double Cube Room, which features a large painting of a group of aristocrats on the far wall. This painting, because it is too large to move, can be seen in the background of every film scene shot in the room, irrelevant of the era the production was set in. This sort of compromise for the sake of conservation demonstrates how using a heritage film location differs from that of a normal film location, but otherwise the situation is the same.

A few of the techniques which filmmakers use are standard in cinema, such as the use of continuity to ensure that characters remain in the same costume when moving from one location to the next and the use of continuous diegetic sound such as footsteps. There is also graphic matching, which Bordwell and Thompson describe as filmmakers using visually similar shots, which can include shapes, colours and overall composition⁴⁹ however, this is taken further in heritage cinema to include architectural styles. Filmmakers and location scouts have a wide variety of stately homes of similar architectural styles throughout England and as these features similar architectural design and colour schemes they can be cut together. This allows filmmakers to choose the rooms/spaces of each building which they require and edit them together to form a building which suits their narrative and aesthetic needs. I have termed these constructions jigsaw buildings as they only exist fully in the diegesis; they cannot be accessed in their entirety and in the way the film shows them in real life.

The connecting of separate spaces to form a continuous whole is known as creative geography or artificial landscape and was described by Lev Kuleshov, one of the key

⁴⁹ David Bordwell and Kristin Thompson, *Film art : an introduction*, 8th ed. (McGraw-Hill, 2008), 226.

Soviet Film School theorists of the 1920s. As Ron Levaco explains, Kuleshov discovered

that it was possible to create, solely through montage, a cinematic terrain that existed nowhere in reality. As is often the case, the discovery came about quite accidentally when, missing some shots of his actors looking at electrical cables strung on poles, Kuleshov conjectured that the same effect could be achieved by splicing shots of actors looking off-camera with separately taken shots of the row of poles. As the poles and the actors were in different parts of Moscow, Kuleshov decided to term the effect the “artificial landscape” (also known as “creative geography”)⁵⁰

The use of artificial landscape tries to convince the audience that these separate spaces are within the same building and it is understood that the spaces are concurrent. This is aided using logical progression through the apparent building. A grand stately home must contain grand stately rooms – a large door must lead to a large room such as a hall and a grand staircase must lead to a grand landing.

Jigsaw buildings are subtly different in that they are the ultimate consideration of narrative space – a succession of images which create meaning to the audience which cannot be accessed any other way than by watching the film. It is important to consider what these spaces are as they can impact the visitor expectations when they visit a site – some visitors are disappointed when visiting Chatsworth-as-Pemberley (from *Pride & Prejudice* (2005, Joe Wright) to discover that they can’t access Georgiana Darcy’s music room, which was shot at Wilton House. Another example of artificial landscape being built up over several series is shown in *The Crown* (Netflix, 2016-). As many of the scenes are set in Buckingham Palace the production had to construct the rich interiors out of a variety of stately homes. Wilton’s Double Cube Room is seen in season four, along with Burghley’s ‘heaven’ room with its distinctive wall paintings of Greek gods and excess. Wrotham Park is used, along with Lancaster House and Goldsmith’s Hall. The exterior blends Old Royal Naval College and computer-generated imagery. *The Crown’s* characters even

⁵⁰ Lev Kuleshov and Ronald Levaco, *Kuleshov on Film: writings by Lev kuleshov: selected translated and edoted, with an introduction by Ronald Levaco* (University of California Press, 1974), 46.

reference Wilton House as a filming location for another film they discuss, which is likely an in-joke by the production team.

Despite the lack of previous work considering how filmmakers create a believable and 'authentic' diegesis for their characters, it is clear that many elements need to be combined; meeting audience expectations with regards to the historical era and filmic conventions is one, and utilising continuity editing is another, allowing the settings of the film to pass by the characters smoothly without jarring cuts. The continuity is extended using graphic and architectural matching, allowing a continuous building to be constructed within the film. Heritage films sanitise the past and this extends to the use of filming locations. As well as improving the internal layout of stately homes by adding rooms, the spaces are well-lit (often far lighter than they would have been during the era when the film is set) and clean. Often 'authentic' clutter is removed for a sparser background and 'naturalistic' filming techniques are employed with which modern audiences are familiar. This results in a convincing diegesis that the audience can quickly absorb and then focus on the narrative. Work such as Kuleshov's creative geography and Heath's narrative spaces enables an understanding of what sort of space is being discussed and how it has been constructed, how spaces that were never designed to be filmed can be repopulated with 'historical' figures and 'authentic' stories and crucially, that the audience will believe it.

Heritage Tourism

Heritage tourism is a well-established tradition in Britain, though the activity of visiting a stately home was not originally intended to evoke the past – it was to do with displaying economic and cultural capital. The use of architecture and design to demonstrate wealth, prosperity and influence has been a practice for centuries – from the Tudor era when the monarch would go on a summer 'progress' and would stay at assorted stately homes to try and avoid the heat and illness in London. The heritage industry continues to grow in popularity and heritage properties are often some of the most profitable tourist attractions for international and domestic

visitors.⁵¹ The visitor figures for 2019, before the Covid-19 pandemic, demonstrate the popularity of heritage tourist sites, Stonehenge, Westminster Abbey, the Roman Baths and Old Royal Naval College all figure in the top ten of paid English visitor attractions,⁵² and the visitor trend demonstrates a 5% increase in visitors to 'Historic Houses/Castles' and an increase of 3% for 'Other historic properties'.⁵³

This popularity highlights the importance of understanding what narratives are at play in these spaces – as historical houses move from being the history of an individual to the history of the nation different emphasis and understanding will be addressed. It must also be considered that though these houses may be historical spaces, they have always been designed as more than just a family dwelling – they have stood for various issues across the years and tourists from all centuries receive a curated view of the 'history' on show.

In particular, the thesis will focus on the foregrounding of issues surrounding conservation in the twenty-first century, as the stately home evolves in the public consciousness. Since 2000 there has been a steady rise in visitors to historic properties and on average, visitor numbers have increased by 62% since 1989.⁵⁴ More visitors mean more variety in visitors' expectations and houses have had to respond to this issue, modifying the visitor experience to include, for example, spaces to do with the servants and emphasis is placed on conservation and heritage. Additionally, difficult aspects of a stately home's history have been brought to the fore, such as the National Trust's 2020 'Interim Report on the Connections between Colonialism and Properties now in the Care of the National Trust, Including Links with historic Slavery' in the 93 historic places under their care.⁵⁵ The report details how historical sources of wealth were linked to the global slave trade whilst celebrating spaces with links to the abolition of slavery. The

⁵¹ The industry took a downturn in 2020 with the Coronavirus pandemic, forcing many attractions to close. The popularity mentioned here refers to pre-2020 reports and more recent reports in 2022 demonstrate a slow return to pre-2020 levels.

⁵² "Annual Survey of Visits to Visitor Attractions: Latest results," Visit Britain, 2020, accessed 15th December 2020, 2020, <https://www.visitbritain.org/annual-survey-visits-visitor-attractions-latest-results>.

⁵³ Visit England, *Visitor Attraction Trends in England 2019 Full Report: October 2020*, Visit England (2019), https://www.visitbritain.org/sites/default/files/vb-corporate/Documents-Library/documents/England-documents/vva_2019_trends_in_england_final.pdf.

⁵⁴ England, *Visitor Attraction Trends in England 2019 Full Report: October 2020*, 22.

⁵⁵ Sally-Anne. Huxtable et al., *Interim Report on the Connections between Colonialism and Properties now in the Care of the National Trust, Including Links with Historic Slavery*, National Trust (Heelis: National Trust, 2020).

reaction to the report was mixed with many praising the National Trust for acknowledging the complicated histories of their sites whilst others seemed uncomfortable with their accepted narrative being challenged. The report ends with the National Trust saying that they are setting up an independent external advisory group to 'ensure that the ways in which we research and communicate the histories and stories we share is fair, relevant, accurate and approached in a sensitive and thoughtful way.'⁵⁶

As the visitor experience becomes more inclusive, it remains a façade of the past – and yet it is one of the few ways to 'access' history. The use of the spaces as filming locations for 'historical stories' raises issues of historical accuracy, 'authenticity' and appropriateness, with historical spaces being repopulated by approximations of the past and continuing a tradition of these spaces being curated and exploited to show a particular narrative that aids profit. Visitors engaging in 'film tourism' impact on the design of the visitor experience, and cinematic elements from heritage media are often incorporated back into the stately home's narrative.

Film Tourism

Scholarship in the field of film tourism has emerged within several disciplines, notably Cultural Studies, Tourism Studies, Anthropology, History and Media Studies. The growth in academic studies on film tourism reflects how this phenomenon has evolved, as location sites increasingly take an active interest in publicising their connection to screen media. This enables the locations to remain relevant and continue to make a profit beyond the original filming fee. 'Movies provide the objects and subjects for the gaze of many people, and for some people, movies induce them to travel to the locations where they were filmed.'⁵⁷ The pilgrimage to filming locations is referred to by many names, such as movie-induced tourism, and one of the earliest instances is in the 1998 publication by Roger Riley, Dwayne Baker and Carlton S. Van Doren, where the authors examined the increase in

⁵⁶ Huxtable et al., *Interim Report on the Connections between Colonialism and Properties now in the Care of the National Trust, Including Links with Historic Slavery*, 110.

⁵⁷ Dwayne Baker and Carlton S. Van Doren Roger Riley, "Movie induced tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research* 25, no. 4 (1998): 919.

tourists to sites in the USA where popular film scenes had been filmed.⁵⁸ Other names for this phenomenon included film-induced tourism,⁵⁹ and film-motivated tourism⁶⁰ however, for simplicity this thesis refers to it as film tourism.

Publications on this subject range from the 1960s to 2019, and more recent work builds from earlier examples which are discussed in detail in Angelina Karpovich's article 'Theoretical Approaches to Film-Motivated Tourism' (2011). Riley, Baker and Doren's work paved the way for Tooke and Baker to focus more thoroughly on film tourism and its effect on visitor numbers in the case of the Devil's Tower National Monument following the release of *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (1977, Steven Spielberg).⁶¹ Film tourism studies began with a clear focus on visitor numbers and increased profits, highlighting the economic growth and opportunities for sites following a film's release, which quickly legitimised the study of this field. Sue Beeton, who has become one of the most prolific scholars working in this field states that early work in the area 'primarily centred on the numbers of people visiting the places featured in movies to provide empirical evidence of the significance of this new field of study.'⁶² Once film tourism was established, there emerged a wide variety of new publications, such as Stephen Crofts' work which analysed destination marketing in the Australian Tourism industry following the release of *Crocodile Dundee* (1986, Peter Faiman),⁶³ and W. Glen Croy and Reid Walker considered a similar phenomenon regarding New Zealand and the *Lord of The Rings* films (2001, 2002, 2003, Peter Jackson),⁶⁴ continuing this work in 2011 where the focus changed to sustainability and film tourism.⁶⁵

⁵⁸ They looked at locations such as Gettysburg, Badlands National Park, Arches National Park in Utah, Devil's Tower National Monument and Chimney Rock Park in North Carolina.

⁵⁹ Sue Beeton, *Film-induced Tourism* (Clevedon ; Buffalo: Channel View Publications, 2005).

⁶⁰ Angelina I. Karpovich, "Theoretical Approaches to Film-Motivated Tourism," *Tourism and Hospitality Planning & Development* 7, no. 1 (2010): 7-20.

⁶¹ Nichola Tooke and Michael Baker, "Seeing is believing: The effect of film on visitor numbers to screened locations," *Tourism management* 17, no. 2 (1996): 87-94.

⁶² Beeton, *Film-induced Tourism*, 23.

⁶³ Stephen Crofts, "Re-imagining Australia: Crocodile Dundee overseas," *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies* 2, no. 2 (1989): 129-42.

⁶⁴ W. Glen Croy and Reid D. Walker, "Rural tourism and film-issues for strategic regional development," *New directions in rural tourism* (2003): 115-33.

⁶⁵ Noëlle O'Connor, Niki Macionis, and W. Glen Croy, "Film tourism: sustained economic contributions to destinations," *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes* (2011).

Beeton's work emerged in the 1990s, and her books *Film Induced Tourism* (2005) and *Travel, Tourism and the Moving Image* (2015) have become seminal works in evaluating film tourism and its effects. Beeton's work draws on the anthropological work on tourism by Dean MacCannell, whose 1973 book *The Tourist: A Study of the Leisure Class* has a similar reach, being reprinted several times with new introductions.⁶⁶ Beeton summarises film tourism -

The popular media of the day influences the appeal of travel destinations and activities through constructing or reinforcing particular images of those destinations, and acting as 'markers' (MacCannell, 1976) [...] From the mid-20th century, film (and later television) became the main mass media outlet and has been particularly effective in affecting tourism. [...] Anthropologists such as MacCannell (1976) view tourism attractions as requiring a marker that provides 'meaning' as well as signifying the attraction. Media such as literature and film can provide a wealth of meaning, real and imagined.⁶⁷

Beeton's work focuses on the community aspect of film tourism, highlighting how the influx of visitors to a site can have both positive and adverse effects. If a site is unprepared and lacks the infrastructure to support an increase of visitors, there can be a growing animosity towards the tourists which can lead to outright hostility.⁶⁸ She discusses the economic and non-economic benefits of tourism, discussing how difficult it is to measure the latter. Beeton conducted several case studies involving questionnaires and interviews to look at the larger picture of film tourism. Her only UK site was Goathland, a village located on the North York Moors and the filming location for the television show *Heartbeat* (ITV, 1992-2010). Beeton's interviews with residents revealed a dislike of changes made to the town which embraced its fictional identity, the crowding out of locals and regular walking tourists and the attraction of a 'different ('lower') class of visitor'.⁶⁹ Though Beeton describes the influx of film tourists as a class issue in the UK, I would argue that she is simplifying a more complex issue. This thesis argues that it is less of an influx of tourists from a

⁶⁶ Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Univ of California Press, 1999).

⁶⁷ Beeton, *Film-induced Tourism*, 4.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 103

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 103

different class, and instead, it is the influx of tourists with a different agenda, who do not fit the preconceived mould of previous visitors, and instead of adapting to the new motivation, Goathland instead resisted. This is explored in chapter three, using evidence from interviews with site managers and a data sweep of travel reviews from social media.

This agenda motivation is also explored in the work of Tooke and Baker, in their work *Seeing is Believing: The effect of film on visitor numbers to screened locations*, they discuss how film tourism can contextualise a site, and how repeated viewings can enhance the site in the public mind far better than any advertising could.⁷⁰ This view is confirmed by Beeton, who frequently mentions how tourists would re-watch a film having visited the site, having gained a newfound appreciation and understanding of the area, saying that 'The physical touristic activities are only a part of the film/moving image tourism experience, and as I noted above can come before we are exposed to a film, where we desire to revisit our touristic experience via that film on returning home.'⁷¹

Tooke and Baker also undertook several case studies of the increased visitor numbers in film tourism sites in the UK which were featured in television dramas and discovered that in the case of the television series *Cadfael* (1994-1998, ITV) which was set in Shrewsbury, visitors would travel to Shrewsbury to see the *setting* of the film, rather than the locations, as it was filmed in Hungary.⁷² Though Tooke and Baker do not develop this thread, I shall be exploring this blending of identities and whether a film tourist expects to see the 'real' space (the filming location) or the fictional space (the film's setting).

Beeton's 2015 book *Travel, Tourism and Moving Image* moves away from the economic analysis of her earlier work and into the more cerebral experiences of film tourism. She focuses on more temporal and thematic studies, looking at the culture of celebrity and the appeal of seeing a film star's house on a Hollywood

⁷⁰ Tooke and Baker, "Seeing is believing: The effect of film on visitor numbers to screened locations," 88.

⁷¹ Sue Beeton, "Tourism and the Moving Image—Incidental Tourism Promotion," *Tourism Recreation Research* 36 (2015): 49-56.

⁷² Tooke and Baker, "Seeing is believing: The effect of film on visitor numbers to screened locations," 93.

Tour⁷³ and brings her focus to the authenticity debate. This work is referenced in chapter two, where this thesis considers the importance of the gift shop in providing visitors with a connection to the real and fictitious owners of stately homes, such as in Chatsworth House in Derbyshire.

Beeton's work has become the most referenced scholarship in film tourism studies, and it is her understanding of the many variations of motivation for film tourists which makes her work so crucial. Beeton's understanding that film tourists are looking for a connection (with a site, with an experience or with a community) is brought to the fore in this thesis, as sites which have been performative spaces for hundreds of years blend their identities with fictional places which will be considered next.

Film Tourism and Fictional Spaces

An element which occurs frequently in this thesis is the use of fictional spaces, and the work of Brian Metcalf, Catherine Linnes, Jerome Agrusa and Joseph Lema is helpful when considering how a space can take on additional meaning to a demographic with a fictional identity.⁷⁴ Their work explored the effect of the Disney film *Frozen* (2013, Jennifer Lee, Chris Buck) on tourism to Norway, and their research included gathering data from questionnaires posted online. Though focusing on the economic aspect of film tourism, the article briefly alludes to the importance the images take, and how the 'cultural imagery' of Norway needed to match up to the images from the film to meet the audience's expectations.

Nick Couldry's work on film tourist's visits to the film set of *Coronation Street* (1960-present, ITV) is also useful in exploring the motivation behind fans wanting to visit a filming location, along with the concept of audience/film tourist's expectations, and how a visit can be demoralising if the set does not match up to the pre-conceived ideas.⁷⁵ Couldry focussed on the blurring of identities that the street set has, and the mixture of conceptions it produces for visitors, saying,

⁷³ Sue. Beeton, *Travel, Tourism and the Moving Image* (Channel View Publications, 2015).

⁷⁴ Brian Metcalf et al., "Film tourism in Norway: The effect fictional characters have on tourism," *International Business & Economics Research Journal (IBER)* 17, no. 2 (2018): 21-34.

⁷⁵ Another purpose-built street set can be found in the grounds of Harewood House in Yorkshire. Used for the filming of the soap *Emmerdale* (1973-present, ITV) it is sometimes opened for visitors by the Harewood estate.

Visiting the Street set may even involve an element of dislocation. If television 'constantly invokes . . . an unmediated experience that is forever absent, just beyond a hand reaching for the television dial' (Anderson, 1994: 82-83), then collapsing this distance may be experienced as puzzling: 'it's really weird though walking it, because you watch it on TV and then you're thinking, well, people actually walk down this Street filming'. The sense of strangeness may continue when you reflect back on the visit much later.⁷⁶

Couldry highlights the interest film tourists take in comparing their watched experience to their visiting experience⁷⁷ and highlights the importance to film tourists of being able to say, 'I was there!'⁷⁸, an element which occurs in Beeton's work as well. Beeton expands this to include the 'fascination for the 'inauthenticity' of the film media. They can now return home, 'knowing how its done', and brag about possessing an insider's knowledge.'⁷⁹ She continues, pointing out that this gives the fan a perceived elevated status; 'the person becomes an 'insider' to certain knowledge that was, in the past, the reserve of those in the industry. This in turn adds a dimension not only of knowledge but also of celebrity to the person involved – by merely being there, one's personal worth increases.'⁸⁰ Though Couldry is focussing on a purpose-built set which is specially marketed towards fans of the UK soap, his analysis of the two 'worlds' of film tourism matches with MacCannell's development of the 'front region/back region' concept of authenticity, which is discussed below. Couldry writes of the 'symbolic division of the social world into two incompatible parts, a non-media world (where we live) and a media world to which we may (exceptionally) travel.'⁸¹

Couldry fails to mention an issue which has arisen in my work, which is the variations in what heritage-film tourists are trying to achieve upon visiting the filming locations. As discussed in chapter three evidence on social media show that some film tourists are content to merely seek out the filming locations, for others,

⁷⁶ Nick Couldry, "On the actual street," *The media and the tourist imagination. Converging cultures* (2005): 65-6.

⁷⁷ Couldry, "On the actual street," 69.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 70

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 112

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 234-5

⁸¹ Couldry, "On the actual street," 72.

particularly fans of *Pride & Prejudice* (2005, Joe Wright) there appears to be a desire to enter the narrative diegesis and meet their own Mr Darcy, and some even wear costumes when visiting the site. It is understood that fans are not so deluded and unaware of reality that they believe they can step into a film's world. Instead, Couldry and Beeton agree that it is the strong element of nostalgia, already present in stately homes, which encourages this blurring of film tourists wanting to achieve the most authentic experience – and to some that would be watching a heritage film shooting at a heritage site, and to others it would be entering the diegesis. This is such a prominent concept in Austen studies and fandom that there is much scholarship discussing tourism and Austen,⁸² and both a television series and a film have explored the Austen-fan experience and what it would be like to enter the world of *Pride and Prejudice* – either as a 19th-century character (*Lost in Austen* (2008, ITV)) or by staying at a *Pride and Prejudice* theme park in the 21st century (*Austenland* (2013, Jerusha Hess, Jared Hess)).

Film Tourism and Historical Spaces

Film tourism's connection with history has also been explored, with Warwick Frost's 2011 article *Braveheart-ed Ned Kelly: historic films, heritage tourism and destination image* discussing how Australian film tourists had enthusiastically visited both the filming locations and the film's settings following the release of *Ned Kelly* (2003, Gregor Jordan).⁸³ This separation of filming location and setting is explored in the context of the Scottish diaspora in David Martin-Jones's work *Film Tourism as Heritage Tourism: Scotland, Diaspora and The Da Vinci Code* where he argues that in this case, 'film tourism can be understood as a facet of heritage tourism'⁸⁴ and that films such as *Braveheart* (1995, Mel Gibson) and *The Da Vinci Code* (2006, Ron Howard) encapsulate a specific 'Scottishness' which connects directly to the Scottish diaspora in a way that English historical and heritage films

⁸² Works which consider tourism in Austen studies include, Sarah Parry, "The Pemberley effect: Austen's legacy to the historic house industry," *Persuasions*, no. 30 (2008): 113-23., S. R. Pucci and J. Thompson, *Jane Austen and Co.: Remaking the Past in Contemporary Culture* (State University of New York Press, 2003)., Emma Spooner, "Touring With Jane Austen," *Critical Survey* 26, no. 1 (2014): 42-58. L. Troost and S. N. Greenfield, *Jane Austen in Hollywood* (University Press of Kentucky, 2001)., And Linda Troost, "Filming tourism, portraying pemberley," *Eighteenth Century Fiction* 18, no. 4 (2006): 477-98.

⁸³ Warwick Frost, "Braveheart-ed Ned Kelly: historic films, heritage tourism and destination image," *Tourism management* 27, no. 2 (2006): 247-54.

⁸⁴ David Martin-Jones, "Film tourism as heritage tourism: Scotland, diaspora and The Da Vinci Code (2006)," *New Review of Film and Television Studies* 12, no. 2 (2014): 156-77.

do not. Martin-Jones focuses on the rural landscape rather than architecture, which is still an important identifying feature of these types of films.

Martin-Jones also writes of 'The Braveheart Effect', which is the increase in tourists drawn to Scotland following the release of *Braveheart* and other films with a strong Scottish identity, despite the majority of *Braveheart* being shot in Ireland.⁸⁵ This is also noted by Croy and Walker,⁸⁶ and is similar to 'The Pemberley/Darcy Effect' which saw an increase in visitors to English stately homes with a (however loose) Austen connection following the release of the BBC's *Pride and Prejudice* (1995).⁸⁷ More recently this has been added to with 'The Downton Boom' by Oliver Cox, which again notes the increase in visitor numbers to English stately homes surrounding the extremely successful television series *Downton Abbey* (2010-2015, ITV).⁸⁸

Heritage-Film Tourism

A subset of the academic research on film tourism is the field heritage-film tourism. Heritage-film tourism occurs when tourists are attracted to a heritage site due to its appearance on screen, usually in a heritage film or television show. Despite a range of articles being published about individual case studies, unlike film tourism, this field lacks a substantial definitive publication that brings all the separate issues together. The interdisciplinary nature of this field means that articles have been sourced from film studies, tourism studies, film-tourism studies, and the heritage sector, along with some input from Austen studies. Another consideration that sets heritage-film tourism apart is the balancing of the differing perspectives of the heritage tourist industry with the interests of the proprietors and owners of the historic, along with the strict regulations of working in a heritage space which necessitates compromise. A final consideration, and one which sets these filming

⁸⁵ Martin-Jones, "Film tourism as heritage tourism: Scotland, diaspora and The Da Vinci Code (2006)," 162.

⁸⁶ Croy and Walker, "Rural tourism and film-issues for strategic regional development."

⁸⁷ Troost, "Filming tourism, portraying pemberley." And Parry, "The Pemberley effect: Austen's legacy to the historic house industry." And Amy Sargent, "The Darcy effect: Regional tourism and costume drama," *International journal of heritage studies* 4, no. 3-4 (1998): 177-86.

⁸⁸ Oliver. Cox, "The "Downton Boom" Country Houses, Popular Culture, and Curatorial Culture," *The Public Historian* 37, no. 2 (2015): 112-19.

locations apart from others, is the irreplaceable nature of the sites and the importance of their survival as spaces to 'display national history'.⁸⁹

The goal of this section of the literature review is to bring together these separate elements to produce a clear understanding of what heritage-film tourism is, and how it may affect the heritage sector. One of the key articles which considers the influence of heritage-film tourism focuses on the highly successful television programme *Downton Abbey* (ITV, 2010-2015). Though it considers some of the aspects of heritage-film tourism, it is not a complete, rounded overview, and does not consider how the use of heritage film locations affects the whole production process; from preproduction where houses are chosen based on their appearance, history, availability, price, and infrastructure, to production where considerations must be made about what is shot, use of equipment and damage to the site and compromises reached with the proprietors. What Cox's analysis does not cover is the post-release aftermath and the impact the film has on the heritage site. Consideration must be given to some locations seeing a rise in visitor numbers due to the film, which may increase profits but also comes with issues of overworking the resources of the site, increased conservation issues, and mixing of fictional and historical narratives at the site. These issues are discussed in this thesis.

Warwick Frost, writing in his article *Braveheart-ed Ned Kelly: Historic Films, Heritage Tourism and Destination Image* identifies the influence historic, or heritage, films can have on tourism;

Examples of historic films having an impact on tourists include: which visitation to Rome, particularly the Coliseum, arising from *Gladiator*; the destination image of the Wild West generated by western films; battlefield tourism stimulated by Civil War epics such as *Gettysberg*, [sic] *Gods and Generals* and *Cold Mountain*; and visits to castles and historic landscapes encouraged by medieval epics such as *Braveheart* and *A Knight's Tale*.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Using a stately home to display national history is a contested concept, which is a discussion for work outside of this thesis.

⁹⁰ Frost, "Braveheart-ed Ned Kelly: historic films, heritage tourism and destination image," 248.

He clarifies this explanation by adding ‘historic films may stimulate visitations to places that have little current visual relationship to what was viewed in the film’ and that ‘historic films present already known and established stories’.⁹¹ Frost usefully identifies the various issues involved in this intersection of film and heritage tourism, such as authenticity, historical accuracy, the limitations of the audience’s knowledge, the priority of the filmmaker’s narrative and the attraction to a site being film-based, rather than history-based.⁹² Whilst Frost’s work focuses on Australia rather than English stately homes, this article is one of the few to consider how heritage and film tourism come together in this genre of films. However, this article was written 14 years ago, and film tourism has evolved considerably since then, though it is paramount in starting the discussion about the overlap of heritage tourism and film tourism.

Oliver Cox’s article *The “Downton Boom”: Country House, Popular Culture and Curatorial Culture* explore the ‘boom’ in international visitors to English country houses following the release of the television programme, which Visit England identified as ‘The Downton Effect’⁹³ and he also notes the increased demand for items related to English aristocratic heritage, such as ‘Savile Row suits, bowler hats, butlers, afternoon tea, riding side-saddle, tiaras, vintage lingerie, luxury wallpaper and interior design, and country houses themselves.’⁹⁴ It demonstrates the influence of heritage media visuals on the public, and a similar article by Amy Sargent discusses this phenomenon regarding Austen adaptations and is discussed below. Cox states that character-driven historical dramas greatly influence the way the past is consumed by the public, specifically quoting Julian Fellowes, writer of *Downton Abbey*, who ‘believes that his work has made a significant impact upon curatorial direction’ by bringing attention to the servants’ spaces.⁹⁵ Cox concludes by iterating that the recent decline in footfall to stately homes could be counteracted by embracing the public’s connection with the fictional family;

⁹¹ Frost, "Braveheart-ed Ned Kelly: historic films, heritage tourism and destination image," 248.

⁹² *Ibid*, 249

⁹³ Cox, "The “Downton Boom” Country Houses, Popular Culture, and Curatorial Culture," 113.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 113-4

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 115

The real challenge is to find the balance between conservation and an enjoyable, authentic, visitor experience accessible to all. As Suzanna Lipscomb has argued, there has always been “a spectrum of meanings of ‘authenticity,’” but that the key aim should always be to provide the visitor with the opportunity to “feel the past in experiences that work intellectually, emotionally and physically.”⁹⁶

He adds that,

If the great rooms of the house [such as Highclere Castle]—typically of most interest to academics and curators—are seen by a smaller and smaller percentage of visitors, it is incumbent upon those with expert knowledge to think creatively about how to insert meaning back into spaces that are often incomprehensible for the general visitor.⁹⁷

This insertion of meaning into heritage spaces via media texts is also explored by Romano Mullin in their article ‘*You Think You Know a Story...’: Reframing the Tudors on Television in the Twenty-First Century*’ where he suggests that the early modern period has been reframed in recent media such as *The Tudors* (Showtime, 2007-2010) and *Wolf Hall* (BBC, 2015) and Mullin argues that,

History is reanimated within the parameters of the screen, and the process of adapting the past for a specific place or time means that the resonances of specific moments are emphasized and work to challenge perceptions about the nature of history.⁹⁸

He continues to argue that these sorts of programmes seek to ‘undermine the homogenous, golden-age interpretations of the past’⁹⁹ that previous media have portrayed but warns that nostalgia is still prominent when putting the past on the screen.

Another issue is the phenomenon of tourists only becoming aware of these sites through films. This is explored in the article *Interpretation, Film Language and Tour*

⁹⁶ Cox, “The “Downton Boom” Country Houses, Popular Culture, and Curatorial Culture,” 117.

⁹⁷ *Ibid*, 118

⁹⁸ Romano Mullin, ““You think you know a story...”: reframing the Tudors in the twenty-first century,” *Adaptation* xii, no. 2 (2019): 97.

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 102

Destinations: A Case Study of Hibiscus Town, China where the authors conclude that Wang Village, used as the setting for the titular Hibiscus Town, 'could not have obtained its amazing popularity without the film'¹⁰⁰ and that the film put the unassuming village on the map, allowing the residents to 'reconstruct its identity in a post-Maoist world'.¹⁰¹ This growth of an international audience could arguably not have been achieved without heritage-film tourism, and this raises issues of gatekeeping – there can be issues around tourists knowing a place only through film, rather than historically, and this distinction is discussed further in the thesis.

Heritage-film tourism studies have developed since Warwick Frost's article about *Ned Kelly* and differentiated themselves from film tourism by acknowledging that when filming a heritage site different challenges must be addressed. Cox's work on *Downton Abbey* demonstrates how influential heritage media is and how it affects the public's perception of the past. This can be seen in direct ways, such as including servant's spaces in the house tour, to indirectly such as the interest in the *Downton* lifestyle demonstrated in the rise of bowler hats and hiring of butlers. Mullin's work on *The Tudors* also demonstrates that the public use heritage media to make sense of the past and that despite films and television programmes trying to change the golden view of the past, nostalgia is prominent. It is important to consider what view of the past heritage cinema presents as this is often the way the public makes sense of stately homes. Despite being touted as a representation of the nation's history, stately homes reveal the lifestyle of the aristocracy and therefore unrepresentative of how many people lived. Due to most of the public not being of aristocratic persuasion, it can be assumed that opulent stately homes do not regularly feature in their day-to-day lives. Therefore, when encountering a space that has been designed for an unfamiliar lifestyle, guidance for understanding it is sought and can be found in heritage media. This literature will be considered across the case studies examined in this thesis in relation to considerations of the visitor experience, the processes of preproduction and production in relation to heritage sites, and conservation and heritage management.

¹⁰⁰ Xiaofei Hao and Chris Ryan, "INTERPRETATION, FILM LANGUAGE AND TOURIST DESTINATIONS: A CASE STUDY OF HIBISCUS TOWN, CHINA," *Annals of Tourism Research* 42 (2013): 334-58, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2013.02.016>.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, 353

This section of the literature review demonstrates how heritage-film tourism is an emergent subfield of film tourism scholarship that requires further research and analysis. It is apparent that many factors need to be considered throughout the process, from what buildings are chosen, to adjustments and adaptations and compromises, and consequences following the release of the film. Consideration must also be given to the variety of stakeholders who will have opinions about filming, and it will be interesting to discover if there are moral limitations for what can be filmed in stately homes. Existing scholarship on this subject has been synthesised here to produce an overview of this subfield of academic research, and by identifying the key themes we can consider how to move forward in understanding heritage-film tourism. The nostalgia frequently mentioned in understanding the past through the heritage media lens in part draws from the sites themselves – it is easy to conflate fictional characters with historical ones and draw an understanding of history from them. There is currently a paucity of published research considering the lasting implications of heritage-film tourism on the public's perception of the past, and therefore, this thesis will fill a crucial gap in the literature.

Heritage, Screen and Literary Tourism

The work of Agarwal and Shaw in their 2017 book *Heritage, Screen and Literary Tourism* explores a similar vein to this thesis, concentrating on the convergence of these three types of tourism.¹⁰² Building on work of Timothy and Boyd¹⁰³ and Neuhofer¹⁰⁴ this book details the concept that tourism to heritage sites can distort the past with a focus on entertaining rather than educating. There is detailed discussion on the definition of heritage as well as case studies concerning sites around the world. Although this work covers similar areas to this thesis, it lacks the detail of focussing on just one country, instead providing an impressive overview of the global situation. One chapter of the book concerns authenticity, which is similarly a central concern of this thesis and Agarwal and Shaw explain the different

¹⁰² Sheela Agarwal, and Gareth Shaw. *Heritage, screen and literary tourism*. Vol. 80. Channel View Publications, 2017.

¹⁰³ Dallen Timothy and Stephen Boyd *Heritage Tourism* (Harlow: Prentice Hall, 2003)

¹⁰⁴ Barbara Neuhofer "Value co-creation and co-destruction in connected tourist experiences." In *Information and Communication Technologies in Tourism 2016: Proceedings of the International Conference in Bilbao, Spain, February 2-5, 2016*, pp. 779-792. Springer International Publishing, 2016.

authenticity frameworks but do not take the analysis any further, whereas this work examines what sort of authenticity the filmmaker is searching for, and how the use of historic or heritage film locations add authenticity to the diegesis of heritage media. Agarwal and Shaw also consider the work of Jean Baudrillard and postmodern theory, which this literature review examines in the next section as this framework is ideal for understanding the heritage/historic images present in heritage media, however, this thesis will need to go beyond Baudrillard's framework, as detailed below. Agarwal and Shaw also greatly invest in the idea of film tourist co-creating their experience, which in the highly class-divided sites that this work examines, seems less likely or welcomed. The author also discusses the idea of distorting history for political gain and the global politics of film tourism, which is beyond the reach of this work, however, this thesis is also concerned with examining whose heritage is being displayed and the blending of fact and fiction which is prevalent in heritage media.

Postmodern Theory

Baudrillard, Simulacra and Heritage Media

To investigate how historical spaces are transformed by their relationship with the screen industries, as well as building on the work of Agarwal and Shaw, this thesis will draw on Jean Baudrillard's concept of simulacra, the depiction of something which has never existed, but that claims to be a representation of the original.¹⁰⁵ Goldman and Robert usefully summarise the concept as follows: 'simulacra are copies that depict things that either had no original or that no longer have an original. Simulation is the imitation of the operation of a real-world process or system over time.'¹⁰⁶ This thesis explores the ways that heritage cinema's representation of the past demonstrates this. It is rare for a film which is set in the past to be released without articles appearing that discuss its historical accuracy and authenticity.¹⁰⁷ Scholars such as Agarwal and Shaw have argued against this,

¹⁰⁵ Baudrillard, *Simulacra and simulation*.

¹⁰⁶ Goldman and Robert, "Simulacra Definition," ed. Stephen Papsen (Canton, New York: St. Lawrence University, 2003).

¹⁰⁷ A few recent examples include Molli Mitchell, "The Crown fact check: How accurate is The Crown? What's fact & fiction? Episodes explained," *Daily Express* 2020, <https://www.express.co.uk/showbiz/tv-radio/1361348/The-Crown-season-4-fact-check-how-accurate-is-the-crown-fact-episodes-explained-evtg>; "Watch The Great's Elle Fanning and More Differentiate Between Fact and Fiction," 2020, accessed 18th November 2020, 2020,

saying that 'the past can never be accurately recaptured'.¹⁰⁸ Although there is also some pushback from historians such as Dr Hannah Greig (historical advisor on *The Favourite*, *Poldark*, *The Duchess*, *Death Comes to Pemberley*, *Gunpowder* (2017, BBC) and *Bridgerton*)¹⁰⁹ who states that there is no reason for heritage media to be historically accurate, as it is a representation of a story set in the past, this focus on historical accuracy is still a majority-held view. Notably, heritage films have this association with accuracy and authenticity when other genres do not.

One reason for the association of heritage films with accuracy is their locations. To a domestic audience these locations are (mostly) accessible – visiting a country house at the weekend is an established practice of the English middle classes, as discussed later in the heritage tourism section of this literature review. These stately homes are often presented as part of the English heritage – the names 'National Trust' and 'English Heritage' hold community associations and the tagline 'Step into England's Story' and 'Stand Where History Happened' is used liberally across English Heritage's media.¹¹⁰ The National Trust's motto of 'For everyone, for ever' similarly promotes accessibility to a shared past, rather than the past of the elite.¹¹¹ Other associations such as the Chatsworth House Trust state that one of their key goals is 'To preserve, restore and enhance our heritage assets for future generations' and it is apparent that this is a widespread concern.¹¹² This borrowing and showcasing of historic and heritage imagery when it is directly linked to notions of a shared, accessible past produces a confusing idea of what is 'real'.

One of Baudrillard's key arguments involves examining how far society has moved from the 'real', exploring the idea of the hyper-real, where what society considers 'real' is a copy without an original. Described as a four-stage process, the sign, that is the image or representation initially reflects basic reality until by the fourth and

<https://www.cinemablend.com/television/2557258/watch-the-great-elle-fanning-and-more-stars-differentiate-the-hulu-shows-fact-from-fiction>.

¹⁰⁸ Agarwal and Shaw, *Heritage, Screen and Literary Tourism*, 417.

¹⁰⁹ Hannah Greig, "The Favourite: the real history behind the new Queen Anne film," *BBC History Extra*, 2018, <https://www.historyextra.com/period/stuart/real-history-the-favourite-film-queen-anne-olivia-colman-hannah-greig/>.

¹¹⁰ "1066 Battle of Hastings, Abbey and Battlefield," 2020, accessed 1st December 2020, 2020, <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/1066-battle-of-hastings-abbey-and-battlefield/>.

¹¹¹ "The National Trust," 2020, accessed 19th November 2020, 2020, <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/>.

¹¹² "Chatsworth: Our Shared Future," 2020, accessed 19th November, 2020, <https://www.chatsworth.org/about-chatsworth/our-shared-future/>.

final stage the sign bears no relation to any reality whatsoever – it is its own pure simulacrum – known as the hyper-real. It could be read that heritage cinema is the fourth stage – producing a state I am calling hyper-heritage, as to truly understand the use of historic buildings as film locations one will have to move beyond Baudrillard’s framework. It is where the initial sign (showing the past) has moved far away from what it intended to show and bears little relation to it - Heritage cinema would be mostly incomprehensible to someone from the era when it was set. Hyper-heritage does not show the past, it shows contemporary stories with contemporary actors, with contemporary health and sanitation, in contemporary interpretations of historical costumes.¹¹³ It includes contemporary music (both diegetic and non-diegetic) and foley sound effects which vary in volume depending on their importance. It includes criticisms of outdated ideas, nostalgia for imagined ‘better times’ and colour-blind casting. It has clear character roles, plot, narrative and conclusive endings that tie everything together. It transplants accents and beauty ideals, it uses framing and editing to convey meaning and it utilises historical filming locations and historical advisors to add authority and validity to the work. As English Heritage encourages visitors to ‘stand where history happened’ heritage films invite their audience to be complicit in this vision of the past, where history, heritage, nostalgia, narrative and ideas of national identity all become tied together.

Baudrillard was scathing of cinema, writing that ‘Myth, chased from the real by the violence of history, finds refuge in cinema [...] this history exorcised by a slowly or brutally congealing society celebrates its resurrection in force on the screen, according to the same process that used to make lost myths live again’.¹¹⁴ His idea that history is a closed book and that one of the few ways to reference it was through cinema is further explored:

The great event of this period, the great trauma, is this decline of strong referentials [*sic*], these death pangs of the real and of the rational that

¹¹³ Even costumes for series 4 of Netflix’s *The Crown*, set as recently ago as the 1970s, were recut to make them palatable to a modern audience. Hannah Marriott, “Charles is very stylish’: how The Crown’s costume designer brought 1980s to life,” *The Guardian* 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2020/nov/13/the-crown-netflix-costumes-outfits-1980s>.

¹¹⁴ Baudrillard, *Simulacra and simulation*, 45.

open onto an age of simulation. Whereas so many generations, and particularly the last, lived in the march of history, in the euphoric or catastrophic expectation of a revolution - today one has the impression that history has retreated, leaving behind it an indifferent nebula, traversed by currents, but emptied of references. It is into this void that the phantasms of a past history recede, the panoply of events, ideologies, retro fashions - no longer so much because people believe in them or still place some hope in them, but simply to resurrect the period when at least there was history, at least there was violence (albeit fascist), when at least life and death were at stake.¹¹⁵

Baudrillard writes that because of this lack of 'history' cinema grew 'as a nostalgia for a lost referential'¹¹⁶ and argues that,

there was history but there isn't any anymore. Today, the history that is "given back" to us (precisely because it was taken from us) has no more of a relation to a "historical real" than refiguration in painting does to the classical figuration of the real [...] Therein objects shine in a sort of hyperresemblance (like history in contemporary cinema) that makes it so that fundamentally they no longer resemble anything, except the empty figure of resemblance, the empty form of representation.¹¹⁷

Baudrillard was particularly concerned with cinematic images taking over historic images and experiences, saying that many American Vietnam war veterans felt that the images produced by Vietnam War films were closer to their experience than their actual memories – they made sense of what they went through by relating to the movie's images until those images were all that remained of the war from an American perspective. Writing about Francis Ford Coppola's *Apocalypse Now* (1979) Baudrillard said

the war as entrenchment, as technological and psychedelic fantasy, the war as a succession of special effects, the war become film even before being filmed. [...] In this sense, his film is really the extension of the war

¹¹⁵ Baudrillard, *Simulacra and simulation*, 46.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid*, 47

¹¹⁷ *Ibid*

through other means, the pinnacle of this failed war, and its apotheosis. The war became film, the film becomes war, the two are joined by their common hemorrhage [*sic*] into technology¹¹⁸

The thesis argues that a similar phenomenon occurs with heritage sites and heritage film locations, and this is explored in the use of Chatsworth House in *Pride & Prejudice* (2005, Joe Wright) as the fictional Pemberley throughout this work.

Conclusion

The wide range of fields and scholars that this literature review spans are indicative of the interdisciplinary character of this thesis. The theoretical underpinning of postmodernism facilitates consideration of space as a construct and enables a deconstruction of the ways in which the heritages spaces evolve, and respond to, their use as filming locations. Academic research on heritage cinema establishes the ways it relates to representational issues and raises key discourses around culture, heritage and diversity that are revisited throughout the thesis. Tourism and tourists (sometimes referred to as visitors) are one of the key considerations throughout this research, and therefore the brief overview of scholarship on heritage tourism, film tourism and heritage-film tourism provides an outline of the central concerns of field that this study aims to contribute to. However, this research differs from previous studies undertaken in that it focuses on the people who work and own the sites where heritage-film tourism takes place, rather than the audience/visitors, and sets out to provide a comprehensive set of new insights around what it means when a heritage building becomes a filming location.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, 59

3. Key Concepts and Methodology

To answer the research question of how has filming affected the heritage industry in England, this thesis investigates three overlapping creative industries from two key perspectives; it brings together the heritage industry, the tourism industry and the film industry and explores cultural knowledge and experience alongside business practices. Therefore, the approach to the gathering and analysis of the data will be multidisciplinary as it does not just focus on the film's themselves but a related yet distinct industry – that of heritage locations. Although the films and television series are important to understand how the filming locations are portrayed, the continued afterlife of the location is the focus of this work, exploring the many narratives present at the site and how its perception has changed.

Therefore, this work cannot be classed as a film studies thesis, or a heritage studies thesis, or even as a film tourism thesis, but is multidisciplinary. This research varies from film tourism studies such as the work by Agarwal and Shaw or Beeton as it focuses on the experiences of the owners and managers of the sites, rather than questioning visitors and it relies on qualitative rather than quantitative data. There will be a strong focus on the role of authenticity in the use of English historic sites, both on and off screen, which has not been explored in detail in other work. This approach makes sense in terms of the research question, as it will give a clear insight into the heritage industry and the impact of the screen industries as the managers and owners have observed and participated in it. They have made active decisions about how they adjusted their business plans to work with the screen industry and how they have adapted to the pandemic. Therefore, this data set is the most comprehensive way to answer the research question.

This chapter is separated into two sections. The first explains the methodological approaches to the data gathering and analysis, illustrating the four theoretical frameworks that will underpin this work and the empirical approaches that will be considered. This is followed by a discussion of the methodological tools that describe how the primary and secondary data will be gathered and what considerations will be made.

The heritage sites that are to be investigated each fall into one of three categories: those owned by the National Trust, those owned by English Heritage or those owned by a private person or organisation. The data will be separated into these three categories, which in turn will enable a comparative analysis of how these three types of organisations within the heritage sector operate.

Methodological Approaches

Theoretical Frameworks

This thesis will utilise four theoretical frameworks to understand the primary and secondary data and the cultural context surrounding it.

The Hyperreal

The work of Jean Baudrillard was introduced in the literature review and his concepts of the hyperreal and the simulacra are essential to this analysis. His theories will be used to understand how heritage media represents heritage sites, and how, in turn, heritage sites represent the past with influence from heritage media. Baudrillard's understanding of the 'real' and the hyperreal is key to understanding how heritage media represent the past and the lasting effect this can have on heritage sites by creating visitor expectations. However, as mentioned above, the hyperreal does not adequately convey what the true meaning of 'realness' is for heritage film locations, therefore, this work will go beyond Baudrillard's theory to explore hyper-heritage, which is the image of the past shown on screen which has more authenticity than the historical evidence of the past due to its use in screen media and its authority borrowed from the filming locations themselves.

Authenticity

Tourism and film tourism scholars frequently consider the concept of authenticity and its relation to the experience at visitor attractions. As this work develops this scholarship into the heritage tourism sector, it is pertinent that authenticity is considered. There is a wide range of work that discusses authenticity, however in tourism and film tourism studies the framework developed by Ning Wang in the

1990s is most often referenced, therefore, it shall be used here.¹¹⁹ Again, the existing authenticity frameworks can only be taken so far, therefore, this work has developed a further authenticity framework to understand the role of heritage filming locations in giving the diegesis immediate authority and authenticity.

Taste Cultures

As this thesis considers heritage sites and their use in media, the concept of high and low culture will also be explored. This is because heritage media is where high culture (the heritage site) and low culture (mass media) meet. This connects to ideas of class, elitism and boundaries, which are often overlooked in film tourism studies, therefore, this work will seek to understand the boundaries between high and low culture at these sites and how this translates and transforms when a site is a filming location. The concept of high and low culture has been discussed since 1869¹²⁰ and the concept has been much revised and updated, reframing mass culture as popular culture and this has been explored by scholars such as Herbert Gans¹²¹ and John Storey.¹²²

Film Tourism

The final framework considered in this work is that of film tourism. As a subset of tourism studies, the examination of tourists who are motivated to visit sites due to seeing them on film has grown in scope in recent years. The literature review has already addressed the seminal work of Sue Beeton,¹²³ and this framework will also draw upon the methods used by Stijn Reijnders¹²⁴ and Abby Waysdorf¹²⁵ as examples of successful film tourism studies.

¹¹⁹ Wang, "Rethinking authenticity in tourism experience," 349-70.

¹²⁰ M. Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy: An Essay in Political and Social Criticism* (Smith, Elder & Company, 1869).

¹²¹ Herbert Gans, *Popular Culture and High Culture: An Analysis and Evaluation of Taste Revised and Updated* (Basic Books, 2010).

¹²² J. Storey, *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: An Introduction* (Taylor & Francis, 2015).

¹²³ Beeton, *Film-induced Tourism*. And Sue Beeton, "Landscapes as Characters: Film, Tourism and a Sense of Place," *Metro Magazine: Media & Education Magazine*, no. 166 (2010): 114-18.

¹²⁴ Stijn Reijnders, "Stalking the count: Dracula, Fandom and Tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research: a social sciences journal* 38, no. 1 (2011): 231-48.

¹²⁵ Abby Waysdorf and Stijn Reijnders, "Fan homecoming: analyzing the role of place in long-term fandom of *The Prisoner*," *Popular Communication* (2018): 50-65.

These four frameworks are the essential part of the multidisciplinary methodological approach that this work employs to understand the intersection of the film and heritage industries in England. This work will also draw on heritage studies, film studies, cultural studies and policy documents, as outlined below, to present a fully rounded answer to the research question. A multidisciplinary approach is not unusual; heritage studies scholar Fiona Mclean writes that the past is a 'commodity, a marketable product devoid of any traces of meaning. All our yesterdays are today's commodities. The past on offer is simulacra, hyperreality, a past to gaze at, but which is no longer authentic'.¹²⁶ McLean is connecting the concept of authenticity to Baudrillard, linking two of the frameworks this work will utilise. The prevalence of authenticity debate film tourism scholarship means that although Wang's is the most referenced framework, consideration must also be given to the work of Dean MacCannell and his theory of staged authenticity.¹²⁷ This framework has been much discussed since its publication and this work uses it to complement Wang's framework, before moving beyond both into the new authenticity framework developed for this thesis.

The four frameworks of Baudrillard's hyperreal, Wang's concepts of authenticity, high and low culture and film tourism are used in conjunction to analyse the qualitative data gathered and illustrate the impact filming had on the heritage sector in England.

Empirical Approaches

These approaches work with the theoretical frameworks to gather and investigate the data, enabling insight into the heritage industry and its relationship with the screen industries. This section outlines seven approaches that examine secondary sources to contextualise the sites and illustrate the response to filming as well as building upon existing non-academic literature. This is followed by an exploration of the approach to gathering the primary data, and the method(s) for this are described in the methodological tools section that follows.

¹²⁶ Fiona Mclean, *Marketing the Museum* (Taylor & Francis, 2012), 42.

¹²⁷ Dean MacCannell, "Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings," *American Journal of Sociology* 79, no. 3 (1973): 589-603.

Primary Data

Tourism studies set the precedent of interviewing visitors and then analysing the data in qualitative and quantitative ways to explore visitor motivation.¹²⁸ This approach was then adopted by film tourism studies, however, due to the nature of this project and the timing of the data collection, this work did not interview visitors. Instead, it interviewed owners and managers of heritage sites to gain an industry perspective and understand what choices are being actively made, rather than passively consumed. By communicating directly with the owners and managers a fuller, more rounded picture of the issue can be formed, and this also facilitates a reflection of the impact of the filming process. However, social media comments following visits to the sites discussed are also considered.

Interviews

The data gathered from the interviews will make up the majority of the primary data and this is an approach that is frequently used in film tourism studies that focus on heritage sites, as seen in the examination of the effects of heritage film tourism at Rosslyn Chapel in Scotland.¹²⁹ Similarly, this approach has been used when examining the effect of filming at a heritage village¹³⁰ and in the study of visitors at international heritage sites.¹³¹ The approach of interviewing managers and owners, as previously mentioned, gives an overview from within the heritage industry rather than from outside it.

Site Visits

The interviews are accompanied by data gathered from site visits. This observational research approach has been used by Sue Beeton in her film tourism

¹²⁸ As seen in Metcalf et al., "Film tourism in Norway: The effect fictional characters have on tourism," 21-34. And Tooke and Baker, "Seeing is believing: The effect of film on visitor numbers to screened locations," 87-94.

¹²⁹ Justyna Bąkiewicz et al., "Towards a visitor taxonomy at (film-induced) heritage attractions," *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 17, no. 3 (2022/05/04 2022): 247-63.

¹³⁰ Lavinia Brydon and Lisa Stead, "The English Village in Emma: An Empirical Study of Heritage Dramas, Location Filming and Host Communities," *SERIES-International Journal of TV Serial Narratives* 3.1 (2017): 101-14.

¹³¹ Bąkiewicz et al., "Towards a visitor taxonomy at (film-induced) heritage attractions," 247-63; Frost, "Braveheart-ed Ned Kelly: historic films, heritage tourism and destination image," 247-54; Martin-Jones, "Film tourism as heritage tourism: Scotland, diaspora and The Da Vinci Code (2006)," 156-77; Tim Winter, "Angkor Meets Tomb Raider : setting the scene," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 8, no. 4 (2002): 323-36.

work¹³² and others have also used this approach. By visiting the site, the visitor experience can be understood and experienced far more thoroughly than relying on reviews and websites. The site visits were undertaken incognito without giving prior warning to the owners or managers and were documented using photos, videos and written notes. If there were room guides/stewards, they were engaged in conversation and any options of audio guides, leaflets and maps, if offered, were be taken up. Similarly, any exhibitions currently were explored and gift shops were photographed and their online counterparts viewed. This data set provides a rich source of information as it considers how the narrative of the visitor experience is shaped and how merchandising provides a physical element that can be used to extend the experience back home.

The site visits have been affected by the pandemic, as the visitor experience was altered to allow for social distancing and there was a lack of leaflets, audio guides and handouts due to sanitation protocols. Smaller rooms had been closed, and the route visitors take were altered due to social distancing.

Sites that are a substantial distance from York (such as Greenway in Devon) could not be easily visited, therefore, impressions of the visitor experience are explored from secondary sources such as reviews, blogs and vlogs.

Data Sweep

The final set of primary data was gathered from a data sweep. This data came from the publicly accessible review website TripAdvisor, where members of the public review 'accommodations, restaurants, experiences, airlines and cruises'¹³³ and leave a rating out of five. Tourism studies frequently use TripAdvisor reviews to identify trends in tourism and this approach is likely to spread to film tourism studies. Some scholars have established that TripAdvisor reviews are seen to be reliable,¹³⁴ however, the reviews tend to be from people visiting the site for the first

¹³² Sue Beeton and Philip Seaton, "Creating places and transferring culture: American theme parks in Japan," in *Film Tourism in Asia* (Springer, 2018), 251-67.

¹³³ "About Us," TripAdvisor, 2017, accessed 28th July, 2022, <https://tripadvisor.mediaroom.com/uk-about-us>.

¹³⁴ Alton YK Chua and Snehasish Banerjee, "Reliability of reviews on the Internet: The case of TripAdvisor" (paper presented at the World Congress on Engineering & Computer Science: International Conference on Internet and Multimedia Technologies, 2013), 453-57.

time and very few visitors write a review. The reviews can be reported for inappropriate language or content, and most tellingly, users can be reported for reviewing the same site more than once and TripAdvisor states that repeat reviews may only be added three months after the initial review.¹³⁵ This means that most of the reviews are from first-time visitors, which limits the sample size.

Readers of TripAdvisor reviews have been described as passive, in that they only read reviews and don't contribute, however, they can be heavily influenced by the reviews and this can lead to replicated behaviour.¹³⁶ Therefore, although the source sample is still relatively small compared to the overall usage of the site these reviews are worthy of consideration.¹³⁷

More recent studies have used machine learning to analyse thousands of reviews to provide an overview for better management¹³⁸ and to identify key themes across multiple reviewers.¹³⁹ They often find that there is more focus on ancillary aspects such as facilities, and less focus on cultural elements, meaning that the data gathered for this work requires careful analysis to understand the cultural elements mentioned. The limited pool of reviews considered here do not need to engage with machine learning to filter them.

The primary data was gathered and analysed alongside the secondary data, which is explored in the next section.

¹³⁵ "Review Submission Frequency," TripAdvisor Support, 2021, accessed 28th July, 2022, <https://www.tripadvisor.com/en-GB/hc/traveler/articles/343>.

¹³⁶ Susan V. Scott and Wanda J. Orlikowski, "Reconfiguring relations of accountability: Materialization of social media in the travel sector," *Accounting, Organizations and Society* 37, no. 1 (2012/01/01/ 2012): 26-40.

¹³⁷ Egbert van der Zee, Dario Bertocchi, and Dominique Vanneste, "Distribution of tourists within urban heritage destinations: a hot spot/cold spot analysis of TripAdvisor data as support for destination management," *Current Issues in Tourism* 23, no. 2 (2020): 175-96.

¹³⁸ Viriya Taecharungroj and Boonyanit Mathayomchan, "Analysing TripAdvisor reviews of tourist attractions in Phuket, Thailand," *Tourism Management* 75 (2019): 550-68.

¹³⁹ Victoria D. Alexander, Grant Blank, and Scott A. Hale, "TripAdvisor Reviews of London Museums: A New Approach to Understanding Visitors," *Museum International* 70, no. 1-2 (2018/01/01 2018): 154-65.

Secondary Data

Policy Documents

To understand the financial and cultural impact of filming at heritage sites policy documents were examined. The annual reports from 2018/19, 2019/2020, and 2020/2021 are from the National Trust, English Heritage and private houses including Old Royal Naval College, Burghley, and Castle Howard. Additional information from the Charity Commission was used to understand the structure of these organisations as well as evaluate their annual incomes,¹⁴⁰ to reveal their income from filming and conservation costs, which is one of the main spending areas for these sites.

In addition to these organisation-specific and site-specific reports, this work analyses the Visitor Trends Attraction Report for the years 2019, 2020 and 2021. This annual report is produced by *Visit Britain* and *Visit England*, which are components of the national tourism agency which is a 'non-departmental public body funded by the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport'.¹⁴¹ The report uses data gathered from visitor attractions across the country to gauge trends and provide an overview of the visitor attraction sector, including heritage sites. These reports are produced in adherence to the Code of Practice for Official Statistics which ensures that the statistics have 'public **value**, are high **quality** and are produced by people and organisations that are **trustworthy**'¹⁴² [*bold in the original*]. Therefore, the data in the Visitor Trends Reports can be considered reliable. This data was used to understand the financial and cultural impact of filming on a heritage site. It establishes the extent to which the heritage industry has adapted its business plans in response to filming, and how the pandemic has affected this.

¹⁴⁰ "The Charity Commission for England and Wales," GOV.UK, 2022, accessed 10th August, 2022, <https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/charity-commission>.

¹⁴¹ "Who we are & what we do," 2022, accessed 25th July, 2022, <https://www.visitbritain.org/who-we-are-what-we-do>.

¹⁴² "Code of Practice for Statistics," Statistics Authority, 2022, accessed 25th July, 2022, <https://code.statisticsauthority.gov.uk/>.

Branding

To understand how historic buildings and sites have been rebranded as visitor attractions and filming locations the websites of the sites and organisations were analysed. This was followed by an analysis of the corresponding social media pages, such as Twitter, Instagram, Facebook and YouTube. The importance of branding in the heritage industry has previously been explored by Ulla Hakala, Sonja Lätti and Birgitta Sandberg¹⁴³ and the role of websites and social media are understood to be more and more predominant, as discussed in work by scholars such as Adriaan De Man, Cristiana Oliveria,¹⁴⁴ and Kirsten Drotner and Kim Schroder.¹⁴⁵ The rising importance of social media analysed in the work of Alexandra Weilenmann, Thomas Hillman, and Beata Jungselius¹⁴⁶ was followed here, analysing the key terms and images used and the thematic choices made.

The initial branding of the sites was informed by blogs connected to the sites, such as Lady Carnarvon's blog which details life at Highclere Castle.¹⁴⁷ Similarly, any websites that were connected to specific events, such as the Agatha Christie Festival or the Winterfell Festival were considered. Finally, Instagram and Twitter was explored to discover how visitors relate to heritage sites as film tourists, as used in other studies such as by Peter Bolan and Matthew Kearney.¹⁴⁸

Newspapers and Magazines

To understand how the branding of heritage sites is interpreted, as well as locating information about filming, this work considers four local papers (the Yeovil Press, the Welwyn Hatfield Times and the Sussex Press), three national papers (The

¹⁴³ Ulla Hakala, Sonja Lätti, and Birgitta Sandberg, "Operationalising brand heritage and cultural heritage," *Journal of Product & Brand Management* 20, no. 6 (2011): 447-56.

¹⁴⁴ Adriaan De Man and Cristiana Oliveira, "A Stakeholder Perspective on Heritage Branding and Digital Communication" (Cham, 2016).

¹⁴⁵ Kirsten Drotner and Kim C Schrøder, "Museum communication and social media," *New York: Routledge. Essex, J., & Haxton, K.(2018). Characterising patterns of engagement of different participants in a public STEM-based analysis project. International Journal of Science Education, Part B* 8, no. 2 (2013): 178-91.

¹⁴⁶ Alexandra Weilenmann, Thomas Hillman, and Beata Jungselius, "Instagram at the museum: communicating the museum experience through social photo sharing" (paper presented at the Proceedings of the SIGCHI conference on human factors in computing systems, 2013), 1843-52.

¹⁴⁷ For example, Fiona Carnarvon, "The Official Website of the Countess of Carnarvon," 10th December, 2021.

¹⁴⁸ Peter Bolan and Matthew Kearney, "Exploring film tourism potential in Ireland: from Game of Thrones to Star Wars," *Revista Turismo & Desenvolvimento* 1, no. 27/28 (2017): 2149-56.

Guardian, The Times and the Radio Times) and two international papers (AP News and the New York Post). These papers were chosen because they contain information pertinent to filming in the local area, which you would not find in national papers. These articles are complemented by seven magazines, including member's magazines for the National Trust and English Heritage, and more general magazines including *Empire* (a film magazine) *Vogue* (a fashion magazine) *Town and Country*, *OK*, and *National Geographic*. This was further supplemented by the inclusion of *Architectural Digest*, which runs a regular feature that interviews production designers from recent films. These interviews give valuable insights into the filmmakers' process of using a stately home, as well as providing information about the filming locations.

Databases

To understand the process by which filming occurs at a heritage site, filming locations databases were analysed for their dominant traits, patterns and search criteria as well as how they are displayed. Three key databases containing filming location material were analysed; *Locations Works*, *Lavish Locations* and the *National Trust Filming Locations Database*.¹⁴⁹ These were examined to understand how filmmakers search for sites as well as how the sites are presented – what information is withheld (such as the name of the site to prevent direct contact, ensuring that the filmmaker uses the agency) and what information is included, such as the distance from London. In addition to this, *Internet Movie Database* (IMDb) was consulted for details of crew and filming locations, though as some of the information is user-generated this information was cross-checked.

Media

The media that has been filmed at heritage sites was watched and analysed, amounting to a hundred different films, TV shows, mini-series and TV episodes. This was complemented by an analysis of how these media are advertised by distribution companies (via film posters) and streaming services such as Netflix, Amazon Prime and BBC iPlayer. TV listings were also considered to understand the

¹⁴⁹ English Heritage does not have a filming locations database, instead it directs filmmakers to the visitor attractions database.

longevity of some media as it is repeated on TV. The screenplays were also considered for their description of the buildings, however, these were hard to source for all the heritage media and many are not the original script, and have been altered before publication to better resemble the final film.

Novels and Literature

As many of the films considered are literary adaptations, the original description of the buildings has been analysed in the source novels. Tie-in books about the series or films (including *Castle Howard and Brideshead*,¹⁵⁰ or *The World of Downton Abbey*¹⁵¹) were also used to establish information about filming and the filmmaker's choices. Similarly, books that explore filming more generally were consulted, such as the *National Trust on Screen*¹⁵² and *Harry Potter on Location*. Finally, the *Historic Houses Guide for Filming in Country Houses* was analysed to reveal the approach for country homeowners in the late 1980s, and demonstrates how the system has changed.¹⁵³

Architectural History

This analysis requires a grounding in architectural history, therefore, the works of established scholars such as Mark Girouard and John Betjeman were consulted, along with work by Nicholas Pevsner to provide an architectural overview. This was complemented by Historic England Listings for the buildings, which detail the site's age and architectural features and with scholarship from writers such as Adrian Tinniswood, who examines the life in stately homes as opposed to the architecture. This is complemented by the websites of companies that have restored some of the sites in question, such as *Julian Bicknell Associates* for Castle Howard¹⁵⁴ and *Royal Oak* for Dyrham Park, as these renovations add to the fabric of the building as well as connecting to ideas of authenticity.

¹⁵⁰ Christopher Ridgway, *Castle Howard and Brideshead: Fact, Fiction and in Between* (2011).

¹⁵¹ Julian Fellowes, *The World of Downton Abbey* (St. Martin's Publishing Group, 2011).

¹⁵² Harvey Edgington and Lauren Taylor, *National Trust on Screen: Discover the Locations That Made Film and TV Magic* (Pitkin, 2020).

¹⁵³ Sarah Greenwood and Norman Hudson, *Film and Photography for Historic Houses & Gardens: a handbook for the Historic Houses Association, The National Trust and English Heritage* (London: Historic Houses Association, 1988).

¹⁵⁴ "The Garden Hall and Library - Castle Howard, Yorkshire," 2021, http://www.julianbicknell.co.uk/view-thegardenhallandlibrarycastlehoward_yorkshire.php.

Ethics

There were some ethical considerations to be made before data gathering could begin, despite this project interviewing people in their professional capacity as competent adults rather than as visitors. The first consideration was whether the interviewees had the option to be anonymous to allow more interviews to take place. Those that chose to remain anonymous are listed as a ‘member of staff at [heritage site]’. Similarly, all TripAdvisor reviews remain anonymous and only include the date of the review and the site they were reviewing (‘TripAdvisor review of [site], October 2020’). This process was cleared by the ethics board of Television, Film, Theatre and Interactive Media at the University of York. Due to the various ongoing restrictions when the data was being gathered, the interviews were conducted online using video-conferencing software for the safety and social distancing of all involved.

This multidisciplinary approach across both primary and secondary data means that a clear and fully rounded picture has been made that demonstrates the intersection of tourism, film and heritage in England.

Methodological Tools

To gather the primary data a variety of tools were used. These were informed by the methodological approaches of the previous section.

Interviews

Stage One

As stated above, the interviewees were the owners and managers of heritage sites in England¹⁵⁵ who are connected to either the National Trust, English Heritage or a privately owned site. There were also interviews with the film office for the National Trust. The sites that were interviewed and visited were identified through research that identified which sites had had filming. This research draws from

¹⁵⁵ With one in Northern Ireland and one in Wales

books such as *The National Trust on Screen*,¹⁵⁶ *Harry Potter on Location*,¹⁵⁷ *Jane Austen TV and Films Locations Guide*,¹⁵⁸ *The Making of Pride and Prejudice*¹⁵⁹ and websites such as *Movie Locations*¹⁶⁰ and *IMDb*. The information found about filming locations was cross-checked with images of the heritage site and film stills. If a filming location could not be identified through these means then interviews with filmmakers, production designers and actors were examined to find mentions of filming locations, along with local newspapers.¹⁶¹ Although this was not an exhaustive search of heritage filming locations it provided a large sample size of sites. It produced a complete database of heritage filming locations in England, enabling contact to be established.

The sites were contacted by email, where the project was explained, and they were invited to interview. Upon their response, the relevant consent form (for anonymous or non-anonymous interviews) was sent, along with the questions. The interviews then took place via Zoom, Teams, or over the phone and were recorded for later transcription (with the interviewee's consent).

The methodological approach to the interviews consisted of semi-structured interviews, meaning that there was a set group of questions which were asked, but additional questions and lines of enquiry were also followed during the interview. This allowed the key data to be gathered and then added to with additional relevant information.

The questions covered how filming projects came to be at the site, including booking, logistics and conservation issues, whether visitors visit because of filming, visitor behaviour, visitor demographics, gift shop merchandise, the effect of the

¹⁵⁶ Edgington and Taylor, *National Trust on Screen: Discover the Locations That Made Film and TV Magic*.

¹⁵⁷ J.P. Sperati, *Harry Potter on Location: An Unofficial Review and Guide to the Locations Used for the Entire Film Series* (Irregular Special Press, 2010).

¹⁵⁸ Marcia Kennedy-McLuckie, *Jane Austen TV & Film Locations Guide* (2016).

¹⁵⁹ Sue Birtwistle and Susie Conklin, *The Making of Pride and Prejudice* (Penguin Publishing Group, 2003).

¹⁶⁰ "Movie Locations," *The Worldwide Guide To Movie Locations*, 2022, accessed 2nd August, 2022, <https://www.movie-locations.com/>.

¹⁶¹ Local newspapers often report on filming at the local stately home and can be cross-referenced with paparazzi shots to identify the production.

pandemic and questions of historical accuracy and authenticity. Following the interview, a thank you email was sent and the recordings were uploaded to two separate places.

The reach of the interviews attempted to be representative of the heritage sector as a whole but due to the ongoing pandemic and relying on people's goodwill, the results were weighted towards one organisation, the National Trust. However, other data gathering options, such as focus groups or questionnaires were not possible due to the pandemic, therefore, compared to the other options the semi-structured interview was the most effective.

Stage Two

After the initial research, eighty-seven sites where filming had occurred were considered for interviews. Some of these houses had combined offices, where one site office looked after more than one site, this, therefore, reduced the number to seventy-four.

Of these seventy-four sites, thirty-six were owned by the National Trust, fourteen by English Heritage and twenty-four were privately owned.

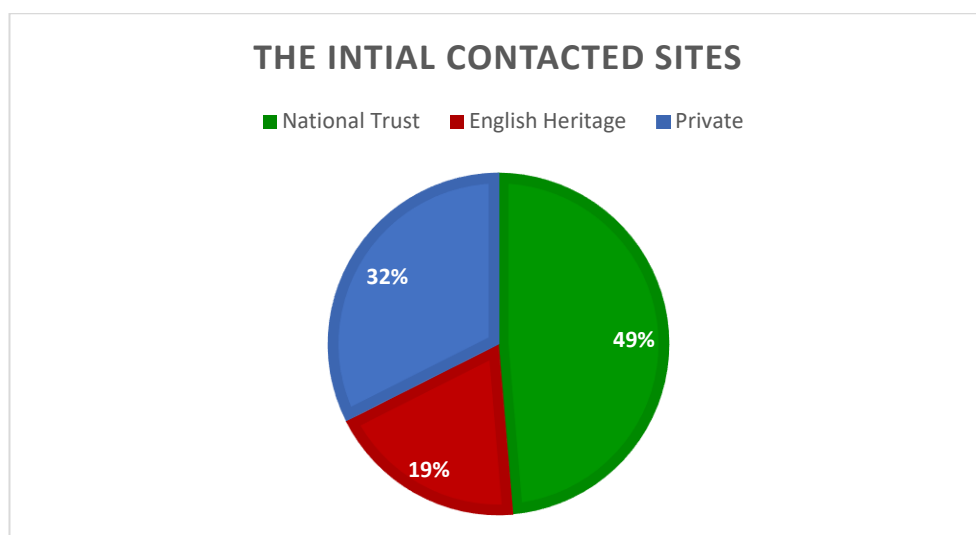


Figure 1 Sites that were initially contacted

All these sites contacted were in England, except for Tredegar House (in Wales) and Castle Ward (in Northern Ireland), both belonging to the National Trust.¹⁶²

Following the initial email, twenty interviews were conducted: eleven with National Trust Sites (including the film unit), one with an English Heritage site and eight with private sites. The interviews were held with Eltham Palace (English Heritage), Burghley House, Castle Howard, Chavenage House, Haddon Hall, Highclere Castle, Mapperton Park, Old Royal Naval College (all privately owned) and Baddesley Clinton, Basildon Park, Dyrham Park, Greenway House, Lacock Abbey, Montacute House, Petworth House, Stourhead, Tredegar House, Waddesdon Park (all National Trust).

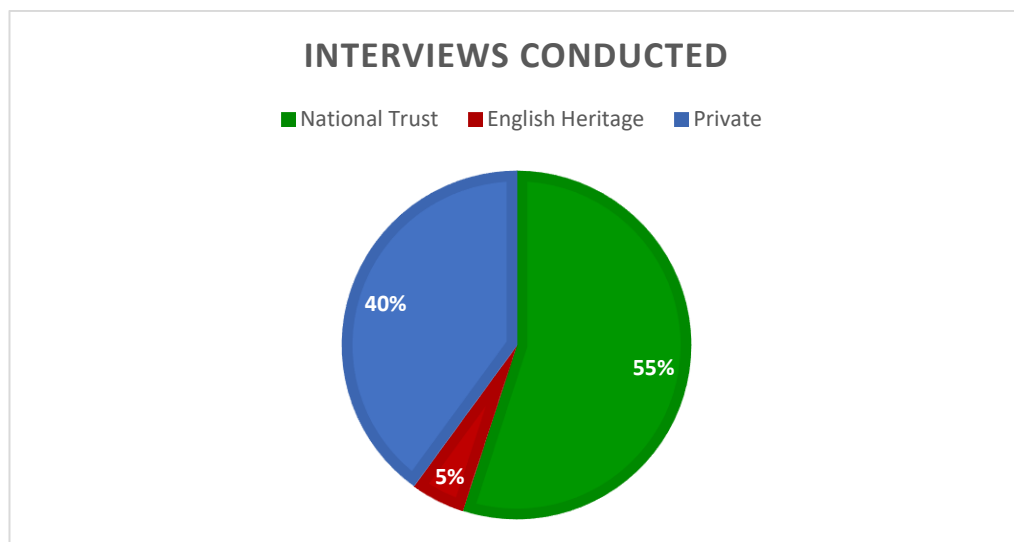


Figure 2 Interviews conducted with heritage sites

The final dataset shows results that are skewed towards the National Trust, and this was considered when completing the analysis.

Transcription

The interviews were transcribed using the online service *Sonix*¹⁶³ which creates the initial transcription with artificial intelligence. This was then be hand-corrected and

¹⁶² Tredegar House resulted in an interview, Castle Ward did not.

¹⁶³ "Automated Transcription, Translation and Subtitling Software," Sonix, 2022, accessed 2nd August, 2022, <https://sonix.ai/>.

analysed to see themes, similarities and differences. These documents were also uploaded to two separate places.

Data Sweep

The data sweep was centred on TripAdvisor reviews and used the search function of the website. The reviews of the chosen site were scanned and searched for keywords such as 'film' 'filming' and 'authenticity' and titles of media that had been shot there. The reviews were then added to a larger database with their dates and the sites they were connected to for further analysis.

Instagram accounts for film tourists and fans who visit heritage sites were examined, using search terms for fictional buildings such as 'Pemberley' and 'Hogwarts'. The accounts must be visible without an account (so not private) and the user is identified in the image with their username throughout this work.

Site Visits

Once interviews had taken place, the relevant heritage sites were visited in the spring and summer of 2021 once they reopened.¹⁶⁴ Previous research provided a familiarity with the layout, facilities and general visitor experience and all these elements were photographed, noted and filmed, including the approach to the house. The visitor route itself, and which rooms are accessed were noted, as well as how visitors were instructed to move around the rooms. This was compared to the floorplan of the site to understand what spaces could and could not be accessed and where different information boards were placed. The room guides were also interacted with as if I was a normal visitor, to see if filming is mentioned, and to see the reaction when filming is asked about.

These methodological tools allowed the primary data to be gathered efficiently and then analysed. The multidisciplinary approach was put into practice to ensure a fair and accurate representation of the field.

¹⁶⁴ Sites visited in summer 2021: Baddesley Clinton, Burghley House, Chatsworth House, Eltham Palace, Haddon Hall, Lacock Abbey and village, Lyme Park, Old Royal Naval College.

4. The Business of Heritage Filming Locations

Introduction

This thesis considers how location filming has impacted heritage sites in England. I am first exploring this question by considering how filming has impacted the business models that these historic institutions have. This chapter draws upon eleven interviews with members of staff and owners of heritage sites and from the corresponding site visits. This chapter also considers secondary sources such as policy documents, annual reports, and institutional financial reports. The sites used to illustrate the investigation belong to several different organisations, therefore, there is an explanation of these early on in this chapter. The different organisations reveal similarities and differences in their approach to integrating filming deals into their business plans, and this will be explored in the four case studies. This chapter concludes by illustrating the catalyst for change that the Covid-19 pandemic brought to this industry and how this highlights the importance for these sites to have non-visitor-based income derived from filming.

Historic sites in England are an iconic part of the imagery of the past and feature prominently in heritage film and TV, and this can influence how people think about the past.¹⁶⁵ Though often initially designed as fortifications,¹⁶⁶ the purpose of these houses has evolved through the centuries from seats of power to family homes, to art galleries, to a wide variety of uses in wartime, to crumbling wrecks besieged by death duties and finally as tangible examples of England's past which are now visitor attractions. The evolving function of a stately home is, in part, due to meeting the needs of the changing times, however, now there are also complex conservation needs that rise in cost year upon year. A stately home requires major upkeep to remain standing and this requires significant investment. Therefore, any additional income is welcome and the implications and financial possibilities of maximizing film revenue needs to be examined.

¹⁶⁵ Jerome De Groot, *Consuming history: Historians and heritage in contemporary popular culture* (Routledge, 2016).

¹⁶⁶ Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (Yale University Press, 1978).

Though historic sites can be seen throughout England, this thesis only considers a fraction of them.¹⁶⁷ As stated in the methodology, the sites considered are grouped by ownership. In England, a heritage site can be owned by the National Trust, English Heritage, The Crown Estate, the Monarch, Historic Royal Palaces or by a private family or organisation. The sites that this thesis investigates are owned by the National Trust, English Heritage and private owners.¹⁶⁸ Both the National Trust and English Heritage are registered charities and their aims are very similar; The National Trust states that 'The *National Trust* works to preserve and protect historic places and spaces- for ever, for everyone'¹⁶⁹ and English Heritage states that they aim to 'conserve the National Heritage Collection [and] [...] bring history to life in the places where it happened by opening up the sites and monuments for public access'.¹⁷⁰ English Heritage has been an independent charity since April 2015, when the original organisation was split into English Heritage, which manages the sites and opens them to the public, and Historic England which is a non-departmental public body, sponsored by the British Government which protects England's historic environment.¹⁷¹ Both the National Trust and English Heritage make it clear that filming would meet some of the needs of these mission statements, and the National Trust's 'places for everyone' seems to demonstrate proactive engagement with the film industry. Both organisations have a dedicated filming office.

Beyond the monarchy, there are a significant number of private stately homes, and this is a widely used term in the heritage industry to mean a dwelling which belongs to a private individual or family (often via a trust) and is usually registered as a charity. Though the houses considered in this thesis are open to the public this is not a requisite. Many private houses belong to the Historic Houses Association [HHA] which is

¹⁶⁷ Focussing primarily on stately homes and excluding religious sites, war memorials, battlefields, ships, airfields, stone circles, living farms, hospitals, military sites, museums etc.

¹⁶⁸ The National Trust owns over 500 historic sites (<https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/information-to-journalists>) and English Heritage owns over 400 historic monuments (<https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/>)

¹⁶⁹ "National Trust: Our Cause," National Trust, 2022, accessed 15th August, 2022, <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/our-cause>.

¹⁷⁰ English Heritage, *Annual Report 2019/20*, English Heritage (2020), 10.

¹⁷¹ "Historic England," 2022, accessed 17th August, 2022, <https://historicengland.org.uk/>.

a non-profit cooperative association, run by and for the owners of the historic places we represent. Houses, castles and gardens in private, corporate, charitable, or institutional ownership throughout Great Britain and Northern Ireland may join the association as full, or house, members.¹⁷²

The HHA does not own the houses, but runs a membership scheme for the public, where for an annual fee they can access these houses without further charge. This is a similar business model to the non-profit membership scheme model used by the National Trust and English Heritage. The HHA pays 'a small sum' to the owners of the private houses for every card-carrying member who visits, and additional income is made from tea shops and gift shops on-site and from special events.

The HHA is also connected to *Location Works*, a large film location database which has a category for stately homes.¹⁷³ According to their 'credits' page, *Location Works* is widely used by the film and TV industry. It has been used frequently by Apple TV, the BBC, Netflix, Sky Cinema, Starz and other different commercial agencies.¹⁷⁴ It sorts locations into area, type and keywords and then connects the production company with the location for a fee. *Locations Works* can take photographs of the site and acts as an intermediary, advertising the sites as filming locations. This can be useful for private sites, which often have a small staff, and for private houses that are part of the HHA, there is additional guidance on their website. The HHA also provides other advice, claiming, 'We provide first-line professional advice and personalised technical expertise on everything from how to become a wedding venue or a film location to the best way to clean historic fabrics or prevent damage from fires and floods.'¹⁷⁵ It is clear that filming is seen as an important business opportunity for these sites and the HHA has guides and runs

¹⁷² "House Membership," Historic Houses Association, 2022, accessed 17th August, 2022, <https://www.historichouses.org/become-a-member/house-membership/>.

¹⁷³ "Filming, Photography and Events at Historic Houses venue," Location Works, 2022, accessed 17th August, 2022, <https://www.locationworks.com/historichouses/>.

¹⁷⁴ "Location Works: clients and credits," Location Works, 2022, accessed 17th August, 2022, <https://www.locationworks.com/credits/>.

¹⁷⁵ "Our Story: Independent Heritage Working Together," Historic Houses Association, 2022, accessed 17th August, 2022, <https://www.historichouses.org/our-story/>.

seminars for owners to maximise profits. As evidenced by all these organisations, there is an emphasis on conservation and the channelling of any profit into preserving the fabric of the sites. The costs of conservation are featured prominently in annual reports - figures from the 2019/2020 National Trust annual report show £169million spent on 'conservation projects'¹⁷⁶ and the equivalent figures from English Heritage's annual report were £121.3million.¹⁷⁷ Stressing that filming fees are channelled into conservation work enables them to deflect any possible criticism for allowing filming in.

Despite these differences in ownership and management of heritage sites, there is a clear push towards increasing filming, although this has to allow for possible conservation issues which may arise. This chapter uses four case studies to explore the impact of filming on the business plans at these organisations. The first two case studies consider the non-profit membership organisations: Lacock Abbey for the National Trust and Eltham Palace for English Heritage. These sites have been chosen because they have a long history with filming – Lacock Abbey features as Hogwarts in several *Harry Potter* adaptations¹⁷⁸ and Eltham Palace has been the setting for multiple films and television shows and several music videos.¹⁷⁹ To illustrate the business models developed by private sites, the case studies include consideration of the occupancy of a resident family, as this alters the business plan. As an example of a private house with a resident family, Burghley has been selected due to its rising prominence in films and its inclusion in the recent series of *The Crown* (Netflix, 2016-) which made Burghley familiar to a wider audience. The final case study considers a very different private site, Old Royal Naval College has been chosen because it has featured in films since the 1950s and is possibly the most filmed site in London.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶ *National Trust Annual Report 2019/20*, National Trust (2020), 2.

¹⁷⁷ Heritage, *Annual Report 2019/20*, 23.

¹⁷⁸ *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* (2001, Chris Columbus) and *Harry Potter and The Chamber of Secrets* (2002, Chris Columbus).

¹⁷⁹ *Eltham Palace has been a popular filming location. Some of the productions shot there including Brideshead Revisited (2008) as Atlantic ship interiors, as The Crown series 1 or 2, as royal yacht interiors and as a fashion house.*

¹⁸⁰ According to an Empire Magazine article from 2013, which has yet to be updated. Helen O'Hara, "Is This The Most Popular Filming Location In The World?: Greenwich's Old Royal Naval College is

Case Study 1: National Trust: Lacock Abbey



Figure 3 Lacock Abbey Cloisters

Lacock Abbey is a site owned by the National Trust located just outside Chippenham, in Wiltshire near Bath. The abbey was founded in 1232 by Ela, Countess of Salisbury (1187-1261), and the cloister dates from the 1400s. Over the centuries the abbey functioned as a nunnery until the Dissolution of the Monasteries and the abbey was bought by Sir William Sharington (1495-1553), a Tudor courtier who remodelled the abbey, adding an octagonal tower and turning it into his country house. In the 1700s, the abbey was inherited by John Ivory Talbot (1697-1772) who further altered the site with gothic additions and in 1835 William Henry Fox Talbot (1800-1877) created the first photographic negative, which 'established Lacock as the Birthplace of Photography'.¹⁸¹ Lacock Abbey was given to the National Trust and it has been a popular tourist attraction along with its neighbouring picturesque village. The village is also owned by the National Trust

taking over Hollywood," *Empire*, 2013, <https://www.empireonline.com/movies/features/greenwich-popular-film-location/>. Films include *The Madness of King George* (1994, Nicholas Hytner) *The Young Victoria* (2007, Jean-Marc Vallee), *The Duchess* (2007, Saul Dibb), *Sherlock Holmes* (2008, Guy Ritchie) and *Les Misérables* (2012, Tom Hooper).

¹⁸¹ "From abbey to country home," National Trust, 2022, accessed 17th August, 2022, <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/lacock-abbey-fox-talbot-museum-and-village/features/abbey-to-country-home>.

and there is a lack of satellite dishes and other modern accretions, resulting in an ideal village for filming for Tudor and historic productions. Lacock Abbey, particularly its cloisters, has featured in heritage media since the 1990s, standing in for Cambridge in the BBC's 1995 adaptation of *Pride and Prejudice*. Most notably the distinctive cloisters were used in the early *Harry Potter* films (in *The Philosopher's Stone* and *The Chamber of Secrets*) as interiors as the school of Hogwarts and the abbey was also used in the 2008 film *The Other Boleyn Girl* (Justin Chadwick). More recent filming has continued the Hogwarts connections, with *Fantastic Beasts and Where to Find Them* (2016, David Yates) and *Fantastic Beasts: The Crimes of Grindelwald* (2018, David Yates) reusing the cloisters as Hogwarts. According to an interview conducted with a member of staff at Lacock, the site receives a large volume of filming enquiries and has about six major productions filmed at the site per year, with each production being at the site for four or five days each.¹⁸² If a large production approaches them, such as Warner Brothers' *Harry Potter* franchises, the site 'ditches everything' to focus on the shoot. A lot of consideration is given to closing the site for filming, as Lacock is primarily a visitor attraction and maintaining the balance between visitor expectations, filming requirements and staff time is essential for the smooth running of the site.¹⁸³

One of the attractions of filming at Lacock is that it can stand in for a variety of places, including ecclesiastical buildings such as cathedrals.¹⁸⁴ There are several preserved state rooms upstairs which cover many eras from Georgian to Edwardian and the great hall is in the style of gothic revival (popular from the late 18th to the late 19th century). An issue arises with filming in the cloisters – they are popular for filming and visitors alike, so closing them off can lead to disgruntled visitors. Lacock rarely closes the whole site, instead favouring closing parts of the site (such as the cloisters) or providing a loop around the grounds.

¹⁸² Member of Staff at Lacock Abbey, "Lacock Interview," interview by Rosemary Alexander-Jones, 2021.

¹⁸³ *Ibid*

¹⁸⁴ It is rare to film in a cathedral for any length of time due to services, although Lincoln Cathedral (for *The Da Vinci Code*), Durham Cathedral (for *Avengers Endgame*) and York Minster (*Bill* 2015) have all had filming take place.

Although Lacock handles the filming productions on site, the initial contact is established with the National Trust film Office, headed by Harvey Edgington. Edgington provided a detailed overview of the process involved, which has developed to become a considerable undertaking. Filming enquiries for the entire Trust 'easily top 200 a month' and there are, on average, three crews a day filming on Trust land.¹⁸⁵ The projects range from small factual programmes to large-scale epics such as *Game of Thrones* (2011-2019, HBO).

The National Trust has a wide range of sites from forests, beaches, fields, workhouses, and industrial sites. Their ownership of these has enabled them to work with a wider range of media genres so that they have moved on from a close association with Jane Austen productions with which they might be traditionally associated, what Edgington rather cynically called 'frocks and bonnets' movies.¹⁸⁶ The increasingly professionalisation of the relationship with the screen industries includes the development of the *National Trust Filming Locations Database* a website which lists all of the Trust's lands and properties under criteria that film companies ask about such as proximity to the M25 or whether the site is Jacobean.¹⁸⁷

To clarify the procedure of a heritage site becoming a filming location at the National Trust, the following process occurs. After the initial enquiry from location scouts, the Film Office discusses the scale of the project and the types of locations required, along with proposed filming dates. The Film Office then contacts the sites to see if filming is feasible and the process continues from there. Film companies rarely look at just one site – they will look at several and conduct recces (reconnaissance trips) to each site. These recces are hosted by the manager of the site or a senior member of staff, who take the location manager around and discuss the project. If the site is considered as a possibility there will be a second recce, this time involving the director and perhaps other heads of departments such as

¹⁸⁵ Harvey Edgington, "National Trust Film Office Interview," interview by Rosemary Alexander-Jones, 2021.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid*

¹⁸⁷ "National Trust Filming Locations," National Trust, 2022, accessed 17th August, 2022, <https://www.nationaltrustimages.org.uk/filming-locations>.

production design and lighting, and then a final tech recce to discuss the logistics of generators, cables and additional vehicles required on-site during filming. Once this is all agreed the Film Office draws up the contract with the film company (including insurance) and the filming will progress. On larger projects, the entire process takes a minimum of six weeks, and on very large projects it may be a couple of months.¹⁸⁸ For smaller scale projects it can vary, with commercials sometimes only giving a week's notice that they need somewhere, which means that sometimes these projects are refused by the Film Office without contacting the sites.¹⁸⁹ Very occasionally the Film Office deals with enquiries on the day, especially when a film crew arrives on land that they didn't realise belonged to the Trust and have to quickly get permission.¹⁹⁰ However long filming takes, there are additional days before and after for set up and 'striking' (breaking down) the set and reinstating the original furniture to the rooms. The length of time required for this will vary according to the size of the production.

Often how much of the site will be closed to visitors during filming will depend on the size of the production. For large productions, such as a *Potter* or *Fantastic Beasts* film Warner Bros will often pay for the entire site to be closed, partly to try and dissuade fans from visiting the site and disrupting filming. When a site is fully closed to the public an additional clause is added to the contract concerning the loss of earnings, which the film company covers as part of their fee. If possible, the site tries to stay at least partially open to visitors, changing the visitor route to avoid the filming areas and using signs to explain the disruption to visitors. The staff at the site often sign non-disclosure agreements (NDAs) which state they cannot talk about the film or programme until it is released, though in practice it is often the local media who notice the filming and publish, rather than a member of staff leaking it. The NDAs often prevent staff from taking photos during filming, which can mean that advertising the connection after the film is released can be difficult. Edgington says that they often have a deal with the film company to use stills from

¹⁸⁸ Edgington, "National Trust Film Office Interview."

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid*

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid*

the film in publicity, but according to various managers this deal is often forgotten about by the film company once they have left the site.¹⁹¹

After filming, the relationship between the production and the heritage site varies, depending on whether the site wants to advertise its connection to the released film or TV show. There are often articles in the local press detailing that the local stately home or abbey stars in the latest release, and then national papers sometimes follow with articles about how to visit the filming locations. These different types of publicity can be categorised into site generated (events, tours, articles in the National Trust magazine, mentions on their social media and websites), media generated (articles in local and national press, *Visit England* articles, 'thank you's' in the film's credits), and public generated (blogs, vlogs, social media posts, *IMDB* and other mentions by people not associated with the site or the media).

There are a growing number of blogs, websites and social media pages which actively identify film locations¹⁹² and this all contributes to film tourists seeking out the site. This can lead to a boost in revenue, and the implications of increased visitors are explored below. Lacock has persevered as a physical manifestation of a fictional environment – when searching for Lacock on Instagram many of the posts include references to the *Potter* films, with people dressing up in wizarding robes and waving wands around (as will be discussed in chapter three). This can have detrimental effects too – increased visitor numbers have increased wear on the stone floors of the cloisters and there is now *Potter*-specific graffiti in the stonework.¹⁹³

The National Trust is finding a balance with a heritage site transforming into a film tourism visitor attraction. The site capitalises on current trends, and during the height of the *Potter* films' popularity Lacock's gift shop sold *Potter* memorabilia and there is still a movie map for the whole village showing the filming locations for many of the productions shot in and around it. More recently, the Trust's website

¹⁹¹ *Ibid*

¹⁹² Such as *Movie Locations*: "Movie Locations."

¹⁹³ Abbey, "Lacock Interview."

has several web pages for film tourists where Lacock is prominently featured¹⁹⁴ and the Trust's membership magazine ran an article called 'Trust on Screen' which detailed filming at Montacute House, another Trust site.¹⁹⁵ The National Trust are engaged with the film tourists and sees the potential for non-visitor-based income in the future.

The National Trust has refined filming to a well-planned business operation process, where the logistics and legalities are handled centrally and the aesthetics are handled locally, allowing managers full control over what is shot at their site and consideration is given concerning the visitor experience and conservation issues. With English Heritage, the process is similar, but the Trust has the advantage of a wider variety of sites for filming and the benefit of many stately homes, whereas English Heritage is better known for its ruins. Filming is a much smaller part of English Heritage's business plan, their film team averages one enquiry a week in contrast to the Trust's over 200 a month that was previously mentioned.¹⁹⁶ Unlike the National Trust, English Heritage does not have a dedicated film locations website, their filming webpage¹⁹⁷ leads to the generic 'places to visit' database on their website, which could be discouraging location managers and film companies from continuing with their enquiries.¹⁹⁸ English Heritage was unable to provide an interview for this research.

¹⁹⁴ "For film and TV lovers," National Trust, 2022, accessed 17th August, 2022, <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/for-film-and-tv-lovers>.

¹⁹⁵ National Trust, "The National Trust on Screen," *National Trust Member's Magazine*, 2020.

¹⁹⁶ Chris Small, "Eltham Palace Interview," interview by Rosemary Alexander-Jones, 2021.

¹⁹⁷ "Filming & TV Locations," English Heritage, 2022, accessed 17th August, 2022, <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/about-us/filming-and-tv-locations/>.

¹⁹⁸ "Places to Visit in England," English Heritage, 2022, accessed 17th August, 2022, <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/#?page=1&place=&mp=false&fe=false>.

Case Study 2: English Heritage: Eltham Palace



Figure 4 Eltham Palace Art Deco Hall

Eltham Palace is a site owned and managed by English Heritage in southeast London, in the borough of Greenwich and it stands out for its use as filming location. Though a wide variety of media has been shot at the site it is far less recognised by film tourists – according to an interview with Chris Small, the property manager at Eltham Palace, the typical visitors to the site do not visit because they saw it on film.¹⁹⁹

Eltham is a mixture of art deco and medieval and was presented to Edward II (1307-1327) in 1305 by Anthony Bek, Bishop of Durham (1245-1311). It was greatly altered between 1350 and 1370 and it often hosted Christmas celebrations for the reigning monarch. Henry VIII (1491-1547) was the last monarch to spend any substantial time at Eltham, growing up there as a boy, but preferring Greenwich and Hampton Court once king. Charles I (1600-1649) was the last king to visit Eltham and in 1651²⁰⁰ it was sold to Colonel Nathaniel Rich (d.1701) who destroyed many of the buildings on site, leaving the medieval great hall. For the next two centuries, it fell into disrepair and was used as a farm (the great hall as the barn) until the site was reworked in the 19th century to include new buildings, new

¹⁹⁹ Small, "Eltham Palace Interview."

²⁰⁰ Some sources say 1648

gardens and glasshouses. Still owned by the crown, in 1933 the site was leased to Virginia (1873-1972) and Stephen Courtauld (1883-1967), millionaires who reworked the site in a variety of styles (including art deco and arts and crafts) and refurbished the great hall, adding a minstrel's gallery. During the Second World War, the Courtaulds moved away and transferred the lease to the Army Education Corps which trained soldiers on-site until 1992. English Heritage took over management of the entire estate in 1995 (though it had already been open to the public for three years) and has restored the interiors to how they appeared during the Courtauld's occupation.²⁰¹

To organise a film shoot at Eltham there is a similar process to the National Trust – a film company or location manager will get in touch with the site and be directed to the English Heritage Film Team, and the process then proceeds as it did with the Trust, where the dates are queried with the site and the manager arranges recesses. Although the Film Team set up the invoicing and initial communications, the logistics of the filming are organised with the operations manager at the actual site. A member of the Film Team often accompanies the manager on a recce, but during Covid, this changed and now the manager assumes the full responsibility.

The contracts are again, similar to those of the National Trust, where the fees cover loss of earnings if the entire site is to be closed. Like Lacock, Eltham is loathe to close the entire site if it can be avoided, highlighting the importance of the contract with visitors and English Heritage members to be able to access the site. Chris Small stressed that Eltham is a visitor attraction and having back-to-back closures for filming would cause reputational damage to English Heritage. Despite the necessity of income for the site, Small said that they can't be seen to be putting money ahead of visitor needs, and that again it is about finding a balance.²⁰² They have turned down productions because of closure issues, although they have never turned down a production because of content. Small says that this is because Eltham is never portraying Eltham on screen – it stands in as a lavish backdrop for a music

²⁰¹ "History of Eltham Palace and Gardens," English Heritage, 2022, accessed 17th August, 2022, <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/eltham-palace-and-gardens/history/>.

²⁰² Small, "Eltham Palace Interview."

video, it's the 1920s/30s house or (quite often) it is the interior of a yacht. This also means that there is a light touch regarding historical accuracy, as no one is trying to tell Eltham's story. At Eltham they are keen to point out that their broad approach stems from the fact that any filming there uses the site as a backdrop and is not intending to tell Eltham's story, this was a point stressed by Small, but interestingly, it was not mentioned at Lacock.

The sites has only explicated 'played' Eltham Palace once, in an episode of *Antiques Roadshow* (BBC, 1979-), however, greater consideration would have to be given if there was a film or programme about the Courtaulds, then there would be more attention towards historical accuracy as it would be representing the site itself.

The issues around non-disclosure agreements and image rights are the same as for the Trust, though less significant as Eltham does not widely advertise that filming has taken place. Although music videos, TV shows and films have been shot there (including *The Crown*)²⁰³ there is no merchandise, movie map of film locations, DVDs or books for sale, and it is only when English Heritage is producing an article about their houses on screen is Eltham mentioned.²⁰⁴ Overall, filming figures considerably less importantly for English Heritage than for the National Trust, with fewer resources devoted to it and less exploitation of its effects. The process changes further when considering filming at private sites and the two examples that follow demonstrate these approaches.

²⁰³ *Eltham Palace has been a popular filming location. Some of the productions shot there including Brideshead Revisited (2008) as Atlantic ship interiors, as The Crown series 1 or 2, as royal yacht interiors and as a fashion house. Also used in Missbehaviour (2020) as American offices and in an episode of Poirot as a stately home. It was used in the Parachute, 2010 music video by Cheryl Cole and Shake It Out, 2011 music video by Florence and the Machine, "Froot", 2014 music video by Marina and the Diamonds and "Alone", 2017 music video by Jessie Ware. It also appeared in Bright Young Things, I Capture the Castle, High Heels and Low Lifes, The Gathering Storm, Home Front, and The History of Romance.*

²⁰⁴ Adele Cooper, "English Heritage Properties on Screen," *English Heritage Member's Magazine*, 2022, <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/members-area/members-magazine/movies/>.

Case Study 3: Private House with a Resident Family: Burghley House



Figure 5 Burghley House

Not being owed by the National Trust or English Heritage gives a private site such as Burghley House the chance to be more selective about the ways it earns income apart from visitors fees. Burghley is best known for hosting the Burghley Horse Trials but there are plenty of other events such as outdoor film screenings and corporate events. Filming can be a choice. As a house that has remained in one family since its first construction, there is a greater sensitivity to aspects around the family and this has impacts on filming.

Burghley House is an Elizabethan prodigy house built for William Cecil (1520-1598), Elizabeth I's (1558-1603) chief minister. It is near the town of Stamford in Lincolnshire (which is also frequently used for filming, for similar reasons to Lacock Village) and its exteriors remain Elizabethan whereas the interiors appear as in the 1800s when they were remodelled. The house was briefly bombarded by Oliver Cromwell's (1599-1658) forces during the English Civil War and in the late eighteenth century the house and grounds were remodelled by Lancelot 'Capability' Brown (1716-1783). The south front roofline was levelled, and various new buildings were added, such as a summer house, an orangery, and extensive stables. The interiors feature a large great hall and many staterooms, including the iconic Heaven Room

which is a baroque drawing room with wall paintings that depict the Roman gods in scene of adultery. This room leads to the Hell Staircase where the wall paintings depict sinners and beasts and the giant mouth of hell on the ceiling.²⁰⁵ The house is owned by the Burghley House Preservation Trust and is currently occupied by the cousin of the current marquess and her family, Miranda Rock (1969-).

There has been filming at Burghley since the 1990s,²⁰⁶ especially the Heaven Room. It stood in for the Vatican in *The Da Vinci Code* (Ron Howard) and as Rosings in *Pride & Prejudice* (2005, Joe Wright) which displayed both the exterior and the distinctive interiors. It has also recently appeared as an interior in series four of *The Crown*, standing in for Buckingham Palace and Sandringham, and the Heaven Room was notably used for the proposal scene between Prince Charles and Diana.

Although Burghley is a member of the HHA and they have a page on the Locations Work Database²⁰⁷ filmmakers communicate directly with the director of commercial and visitor operations at Burghley, Philip Gompertz. He organises the initial reces and the contracts and fees, but he has the additional responsibility of consulting the resident family before any filming can take place.²⁰⁸ He stressed the preference at Burghley for big projects particularly those connected with streaming services as the fee is large and the productions are usually widely seen, raising the international profile of Burghley.²⁰⁹ There are also local projects too –Although none of the sites were prepared to discuss the fees involved, Burghley did say that for very minor projects such as filming the weather in the grounds the nominal sum of £100 was mentioned. Using heritage sites as the background for weather forecasts is mutually beneficial as when Burghley appears in the background of the

²⁰⁵ In the original layout of the house a visitor would walk up the Hell Staircase to get to the Heaven Room, however on the current visitor route the Heaven Room is seen first, and then the visitor descends the Hell Staircase.

²⁰⁶ Media shot at Burghley include *Middlemarch* (1994 BBC series), *The Buccaneers* (1995), *The Golden Bowl* (2000), *Bleak House* (2005), *Pride and Prejudice* (2005), *The Da Vinci Code* (2006), *Elizabeth The Golden Age* (2007), *Housefull 2: The Dirty Dozen* (2012), *Castle in the Country* (BBC), *How We Built Britain* (BBC), *Antiques Roadshow* (BBC), *The Crown* series four (as Winsor interiors, instead of Belvoir Castle used in the previous series), and a *Top Gear* episode.

²⁰⁷ "Historic Houses: Reference 39290 [Burghley]," Location Works, 2022, accessed 17th August, 2022, <https://www.locationworks.com/library.php?reference=39290>.

²⁰⁸ Phillip Gompertz, "Burghley Interview," interview by Rosemary Alexander-Jones, 2021.

²⁰⁹ Gompertz, "Burghley Interview."

local weather broadcast they report an uptake in visitors the following week as people are reminded of the site.²¹⁰ This arrangement is seen at other properties, and it balances the role the site plays in the local community with advertising and cultural connections that are important for income. These smaller, local projects, although lacking initial monetary value build and maintain the image of the site as a friendly and welcoming local visitor attraction.

Interior filming at Burghley only takes place in spaces on the visitor route. When booking filming consideration is given to how disruptive it will be to the family, such as around Christmas when the children are home from school.²¹¹ There is also a hesitation about any 'fly on the wall' documentaries or anything involving celebrities, the family is keen on television programmes which focus on the history of the house or the art collection, but they do not want to be involved with anything about the current occupants or how the house is run.²¹² This draws on the high and low cultural distinction, which is explored in more depth in the later chapters. The family want to use the media to demonstrate the high culture of the site (history and art) rather than engaging with the low culture, such as a reality TV programme. They are still engaging with low culture by agreeing to the filming of mass media at the property and this is a balance that many houses struggle to maintain.

Although Burghley follows other sites in safety provision and conservation awareness it is prepared to allow the use of Atmospheric Aerosol Haze,²¹³ although the long-term conservation issues around its use are unknown. Even cable management is discussed at the recces and is included in the contract.²¹⁴ Permanent staff are brought in on filming days to aid this endeavour and one person is placed in each room or area to prevent any issues from arising.²¹⁵

²¹⁰ Gompertz, "Burghley Interview."

²¹¹ *Ibid*

²¹² *Ibid*

²¹³ Also known as 'fog in a can'

²¹⁴ *Ibid*

²¹⁵ *Ibid*

After filming there is sometimes a short-lived effort to publicise their connection to it – after *The Da Vinci Code* there were articles in the national papers and Burghley was included in tours of the filming locations, and DVDs of *Pride & Prejudice* have been sold in the gift shop.²¹⁶ Burghley's website doesn't advertise that they've had filming but the room stewards were keen to discuss it when asked during a site visit in August 2021 and seemed simultaneously proud of *Pride & Prejudice*, *the Da Vinci Code* and *The Crown* in equal measure. However, there is an issue with Burghley's use in *The Crown*, which Gompertz attributed to the connection between some trustees and the royal family and the site is therefore unwilling to promote this media connection.²¹⁷ This is an issue around cultural distinction in the business plan rather than an economical factor and is one of the biggest differences between sites with residence families and sites without. The family's reputation (and any connections) must be considered along with the reputation of the site and organisation.

Burghley presents one way for a private site to operate and its reliance on final approval from the resident family tallies with interviews from other sites in the same position. A private house, as with National Trust property, must consider its brand and its connections, but it has more control over what conservation allowances can be made for filming (such as the use of *Atmos*, a haze that productions spray into the air to make the air look slightly cloudy, often used to better define strong light beams or diffuse gentler lighting and soften the background of the shot). Private sites such as Burghley that are outside of London, use filming to raise their profile both locally and internationally. The use of the local weather broadcast to draw in locals is balanced by the big streamers' productions which reaches a more international audience. When asked why filmmakers chose to film at Burghley, Gompertz highlighted the professionalism and the friendliness of the staff along with the unique painted rooms. Finally, Gompertz regards using the site for filming as part of its education programme which is one of its charitable objectives.

²¹⁶ Gompertz, "Burghley Interview."

²¹⁷ *Ibid*

Case Study 4: Private Site without a Resident Family: Old Royal Naval College



Figure 6: Old Royal Naval College

Claimed to be the most filmed sites in London in 2013, Old Royal Naval College (ORNC) has the advantage of its location in Greenwich and its variety of buildings and locations across its site.

It as a Tudor palace on the banks of the river Thames in Greenwich. It was the birthplace of Henry VIII, Mary I (1516-1558) and Elizabeth I but fell into disrepair during the English Civil War and the palace was finally demolished in the seventeenth century.²¹⁸ Queen Mary II (of William and Mary, 1662-1694) commissioned Christopher Wren (1632-1723) to design and build a hospital for naval veterans on the site, with most of the work was carried out by his assistant Nicholas Hawksmoor (c.1661-1736).²¹⁹ It functioned as a naval hospital until the late nineteenth century when the site was acquired by the Royal Naval College, training men and women (from 1939) for the navy. In 1997 the navy vacated the premises, and there are now two universities which lease parts of the site – the University of East Greenwich and the Trinity Laban School of Music and Dance. The

²¹⁸ "Our History," Old Royal Naval College, 2022, accessed 17th August, 2022, <https://ornc.org/our-history/>.

²¹⁹ *Ibid*

Greenwich Foundation was established to preserve the site and it was opened to the public in 1998 as the Old Royal Naval College.²²⁰

It is one of London's most popular visitor attractions, appearing as the ninth most popular in London in the Visitor Attractions report for 2020. It attracts 1.2 million visitors a year but it is its role as a very popular filming location that features the major part of its marketing, describing itself as 'possibly the world's most popular filming location'.²²¹ Although ORNC does not have a dedicated film office they run their own system and deal directly with filmmakers.²²²

As a building with an exclusively practical function rather than a family home, first as a hospital and then as a college, it lends itself more readily to filming. This removes ORNC from some of the cultural distinctions issues, as since the late nineteenth century it has been a working site. Possibly due to this, the transition to becoming a visitor attraction was more straightforward and now being a filming location is an evolution of that. However, as with Eltham Palace, the site still claims to prioritise its role as a visitor attraction.²²³

ORNC is a unique site in this thesis, because it has never been a house but it has stood in for houses (amongst other things) in its role as a film location. Since the 1950s it has appeared in over 125 different productions, including feature films, television series, documentaries and advertisements.²²⁴ Some of the most high profile of these include *The Madness of King George* (1994, Nicholas Hytner) *The Young Victoria* (2007, Jean-Marc Vallee), *The Duchess* (2007, Saul Dibb), *Sherlock Holmes* (2008, Guy Ritchie) and *Les Misérables* (2012, Tom Hooper) which transformed the ORNC into Paris. The architecture is incredibly versatile. It has spaces that resemble palaces, temples, formal government buildings, colonnades, an enclosed street, and an open courtyard fronting the Thames. Because of this versatility the site is unlikely to go out of fashion and is an architectural chameleon,

²²⁰ "Our History."

²²¹ "Today," Old Royal Naval College, 2022, accessed 17th August, 2022, <https://ornc.org/our-history/today/>.

²²² Member of Staff, "Old Royal Naval College Interview," interview by Rosemary Alexander-Jones, 2021.

²²³ *Ibid*

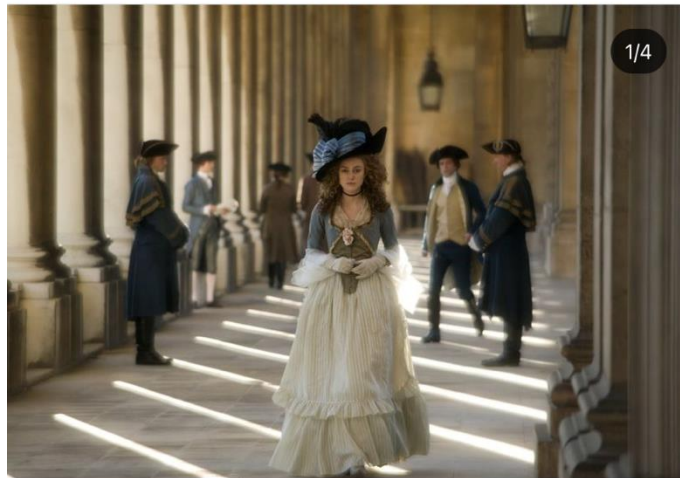
²²⁴ For the full list see Appendix Five

able to play generic London or European city scenes. It has the added advantage of its size meaning that filming at one end of the site doesn't impact visitors and students at the other end. ORNC capitalise on its film connections as part of the visitor experience, extending the tour beyond the historic features to include references to film projects. The 'Film and TV Tour' is very popular and is heavily advertised online.²²⁵ The hour-long tour is led by volunteers who point out features that have appeared in specific films. During filming the staff onsite do take photos of the 'behind the scenes', making sure not to include recognisable actors and these are posted to social media after filming when the first trailer is released, and whenever a film featuring ORNC is shown on television.²²⁶ This has shown a rise in visitor numbers in the days that follow and the large display about filming in the visitor centre draws a lot of attention, although filming merchandise is not sold in the gift shops.²²⁷ ORNC social media frequently reference the films shot on site, as seen in Figure 7.

²²⁵ Staff, "Old Royal Naval College Interview."

²²⁶ *Ibid*

²²⁷ *Ibid*



1/4



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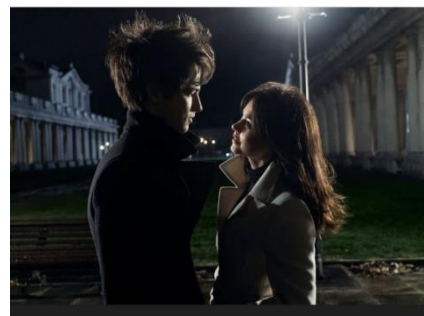
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 Discover Ukraine: Bits Destroyed digital art projection

Figure 7 A selection of ORNC's Instagram posts engaging with film tourism

Because ORNC has been a filming location for so long, it has the infrastructure in place to allow it to deal directly with filmmakers. Filming has become embedded in ORNC's business plan and it is listed as a key activity in their annual report.

The Old Royal Naval College today is a diverse, cultural space at the heart of Royal Greenwich. We are a heritage attraction, a place of worship, learning space, retailer, concert venue, film set, picnic venue, entertainment space, conference host, wedding venue and performance space.²²⁸

As with many of the interviewees with private houses, ORNC reported that it was found preferable to host film crews rather than weddings and corporate events because of the better behaviour of a film crew and the lack of alcohol involved.²²⁹

ORNC is in a unique position as they are simultaneously a visitor attraction, a venue, a heritage site and a university campus. Perhaps because of this and their lack of resident family, the cultural distinctions that are so prevalent at private sites are irrelevant and the site can accept filming requests from various sources. ORNC also heavily publicises itself as a filming location and has an established infrastructure, making it attractive to filmmakers and film tourists. Released from the restrictions of 'appropriate' use of a heritage site, ORNC has ensured that it has a stable non-visitor-related income stream going forward.

There are a lot of commonalities in how the variety of sites manage filming and the after-effects, including conservation issues. The following page has a flowchart designed to show the process in its simplest form.

²²⁸ Old Royal Naval College, *Annual Review 2020/21* (Old Royal Naval College, 2021), 8.

²²⁹ Staff, "Old Royal Naval College Interview.", Caroline Lowsley-Williams, "Chavenage Interview," interview by Rosemary Alexander-Jones, 2021. , Margie Burnet, "Haddon Interview," interview by Rosemary Alexander-Jones, 2021.

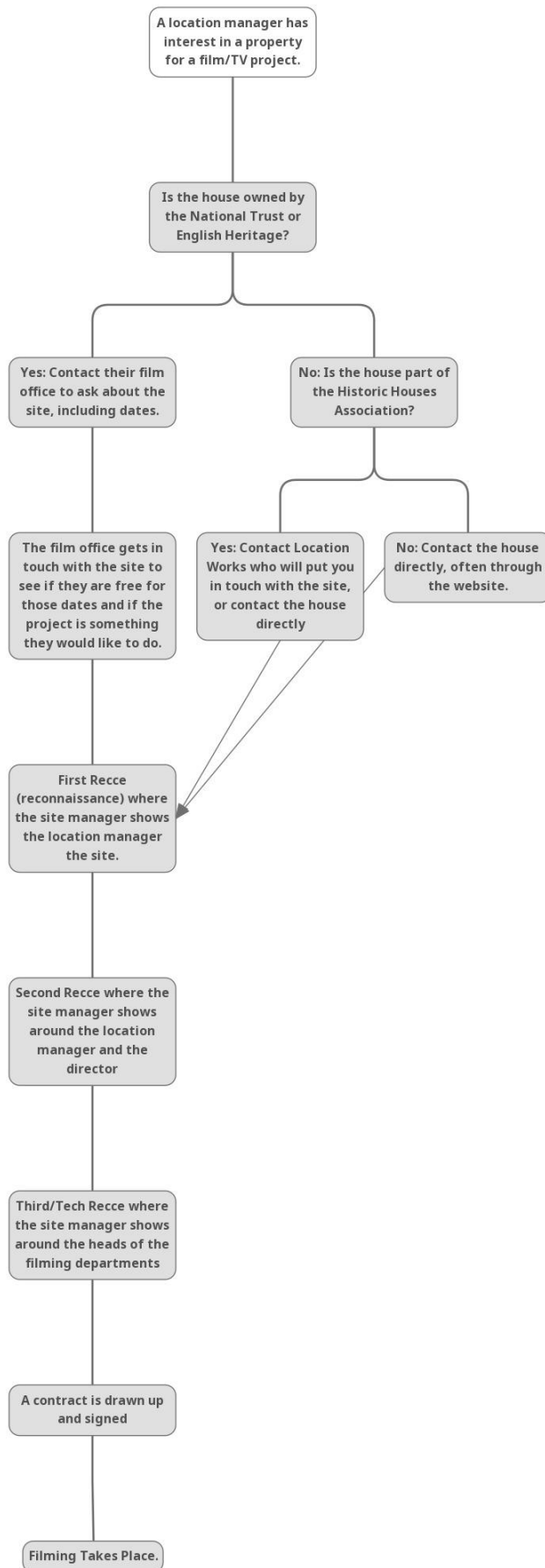


Figure 8 Flow Chart of a Heritage Site Becoming a Film Location

Covid-19 Pandemic

Beginning in early 2020, the Covid-19 pandemic had a detrimental effect on many trades throughout the world, including the heritage and filming industries. When England began its first lockdown in March 2020, projects which were due to start filming were halted, filming locations (including heritage sites) were closed, and all filmmaking ceased. Although restrictions steadily lifted for filming, visitor attractions were unable to reopen to the public until the summer of 2020, and then further lockdowns forced closure. This led to a precarious situation for much of 2020 and 2021, as sites balanced social distancing measures with lockdowns and came to rely on non-visitor-based income sources, such as filming, to survive.

Drawing from primary sources, including interviews with site managers and owners and site visits, and secondary sources such as the *Visitor Attractions Trends in England Full Report* this section illustrates how the pandemic heightened the importance for historical sites to have an income stream which is not visitor based, such as filming.

The various English lockdowns during 2020 and 2021 meant that for the majority of those years heritage visitor attractions couldn't open to the public. Some sites, such as those owned by the National Trust, were able to open the grounds for locals to enjoy during their daily exercise and this had the beneficial effect of bringing the 'big house' and the community closer.²³⁰ When all filming in England stopped for the March 2020 lockdown the film industry was quick to implement new training for when restrictions lifted on the 1st of June 2020– the British Filmmaking Commission produced guidelines for filming within the social distancing restrictions²³¹ and *Screen Skills*, an industry training website developed a new course 'Coronavirus – Basic Awareness on Production'.²³² Filming in England also produced guides endorsed by the British government and Public Health England.²³³

²³⁰ Member of Staff, "Baddesley Clinton Interview," interview by Rosemary Alexander-Jones, 2021.

²³¹ "Coronavirus COVID-19 Guidance," British Film Commission, 2022, accessed 18th August, 2022, <https://britishfilmcommission.org.uk/guidance/regarding-covid-19-coronavirus/>.

²³² "Coronavirus basic awareness on production training," ScreenSkills, 2022, accessed 18th August, 2022, <https://www.screenskills.com/online-learning/learning-modules/coronavirus-basic-awareness-on-production-training/>.

²³³ "COVID-19 Production Guidance," Filming in England, 2021, accessed 16th October, 2021, <https://www.filminginengland.co.uk/planning-your-shoot/covid-19-production-guidance/>.

Because of this quick action, many productions began filming in heritage sites in June 2020.²³⁴ However, the financial losses to the heritage tourism industry were considerable, the *Visitor Attractions Trends In England Full Report* for 2020 demonstrate the effect of the pandemic. Although this data is partial, nevertheless, it is useful. It reported a ‘-65% decrease in total visits from 2019 to 2020 – a level of change unparalleled in any previous years’.²³⁵ During this period restriction on travel and closed sites greatly affected heritage tourism and the screen industries. 150 shoots at National Trust sites were cancelled at the announcement of the first lockdown,²³⁶ and filming projects were also cancelled at private sites such as Highclere castle, which was described as ‘catastrophic’.²³⁷

Paradoxically the screen industries recovered more quickly than the heritage sector because they were classed as essential by the government. Sites were able to open for film crews without the need to work around visitors. Dyrham Park, a National Trust property was able to have far more filming in the house than if they had been open²³⁸ and the privately owned Haddon Hall noted that the filming fees included the usual loss of earnings from visitor fees.²³⁹

After the 1st of June, when filming resumed but tourism didn’t, many sites found they were able to be more flexible with film crews when they didn’t have to coordinate with visitor requirements or opening hours. A member of staff at ORNC said that it was much easier to accommodate crews without visitors and students on the grounds, meaning that the film crews could have a ‘full run’ of the site.²⁴⁰

Although sites were hampered by staff being on furlough, smaller film crews meant less supervision was required. Location managers had to be more flexible as seen at

²³⁴ Sophie Allanby, "Castle Howard Interview," interview by Alexander-Jones Rosemary, 2021., Abbey, "Lacock Interview.", Staff, "Old Royal Naval College Interview." And Kim Hallett, "Waddesdon Interview," interview by Rosemary Alexander-Jones, 2021.

²³⁵ *Visitor Attraction Trends in England 2020 Full Report*, Visit Britain (2021), 10, https://www.visitbritain.org/sites/default/files/vb-corporate/Documents-Library/documents/England-documents/vva_2020_trends_in_england_report.pdf.

²³⁶ Edgington, "National Trust Film Office Interview."

²³⁷ Member of Staff at Highclere Castle, "Highclere Interview," interview by Rosemary Alexander-Jones, 2021.

²³⁸ Eilidh Auckland, "Dyrham Park Interview," interview by Rosemary Alexander-Jones, 2021.

²³⁹ Burnet, "Haddon Interview."

²⁴⁰ Staff, "Old Royal Naval College Interview."

Lacock, where some rooms were now too small to use due to social distancing.²⁴¹ Bigger challenges were faced by productions that had planned to go abroad, and they found themselves looking for sites in England rather than Europe, such as Amazon Prime Video's *Cinderella* (2021, Kay Cannon) Waddesdon Manor, near Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire was used as a French chateau, instead of the production filming abroad.²⁴²

The ORNC interviewee claimed that having filming on-site during 2020 saved them financially. During the four months of closure to the public (and the universities) they were able to book many more projects than before, including bigger productions with back-to-back filming. During the third lockdown (5/1/21 – 8/3/21, but 19/7/21 is when the restrictions fully lifted) there were fewer restrictions on film crews and filming restarted at a variety of heritage sites.²⁴³

In a reversal of the traditional process, the owners of Mapperton House (near Beaminster in West Dorset) used their filmmaking skills to capitalise on the site by making their own short films and offering virtual tours, via a membership scheme which enabled them to maintain the equivalent of visitor fees. This allowed visitors to tune into 'Mapperton Live' where they could watch live-streamed guided tours around the manor, see pre-recorded videos and watch live Q&As with the Earl and Countess of Sandwich.²⁴⁴ Although few houses have a virtual tour, several heritage properties included them as options during the 2021 London Open House Weekend, such as Lancaster House.²⁴⁵

Many of the changes brought about by the pandemic are likely to stay such as the online ticketing options that have remained for private houses such as Highclere. Filming fees were essential to maintain the heritage sites during the pandemic and to cover the deficit from the lack of visitors. Although filming is not a new venture for heritage sites, it is becoming more and more essential as the costs of

²⁴¹ Abbey, "Lacock Interview."

²⁴² Hallett, "Waddesdon Interview."

²⁴³ Such as Castle Howard, Highclere Castle, Dyrham Park and Haddon Hall.

²⁴⁴ "Mapperton Live," 2021, accessed 17th September, 2021, <https://mappertonlive.com/>.

²⁴⁵ "Lancaster House 360 ° Virtual Tour," Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office, 2021, accessed 27th August, 2021, <https://blogs.fcdo.gov.uk/lancasterhouse/>.

conservation rise. Covid served to empathise the importance of filming as a funding stream.

Conclusion

When considering whether to allow filming at heritage sites, there are several main factors to consider, beginning with conservation issues. This has been highlighted from interviewees in the heritage sector as the main concern for properties, who try to prevent damage from filming and use the fees for further conservation work.

Next, the scale of the project and its possible audience engagement; for independent production heritage sites may have anxieties that it will only reach a small audience and therefore, be of little benefit to them. Larger productions, especially from international streamers are preferred but smaller local broadcasts, such as the weather are however, welcome. Finally, the reputational issues for the site and the resident family are considered, creating boundaries for acceptable filming, that run along the high/low culture divide, despite being part of mass media.

All heritage sites have substantial financial requirements for their upkeep, by stressing the relationship between film income and conservation needs, sites are able to assuage any possible criticism from people uncomfortable with their association with low culture. It is only comparatively recently that the National Trust and English Heritage have included material about filming in their membership handbooks.

Many interviews with private heritage sites were keen to stress that the site was first and foremost a family home and a place of heritage,²⁴⁶ and the sites owned by the National Trust and English Heritage spoke similarly of the priority of the visitor experience over filming. Receipt of government grants includes the requirement that sites are open to visitors and so these sites have little choice.

In moment of rare candour, the interviewee from Chavenage House, a private house used in many productions including *Poldark*, said that if they could, they

²⁴⁶ Interviews with Highclere, Waddesdon, and Burghley.

would close completely to visitors and just have commercial events such as filming, but that a grant from the Government requires them to be open a certain number of days a year.²⁴⁷

The business plan of the National Trust is the most comprehensive from both a filmmaker and a film tourist's point of view. The National Trust have the advantage of owning a huge variety of sites, from castles to abbeys to beaches to fields to forests, and a production could solely be shot on National Trust land if desired. The centralised film office also means that there is a strong infrastructure for setting up shoots, and has the stabilising effect that if one production is difficult to work with then it is quickly known throughout the whole Trust, making it harder for them to book again and ensuring good behaviour.²⁴⁸ Although filmmakers often desire a site which hasn't been filmed before, they rely on strong infrastructure to allow the shoot to progress smoothly, and therefore the National Trust's established system is the most comprehensive. Similarly, the National Trust's signposting of their sites as film locations endears them to film tourists and they encourage film tourist behaviour, as will be discussed in a later chapter. The Old Royal Naval College has a similar business plan which also relies on strong infrastructure and a large site, and again celebrates its filmic connections and engages with film tourists through guided tours and social media.

English Heritage²⁴⁹ having fewer stately homes under its care, receives far fewer enquiries from filmmakers so therefore, does not need to have the same level of organisation to cope with it, productions are therefore dealt with on a more ad-hock basis. Equally, individual private houses, although perhaps members of the HHA rely on the skills of individual house managers to provide the infrastructure for filming. Some houses are keen to advertise their house for filming and film tourists (such as Highclere) whereas others are less celebratory (such as Burghley).

²⁴⁷ Lowsley-Williams, "Chavenage Interview."

²⁴⁸ Abbey, "Lacock Interview."

²⁴⁹ English Heritage may have a stronger infrastructure, but the English Heritage Film Office were not able to make someone available for an interview.

One of the difficulties for heritage sites is that they can't be seen to be putting profit ahead of conservation or the visitor experience. This creates difficulties when booking filming projects where they need to close the whole site as this can irritate regular visitors. This is found across the heritage sector and is part of the reputational considerations a site has to make. Although sites rarely refuse filming based on the content of the production, there are a few exceptions: Burghley's connection to the royal family limits it and Waddesdon Manor, whose family are the Jewish Rothschild descendants, refuse to have anything shot on-site that would involve hanging Nazi flags on the house.²⁵⁰ Any house that hangs Nazi flags for a shoot inevitably finds itself having to explain it on social media sometimes for years afterwards as has been seen at ORNC and Blenheim Palace.²⁵¹

Finally, the filming fees are used differently in the privately owned sites, compared to the National Trust and English Heritage. The private houses keep the money for work on one estate, so that filming directly impacts that building, whereas the Trust and English Heritage put the fees into the general fund. This means that it can be used to help smaller sites that don't attract filming but can mean that the site where filming occurred does not see any direct monetary benefit or have any influence over how the money is spent.

All these factors regarding the films and television shot at heritage sites, contribute to the evolving nature of the site in the public's mind – perhaps moving it away from the idea of unchanging rooms and velvet ropes into a space where multiple stories, both historical and fictional can co-exist and create meaning for a wider variety of visitors. For the heritage sites themselves, it has been demonstrated to provide an alternative income stream should visitor income be blocked.

²⁵⁰ Hallett, "Waddesdon Interview."

²⁵¹ Staff, "Old Royal Naval College Interview."

5. The Branding of Heritage Film Locations

Introduction

The previous chapter explored the preproduction and production stages of filming at a heritage property, focussing on logistics and conservation concerns as well as the financial impact of filming. This chapter examines what happens after filming has concluded, once the site returns to its normal function as a visitor attraction. After the film or television show is released there may be a surge of interest in the site and this chapter explores how sites can capitalise on this.

Income from film tourism has recently become a more significant aspect of the heritage industry. The examples used in this chapter are both privately owned and National Trust-managed properties.²⁵² It draws on eight interviews with owners and members of staff at heritage sites. These interviews were conducted in April and May 2021, as the sites were reopening to the public following the third English lockdown (6th January 2021- March 2021). Five of these interviews form the primary case studies, three from private houses with resident families, and two from the National Trust, to illustrate how heritage film tourism has changed the branding, cultural value, and type of information expected by the visitors. Cultural value, specifically the boundaries between high and low culture is examined at these sites in both permanent and non-permanent exhibitions. High, or elite culture, with its connections to history, heritage, artwork, and literature is juxtaposed with the low, or popular, cultures of mass media, such as film and television, and there is a wide spectrum of attitudes towards these values across the sites. A similar pattern is found in the branding of heritage sites by connecting to a film or television series, and the knowledge base at the site is also affected as visitors begin to expect different expertise from room guides and signage.

Heritage sites are evolving from centres of high culture into more accessible spaces which respond to the changes in society and a post-pandemic England. This chapter

²⁵² The lack of English Heritage response to interviewee requests has meant there is a limited data set.

explores the heritage sector's responses to filming and the following chapter explores the visitor reactions.

Stately Home Tourism

The literature review explored scholarly work around heritage tourism, and stately home tourism falls into that category. Stately homes have evolved from spaces of wealth, power, and cultural capital in the eighteenth century to examples of national heritage and visitor attractions in the twenty-first. Research that examines these changes includes the work of Adrian Tinniswood, which explores the changing nature of country house tourism, including work about the National Trust,²⁵³ and this follows work by Peter Mandler in his often referenced *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*.²⁵⁴ Research has also examined the changing nature of guidebooks at stately homes and shown the changing focus from expert to generalised information, with the removal of floorplans and other technical drawings in favour of glossy photographs and information about the tenants.²⁵⁵ The work of Laura-Jane Smith has also contributed to an understanding of what heritage properties mean, with an emphasis on representing a particular version of the national past and enabling people to understand the origins of their site's owners.²⁵⁶

Case Study 1: Highclere Castle and Downton Abbey

The privately owned Highclere Castle, where the ITV series and subsequent films of *Downton Abbey* (2010-2015, films released in 2019 (titled, confusing, *Downton Abbey*) and 2022 (*Downton Abbey: A New Era*) were filmed is the first case study considered in this chapter. The site was heavily featured throughout the ITV series, with line art of the exterior forming part of the title card (see Figure 9). Highclere is part of the Historic Houses Association and has seen an increase in visitors since the release of the first series of *Downton*.²⁵⁷

²⁵³ Adrian Tinniswood, *The National Trust: Historic Houses of Britain* (HN Abrams, 1991).

²⁵⁴ Peter Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home* (Yale University Press, 1999). Adrian Tinniswood, *A history of country house visiting. Five centuries of tourism and taste* (Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1989); Tinniswood, *The National Trust: Historic Houses of Britain*; Adrian Tinniswood, *The Polite Tourist: A history of country house visiting* (National Trust, 1998).

²⁵⁵ Adrian Tinniswood, "Guide books and country houses," *Local Historian* 15, no. 4 (1982): 195-203.

²⁵⁶ Laura-Jane Smith, *Uses of heritage* (Routledge, 2006), 149.

²⁵⁷ Castle, "Highclere Interview."

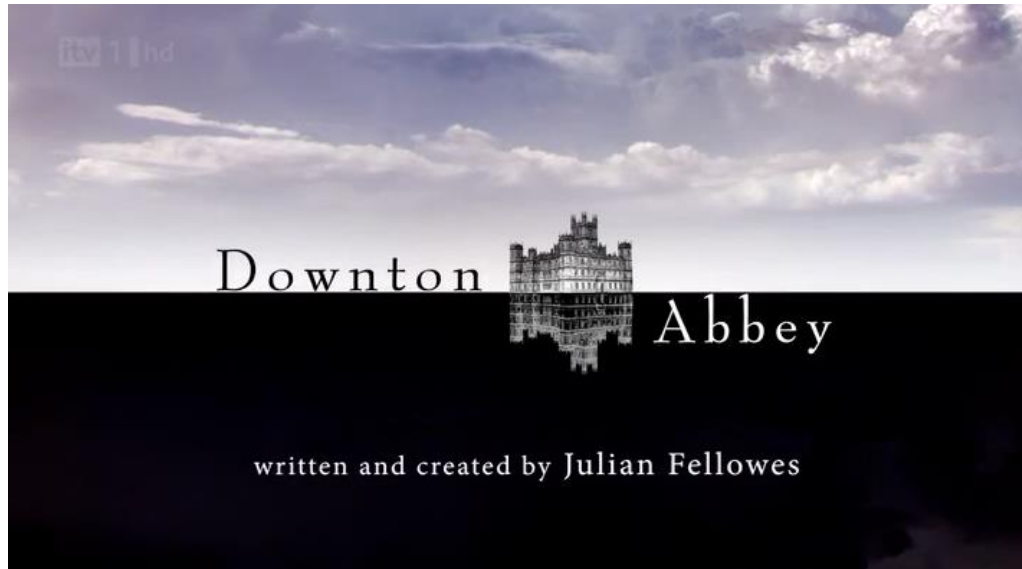


Figure 9 The Downton Abbey title card

Highclere Castle

Highclere Castle is an estate around 45 miles west of London, close to Basingstoke and Reading. It is home to the Earl and Countess of Carnarvon and although the house was originally built in 1679, the house we see today is the product of remodelling in the 1840s by Charles Barry (1795-1860), the architect for the Houses of Parliament. The house is in the Jacobean style, containing elements of both gothic and Elizabethan architectural styles and is considered 'Anglo-Italian'.²⁵⁸ The gothic influence, with the pointed arches, is most clearly seen in the interior of the house, and the parkland, like many of the sites discussed in this thesis, was remodelled by Capability Brown in the late eighteenth century.²⁵⁹

Highclere also has a connection to Tutankhamun, as the 5th Earl of Carnarvon funded Howard Carter's expedition which located the tomb. Discovered in 1922/23, the tomb contained gold funerary treasures and the famous death mask, and in 2007 Highclere opened an exhibition including items from other Egyptian

²⁵⁸ John Betjeman, *A Pictorial History of English Architecture* (Penguin Books, 1974), 76.

²⁵⁹ Although Capability Brown made plans for how the grounds and house were to be remodelled in 1770, however, the house was rebuilt in 1839, and it is unclear how much of Brown's initial plans were used. More information can be found here <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000109?section=official-listing>

expeditions the Earl had financed, but not those from Tutankhamen's tomb, as they belong to the Egyptian authorities.

During World War I, the house was used as a hospital for the war wounded and in the Second World War it housed evacuees from London. The house was used as a filming location a few times before *Downton*, notably in *Jeeves and Wooster* (ITV, 1990-1993) and in Stanley Kubrick's film *Eyes Wide Shut* (1999). However, in a contemporary context, it is primarily associated with *Downton Abbey*.

As with many sites, conservation is a big issue, and according to some sources, the fees from the initial filming of *Downton Abbey* in 2009 'saved the roof' and have enabled similar renovations since.²⁶⁰ This is a pattern we see throughout the use of heritage sites as filming locations, almost always offered as a form of justification for the sites being involved with mass media.

Downton Abbey

Downton Abbey was a popular Sunday night ITV drama that was broadcast from 2011-2015 and told the story of the family of the fictional Earl of Grantham and the Crawley family and their estate in Yorkshire. It begins in 1912 with news that the heir, a cousin, has perished in the sinking of the Titanic, so the house will now pass to a distant cousin, Matthew Crawley, a middle-class lawyer. The series follows the family as Matthew arrives, with equal screentime spent between the family and the servants, detailing their life below stairs. The show was broadcast on PBS in the United States where it included short introductions explaining some of the historical elements to the viewers.²⁶¹ The average UK views were high from the beginning of the first series with 9.7million viewers, and then by the final series that has risen to 10.42 million viewers.²⁶² The use of Highclere's state rooms was contrasted with the constructed sets for the below stairs, which were built at Ealing Studios in London. This included the kitchen, the servant's hall (clearly based on a similar space at Harewood) a pantry, the housekeeper's sitting room and the

²⁶⁰ As reported by Small, "Eltham Palace Interview."

²⁶¹ This was seen as patronising and quickly dropped.

²⁶² Hayley Cuccinello, "'Downton Abbey' By The Numbers: Farewell To A Multimillion-Dollar Dynasty," *Forbes*, 2016, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/hayleycuccinello/2016/03/06/downton-abbey-by-the-numbers-farewell-to-a-multimillion-dollar-dynasty/?sh=603b16f43bad>.

servant's bedrooms, but there were also several of the Crawley's bedrooms built, as the bedrooms in Highclere were too small or too fragile to film in.²⁶³

This separation of spaces, with some actors never working in Highclere and some never at Ealing, helped to connect the characters with the separation of classes shown in the show, and other actors mentioned how working in the different spaces enhanced their performance.²⁶⁴ This is an avenue of research which could be taken further, exploring how heritage spaces affect performance, and this is explored further in the next chapter.

The writer and creator of *Downton*, Julian Fellowes, had previously wanted to use the house for his *Gosford Park* (2001, Robert Altman)²⁶⁵ a similarly configured upstairs downstairs film. When the producers and production designer were scouting for a stately home to play *Downton*, they chose Highclere, in part because of the material history of the family which could be transferred to the fictional family of the same class. Fellowes stated: 'The rooms were all wonderfully equipped to tell the story of a family with an ancient earldom because that is exactly what they were already doing in every portrait, every book and every piece of furniture. Essentially, the history of the Carnarvon's was borrowed and transferred to the Granthams.'²⁶⁶ The interiors of the house were mostly used unchanged, with the production designer²⁶⁷ bringing in props for 'personal use' (as is always the case with filming) and including potted palms, which were in fashion in the 1910s when the first series is set.²⁶⁸

Downton is the spiritual successor to *Gosford Park* and it has many similarities with the earlier television series *Upstairs Downstairs* (ITV, 1971-1975) which also followed an aristocratic family and their servants from the 1900s to the 1920s, and in 2010 the BBC remade the show and continued the story setting it from 1935 until

²⁶³ Fellowes, *The World of Downton Abbey*.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 282

²⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 271. It was not explained why the production decided not to use Highclere for *Gosford Park*. Instead *Gosford Park* was played by Wrotham Park for the exteriors and some interiors, and Syon House for some of the bedrooms.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 274

²⁶⁷ Donal Woods

²⁶⁸ Fellowes, *The World of Downton Abbey*, 274.

the outbreak of World War II. The revival ran for two series, and though the first was very popular, the second had much lower viewing figures and a third series was not commissioned.²⁶⁹ *Downton* was broadcasting on ITV during these years and maintained its hold over the Sunday night period drama slot and outlasted the BBC equivalent.

Downton's feature films were produced by Carnival Film and Perfect World Pictures. Julian Fellowes wrote both films, setting the first in 1927 during a royal visit and the second in 1928. Again, these films used Highclere and Ealing Studios for the upstairs and downstairs spaces, with additional houses used throughout the films as themselves, such as Harewood House and Alnwick Castle.

Scholarly Work on *Downton*

Due to its popularity and longevity, *Downton* has been extensively analysed, with articles focussing on class,²⁷⁰ nostalgia,²⁷¹ Twitter activity during the broadcasts,²⁷² depictions of Edwardians,²⁷³ its translation into Italian,²⁷⁴ the American audience,²⁷⁵ connections to Jane Austen's work,²⁷⁶ masculinity,²⁷⁷ and the role of middle and working-class women.²⁷⁸ Of this extensive scholarship, a few works examine the cultural impact of the show, such as Oliver Cox's 'Downton boom' from 2015, which

²⁶⁹ "'Upstairs Downstairs' dropped by BBC," 2012, accessed 2021, <https://www.digitalspy.com/tv/a377762/upstairs-downstairs-dropped-by-bbc/>.

²⁷⁰ Katherine Byrne, "Adapting heritage: Class and conservatism in *Downton Abbey*," *Rethinking History* 18, no. 3 (2014): 311-27.

²⁷¹ Rosalía Baena and Christa Byker, "Dialects of nostalgia: *Downton Abbey* and English identity," *National Identities* 17, no. 3 (2015): 259-69.

²⁷² Qihao Ji and Arthur A Raney, "Morally judging entertainment: A case study of live tweeting during *Downton Abbey*," *Media Psychology* 18, no. 2 (2015).

²⁷³ Katherine Byrne, *Edwardians on screen: from Downton Abbey to Parade's end* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

²⁷⁴ Annalisa Sandrelli, "'Downton Abbey' in Italian: Not Quite the Same," *Status Quaestionis*, no. 11 (2016): 152-92.

²⁷⁵ Eva N Redvall, "Mainstream trends and masterpiece traditions: ITV's *Downton Abbey* as a hit heritage drama for Masterpiece in the United States," in *Transatlantic Television Drama* (Oxford University Press, 2019).

²⁷⁶ Sally B Palmer, "An heir presumptive: Austen's legacy in *Downton Abbey*," *Persuasions: The Jane Austen Journal* 35 (2013): 244-55.

²⁷⁷ Claire O'Callaghan, "The Downturn at *Downton*: money and masculinity in *Downton Abbey*," *Gender and Austerity in Popular Culture: Femininity, Masculinity and Recession in Film and Television* (2016): 777-80.

²⁷⁸ Laetitia Kevers, "Re-establishing class privilege: The ideological Uses of Middle and Working-class female Characters in *Downton Abbey*," *ANGLICA-An International Journal of English Studies* 26, no. 1 (2017): 221-34.

examines the rise in sales of commodities associated with the show.²⁷⁹ Research that considers the film-tourism element is 'The Downton Abbey Effect in Film-Induced Tourism: An empirical Examination of TV Drama-Induced Tourism Motivation at Heritage Attractions'.²⁸⁰ This article discusses the findings of 119 questionnaires which were completed by visitors to Highclere about their motivation for visiting, and if they had seen the show. 97.5% of visitors stated that they were visiting because they had seen the show²⁸¹ and the top motivation for visiting was to 'see the scenery and landscape in real life'.²⁸² The article only explores the travel motivation for visiting and does not focus on how the site caters to the visitor's expectations. It mentions several ways that heritage sites can capitalise on film tourists which can be seen in other sites considered in this work, such as Harewood House, Castle Howard and Chatsworth:

...heritage attractions where films are set should make a personal connection with the film or television series so that visitors get first-hand experience with the film or television series. This might include making props and icons from the television series accessible so that visitors may relive scenes from the television series. Actors from the television series could be invited to the heritage attraction for a Question and Answer event or special guest appearance to coincide with an anniversary of the heritage attraction. This would help bring the television series to life and add something special to the tourist experience.²⁸³

We have already seen evidence of this at Caste Howard, with the Brideshead Festival originally planned for 2020 which included all of these elements; however, Highclere takes a different approach to its relationship with the fictional building, which I explain below. The article also argues that 'managers can leverage film-

²⁷⁹ Cox, "The "Downton Boom" Country Houses, Popular Culture, and Curatorial Culture," 112-19.

²⁸⁰ Xuerui Liu and Stephen Pratt, "The Downton Abbey Effect in Film-Induced Tourism: An Empirical Examination of TV Drama-induced Tourism Motivation at Heritage Attractions," *Tourism Analysis* 24, no. 4 (2019): 497-515.

²⁸¹ Liu and Pratt, "The Downton Abbey Effect in Film-Induced Tourism: An Empirical Examination of TV Drama-induced Tourism Motivation at Heritage Attractions," 506.

²⁸² Liu and Pratt, "The Downton Abbey Effect in Film-Induced Tourism: An Empirical Examination of TV Drama-induced Tourism Motivation at Heritage Attractions," 508.

²⁸³ Liu and Pratt, "The Downton Abbey Effect in Film-Induced Tourism: An Empirical Examination of TV Drama-induced Tourism Motivation at Heritage Attractions," 512.

induced tourism to attract visitors so that heritage attraction visitors can fantasize about the television series characters as they tour the property and personally experience the storylines'²⁸⁴ but there is a resistance to embracing the fictional at some sites, including Highclere, as it is thought that there should be a priority given to the 'real' history as opposed to the fictional narrative.

Highclere has become synonymous with *Downton* and there has been a lot of scholarship examining this relationship, including examining the financial impact of filming at Highclere, as it has been said that the fees from filming 'saved the roof'²⁸⁵, but none of the work has considered the cultural impact, and what it means for mass media to be shot in a high culture space. This section continues the scholarship by understanding the delicate relationship between the real Highclere and the 'fake' *Downton*.

Establishing the Boundaries

Although Highclere celebrates its connection to *Downton*, very firm boundaries have been established and there is clearly a tension, probably due to the narrative inclusion of both above and below stairs stories in *Downton*. Highclere is not interested in discussing or displaying any of the servant's stories from the site and has converted the rooms once inhabited by servants into display spaces that show, for example, the Earl's collection of cars. When describing itself as 'the real Downton Abbey' Highclere prefers to engage only with the upstairs stories. This is emphasised in the six books published by the countess from 2011-2021 that all include 'the real Downton abbey' as part of the title.²⁸⁶ Almost all the marketing of Highclere includes this tagline. This can be seen on Highclere's website,²⁸⁷ the

²⁸⁴ *Ibid*

²⁸⁵ Small, Eltham Palace Interview

²⁸⁶ See, for example, Fiona Carnarvon, *Lady Almina and the Real Downton Abbey: The Lost Legacy of Highclere Castle* (Hodder & Stoughton, 2011); Fiona Carnarvon, *Lady Catherine and the Real Downton Abbey* (Hodder & Stoughton, 2013); Fiona Carnarvon, *Lady Catherine, the Earl, and the Real Downton Abbey* (Broadway Books, 2013); Fiona Carnarvon, *At Home at Highclere: Entertaining at the Real Downton Abbey* (Rizzoli, 2017); Fiona Carnarvon, *Christmas at Highclere: Recipes and traditions from the real Downton Abbey* (Random House, 2019); Fiona Carnarvon, *Seasons at Highclere: Gardening, Growing, and Cooking through the Year at the Real Downton Abbey* (Random House, 2021).

²⁸⁷ "Highclere Castle Homepage," 2021, accessed 10th December 2021, 2021, <https://www.highclerecastle.co.uk/>.

countess's blog,²⁸⁸ and it is often the by-line in any article or blog written about the site.²⁸⁹ The implication of stating that Highclere is 'real' implies that *Downton* is 'fake', thereby establishing a clear boundary between fictional and historical. This is different to Castle Howard's approach, and therefore, deserves further scrutiny.

The countess's books, blogs and frequent media appearances reinforce this boundary of 'real' and 'fake'. She makes it clear that the narrative of *Downton's* is separate from Highclere's history, distancing herself from Julian Fellowes's view, despite the similarities. For example, both Highclere and *Downton* were converted into hospitals for the war wounded during World War I, and the then countess, and the fictional countess, both undertook nursing duties, but these are coincidences. Somewhat disingenuously, Highclere said, 'it's a lovely muddle and I'm not saying it's not *Downton* or not Highclere it's a muddle in people's imagination and everything else as well and there's nothing wrong with that.'²⁹⁰ This sort of encouragement towards linking *Downton* and Highclere is evident across the Highclere branding, but it doesn't seem to extend into the house. Visitors find no reference to filming inside on their visit as evidenced by their comments which are considered in the next chapter. Similarly, the events which are held for visitors are connected to *Downton* thematically but do not encourage visitors to enter the world of *Downton*. The closest Highclere gets to the simulacra is a screening of the first *Downton* film. Advertised as a high culture event mimicking the sort of event Highclere would host for their social set, the ticket price of £225pp sends a message about the exclusivity of the event. Hosted by the Earl and Countess who provided a guided tour of the house and the Egyptian exhibition and visitors were served champagne and food in the 'Christmas Marquee'. The website states,

²⁸⁸ Carnarvon, "The Official Website of the Countess of Carnarvon."

²⁸⁹ See, for example, Hugh Fort, "Downton Abbey's Highclere Castle is the most expensive home to shoot a Christmas film in," *Berkshire Live* 2021, <https://www.getreading.co.uk/news/reading-berkshire-news/downton-abbeyes-highclere-castle-most-22540557>. Cindy Adams, "Inside Highclere Castle, the home of 'Downton abbey'," *New York Post* 2021, <https://nypost.com/2021/06/08/inside-downton-abbeyes-highclere-castle/>. Emily Webber, "Inside Christmas Decorations at the real Downton Abbey and why they celebrate twice," *OK!* 2021, <https://www.ok.co.uk/lifestyle/downton-abbey-highclere-castle-christmas-25646878>.

²⁹⁰ Castle, "Highclere Interview."

Imagine stepping into the real Downton Abbey to watch the first Downton Abbey Film. Is there any better Christmas experience than watching the magical screening in the Library of Highclere Castle?

This is the perfect opportunity for Downton Abbey fans to enjoy watching the beloved Crawley family and their intrepid staff prepare for the most important moment of their lives, ahead of the King and Queen of England's arrival, whilst being within the real-life film set itself!²⁹¹

Highclere is happy to exploit its association with *Downton* in terms of bringing in increased visitor numbers whilst maintaining an elevated position in which film tourism can only pay a small part.

The way Highclere establishes the boundaries between 'real' and 'fake' can be connected to the arguments around high and low culture, high culture being elite, such as art, literature and upper-class heritage, and low being mass cultures, such as films and television series.²⁹² When a heritage site has been used as a filming location it presents a merging, or clashing, of these two types of culture. Although *Downton's* popularity has broadened Highclere's visitor demographic and led to a rise in visitor numbers (especially internationally)²⁹³ Highclere draws the distinction and reasserts their high cultural status once on site. *Downton* is used to attract visitors, but it only reaches as far as the door and the gift shop. As Liu and Pratt's article found, visitors in 2019 were drawn by the *Downton* connection and wanted to see what it was like in real life, reflecting Couldry's theories about film tourists seeking 'behind the scenes' and fact-checking. At Highclere, though, there is very little to do with *Downton* in the visitor experience. Like other houses described later in this chapter, connections to low/mass culture is confined to the gift shop, where it can be profitable to the site without altering the visitor experience.

The biggest difference between Castle Howard and Highclere is what is celebrated – Castle Howard's film tourism emphasises the house and the visual similarities but they do not claim that the resident family have any connection to the fictional

²⁹¹ "Highclere Castle Homepage."

²⁹² Storey, *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: An Introduction*.

²⁹³ Castle, "Highclere Interview."

family. At Highclere, the emphasis is on the family – and it promotes the family as a brand, rather than the property. The many articles, books and blog posts co-opt *Downton* into the Highclere narrative, but only to a point. A firm line is drawn between the real and the fictional, and ‘real’ history is prioritised. The countess’s books are part of the re-establishing of the boundary between *Downton* and Highclere, the interviewee at Highclere said that one of the reasons the Countess writes the books is to clarify the ‘ideas’ from *Downton*, as it is not a historical documentary and people may be confused.²⁹⁴ ‘It’s just trying to have the balance of the fact that we are still Highclere but yet we are lucky enough to be also Downton Abbey’.²⁹⁵

There are many reasons why Highclere takes this approach, it is partially financial, where the popularity of *Downton* is exploited for advertising and marketing, introducing the site to overseas visitors, but the gift shop doesn’t stock the DVDs and the house doesn’t display the costumes, film images or other material.²⁹⁶ This is discussed in the next chapter. Unlike films of classic novels, where the cultural associations have a particular status, *Downton* lacks a literary origin. It is not a BBC literary adaption of an Austen classic; it is a mass-media popular ITV show which is shown with advert breaks. Similarly, besides Maggie Smith, none of the original actors were recognised heritage media names, and even one of the posters for the second film prominently featured the character’s names rather than the actors (see Figure 10). Television and film can sometimes trivialise historical storylines as the narrative takes precedence, and there is a sense of cultural one-upmanship at Highclere – *Downton* is fine to bring in the visitors but the ‘real’ history, the history of its upper-class family, is the important part.

²⁹⁴ Castle, "Highclere Interview."

²⁹⁵ *Ibid*

²⁹⁶ *Ibid*

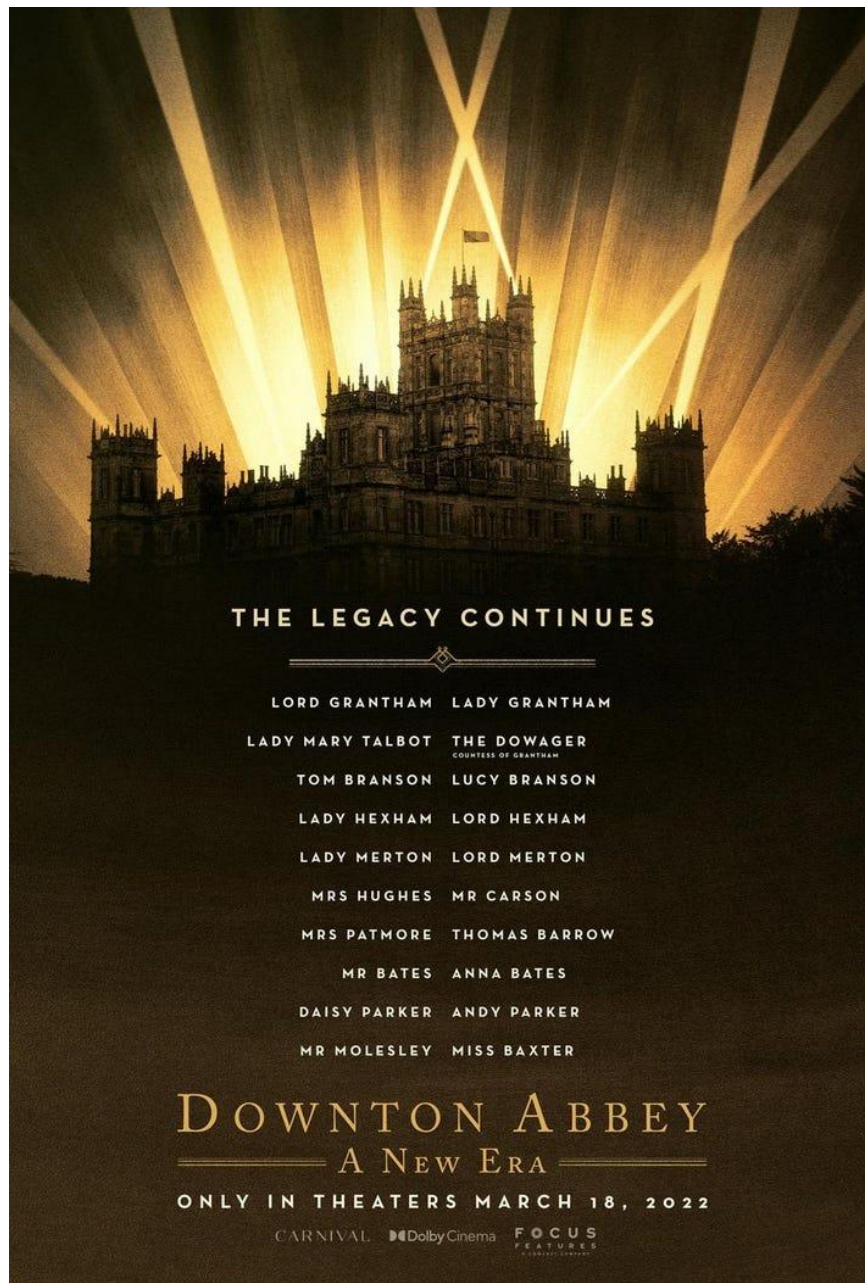


Figure 10 *Downton Abbey: A New Era* theatrical poster

Longevity

A brief note must be made about the longevity of *Downton*'s popularity, and what this could mean for Highclere. The series ran from 2011 to 2015 and now is repeatedly broadcast on Freeview channels (in the UK) and Netflix (UK and Internationally). Both feature films were critical and commercial successes, however, the creative team connected to the franchise has been working on it for over ten years, therefore, they may be looking for new projects. Although it is acknowledged that some heritage television series have long lives – such as the

BBC's *Pride and Prejudice* (*P&P*) series from 1995, *Downton* may not have that same staying power. This may be in part due to the running time: The BBC *P&P* is nearly six hours in total, whereas the *Downton* television series is 56, requiring a much larger time commitment. There is also a literary connection between *P&P* and *Brideshead* that *Downton* lacks, which may mean that attention for the series will wane in the coming years. It will be interesting to examine the staying power of *Downton* and if Highclere will continue to publicise its connection to it. This similarly raises the question of future filming at Highclere for other productions – will filmmakers be 'put off' from filming at Highclere due to its *Downton* association?

Highclere's current branding and marketing techniques are effective – there had been a steady rise in visitor numbers pre-pandemic and there was hope that the new *Downton* film would increase attendance again when its released in March 2022.²⁹⁷ The firm boundaries which separate the 'real' from the 'fake' are a conscious pushback against the simulacra, and the idea of adding another layer of meaning on top of the historical narrative already at play in the house isn't welcomed. By maintaining this boundary between the 'real' and the 'fake' yet capitalising on the connection and blurring in potential visitor's minds, Highclere treads a fine line between high and low culture, inviting people in to view the filming location but taking great care to correct visitors on what is fictional and what is historical. Although the gift shop does not stock the DVDs or books about filming, it does have an 'Inspired by Downton' section, including pens, bookmarks, tea towels, lens cloths, playing cards, keyrings, and a tote bag, featuring illustrations of the characters and the house (see Figure 11).²⁹⁸

²⁹⁷ Castle, "Highclere Interview."

²⁹⁸ The online version



Figure 11 Downton-inspired merchandise

Case Study 2: Greenway, Agatha Christie, and Nasse House

This chapter has so far considered how a heritage site can exploit its connection to the fictional house it portrays on the screen, and how a site can establish firm boundaries between the fictional depiction and the ‘real’ history of the site. Both media associated with these sites are fictional and unrelated to the estate – they were chosen as filming locations because they met the narrative requirements of the story. There is a different approach when the media filmed on the site is about a historical figure who lived there, as is the case at Greenway in Devon. It was the holiday home of the murder-mystery author and playwright Agatha Christie (1890-1976) and has become a popular tourist attraction for Christie fans since it was fully opened to the public by the National Trust in 2009. Due to Christie’s popularity in the UK and Europe, many documentaries about her have used the house, partly out of necessity as the other houses associated with her have been demolished or are in private ownership. There have been many adaptations of Christie’s novels, which feature the Belgian detective Hercule Poirot and Englishwoman Mrs Marple. The most recent cinematic adaptations, directed by and starring Kenneth Branagh, are *Murder on The Orient Express* (2017) and *Death on the Nile*, (2022) demonstrating Christie’s continuing popularity. There is talk of further adaptations from

Branagh.²⁹⁹ Several of Christie's stories were set in and around Greenway estate, including *The A.B.C. Murders* (1936) which features the nearby station of Churston, *Five Little Pigs* (1942) matches the approach and grounds of the house, *Towards Zero* (1944) mentions the estate and *Dead Man's Folly* (1956) includes a sizable boathouse which is matched by that at Greenway. Of all these adaptations, only *Dead Man's Folly* has been filmed on the estate, therefore, this section explores the boundaries drawn between the two narratives at Greenway, that of Christie's life and that of filming, and compares this to the Highclere case study.

Agatha Christie

Agatha Christie was born Agatha Miller in 1890 in Torquay. She was educated at home, where writing was encouraged and went to a finishing school in Paris. During the Second World War, she worked as a nurse and in a pharmacy, which people claim explains the large number of poisonings in her novels.³⁰⁰ She achieved success with her murder mystery novels, first published in 1919, and after a difficult divorce and much-publicised 10-day disappearance in 1928, she later married the archaeologist Max Mallowan, to whom she remained married until she died in 1976. She is one of the best-selling authors of all time, publishing 66 books, and at least 28 plays. She has a worldwide reach, with 7,233 translations of her work and her prolific output means that she is as famous as the characters she created.³⁰¹

In 1955 Christie set up Agatha Christie Limited (ACL), which holds the licensing rights for her works. It is now managed by her great-grandson and RLJ Entertainment. ACL and the National Trust work together at Greenway to present Christie's work and life, and ACL has the final say in any interpretation of her work, such as adaptations or documentaries.³⁰²

²⁹⁹ Ryan Pearson, "Branagh Teases Return of Old Friends in 'Death on the Nile'," *Associated Press* 2017, <https://apnews.com/article/9426db4b7f124a26bcafee2443c99670>.

³⁰⁰ "About Agatha Christie," Agatha Christie Limited, 2022, accessed 19th January, 2022, <https://www.agathachristie.com/about-christie#christies-life>.

³⁰¹ "The Most Professionally Translated Author in the World," Motaword, 2018, accessed 19th January, 2022, <https://www.motaword.com/blog/agatha-christie>.

³⁰² Lauren Hutchinson, "Greenway Interview," interview by Rosemary Alexander-Jones, 2021.

Greenway

Greenway is built on the site of a demolished Tudor manor and the current house was constructed between 1780-90, though it was remodelled in the early nineteenth century.³⁰³ It is not a house of any architectural repute, though the gardens are extensive and there is a battery on the water's edge, built as a Napoleonic defence in the 1790s.³⁰⁴ Christie and her second husband bought the house in 1938, however, it was requisitioned during the World War II, first to house evacuees and then by the U.S. Coastguard, one of whom painted the frieze in the library.³⁰⁵ It returned to Christie's use at the end of 1945, and she decided to keep the frieze. Christie spent many happy summers and Christmases at the house until she died in 1976 when it was inherited by her daughter.

Greenway was acquired by the National Trust in 2000 which opened the house to the public in 2009, after the death of Christie's live-in heirs. The opening of the house was met with much excitement – with articles from *The Times* saying, 'Fans given chance to investigate Agatha Christie's rural retreat'.³⁰⁶ Greenway has become a centre of the Agatha Christie fan experience, partly due to necessity as stated above.³⁰⁷

The Christie connection is much celebrated at Greenway, with an annual Agatha Christie Festival³⁰⁸ and encouragement on the National Trust's website for fans to 'Follow in the family's footsteps'.³⁰⁹ Greenway is a thorough celebration of Christie's life – from furnishing the Drawing Room with items from her childhood home (demolished in 1969) to the bedroom still laid out for Christie and her second

³⁰³ "Greenway House," Historic England, 2022, accessed 19th January, 2022, <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1108548?section=official-listing>.

³⁰⁴ "Greenway Garden," 2021, accessed 21st January, 2022, <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/greenway/features/greenway-garden>.

³⁰⁵ "Greenway Library frieze," 2021, accessed 21st January, 2022, <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/greenway/features/greenway-library-frieze>.

³⁰⁶ Jack Malvern, "Fans Given Chance to Investigate Agatha Christie's Rural Retreat," *The Times* 2009, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/fans-given-chance-to-investigate-agatha-christies-rural-retreat-bpdb2rfr9h9>.

³⁰⁷ Greenway is frequently included in lists of places to visit for Christie fans, such as here <https://www.nationalgeographic.co.uk/travel/2020/12/in-the-footsteps-of-agatha-christie>

³⁰⁸ "International Agatha Christie Festival," Agatha Christie Ltd., 2022, accessed 21st January, 2022, <https://www.iacf-uk.org/>.

³⁰⁹ "Greenway House," 2021, accessed 21st December 2021, 2021, <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/greenway/features/greenway-house>.

husband, to the library which holds many editions of Christie's novels and other works.

The National Trust are very secure about the narrative surrounding Greenway – they are celebrating a popular literary icon and presenting her holiday home. They are not trying to specifically illustrate a typical family home from the 1940s and are therefore unburdened from the mantle of depicting a national heritage, which is often the by-line for many stately homes to justify their continued existence. Greenway can just be about Christie, and that is enough for visitors.³¹⁰



Figure 12 Greenway's Façade

Separating the Author from the Adaptation

Dead Man's Folly

There have been two types of filming at Greenway: documentaries about Christie's life and the ITV adaptation of *Dead Man's Folly*, broadcast in 2013. There is yet to be a full biopic of Christie's life, however, media has been made about elements of her life, notably her disappearance in 1928, before Greenway came into her possession. This section will focus on the adaptation of *Dead Man's Folly* and the changes made to the visitor experience and branding following its release.

³¹⁰ A similar site would be Jane Austen's House Museum in Chawton, which has been preserved 'as she left it' and is a site of pilgrimage for fans.

Dead Man's Folly is an 89-minute-long television movie, produced for ITV and stars David Suchet as Hercule Poirot. Greenway was the inspiration for the fictional Nasse House, and the boathouse is an important location where the first body is found. Another key location, The Folly, was constructed for the film, and though Greenway is seen in the wide shots and when Poirot approaches the house, the interiors and back of the house (including the lawns) are a different location, High Canon House which is a white Georgian stucco manor near Elstree in London (see Figure 13).³¹¹ This house is within the M25 and close to Elstree studios, demonstrating the points raised in the *Business of Heritage Film Locations* chapter that English productions prefer to stay close to London to film. As Greenway is in Devon, it is likely that the shoot there was quite short, so that accommodation for the cast and crew was only for a few nights. There is the additional concern that the contents of Greenway are 'museum status'³¹² meaning that they can't be moved without specialist training, therefore, changing the interiors for filming would be less than ideal on an ITV budget.



Figure 13 The Cast at the back of High Canon House

³¹¹ High Canons House in Hertfordshire was also used extensively by ITV productions and Hammer Horror films, its listing on Lavish Locations can be found here

<https://lavishlocations.com/locations/A49>

³¹² Hutchinson, "Greenway Interview."

The key locations used at Greenway for *Dead Man's Folly* are the façade, the boathouse, the battery, and the riverbank, these differ from the locations used in the documentaries, which focus on the library and the bedroom of the house.³¹³ There is already a clear boundary being drawn between what type of film shoots where, and what sort of narratives are associated with each space. It should also be noted that the novel describes the boathouse as 'a picturesque thatched affair'³¹⁴ and the characters in the adaptation refer to it as a 'small wooden boathouse'. Neither of these descriptions matches the large, two-storied building with a balcony (see Figure 14).



Figure 14 Greenway's Boathouse

The Visitor Experience

Lauren Hutchinson, of Greenway's marketing team, has said that Greenway has deliberately gone for 'a light touch' regarding references to filming so that they can focus on Christie.³¹⁵ The house is laid out as if the occupants have just left, so there are no information boards, however, there are room guides in each space, who are

³¹³ Hutchinson, "Greenway Interview."

³¹⁴ Agatha Christie, *Dead Man's Folly* (London: Collins, 1956), 17.

³¹⁵ Hutchinson, "Greenway Interview."

happy to answer questions. Because of this lack of signage, there is no reference to filming in the main house.

There are two displays which mention filming on site. The first is in the stables where the visitors first arrive, and there is a large display showing Suchet in his Poirot role in the second-hand bookshop. This is a theme that is emerging, where the most emphasis on filming is in the commercial space on site, such as in a shop, as it encourages visitors to buy items connected to filming. Greenway doesn't sell the DVDs but does sell a trio of 'Greenway Books' which are the stories inspired by the house, and the cover of *Dead Man's Folly* features Suchet as Poirot.³¹⁶ There is also a small section in the guidebook about filming.

The boathouse also features some information boards about filming, but these talk very briefly about films (see Figure 15) and keep the focus on Christie. Again, we see that the priority narrative at Greenway is that of the author, rather than of the adaptation.

It should be noted that due to social distancing measures, the boat house has often been closed during the pandemic, meaning that this part of the visitor experience was inaccessible while this research was in progress, which has been noted by reviews on TripAdvisor where visitors were disappointed.³¹⁷ The visitor reaction to film tourism at heritage sites is explored in the following chapter.

³¹⁶ Hutchinson, "Greenway Interview."

³¹⁷ TripAdvisor Reviews of Greenway from March 2022, July 2020, and January 2020

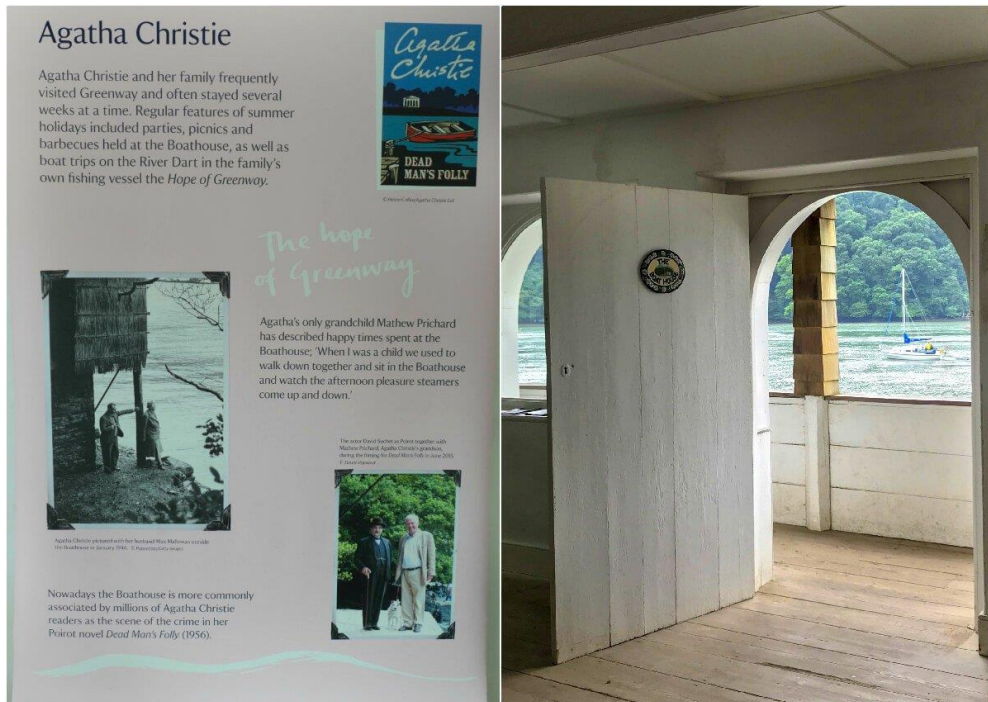


Figure 15 The Boathouse and the Information Board

Greenway's draw for visitors is being able to see behind the scenes of Christie's life and to experience her house 'as it was', perhaps to understand the motivation behind her writing. Hutchinson stated that the recent feature film *Murder on the Orient Express* has led to more interest in Christie and the readership keeps growing as people want to know more about the author.³¹⁸ Every second September the site hosts an Agatha Christie festival around the 15th, which was Christie's birthday, including speakers and readings. In 2019 the festival was staged as a 1950s fête 'inspired by her novel 'Dead Man's Folly'' but didn't include a screening, however, the 2021 festival included screenings of newer films about Christie's life.³¹⁹

The Website

The National Trust website for Greenway has a page about the filming of *Dead Man's Folly*, it omits that the interiors and back of the house were filmed elsewhere, instead focussing on how the programme was the final *Poirot* adaptation produced by ITV, noting that 'It was particularly fitting that Agatha Christie's holiday home, played host to the stars and crew of this popular television

³¹⁸ Hutchinson, "Greenway Interview."

³¹⁹ "Agatha Christie Festival 2021," Agatha Christie Ltd., 2021, accessed 23rd January, 2022, <https://www.iacf-uk.org/gallery/agatha-christie-festival-2021>.

series as they filmed their last scenes and said goodbye to the show.’³²⁰ There are other small references to filming throughout the website, but again, it is not the main focus.

High and Low Culture: Literary Adaptations

The nature of the filming of a popular 1950s literary adaptation at Greenway means that there is some cross-over regarding the high and low culture definitions. Film is, according to Bourdieu, middlebrow culture,³²¹ but within film, there are clear distinctions between the ‘worthiness’ of films. Horror films, which are cheap and fast to make, tend not to win big awards or feature big-name actors. They are considered to be at the lower end of the hierarchy, whereas Oscar-winning romances and tragedies, which have large budgets and present powerful performances by known actors are at the other end of the scale. Films that are to do with murder, as opposed to death in a more general sense, tend to be lower, so even though *Dead Man’s Folly* is a literary adaptation, Christie’s novels belong to a different category to classic fiction. This, along with the adaptation being produced by ITV (and the episode is broken up by adverts, though not on the current streamer *Britbox*) and the subject matter being death means that it is not considered to be culturally equal to an Austen adaptation.

Sites would prefer to be used for filming, for a production where the subject appeals to their visitor demographic and allows a culturally acceptable narrative to be added to the site, one that can be exploited for commercial gain for years to come. Christie’s work does have longevity, as constant adaptations are being produced on theatrical, television and film levels, bringing her work to a new audience each time.

The separation of filming and history at Greenway mirrors Highclere, as the boundaries are firmly established. Greenway limits the information connected to filming to outer buildings – the stables and the boathouse, leaving the house as the

³²⁰ <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/greenway/features/greenway-and-dead-mans-folly> accessed 20th January 2022

³²¹ P. Bourdieu and R. Johnson, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (Columbia University Press, 1993).

main setting to explore the life of the historical figure. The main difference between Greenway and Highclere is the visitor motivation for visiting. Visitors coming to Greenway want to see information about Christie, and the film adaptation is a bonus – often visitors include a reference to the filming in their reviews to perhaps show they have insider knowledge – they are ‘in the know’. At Highclere, people are drawn to the *Downton* connection, and the history of the Carnarvon family is the bonus. Highclere’s marketing is less secure in its cultural draw than Greenway’s as it is firmly re-establishing the boundaries between ‘real’ and ‘fake’, trying to adjust visitors’ expectations to meet their cultural criteria. Greenway meets visitor expectations by celebrating the life of one figure, and perhaps that is a luxury for a smaller manor house compared to a large stately home.

Greenway’s use of Christie is settled and secure in the cultural heritage hierarchy. They are the meeting point of English literature, popular novels, murder mysteries and history and they meet visitor expectations regarding that. Their events celebrate a popular novelist and invite new adaptations of her work, and whilst the interiors of the house remain stagnant the site profits from being an accessible shrine.

Case Study 3: Chatsworth: The Permanent Pemberley

Chatsworth House and Estate in Derbyshire is privately owned by the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire and it combines elements of all of the previously discussed branding strategies, and this case study will explore how this is achieved.

Chatsworth is a good example of how filming at stately homes and stately home branding has changed over the last 15 years, covering literary adaptations, horror films, reality documentary series and historical figure biopics.

History of Chatsworth

Chatsworth House is the seat of the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire and the Cavendish family has resided there since 1549. The original Elizabethan manor was built by Bess of Hardwick (1527-1608) and then a later house was built on the site and expanded over the centuries. The sixth Duke (1790-1858) made many architectural changes to Chatsworth, including building the large sculpture gallery,

and the house has remained largely architecturally unchanged since the late nineteenth century. There have been a few people of note in the history of Chatsworth, including Deborah Mitford (1920-2014) from the famous family of writers, who developed the commercial side of the estate and established a successful farm shop.

Chatsworth is a very successful tourist attraction, with pre-pandemic visitor figures reaching 606,402 in 2019.³²² It has been functioning as a tourist attraction since the eighteenth century and there are contemporary accounts of landed gentry visiting the site, such as Celia Fiennes in *The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes, C1682-c.1712*. The sixth Duke even wrote an early guidebook, in the form of letters, where he guides the reader through the house and here, we see the beginning of the curation of the visitor experience at Chatsworth.

During the Second World War, the house was occupied by the evacuated Penrhos College, a Welsh girls' school. The house reopened after the war in Easter 1949, and "in spite of petrol rationing 75,000 people came to see it at half a crown each and a shilling for the garden."³²³ The house has remained open to paying visitors ever since, promoting itself as an accessible historical space where people can walk through the past. This is reinforced as Chatsworth is also part of the 'Treasure Houses of England' group, which contains "ten of the most magnificent palaces, houses, and castles in England".³²⁴

Chatsworth has had an established tourist profile that existed before its development through the screen industries and it is important to understand how this branding has influenced how they commercialise their fictional counterparts today.

³²²Visit England, "Annual Survey of Visits to Visitor Attractions 2019," (Visit Britain, 2019). <https://www.visitbritain.org/annual-survey-visits-visitor-attractions-archive>.

³²³ The Duchess of Devonshire Deborah Mitford, *The House: A Portrait of Chatsworth*, 1994 ed. (London: Macmillan, 1982), 76.

³²⁴ "Treasure Houses of England," accessed 16th December, 2021, <https://www.treasurehouses.co.uk/>.

Filming at Chatsworth

There has been a variety of filming at Chatsworth, and most productions tie into the established Chatsworth brand. Besides early newsreel footage from the 1920s, Chatsworth has hosted *Antiques Roadshow* (1979 -, BBC) and several documentaries.³²⁵ The first feature film shot at the site was *Pride & Prejudice* (2005, Joe Wright) where the house stood in for the exterior and some interiors of Pemberley.³²⁶ Elizabeth Bennet, the protagonist, was played by Keira Knightley, who returned to Chatsworth a few years later to play the role of Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire (1747-1806) in the biopic *The Duchess* (2008, Saul Dibb). The exteriors of Chatsworth were used in the film; however, except for the chapel, the interiors were filmed elsewhere. This was followed by the 2010 horror film *The Wolfman* (Joe Johnston) a remake of 1941 *The Wolf Man* (George Waggner), and it used the exteriors of Chatsworth as Blackmoor Hall, the ancestral seat of the protagonist.

In 2013 Chatsworth was once again Pemberley in the television mini-series adaptation of PD James' *Death Comes to Pemberley* (BBC). The series used the exteriors and interiors of the house, supplementing them with additional rooms from Castle Howard and Harewood House. Chatsworth is not the only house that has stood in for Pemberley in Austen's adaptations, but it is the only one that has stood in for it twice. This was followed by a brief appearance in season two of *Peaky Blinders* (2013-, BBC) and there has been a recent documentary series about how the estate is run (*Chatsworth House* (2021, Channel 4). These documentaries showcase the commercialisation of the estate begun by Deborah Mitford. One of her branding techniques was to select items in the gift shop and endorse them with her signature and signs reading, 'The Duchess's Choice' and this continues today, establishing links between the current owners and items relating to current events (see Figure 16).

³²⁵ *Christmas at Chatsworth House 2019* (2019, Channel 4) *Secrets of Chatsworth* (2013, Channel 4) *Chatsworth* (2012, BBC) *Christmas at Chatsworth House 2020* (2020, Channel 4) *Chatsworth House* (2021, Channel 4)

³²⁶ The BBC's adaptation of *Pride and Prejudice* used Lyme Park as the exteriors of Pemberley and the interiors of Sudbury Hall.



Figure 16 'Duke of Devonshire, A few of my favourite things' December 2020

The Chatsworth brand evokes aristocratic life, encouraging the idea of the welcoming and generous landowners upholding tradition whilst being aware of the current issues of the day. The recent documentary series, detailing running the estate during the first two lockdowns worked to the estate's advantage, providing the 'behind the scenes' of the house and the many people employed by them, rather than just focusing on the gentry. Chatsworth has a diverse business model, which connects to several aspects of film tourism. The focus is the history and artwork of the house, connecting with high culture and film tourism, especially Austen-film tourism, which is an addition to this established pattern.

The Permanent Pemberleys

Austen's Pemberley

Pride and Prejudice (1813) was Jane Austen's second published work and is a novel of manners which explores early nineteenth-century society and focuses on the growing romance between the protagonist Elizabeth Bennet and the aloof Mr

Darcy. Although Austen died young, at 41, there was a growing interest in her work during her lifetime, and her novels have grown in popularity in the centuries since, leading to early film adaptations.³²⁷ Austen tourism also became popular in the Victorian period³²⁸ as the middle and upper classes sought a connection to her. This interest has grown, peaking with 'Austenmania' between 1995 and 2005,³²⁹ resulting from the BBC adaptation released in 1995.³³⁰ Because of all these elements filmmakers are working under the constraints of audience and genre expectations in an unprecedented way.

Several articles consider Austen's connection to stately homes, such as Sarah Parry's *The Pemberley Effect, and Austen's Legacy to the Historic House Industry*. Parry states that "Austen now has a connection to many historic houses simply because an adaptation of one of her novels has been filmed at a particular property rather than because a historical link with Austen or her family exists."³³¹ It is this element that this chapter explores. Parry continues to say that properties "have the potential to market the property closely tied to the movie or program for a considerable period of time"³³² and this is evidenced at Chatsworth, where it has not diminished in the seventeen years since *Pride & Prejudice* was released.

One of the major locations in *Pride and Prejudice* is Pemberley, the ancestral seat and home of Mr Darcy, which is in Derbyshire and gives him an income of £10,000 a year.³³³ It is mentioned frequently throughout *Pride and Prejudice* and in the novel Elizabeth visits it whilst on an outing with her aunt and uncle, thinking that Mr Darcy will be absent. They later discover he is at home; their meeting is the catalyst for the change in their relationship.

Austen describes the first view of the house.

³²⁷ The earliest film adaptation of *Pride and Prejudice* is from 1938, and was performed live to camera for a television special. It was not recorded and is considered lost.

³²⁸ J. Todd et al., *Jane Austen in Context* (Cambridge University Press, 2005).

³²⁹ Richard Woods, "Austenmania," *The Sunday Times* 11 (2007).

³³⁰ Margarida Esteves Pereira, "Austenmania, or the Female Biopic as Literary Heritage," in *Adaptation, Intermediality and the British Celebrity Biopic* (Routledge, 2016).

³³¹ Parry, "The Pemberley effect: Austen's legacy to the historic house industry," 113.

³³² *Ibid*, 116

³³³ Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*, 10.

...They gradually ascended for half a mile, and then found themselves at the top of a considerable eminence, where the wood ceased, and the eye was instantly caught by Pemberley House, situated on the opposite side of a valley, into which the road with some abruptness wound. It was a large, handsome, stone building, standing well on rising ground, and backed by a ridge of high woody hills;—and in front, a stream of some natural importance was swelled into greater, but without any artificial appearance. Its banks were neither formal, nor falsely adorned. Elizabeth was delighted. She had never seen a place where nature had done more, or where natural beauty had been so little counteracted by an awkward taste...³³⁴

Austen is not known for her detailed architectural descriptions. The architectural historian Nicholas Pevsner was disappointed not to be able to precisely locate buildings that Austen described.³³⁵ Pemberley is left to the reader's imagination, however, in the adaptations, there has been a consensus that the house is large, Georgian in appearance and usually situated in a Capability Brown landscape. There are some scholars, such as Donald Greene, who have concluded that Austen based Pemberley on Chatsworth, as Austen is known to have visited the area.³³⁶ However as Elizabeth Ellington notes, she could have easily got the information from guidebooks.³³⁷ But the same could be true of other places.

Despite Austen's description of the approach, the 2005 *Pride & Prejudice* does not use the shot showing the river before the house, instead showing the carriage approaching a long avenue of trees and displaying the south façade (see Figure 17), rather than the west façade which actually matches the novel's description (see Figure 18).

³³⁴ Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*, 247.

³³⁵ Nikolaus Pevsner, "The Architectural Setting of Jane Austen's Novels," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 31 (1968): 404-22.

³³⁶ Donald Greene, "The original of Pemberley," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 1, no. 1 (1988): 1-24.

³³⁷ Troost and Greenfield, *Jane Austen in Hollywood*, 96.



Figure 17 Chatsworth's south façade as Pemberley in Pride & Prejudice



Figure 18 Chatsworth's west façade and bridge over the river Derwent

Filmmakers are aware that audiences are unfamiliar with the class distinctions of the early nineteenth century, and therefore makes the visual difference between the wealth of the characters obvious, such as using a very large stately home for Mr Darcy, and a much simpler one for the Bennet's house. In Chatsworth's case, Mr Darcy's income of £10,000 a year would be only a third of the running costs estimated for the house at that date. This is corroborated when one considers the income difference between Darcy and the sixth Duke of Devonshire (the duke

incumbent when *Pride and Prejudice* was published) who had an income of £70,000 a year in 1813.³³⁸

Lyme Park's Pemberley

Although Chatsworth makes claim to Pemberley, a second house, Lyme Park in Cheshire, also makes the same claim in its publicity. The exterior of the building was used as Pemberley³³⁹ in in the BBC's much-celebrated adaptation of *Pride and Prejudice* from 1995. The house is close to Salford, and architecturally it is similar to Chatsworth being built in the neoclassical style with pale stonework. One of the most famous scenes in the adaptation, 'the wet shirt scene', which has become iconic in its own right, was shot outside the south façade, and this has been associated with the site ever since (see Figure 19).



Figure 19 A publicity still from the BBC's *Pride and Prejudice* showing Lyme Park

An interview with a member of staff at the National Trust-owned Lyme Park revealed that they also claim that Austen based Pemberley on Lyme, since she is known to have visited the area.³⁴⁰ Despite 27 years having passed since the series was broadcast there are still visitors who come to Lyme to see Pemberley, demonstrating the continuing appeal of the adaptation.³⁴¹ This is reflected in their merchandising – the map of the site indicates the way to 'Darcy's Pond' (see Figure

³³⁸ David Cannadine, "The Landowner as Millionaire: The Finances of the Dukes of Devonshire, c. 1800-c. 1926 (Continued)," *The Agricultural History Review* 25, no. 2 (1977): 79.

³³⁹ The interiors were shot at Sudbury Hall, another National Trust site

³⁴⁰ K Croxford, "Lyme Park Interview," interview by Rosemary Alexander-Jones, 2021.

³⁴¹ Croxford, "Lyme Park Interview."

20) and there is a Darcy section of the gift shop (see Figure 21 and Figure 22) which includes a portrait showing Colin Firth's Mr Darcy posed in front of Lyme-as-Pemberley (see Figure 23 and Figure 24) As this is not the portrait used in the television series it has been specially made as merchandise and demonstrates the blending of historical and fictional which occurs at the 'permanent Pemberleys'.

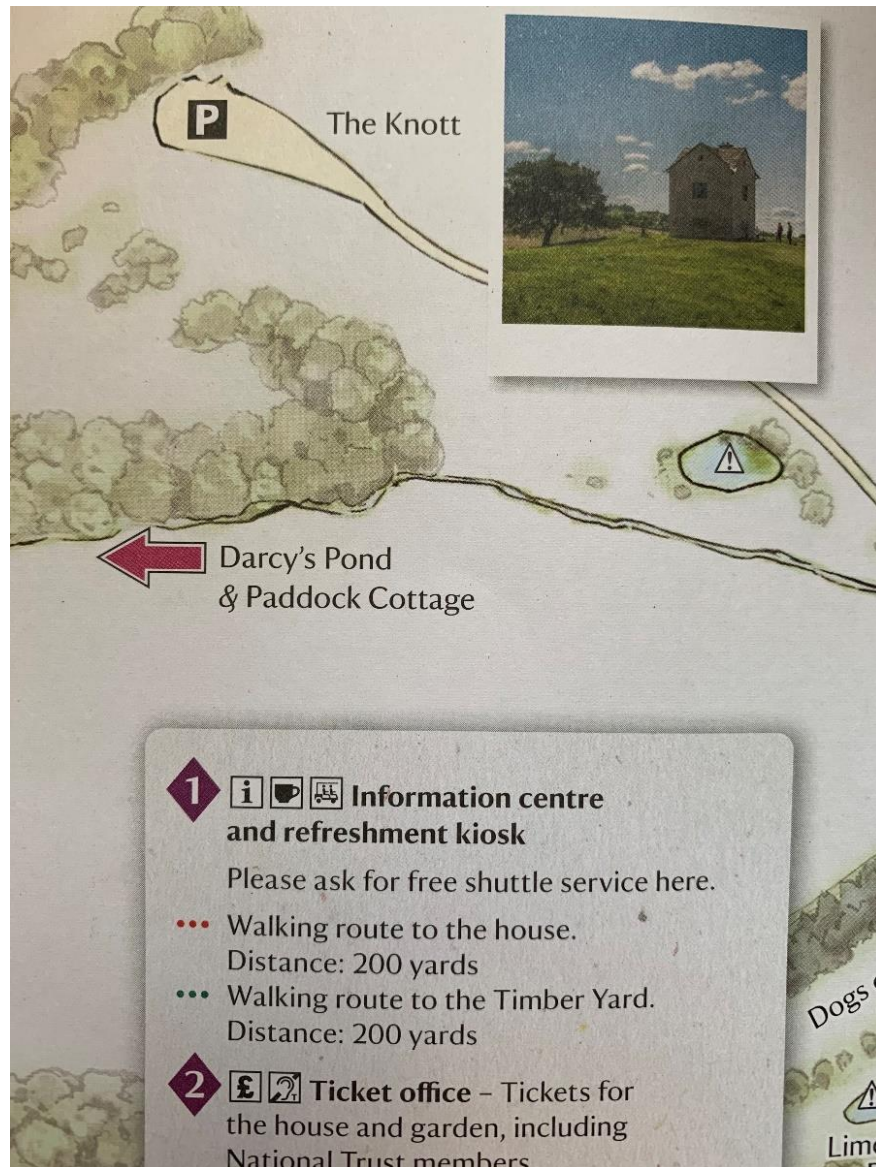


Figure 20 Detail from the map of Lyme Park



Figure 21 The Darcy section in Lyme Park's gift shop



Figure 22 The top shelf of the Darcy display at Lyme Park



Figure 23 Darcy merchandise showing Colin Firth's Mr Darcy in front of Lyme-as-Pemberley

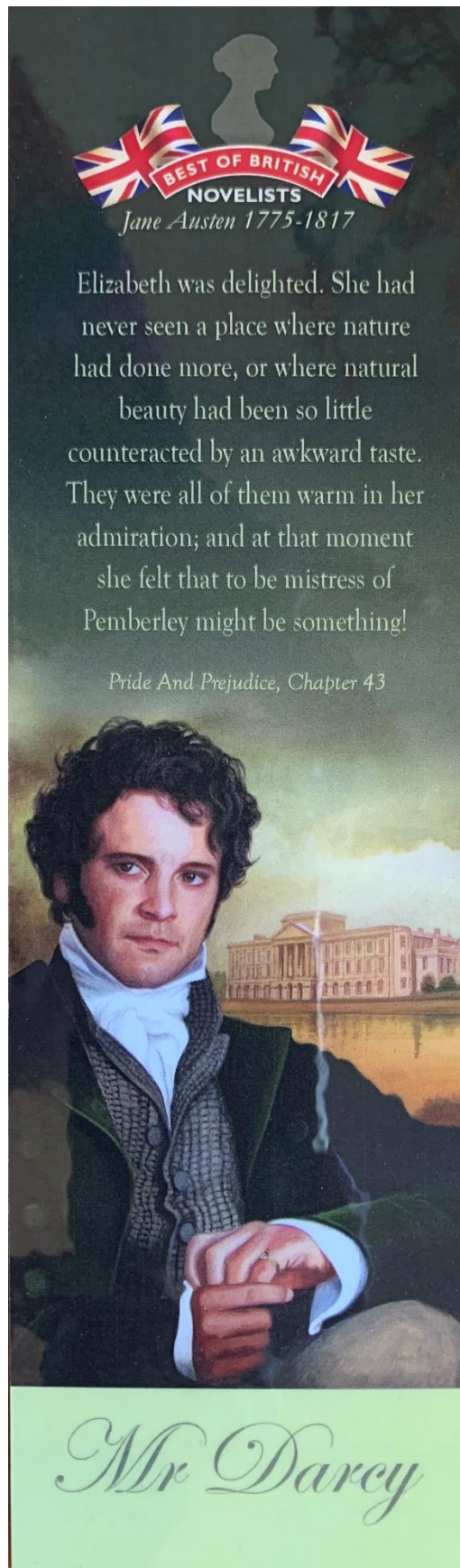


Figure 24 Darcy merchandise bookmark showing Lyme underneath the description of Pemberley

Chatsworth's Pemberley

Chatsworth's appearance as Pemberley begins with the screenplay, which is as vague as the novel, stating,

The parkland is wild and rocky. Deer graze; rooks wheel in the sky. A sense of freedom and liberation. As the carriage drives over the top of a hill, close of Elizabeth's face. She gasps. The Gardiners gasp.

A huge, wide shot of Pemberley House. It's vast, breathtakingly beautiful, set in great boulder-strewn park lands. A mansion built of golden stone, glowing in the sunlight.³⁴²

This description could be applied to many English stately homes, and it is noticeable that in the final visuals of the film the boulders are missing from the parkland.

Pride & Prejudice uses three Chatsworth locations for filming – the exterior east façade, the painted hall, and the sculpture gallery. An additional room, used as Georgiana Darcy's music room, was shot in Wilton House's double cube room.³⁴³ All of these spaces, except the south façade, are accessible to the public. The main difference between this adaptation and others is the use of the sculpture gallery, in place of a gallery of paintings. Although the novel and the screenplay describe Elizabeth viewing the portrait gallery and being affected by the portrait of Mr Darcy, in *Pride & Prejudice* this was altered to a sculpture gallery to take advantage of the location. A bust of Mr Darcy was made for the film and installed amongst the white neo-classical statues (see Figure 25).³⁴⁴ This merging of the fictional and historical is a form of simulacra, which is still apparent in the visitor experience today as the sculpture gallery is the same as it appeared in the film, minus the Darcy bust, although it is still in the house but moved to the gift shop where smaller versions of it are on sale.

³⁴² Deborah Moggach, "Pride & Prejudice Screenplay," (2005), 84, scene 88.

³⁴³ Wilton's double cube room has been used in many productions, including *The Crown* (2016-, Netflix) and *Emma*. (2020, Autumn de Wilde) Along with Hatfield House, it is one of the most popular historic filming locations, but unfortunately, like Hatfield, did not respond to requests for interviews.

³⁴⁴ In the background of some shots Napoleonic statues can be seen, which seems unlikely for a story set during the Napoleonic wars.



Figure 25 Elizabeth in Chatsworth-as-Pemberley's sculpture gallery, the Darcy bust is behind her



Figure 26 The opening title of *Death Comes to Pemberley*, showing Chatsworth-as-Pemberley

Death Comes to Pemberley (DCTP) used Chatsworth as the exterior of Pemberley, illustrating it in the opening minutes of the first episode (see Figure 26). The adaptation also used the painted hall and other rooms on the ground floor, and these were supplemented by rooms from Castle Howard and Harewood House, making Pemberley a jigsaw building.³⁴⁵ DCTP revisits Darcy and Elizabeth, now married and living at Pemberley who must act when a man is murdered in Pemberley woods. As was seen at Greenway, the violence and deaths present in

³⁴⁵ A jigsaw building is a building created for a film 'constructed' from several different real buildings and edited together so these spaces appear congruent. This concept is explored more thoroughly in the next chapter.

the mini-series happen away from the house, which means that the house is not tainted with violent imagery.

The connection to Pemberley is celebrated at Chatsworth, and the inclusion of the Darcy bust in the gift shop means that although it no longer occupies the same space as it did in the film, being in a congruent space means that, for the film tourist, the visitor experience continues from the sculpture gallery into the shop, where they can have their moment as Elizabeth did (See Figure 27 and Figure 28). Although a small sign asks visitors not to kiss the bust, they are encouraged to interact with it and visitors can buy a small version of the bust for £65. The bust tends to be near Austen merchandise, which includes jewellery, baubles, tapestry kits, mugs, and prominently displayed DVDs and their source novels (see Figure 29, Figure 30 and Figure 31).



Figure 27 Elizabeth and Darcy's Bust in Pride & Prejudice



Figure 28 Darcy's Bust in the orangery gift shop in July 2020



Figure 29 The Austen display in the gift shop in July 2020

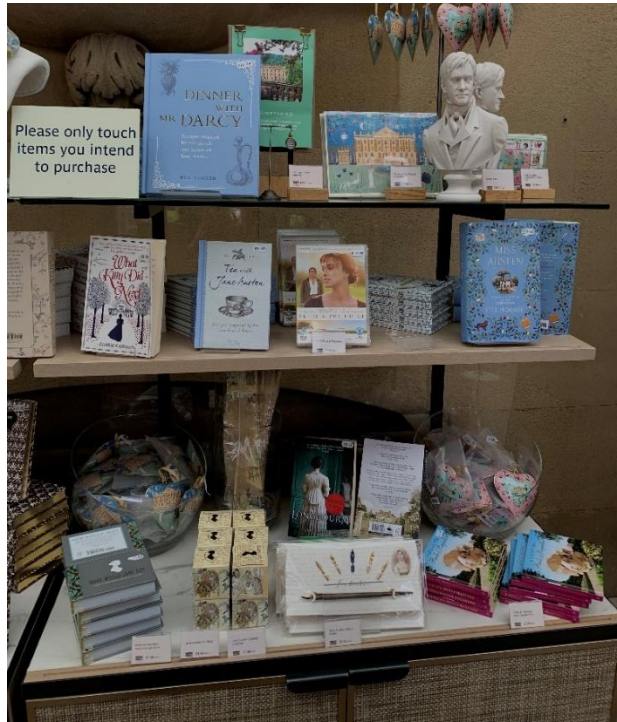


Figure 30 More of the Austen display in July 2020



Figure 31 The Austen display in the stables gift shop in December 2020

The items for sale in the Chatsworth gift shop demonstrate the encouraged blending of Chatsworth with Pemberley – two baubles show the distinctive south façade of the house with either ‘Pemberley’ or Regency figures (see Figure 32) and are listed as ‘Pride and Prejudice Decoration’ on the online gift shop.³⁴⁶



Figure 32 The Pemberley Chatsworth baubles

Transferring the Darcy bust into the gift shop not only extends the visitor experience, but it brings the true nature of film tourism to the fore – Darcy is an acknowledged part of the history of Chatsworth and unlike the ‘true’ history of the site, Darcy is accessible and consumable. You can take him home.

The entwined nature of the Pemberley/Chatsworth identities is evident in the events that Chatsworth hosts. Before the pandemic a large event was held annually each September, called the Pride and Prejudice Regency Ball. An event which ran until 2019, it was advertised with “Calling all Lizzie Bennets and Mr Darcys to come along and celebrate.”³⁴⁷ Visitors were encouraged to wear regency clothing and would be entertained by the Jane Austen Dancers, who perform regency dancers before a grand dinner and more dancing. This event proved to be very popular and demonstrated the blending of Pemberley and Chatsworth. The visitors for the

³⁴⁶ "Lucy Loveheart Pride & Prejudice decoration," Chatsworth House Online Gift Shop, 2021, accessed 17th December, 2021, <https://shop.chatsworth.org/collections/christmas-cards-decor/products/lucy-loveheart-pride-prejudice-decoration>.

³⁴⁷ "Pride & Prejudice Regency ball 2019," Chatsworth House, 2019, accessed 17th December, 2021, <https://www.chatsworth.org/events/pride-prejudice-regency-ball/>.

evening could pretend to be guests and they can relive episodes of both the book and the film.

The fan expectation of visiting Pemberley has been apparent for several decades – Linda Troost's *Filming Tourism, Portraying Pemberley* states that when seeing a heritage building on film that one can visit 'we experience a modern tourist's fantasy: to be a visitor, not a tourist, and to be virtually alone with the place visited, free of the symbolic complex of tourism' and this is validated at Chatsworth.³⁴⁸ The scenes in the Painted Hall and the Sculpture Gallery can be accessed just as the characters did, even if the Darcy bust is slightly removed from the end of the house tour in the sculpture gallery to the space of commerce in the gift shop This is similar to how Castle Howard celebrates their literary connections, discussed below, because literary connections are an acceptable form of film tourism. This reflects the high and low culture distinction, as Austen is firmly established as high culture (being literature) and therefore any adaptation of her work is elevated. Austen adaptations are secure in the cultural hierarchy because she has been established as an English classic. Austen's cultural cache is so secure that even gaudy events cannot tarnish her reputation – as could be seen when the new television channel *Drama* launched in 2013 and they placed a 12-foot fibreglass statue of Colin Firth's Mr Darcy in the lake in front of Lyme (see Figure 33). To celebrate the new broadcasting of the BBC's adaptation on their channel, *Drama* shot advertisements involving the 12-foot fibreglass statue. It does raise the question of whether these sites would have claimed an Austen connection without the adaptations, however, celebrating fictional characters in a historic setting is a new precedent for heritage branding, which Castle Howard, Chatsworth and Lyme have utilised in a difficult economy.

³⁴⁸ Troost, "Filming tourism, portraying pemberley," 483.



Figure 33 Mr Darcy statue in the lake at Lyme Park

A further aspect is the conflation of elements now associated with Jane Austen, a mix of reality and hyper-reality. Guides to visiting Jane Austen's England feature Chatsworth and Lyme Park alongside the Jane Austen Museum in Bath and Jane Austen's house in Chawton.³⁴⁹ It's therefore part of the development of the Austen experience consisting of places to visit and not distinguishing between the real- her house, the material culture, objects, and possessions associated with her and filming locations.

The Duchess

Chatsworth is rare in the heritage film locations world for having had a biopic about a historical character who lived there shot at the site. The film *The Duchess* (2008, Saul Dibb) depicts the life of the eighteenth-century Duchess of Devonshire, Lady



Figure 34 (L-R) Portraits of Georgiana Duchess of Devonshire, the fifth Duke and Lady Elizabeth Foster

³⁴⁹ "A Jane Austen Tour of England (11 Places to Visit)," Books and Bao, 2021, accessed 20th December, 2021, <https://booksandbao.com/a-jane-austen-tour-of-england/>.

Georgiana Cavendish (née Spencer) (1757 - 1806) wife of the fifth duke (1748 – 1811). Georgiana was a socialite, trendsetter, political activist, occasional geologist, and gambler, who led an interesting life which included political campaigning on behalf of the Whig Party. The films however concentrated on the love affair between her husband and her close friend, Lady Elizabeth Foster (1759 – 1824), who would become the duke's second wife after Georgiana's death at 48 (see Figure 34 **Error! Reference source not found.**). This film brought Keira Knightley back to Chatsworth, as she played the role of Georgiana, and the cast also included Ralph Fiennes as the duke and Hayley Atwell as Lady Elizabeth Foster. The film was adapted from the biography of Georgiana written by Amanda Foreman, based on her doctoral thesis. The film won the Academy Award for Costume Design and was generally positively reviewed, making a profit at the box office.

The film used the exteriors of Chatsworth (featuring the west façade, see Figure 35) and the chapel (see Figure 36). The filmmakers would have liked to have used more of the house, but the eighteenth-century apartments where Georgiana lived are occupied by the current duke and duchess and are therefore unavailable.

Chatsworth is mentioned by Georgiana when she first brings Lady Elizabeth to Devonshire House, their London palace, saying, 'There's a castle in Ireland, Bolton Abbey, Chiswick, Burlington, and, why and Chatsworth, of course, which is much bigger, but this feels more like home.'³⁵⁰ The viewer is therefore not expecting views of Chatsworth and the filmmaker creates images of Devonshire House, the building having been lost.³⁵¹

³⁵⁰ *The Duchess* (2008, Saul Dibb)

³⁵¹ Devonshire House was another jigsaw building, as the original was demolished in the early twentieth century. The Devonshire House seen in *The Duchess* was comprised of Somerset House, Holkham Hall, Kedleston Hall and Clandon Hall, which has since been destroyed by a fire.



Figure 35 Chatsworth exteriors in *The Duchess*



Figure 36 Chatsworth's chapel in *The Duchess*

Like Greenway, Chatsworth celebrates this connection with a historical figure, embracing *The Duchess* with a webpage³⁵² and a dedicated section in the gift shop (see Figure 37 and Figure 38). The gift shop displays Keira Knightley's face besides Georgiana's, with books, DVDs of the film, cushions, jewellery and prints of Georgiana's portraits.

³⁵² "The Duchess," Chatsworth House Trust, 2022, accessed 4th February, 2022, <https://www.chatsworth.org/news-media/chatsworth-on-film/the-duchess/>.

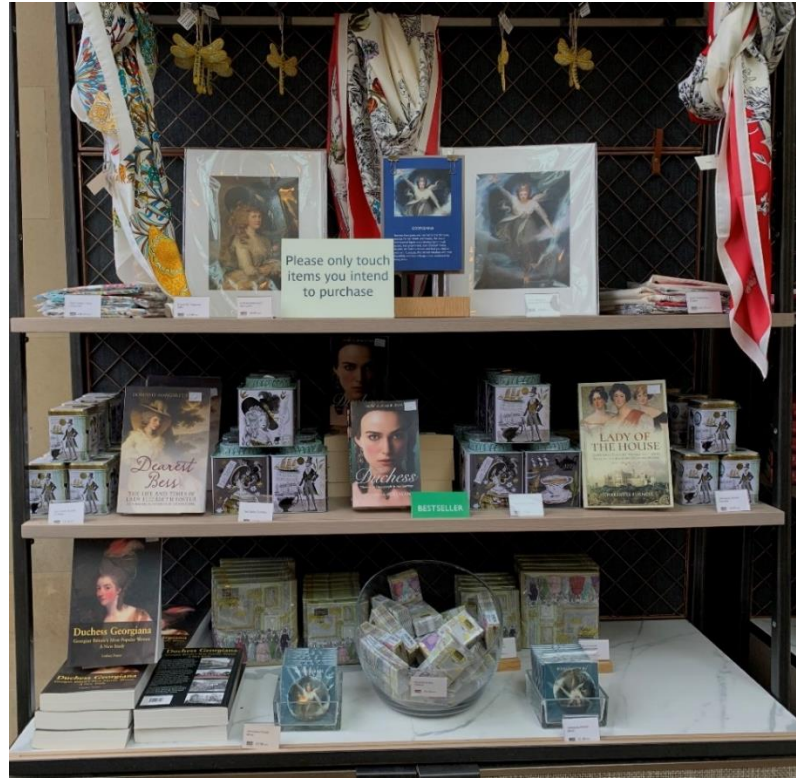


Figure 37 The Duchess section of Chatsworth's gift shop in July 2020



Figure 38 Part of the book section in Chatsworth's gift shop in December 2020

In response to the film, Chatsworth has altered part of the visitor experience to include information about Georgiana. Visitors would arrive, having seen the film, and ask about her, leading to the creation of a new gallery which houses Georgiana's, the duke's and Lady Elizabeth's portraits, her mineral collection plus letters and personal effects (see Figure 39 and Figure 40). This has the effect of rounding out the character depicted in the film and allows Chatsworth to reclaim her as a real person, rather than a fictional character.



Figure 39 The Georgiana Gallery within Chatsworth



Figure 40 Some of the portraits displayed in the Georgiana Gallery

Chatsworth combines aspects of the previous three approaches discussed in this chapter. The filming of *Pride & Prejudice* at the site was a boon, as it connected Chatsworth to the Austen tourism industry and the high culture she is associated with. It enables Chatsworth to foster a connection with an English classic, where the work remained untarnished and untouchable, and the adaptations keep on being made. Of all the media shot at the site, *Pride & Prejudice* is the most celebrated, having the largest section in the gift shop which demonstrates how marketable film tourism is. This has previously been seen at Castle Howard and the commercialising

of the *Brideshead* brand and can be seen at Lyme Park, another Pemberley. Along with a page on Chatsworth's website,³⁵³ there was an outdoor screening of the film in 2021. There's even the opportunity to have a Pemberley-themed wedding.³⁵⁴ Including the Darcy bust, it's clear that Chatsworth relishes its connection to Austen and will engage with it until interest fades.

The beautiful imagery present in *Pride & Prejudice*, *Death Comes to Pemberley* and *The Duchess* all add to the glamour and appeal of the site, showcasing the architecture and gardens in a visually appealing way. *The Duchess* brings a historical figure to life, presenting a sympathetic, slightly feminist portrayal of a modern woman pushing against the rigidity of eighteenth-century society. The film's popularity led to a change in the visitor experience, incorporating Georgiana's narrative into the public displays of Chatsworth and celebrating her life. Just as Greenway is unremarkable without its historical figure, Chatsworth, though architecturally interesting, has decided that this figure is the one to be celebrated, and it happens to be the person who was featured in an award-winning film. It raises the question would Chatsworth have included references to Georgiana without the film?

Finally, *The Wolfman* reflects the low culture element. As a horror film, it features violence, blood, maiming and death, and the eventual destruction of the building Chatsworth stands in for. There are no *Wolfman* events, displays or merchandise at Chatsworth, and just one page on the website shows Anthony Hopkins, rather than the dilapidated building or a werewolf. This mass media is kept outside of the current Chatsworth brand, keeping it at bay whilst acknowledging that it happened. Just as at Highclere, the high and low culture boundary is maintained by marketing and the visitor experience, ensuring that the core demographic isn't alienated by film tourists drawn by the 'wrong' kind of media.

³⁵³ "Pride and Prejudice," Chatsworth House Trust, 2022, accessed 4th February, 2022, <https://www.chatsworth.org/news-media/chatsworth-on-film/pride-and-prejudice/>.

³⁵⁴ "Chatsworth Wedding Fair," Bride Magazine, 2014, accessed 4th February, 2022, <https://www.bridemagazine.co.uk/events/chatsworth-wedding-fair-feb-28-2015>.

Chatsworth balances the boundary between high and low culture by focussing on their visual strengths – the beautifully shot *Pride & Prejudice* and *Death Comes to Pemberley* illustrate a warm and happy house and Chatsworth borrows those images to add to the narrative at the site.

The Wolfman

In *The Wolfman* (2010, Joe Johnston) Lawrence Talbot is drawn back to the dilapidated family estate of Blackmoor by his brother's wife who claims he has gone missing. Their father, Sir John Talbot informs them that there is a werewolf attacking the villagers and that it may be Lawrence's brother. The film was not a commercial success, with box office profits of approximately \$140million worldwide not matching the estimated budget of \$150million.³⁵⁵ It was also ill-regarded by critics, including the president of Universal Studios Ronald Meyer, who called it 'one of the worst movies we ever made'³⁵⁶ however it did win an Academy Award for Best Makeup.

Chatsworth was used for the exteriors of the crumbling Blackmoor Hall, left to go to ruin by Lord Talbot. The stonework appears cracked, the house is covered with vines and mud is smeared on the window (see Figure 41). There is a dome added with CGI and a bridge added to the grounds (see Figure 42), and at the climax of the film, there is a fire, which destroys the building and leaves a smoking ruin. The fire was achieved by the burning of a large-scale model,³⁵⁷ and this film stands out as the only film considered in this thesis to narratively destroy its filming location.³⁵⁸ The interiors of Blackmoor were a set.

³⁵⁵ "The Wolfman (2010)," 2021, accessed 17th December, 2021, <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0780653/>.

³⁵⁶ "The good, the bad and the Universal: what Ron Meyer really thinks of his studio's movies - in pictures," *The Guardian* 2011, <https://www.theguardian.com/film/gallery/2011/nov/04/universal-ron-meyer-movies-in-pictures#/?picture=381435882>.

³⁵⁷ "The Wolfman (2010) SFX Miniature," 2021, accessed 17th December, 2021, <https://www.mattesandminiatures.co.uk/the-wolfman-film-special-effects>.

³⁵⁸ Additional: *Jane Eyre* and the destruction of Thornfield House, where in a recent production Haddon Hall was used for the building before it burned, and the ruined Wingfield Manor (also in Derbyshire and very difficult to access due to access dispute between the owner and English Heritage) for afterwards. Also, there is the adaptation of *Rebecca* (2020) and the destruction of Manderley which used Cranborne Manor for the exteriors and VFX for the flames.



Figure 41 Chatsworth as Blackmoor Hall in *The Wolfman*



Figure 42 Chatsworth as Blackmoor with the additional bridge

Although one could argue that *The Wolfman* is an adaptation of an earlier film, it is not a literary adaptation and therefore is considered low, or mass, culture. It shows the landed gentry in a disparaging light – literally eating their tenants, and the fight at the end of the film destroys the ancestral seat (see Figure 43).



Figure 43 The filming of the burning of Blackmoor

It is perhaps surprising that Chatsworth has a webpage about the film, but showing a large picture of Anthony Hopkins (see Figure 44) rather than the dilapidated house, and states that “With mud smeared on the windows, vines and creepers draped from the roof, crumbling statues in the grounds and rough moorland turf over the lawns, the house became almost unrecognisable.”³⁵⁹ In 2010 the Chatsworth brand wasn’t as established as it is now, and it seems unlikely that Chatsworth would have a horror film set on the estate these days. Just as Highclere displays a reluctance to engage with a low culture element inside the house so to does Chatsworth – there is no mention of *The Wolfman* in the visitor experience, guidebook or in the gift shop, and there are no events or social media posts connected to it – not even for Halloween. This could be contrasted with Whitby Abbey’s *Goth Weekends*, where the heritage property is bathed in coloured lights and hosts physical theatre adaptations of *Dracula*,³⁶⁰ which was partly set in the town.³⁶¹ Although *Dracula* includes violence and the undead, it varies from *The*

³⁵⁹ "The Wolfman: Chatsworth House," accessed 17th December 2021, 2021, <https://www.chatsworth.org/news-filming/chatsworth-on-film/the-wolfman/>.

³⁶⁰ Bram Stoker, *Dracula* (London: Archibald Constable and Company, 1897).

³⁶¹ "How Dracula Came To Whitby," English Heritage, 2022, accessed 4th February, 2022, <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/whitby-abbey/history-and-stories/dracula/>.

Wolfman by being literature, and therefore high culture despite its content, whereas the concept of werewolves stems from European folklore and was popularised by horror films.

Chatsworth establishes the boundaries, just as Highclere does, by acknowledging, but not celebrating this connection. This part of the case study can be used to demonstrate how the heritage industry has changed in the last decade, where branding had become more important and more established as sites take on the mantle of displaying a national heritage.



Figure 44 Sir Anthony Hopkins in *The Wolfman*. Chatsworth uses the picture on the left to illustrate the film

Case Study 4: Castle Howard and Brideshead Revisited

The final case study considered in this chapter takes a unique approach, not seen in other heritage filming locations. Castle Howard is a private, baroque stately home near York and occupied by the Howard family. The house was originally designed by Vanbrugh (1664-1726) and Nicholas Hawksmoor (1661-1736) between 1699 and 1702, and the building work began shortly after that. When Vanbrugh died in 1726 the house was incomplete, and the design was changed by the 4th Earl of Carlisle (1694-1758) who moved away from the heavy baroque architecture and towards a Palladian style. The house was completed by 1811, with minor alterations until 1875, and the house is notable for its large central dome.

During World War II, the house homed the evacuated Queen Margaret's School for Girls, and on the 9th of November 1940, a fire spread through the house, causing severe damage. Twenty rooms were destroyed along with the dome, which was

decorated with wall paintings by Pellegrini (1675-1742), and an account published in January 1941 reports that 'The fire began in the East Wing of the house and, quickly spreading, gutted the State Rooms in that part of the building. In the central block, the High Saloon suffered the same fate, and eventually, the entire dome fell in, Phaeton thus once again crashing to earth.'³⁶²

The rebuilding that followed was expensive and lengthy, and hampered by the scarcity of resources after the war,³⁶³ with the dome only being completed in 1962. The staterooms on the south side of the house remained empty and fire damaged, and this would only change in the late 1970s when Granada Television became interested in filming an adaptation of the 1945 novel, *Brideshead Revisited* by Evelyn Waugh. This adaptation was broadcast in 1980.

The owner of Castle Howard in the late 1970s was Major George Howard, (1920-1984), who had been on the Board of Governors for the BBC since the early 1970s and was aware of the power of television.³⁶⁴ When Granada approached him about filming at the property he was enthusiastic, perhaps aware of the site's unique selling point in that the novel's description of Brideshead included a dome, which was rare to find on secular baroque buildings in England.³⁶⁵ This was not the first time there had been filming at Castle Howard – the Sophia Loren film *Lady L* (1965, Peter Ustinov) and *The Spy with the Cold Nose* (1966, Daniel Petrie) used the house, and the exteriors were featured in Stanley Kubrick's *Barry Lyndon* (1975). The filming of *Brideshead Revisited* in the late 1970s (directed by Charles Sturridge who was responsible for other heritage films and TV) proved to be a great success, and in the intervening years, there were other productions shot at the site, including a *Time Team* episode in 2003, the 2006 film *Garfield: A Tail of Two Kitties* (Tim Hill), the 2013 Bollywood film *Shaandar* (Vikas Bahl), the 2013 miniseries *Death Comes to Pemberley* (Daniel Percival), a 2018 music video for the Arctic Monkeys and the ITV series *Victoria* (2016-2019). Notably, the site starred as Brideshead again in the

³⁶² Tancred Borenius, "Castle Howard and Its Lost Treasures," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 78, no. 454 (1941): 2-5, 8-9.

³⁶³ Adrian Tinniswood, *Noble Ambitions: The Fall and Rise of the Post-War Country House* (Random House, 2021).

³⁶⁴ Allanby, "Castle Howard Interview."

³⁶⁵ Ridgway, *Castle Howard and Brideshead: Fact, Fiction and in Between*.

2008 film adaptation, and more recently it has appeared as the fictional Clyvedon House, one of the main settings in the first series of Netflix's *Bridgerton* (2020-).

Brideshead Revisited was published in 1945 shortly after the end of World War II and was very popular. The author, Evelyn Waugh, nostalgically described the sense of the time before the war, and opened the book during WWII with the main character, Charles, returning to the country house of Brideshead as an officer in the army, as the army was occupying the house. This causes him to reminisce on when he visited the house as an undergraduate at Oxford, having befriended Sebastian Flyte whose family lived there. The Flytes were deeply Catholic, and Charles is drawn into the family, having relationships with both Sebastian and his sister Julia, and over many years sees how their faith affects the family.

Brideshead has remained in the public's consciousness since its publication, partly due to the adaptations, with many articles comparing the 1980s version to the 2008 film (directed by Julian Jarrold) as they were both shot at Castle Howard.³⁶⁶ In late 2021 there were talks of a new BBC adaptation of the novel starring Andrew Garfield, Joe Alwyn and Rooney Mara, with heritage film favourite Ralph Fiennes as patriarch Lord Marchmain.³⁶⁷ The themes of nostalgia, homosexuality and faith have been debated in scholarship,³⁶⁸ and the use of Castle Howard as a filming location is mentioned in these articles but never fully explored. We cannot be certain if Waugh was inspired by Castle Howard for *Brideshead*, however, Waugh did visit Castle Howard in 1937 on a trip to Yorkshire, and the arrival of Charles and Sebastian to the house for the first time mirrors the approach to Castle Howard.³⁶⁹ The inclusion of the dome, as mentioned before, is unusual for a baroque English

³⁶⁶ Christopher Hitchens, "'It's all on account of the war'," *The Guardian* 2008, <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2008/sep/27/evelynwaugh.fiction>.

³⁶⁷ Emma. Dibdin, "Everything To Know About the BBC's Star-Studded New *Brideshead Revisited*," *Town & Country* 2021, <https://www.townandcountrymag.com/leisure/arts-and-culture/a38347386/brideshead-revisited-new-bbc-series-cast-trailer-release-date/>.

³⁶⁸ Laura Coffey, "Evelyn Waugh's Country House Trinity: Memory, History and Catholicism in *Brideshead Revisited*," *Literature & History* 15, no. 1 (2006): 59-73. David Leon Higdon, "Gay Sebastian and Cheerful Charles: Homoeroticism in Waugh's *Brideshead Revisited*," *ARIEL: A Review of International English Literature* 25, no. 4 (1994): 77-89. Laura Mooneyham, "The triple conversions of *Brideshead Revisited*," *Renascence* 45, no. 4 (1993): 225-35. These are just a few of the many articles which discuss the themes in *Brideshead Revisited*.

³⁶⁹ Ridgway, *Castle Howard and Brideshead: Fact, Fiction and in Between*, 14-15.

stately home, but it wasn't until the 1970s that it was suggested that Castle Howard could have been an inspiration.³⁷⁰ According to Christopher Ridgeway, who wrote the book *Castle Howard and Brideshead: Fact, Fiction and In-between*, 'both places share common elements – avenue, lodges, wrought-iron gates, parkland, a turn in the drive and a village green'³⁷¹ and this connection to the approach to the house is something which is also explored in the analysis of Chatsworth, Lyme Park and the fictional Pemberley.

Hyper-Heritage

Castle Howard has a unique approach to embracing their connection and the analysis will draw on the idea of hyper-heritage which was introduced in the literature review. Jean Baudrillard's theory of the simulacra, the depiction of something which has never existed but claims to be a copy of the original is rife throughout heritage film and television. The concept of hyper-heritage extends beyond Baudrillard's original framework. It is how history and heritage is shown on screen, and is heavily influenced by contemporary ideas as well as audience and genre expectations. The spaces used for filming may be used differently than originally intended such as state bedrooms (reserved for royalty) being used by characters of a lower rank. Hyper-heritage is a sanitised view of the past, seen through a contemporary lens with contemporary ideals, and the 'past' is fused with

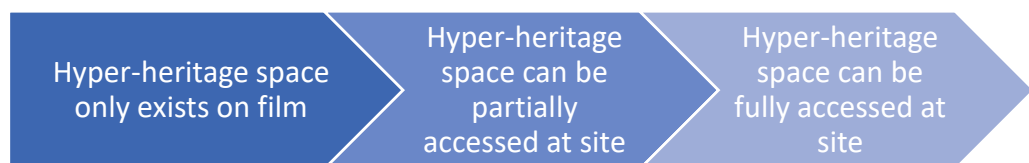


Figure 45 The Hyper-Heritage Spectrum

³⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 13

³⁷¹ *Ibid*, 15

the narrative requirement of the film. Using Baudrillard's idea that the hyper-real is where the 'sign' bears no relation to the original, the hyper-heritage is where the sign, or representation, of the past, bears little relation to the actual historical past. Hyper-heritage puts the narrative first, and historical accuracy second. Normally a hyper-heritage image is an image on film – the spaces, costumes and actors projected onto a screen, and as a narrative space it is inaccessible. However, hyper-heritage is a spectrum (see Figure 45 **Error! Reference source not found.**), and Castle Howard is at the extreme end, as here the hyper-heritage spaces depicted on screen can be fully accessed in the real world. It is a very rare example, and possibly unique.³⁷²

Brideshead Revisited has been adapted twice, as a television series and as a film, and both adaptations used Castle Howard as the eponymous Brideshead. The Granada television series used the downstairs Garden Hall, a blackened, ceiling-less shell from the fire damage (see Figure 46), and redecorated it for filming - 'The lost decoration by Pellegrini was temporarily replaced by fictional landscapes and buildings'.³⁷³ Although the building has been given a new roof and the dome rebuilt the interiors were never competed so the filmmakers both had to create their own and also had the freedom to do so. The architects who completed the restoration for the film, Julian Bicknell and Associates, state that 'The design does not reproduce the original interior, but uses the early eighteenth-century vocabulary of Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor, with the linked keystones, band architraves and isolated pairs of columns, to make an impressive formal interior at the heart of this great house.'³⁷⁴ This design lasted for the duration of filming (see Figure 47), and then the Howard family commissioned the New Zealand artist Felix Kelly to replace the paintings completed for the film. Kelly covered the original paintings with four murals and imaginary Vanbrugh buildings, to complement the architecture of the

³⁷² Other examples on the spectrum of hyper-heritage, where hyper-heritage spaces only exist on film is the green drawing room from Netherfield in *Pride & Prejudice*, which although filmed within Basildon Park the room where it was filmed in bright red, and the walls were hidden with false walls to turn them light green. In the middle of the spectrum, where hyper-heritage can on be partially accessed at the site can be seen at most heritage filming locations, where the spaces are very similar to how they appear on screen but have different furniture and lighting.

³⁷³ Ridgway, *Castle Howard and Brideshead: Fact, Fiction and in Between*, 50.

³⁷⁴ "The Garden Hall and Library - Castle Howard, Yorkshire."

house, and the room was completed with a Portland stone floor (presumably for the film it had just been a cover).³⁷⁵ In the television series, the Garden Hall paintings were added by the protagonist during his stay with the Flyte family, and although the paintings have been changed, the room otherwise appears as it did in the episode. This is hyper-heritage, where the visitor can (almost) enter the narrative space of *Brideshead* within Castle Howard, as the space created has no connection to the original and is purely created for the narrative.

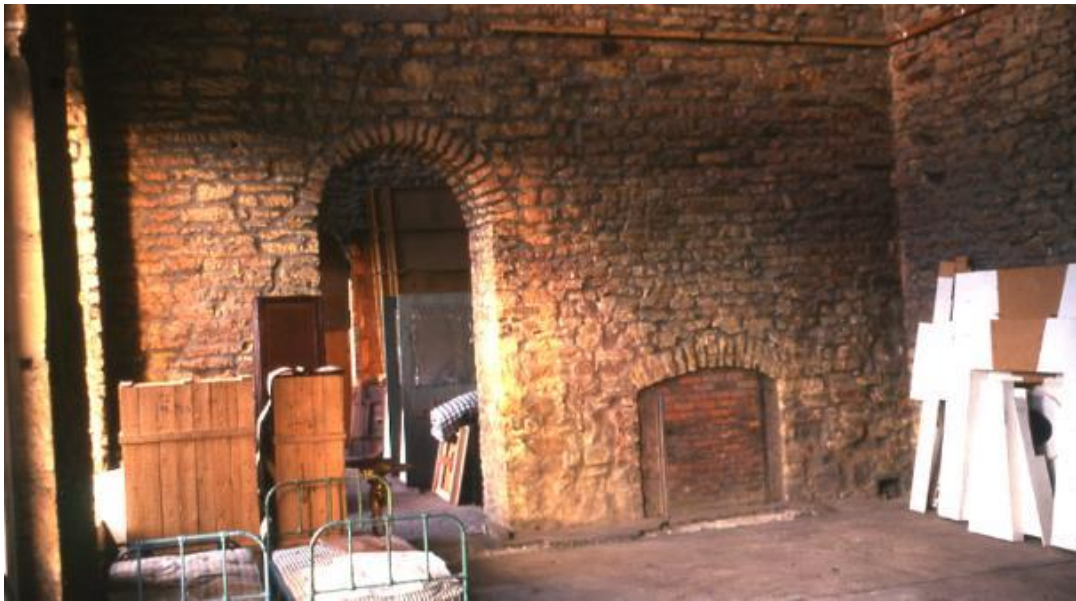


Figure 46 The Garden Hall in the late 1970s, photograph by Julian Bicknell & Associates



³⁷⁵ "The Garden Hall and Library - Castle Howard, Yorkshire."

Figure 47 The Garden Hall in Brideshead Revisited (1981)

For the 2008 film adaptation, a similar agreement was reached with Miramax. This time the filmmakers focused on the room above the refurbished Garden Hall – the unrestored High Saloon. They built a set inside the space – creating stud walls over the fire-damaged brick and stonework and covering them with religious wall paintings and a large mirror (see Figure 48 and Figure 49). Great use was also made of the views from the windows and across to the hall under the dome, and the room was used several times in the film as both a dining space and as a bedroom. Other interiors were used in the film – the Great Hall (and the dome), the Long Gallery (for Julia’s coming out party), the Grand Staircase, and the Temple to the Four Winds (a folly in the grounds) for the wine tasting scene between Charles and Sebastian. The chapel, elaborately decorated in the High Anglican style, was used in both adaptations as it appears in real life.

The set in the Saloon was retained after filming, with the exclusion of the light fittings, and this is a rare example of a set being left in place in a stately home. This space would not be here in this way, if not for filming. Because the design of the Saloon (sometimes referred to as the Painted Chamber) matches the other staterooms on the visitor route there is a sense that this is an ‘authentic’ heritage space, like the Garden Hall below. This again is the hyper-heritage, where visitors enter a ‘historic’ space that is incomparable to its original. There is a blurring of fictional and historical here, and Ridgway writes about this aspect, saying that,

at Castle Howard, the decision was taken to retain this interior, and the Painted Chamber set looks so convincingly authentic that it deceives many visitors into thinking it is part of the historic fabric of Castle Howard..³⁷⁶

Visitor reactions and responses are discussed in the next chapter.

³⁷⁶ Ridgway, *Castle Howard and Brideshead: Fact, Fiction and in Between*, 60.



Figure 48 The wall painting and false mirror in the Saloon/Painted Chamber



Figure 49 The wall painting on the other side of the Saloon/Painted Chamber

Exhibition

Castle Howard celebrates its connection to *Brideshead*, and although the Saloon may be presented as an 'authentic' space, the room preceding it on the visitor route makes the set aspect clear. The room before the Saloon is undecorated – the walls are bare stone and brick, and the fire damage is apparent. Over this are fixed information boards, with pictures, about the fire and the restoration project, and there are several large posters which explain both *Brideshead* adaptations use of the site. The exhibition has been updated – the original exhibition viewed in early 2016 included wall hangings that looked like large film strips (see Figure 50) and included film stills from both the 1980 television adaptation on the wall hangings and the 2008 film on the poster boards (see Figure 51). In 2021 the exhibition had been updated with more focus on the restoration of the house after the fire (see Figure 52) and has two large posters which mentioned filming – one briefly (see Figure 53) and the other more thoroughly (see Figure 54). This move away from the focus on *Brideshead* – taking down the large film stills and replacing them with images of the fire damage, changes the narrative that Castle Howard is evoking, moving away from the fictional and focusing more on history and architecture. As noted in the previous chapter, part of the emphasis at all stately homes is conservation, and surviving a fire is an engaging narrative. For a visitor seeking a *Brideshead* experience there is the Saloon/Painted Chamber in all its glory, where there is no large sign saying, 'this is a set' (which would perhaps raise questions of how this room could be considered a set and the Garden Hall below not?) and it is up to the non-*Brideshead* visitor to ask the room guide about the space, and then they are informed of its nature as a Miramax creation. Depending on how observant the standard visitor is they could easily believe that the Saloon is just another state room and will only find out the truth by asking the room guide.



Figure 50 Castle Howard's Brideshead exhibition in early 2016



Figure 51 Brideshead (2008) stills as seen in early 2016



Figure 52 The exhibition in 2021. The Brideshead poster is on the far right.

From 2018 - 2020 the exhibition in the High South was complemented by an exhibition in the room adjacent to the Garden Hall, which used the original display from the 2016 exhibition. The current exhibition is complemented by a leaflet that is currently available online, which lists all the media shot at the site and provides a floorplan (see Figure 55 and Figure 56). This theoretically allows visitors to walk around and locate exactly where certain things were filmed, however, its most recent media listed was from 2016, so it is not up to date.

Castle Howard was due to celebrate 75 years since the publication of the novel in 2020, but, the Brideshead Festival was cancelled due to the pandemic. It would have involved cast and crew from both adaptations 'coming back to host talks and activities' and demonstrates the continued interest in this work.³⁷⁷

There is a complete acceptance of the hyper-heritage in these rooms, where visitors can experience the locations as the characters did, where there is no other history than the film history, and perhaps the fire in passing. The exhibition does explain how the Painted Chamber is a set, however, the treatment of the Garden Hall, perhaps because of construction methods, is more opaque.

³⁷⁷ Allanby, "Castle Howard Interview."



CASTLE HOWARD

WELCOME TO THE HIGH SOUTH

These upper level apartments in the central block of the house were designed in the 18th century as high status accommodation, and comprised four bedroom suites and a central saloon. These were the apartments Queen Victoria occupied when she visited in 1850. Sadly this entire floor was destroyed in the fire of 1940.

In the 1990s the roof was rebuilt, and a decade later two bedrooms on the north side, Lady Cawdor's Room and the Admiral's Room, were restored. However these rooms on the garden, or south, side of the building remain shells. Today they house three displays, each describing different episodes in the history of Castle Howard.

This first room is devoted to the story of the fire, and the restoration of the dome in 1960-62, which is the most important architectural feature of the house. On the rear wall are illustrations showing how the adjacent High Saloon looked, decorated by Antonio Pellegrini in the 18th century, before it was lost in 1940.

The Saloon next door now contains the set from the movie production of *Brideshead Revisited* in 2008, depicting a painted chamber; there is also a display illustrating how Miramax Films used a number of locations indoors and outdoors at Castle Howard.

In the third room the exhibition *Magnificence and Convenience* chronicles the history of interior decoration at Castle Howard, revealing how interiors have changed over successive generations with the adoption of new fashions. This display also discusses the current state of thinking for the next stages of restoration inside the house.

Figure 53 First poster in the exhibition that mentions *Brideshead*, seen in 2021

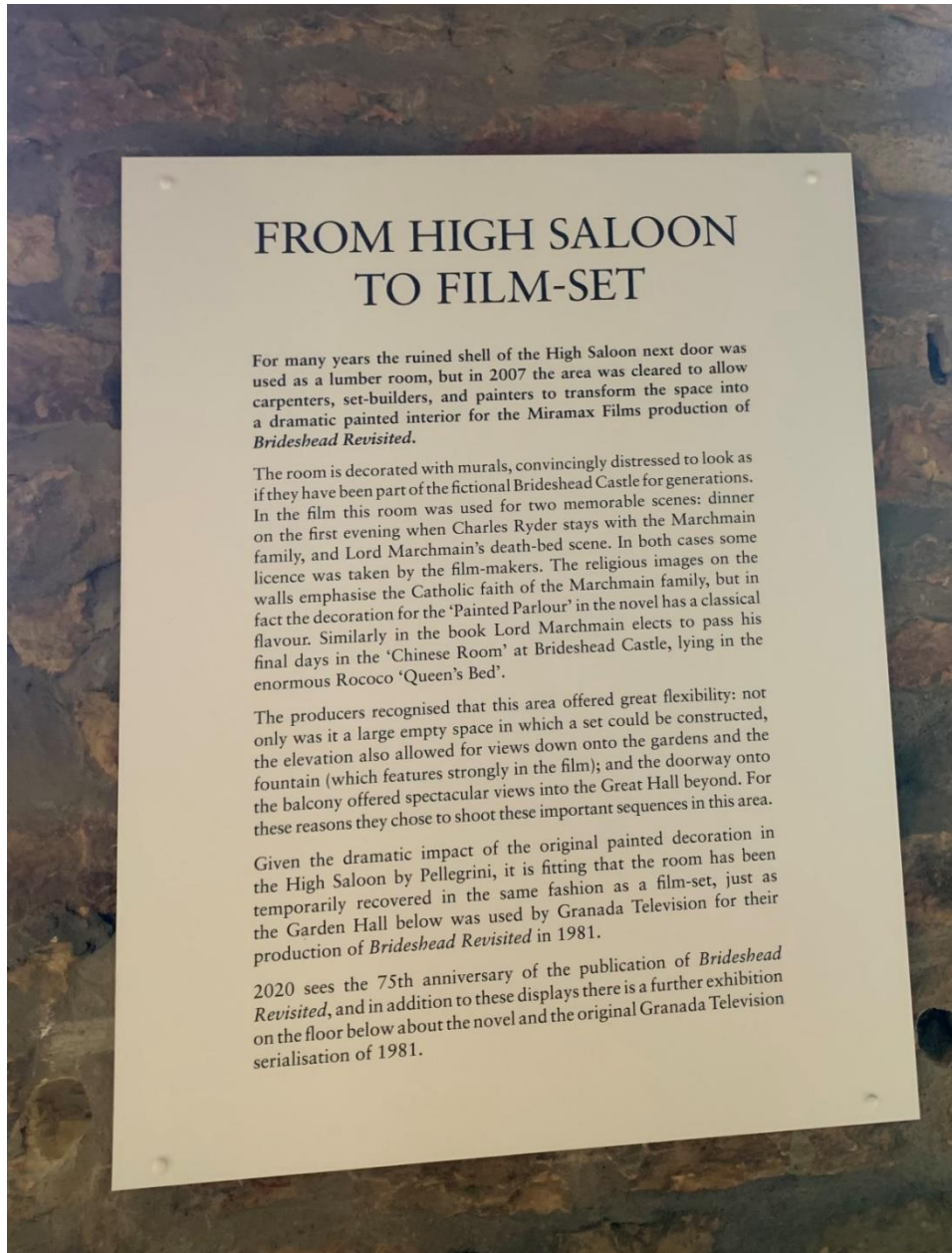


Figure 54 Second poster in the exhibition, this time fully explaining the film set, seen in 2021



AS SEEN ON SCREEN

CASTLE HOWARD

Lady L (1965)
Locations: 12, 18, 21, 22, 26, 27
Directed by Peter Ustinov and starring Sophia Loren, Paul Newman, David Niven and Cecil Parker, the film sees Corsican born Lady L recount her life story from humble origins to high society. She recalls the loves of her life, including an anarchist and a Parisian aristocrat, as she celebrates her 80th birthday with Castle Howard as the setting for the lavish party.

DID YOU KNOW?
David Niven was a frequent visitor to local village pub the Crown & Cushion in Welburn during filming of *Lady L*.

Barry Lyndon (1975)
Location: 22
Directed by Stanley Kubrick, based on the novel by William Thackeray about a young, roguish Irishman who is determined to make a life for himself as a wealthy nobleman. Castle Howard doubles for the Lyndon estate, Castle Hackton

Buccaneers (1994)
Locations: 6, 8, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 26, 28, 29
Castle Howard features as Longlands, home of the Duke and Duchess of Trevenick in this BBC production of Edith Wharton's novel of the 19th century encounter between English aristocracy and wealthy American heiresses.

DID YOU KNOW?
Not all is as it appears on screen: multiple filming locations merge into one, windows look out over the wrong views and army camps and cats are digitally created.

Garfield 2 (2006)
Locations: 15, 19, 21, 22, 25
A case of mistaken cat identity finds Garfield ruling over a castle (Castle Howard), but his reign is jeopardized by the nefarious Lord Dargis (Billy Connolly), who has designs on the estate.

Death Comes to Pemberley (2013)
Locations: 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 23, 25
Adapted from PD James murder mystery involving Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* characters, the BBC filmed in various locations. Starring Matthew Rhys and Anna Maxwell-Martin, the two week shoot saw the interiors of the house transformed into Pemberley.

Victoria (2016)
Locations: 4, 5, 9, 12, 18, 19
Created by Daisy Goodwin the series follows the early life of Queen Victoria, from her accession to the throne at the age of 18 through to her courtship and marriage to Prince Albert. Castle Howard doubled as Kensington Palace, where Victoria learned she had become Queen. Starring Jenna Coleman, Tom Hughes, Rufus Sewell and Peter Firth.





Figure 55 As Seen on Screen leaflet page 1

Castle Howard has been used as a location for many features with its interiors and gardens being cast in a number of roles.

From taking centre stage in features such as *Brideshead Revisited* to making less obvious appearances in dramas such as *Death Comes to Pemberley*, the versatility of Castle Howard makes it the perfect place to film.

As one of the first country houses to welcome filming, I have always had the pleasure of being around famous faces and film crews who move in for a few weeks, turn the place upside down and then move on.

Our first filming experience was with the glamorous Sophia Loren in *Lady L*; Sophia insisted on cooking pasta for us all one evening – it was terrible! Thankfully, these days crews come with their own catering units and a talented team of chefs.

After months of planning when crews finally arrive with us it is certainly a whirlwind of activity; technicians scurry about the place, directors and producers tuck themselves away in corners having urgent conversations and makeup and costume artists primp and preen the stars.

Today filming is important in helping to promote the house and region and generating income which we can put back into conserving and developing the estate. Yorkshire is rapidly becoming a filmmaker's favourite and I look forward to our next on screen transformation.



Hon Nicholas Howard

DID YOU KNOW?

The wider estate has featured in international films: *The Correspondence* by famous director Giuseppe Tornatore and Bollywood movie *Shabdaz*.



Brideshead Revisited (1981)

Locations: 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27

A landmark television series, Granada's *Brideshead Revisited* was first broadcast in 1981 running for almost 12 hours across 11 episodes. It was a luxurious and, by television standards, expensive production starring Jeremy Irons, Anthony Andrews and Diana Quick. The much-loved series made a star of Castle Howard as the home of the fictional Marchmain family from Evelyn Waugh's novel. Filmed across several months, much of the house and gardens featured in the series and the Garden Hall was even restored for the production, following the devastating fire of 1940.

Brideshead Revisited (2008)

Locations: 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27

Miramax Films returned to Castle Howard in 2008 to produce a new movie version of Waugh's novel, starring up-and-coming actor Matthew Goode, Ben Whishaw and Hayley Atwell. The suite of rooms known as the High South were partially restored for the production, having been used as store rooms since the fire in 1940. They feature as the family dining room and Lord Marchmain's bedroom.

DID YOU KNOW?

Rooms restored for filming both TV series and film versions of *Brideshead* remain a set to this day with stud walls in the Garden Hall and High South Rooms.



Figure 56 As Seen on Screen leaflet page 2

Bridgerton

The recent filming of *Bridgerton* at the site has prompted a few changes to the visitor experience, but not to the same extent as *Brideshead*. In the Netflix regency drama Castle Howard stood in as the fictional Clyveden, the seat of the Duke of Hastings. However, in order to demonstrate the duke's wealth the production added in rooms and interiors from other stately homes to extend the diegetic building. This is an example of a jigsaw building, a building created by the filmmaker by combining rooms and imagery from different sites joined through editing to make a cohesive whole. This concept is explored in the next chapter. Clyvedon is clearly quite different to Castle Howard and it results in a mismatch between the interior and the exterior of Castle Howard as it apparently now has more rooms than the exterior can accommodate. An exhibition viewed in 2021, *Regency Episodes from Castle Howard* includes a specific reference to *Bridgerton* (see Figure 57) and demonstrates how Castle Howard connects in with an earlier period than *Brideshead*, in this case the regency.

WHEN WAS THE REGENCY?

The period of English history known as the Regency began in 1811 with the passing of a bill declaring the Prince of Wales to be Regent on account of the madness of his father George III. The prince would go on to become George IV in 1820.

But the term Regency is more generally applied to the period 1790-1830, especially in terms of style, fashion, and the arts. It was a period of turbulent change witnessing the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars, and enormous change in England with the rise of industrialisation, much of which led to social unrest. For the aristocracy however this was a time of high living, glamour, and luxury, famously captured in Jane Austen's novels, William Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*, and more recently in the Netflix production of *Bridgerton*.

These years saw several generations of the Howard family living at Castle Howard, Frederick and Caroline, the 5th Earl and Countess of Carlisle; their son George and his wife Georgiana, Viscount and Viscountess Morpeth, and their large family of twelve children.

© The Trustees of the National Maritime Museum, London

Paris street scene Europe after the execution of Louis XVI in 1793.

© The Trustees of the National Maritime Museum, London

James Gillray, A Hobbler under the horror of algebras, in the caricature of 1792 George, Prince of Wales (1762-1830), is already depicted as a hobbled gambler; at one point he weighed 23 stone (150 kg).

© Netflix

A scene from Netflix's successful Regency drama *Bridgerton*, based on the novels by Julia Quinn. Here Lionel Hastings, played by Hugh-Denis Page, greets his new bride, played by Phoebe Dykeman, to his wife, Clyvedon, whom they are greeted on the steps by housekeeper Mrs Colton, played by Philippa Frywood. These sequences were filmed at Castle Howard in the summer of 2019.

Figure 57 A mention of *Bridgerton* in the Regency Episodes exhibition in 2021

Gift Shop

The gift shop at Castle Howard validates the film tourist, when entering it from the house tour the first thing a visitor sees is a table full of *Brideshead* and *Bridgerton* merchandise (see Figure 58). This includes an A4 printed sign, explaining the connection and there are DVDs of the 2008 film and the *Brideshead* novel can be found in the book section on the other side of the shop. Castle Howard stands out for having commissioned a book detailing the filming of the two *Brideshead* adaptations. It is aimed at film tourists and the general public and includes film stills, behind the scenes photos and facts about filming. It also includes information about the Howard family and the history of the house. This book is aimed at the sort of visitor described by Beeton, who wants insider knowledge and to be ‘in the know.’³⁷⁸ *Bridgerton* novels are displayed prominently on the table, and this display is supplemented with books connected to the history of the site – *Castle Howard and the War*, *How to be an 18th Century cook*, *A Brief Guide to Jane Austen*, *Mansfield Park* and *Dining with the Georgians*, and this too is supplemented by vintage lifestyle accretions, such as a Panama hat, vintage radios and telephones, and a deerstalker. One noticeable part of this display is the Aloysius teddy bear, owned by Sebastian Flyte in the show/film, and this product appears throughout the gift shop in different sections, wearing a blue embroidered jumper that celebrates the connection between *Brideshead* and Castle Howard (see Figure 59 and Figure 60).

³⁷⁸ Beeton, *Travel, Tourism and the Moving Image*, 70.



Figure 58 The Brideshead/Bridgerton table in the house gift shop



Figure 59 The Aloysius teddy bear



Figure 60 The teddy bear in other parts of the gift shop

The second gift shop in the stables has a similar display (see Figure 61), mixing *Brideshead* with *Bridgerton*, meaning that even if visitors don't tour the house, they will still be made aware of these fictional connections just by visiting the gift shop. *Brideshead* is inescapable.



Figure 61 The display in the stables gift shop

Castle Howard was one of the first stately homes in England to fully embrace its fictional counterpart, partly out of necessity. The 1940 fire ruined many of the staterooms which visitors expect to explore during their visit, leaving them without decoration (and before their restoration, open to the sky). By accepting the filming for *Brideshead* in the late 1970s, they were able to restore the Garden Hall, first for the film and second in a more permanent way, meaning that the hyper-heritage

space is a mixture of restoration and film set, but does not relate to what was there before the fire. The Saloon/Painted Chamber set is less permanent, and one wonders what will happen once the paintings and false mirror, already showing signs of age, succumb to decay. The other spaces left empty by the fire are utilised as exhibition spaces, uninhibited by colour schemes or artwork already in place.

Castle Howard is proud of the filming done at the site, and the merchandise displayed in the house and stables shops enables visitors to take part of the experience home with them. The site exploits this connection, meaning that it can bring in a wider demographic of people attracted by *Bridgerton's* recent success. Being able to reach a younger, perhaps more international audience means that the worry of the original demographic dying off is less intense, and the future series of *Bridgerton* should ensure a steady stream of new visitors if its popularity continues.

Brideshead is at once a celebration and a criticism of the aristocracy in the years before World War II, and the connection with Castle Howard lingers through careful coordination and commodification of the hyper-heritage visitor experience. It will be interesting to see if any new adaptation also uses Castle Howard as *Brideshead*, or whether the filmmakers will consider the building over-used in this regard. As Ridgway ends his book, *Castle Howard and Brideshead*:

The Wiltshire of the book has shifted irrevocably to Yorkshire, and the house has become permanently identified with Castle Howard. This of course means that people can genuinely visit this version of *Brideshead*, it “exists” beyond the pages of the book and the images on the screen. Many thousands of visitors do indeed drive northeast from the city of York and after a while, they turn off the main road. A few minutes later they arrive at a very grand house, but it is not always clear where they have journeyed to.³⁷⁹

They have journeyed to a hyper-heritage space of both fiction and history and to a site that fully embraces the multiple identities in harmony. Castle Howard demonstrates how the simulacra overshadowed the heritage site and how the site

³⁷⁹ Ridgway, *Castle Howard and Brideshead: Fact, Fiction and in Between*, 61-62.

adapted to simultaneously hold multiple narratives and reconfigured the visitor experience to incorporate the hyper-heritage elements.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined what happens at heritage sites after filming has been completed, exploring how the site capitalises on the production and how this differs between sites. By using four case studies, three private houses and one National Trust property it demonstrates how there are a variety of approaches for engaging with the simulacra.

The first case study explored Highclere Castle and *Downton Abbey*. Highclere demonstrated an approach that enforces strong boundaries between the fictional media and the history of the site. *Downton* 'borrowed'³⁸⁰ the Carnarvon history for the Crawleys, and now the Carnarvons are reinstating their place as the prominent family of the estate, pushing back against the simulacra of hyper-heritage. The site's history and iconography are 'real' whereas *Downton* is 'fake' and therefore of lower priority. Highclere demonstrates how some heritage sites try to draw very firm boundaries between the real and fake, between high and low culture, aiming to profit from the media connection but ensuring that their history is what is celebrated onsite.

The second case study examined the National Trust property Greenway and its connection to Agatha Christie. Only one adaption (*Dead Man's Folly*) has used the site (or rather, the grounds and the boathouse) and the house is more often filmed for documentaries about her life. Although Christie's work is considered middle-brow culture *Dead Man's Folly* is still a literary adaptation and carefully keeps scenes of violence away from the house, leaving Christie's abode untainted. As at Highclere, filming and film tourism is not the priority at Greenway. They instead focus on the life of a historic figure and have built their branding and identity around her. Greenway is secure in its cultural draw as they are simply representing one person during one time period (rather than a family over several centuries, as

³⁸⁰ Fellowes, *The World of Downton Abbey*, 274.

at most heritage sites) therefore, any filming unrelated to Christie is unlikely to occur as the Greenway branding is so strong.

Thirdly, Chatsworth House, demonstrated how all the above approaches could be combined. Chatsworth chooses to celebrate high culture and how they celebrate filming reflects that. They embrace the fictional identity of Pemberley in *Pride & Prejudice* and the entwined identities of Pemberley and Chatsworth mirror Lyme Park's approach on a larger scale. Both sites include merchandising and events for the film tourist and all filming locations for Pemberley embrace this blending as it connects the house to Jane Austen and the profitable Austen industry. Chatsworth demonstrates the boundaries seen at Highclere with the downplaying of *The Wolfman* due to its low cultural connections. There are no events or merchandise and though the film is acknowledged it is not celebrated, and this demonstrates how important branding has become to heritage sites in the twenty-first century. *The Duchess*, the film that explored the life of Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire not only led to changes in the visitor experience, but the site uses Georgiana to connect visitors to her descendants, the Cavendish family, just as Highclere uses the Crawley's to connect visitors to the Carnarvons. Chatsworth continues to be a popular tourist and film tourist destination because of the diversity of its offerings, which all still relate to high culture.

The final case study explored the relationship between Castle Howard and the fictional Brideshead and demonstrated how Castle Howard fully embraces the fictional role. If a visitor was unaware of the adaptations, the set-dressed rooms would be accepted as historic spaces within the house. The concept of hyper-heritage, the perfect historic, nostalgic, narrative space seen in heritage media can be accessed at Castle Howard, as they lack true historical decoration and therefore rely on the post-modern elements of the film sets. Heritage media is celebrated at Castle Howard with careful marketing and a willingness to adapt.

This chapter has explored how heritage sites successfully incorporate a fictional identity as simulacra at Castle Howard, how a site establishes firm boundaries between high and low culture at Highclere and how a site uses a historic figure to build its identity with great success at Greenway. Chatsworth combines all three

approaches and all houses engage with the commercialisation of the simulacra to build profits for conservation work. Two houses, Chatsworth and Castle Howard, have cemented their fictional identities by representing them in two different adaptations, raising questions about building a fictional brand by reinforcing the simulacra imagery, and whether this could be off-putting to future filmmakers.

6. The Authenticity of Heritage Filming Locations

Introduction

The question of authenticity and filming has been central to the heritage industry for over thirty years, as evidenced in this quote from the Historic Houses Association ‘Historic houses, their interiors, gardens and parks offer filmmakers an authentic ready made location’³⁸¹ [*sic*]. The quote demonstrates how authenticity is central to filming in stately homes yet hasn’t been explored. This chapter will investigate the role of authenticity in filming, differing from the previous chapters by focussing on the filmmaker’s perceived motivation.

History and by extension heritage sites are becoming increasingly commercialised properties, focussing on income to maintain standards and finance conservation efforts. In the wake of the pandemic, it became clear that sites needed non-visitor-based income streams and filming became essential for the upkeep and maintenance of these spaces; this was explored in the business chapter. Heritage sites are considered permanent visitor attractions, where the attraction is seeing authentic material evidence of the past in the present. Filmmakers are also attracted by this, which leads to the discussion of what authenticity they seek to capture.

This chapter examines the role of authenticity by separating it into three sections, each examining a different authenticity theory framework and applying it to heritage film locations. Two of these sections use Wang’s theories of authenticity to explore objective and existential authenticity and the third uses MacCannell’s theory of staged authenticity.

This chapter includes data from 9 interviews with members of staff and owners of stately homes, from the National Trust, English Heritage and the private sector and refers specifically to the interview with Harvey Edgington of the National Trust Film Office. This chapter also draws from public reviews of heritage sites from the

³⁸¹ Greenwood and Hudson, *Film and Photography for Historic Houses & Gardens: a handbook for the Historic Houses Association, The National Trust and English Heritage*, 14.

review website TripAdvisor, totalling 51 reviews. Material has also been included from 4 different newspapers.

The Definition of Historical Accuracy

When considering heritage media, the phrase historical accuracy is often referred to and acts as an apparent measurement of quality for the genre. However, there is a lack of clarity about how to define historical accuracy. If historical means to be connected to history and the past, and accuracy means without mistakes, then the idea of historical accuracy in heritage media already seems to be a lesson in futility. As stated before, the camera cannot travel back in time to film the past – any presentation of the past is filtered through a contemporary lens, with modern ideas and ideals colouring the way the past is presented. This is further complicated when the media is a literary adaptation of a fictional story, and therefore, it could be argued, has no relation to the real world beyond the source novel. This state has been referred to throughout this thesis as the hyper-heritage, where the past is shown on screen but is altered to meet contemporary audiences' expectations, from trivial details such as the actor's clear skin, good teeth and cleanliness, to the more profound inclusion of modern attitudes, and the addition of atmospheric lighting and sounds, nostalgia and historical stereotypes. It is a copy of the past without an original, and historical accuracy is a low priority when filmmakers are constructing the diegesis, they are concerned with making it believable and authentic to the narrative, which is discussed more in the following chapter.

The simplest way to define historical accuracy is as *accurate historical truth derived from evidence* and with heritage media, this can mean something as simple as knowing that Elizabethans wore ruffs to something as complex as using the correct liturgical chant in *The Mass*. Historical accuracy is an element that reviewers focus on when a film displays the past, highlighting anachronisms from the lack of a bridge in the recreation of the Battle of Stirling Bridge (famously shot in a field) in *Braveheart* (1995, Mel Gibson) to including denim and vinyl in the costumes of the seventeenth-century set *The Favourite* (see Figure 62).³⁸² As these two examples

³⁸² Alice Newbold, "Sandy Powell On Taking A Rock'N'Roll Approach To Period Dress In The Favourite," *Vogue* 2019, <https://www.vogue.co.uk/article/the-favourite-costumes>.

demonstrate, most filmmakers are less concerned about historical accuracy than the reviewers – a filmmaker’s job is not to educate, but to entertain, therefore, they will make decisions that suit the narrative ahead of being historically accurate. The caveat to this is the possibility of alienating the audience with historical inaccuracies.



Figure 62 One of the denim kitchen maid costumes from The Favourite on display at Hampton Court in 2019

There is a flexible boundary between acceptable and unacceptable historical inaccuracies. Inaccuracies are acceptable if they are ‘close enough’ or ‘good enough’ and meet audience or genre expectations. This can be seen through costume design where, for example, the silhouette matches the historic shape, but the fabric doesn’t (see Figure 62). Often there is a ‘trade-off’ of accuracy, such as in the 2020 adaptation of Austen’s *Emma*. (Autumn de Wilde) The costumes are ‘mostly’ historically accurate, such as the slightly modified recreation of a nineteenth-century spencer jacket worn by Emma, which was based on a historic garment (see Figure 63). This is balanced by the extremely colourful interior spaces that are anachronistic but add to the film’s dollhouse aesthetic. There is a lot of

discussion about historically accurate costumes as if the costume designers are beholden to the audience to educate them. For example, there is a popular Twitter account, podcast, and blog, where costumes, hair and makeup are regularly evaluated and criticised for not being historically accurate.³⁸³ No such account exists for critiquing the use of historical film locations, and it seems as if the question of historical accuracy does not relate to costumes or storyline, which is often disregarded. As there is little criticism or analysis of the filming locations, there is no impetus for the filmmaker to be historically accurate therefore, the consistency of representing the architecture in a historically accurate way is not as significant and therefore, this chapter will foreground the discussion about authenticity, rather than accuracy.



Figure 63 Anya Taylor-Joy as Emma wears a pink spencer jacket which is very similar to a c. 1815 example in the Chertsey Museum

Authenticity

To understand authenticity and provide the framework for analysis, this research looks to tourism studies, where the subject is much studied. As discussed in the literature review, Ning Wang's seminal work *Rethinking Authenticity in the Tourism Experience* identifies three types of authenticity, and two of these will be used in this chapter.

³⁸³ Trystan Bass, Kendra Van Cleave, and Sarah Lorraine Goodman, *Frock Flicks: Bitchy is Our Business. Costume Movie Reviews and Podcast*, 4th March, 2022, <http://www.frockflicks.com/>.

This chapter uses Wang's frameworks for objective and existential authenticity to understand how heritage filming locations are understood to be authentic in reality and on-screen. MacCannell's staged authenticity is used to understand the role heritage-film tourists play in creating meaning, and how filming can have a lasting effect on the visitor experience.

Objective, Constructive and Existential Authenticity

Wang identifies three types of authenticity: objective authenticity, constructive authenticity, and existential authenticity. Objective authenticity is object-related and refers to the genuineness of objects and it is the 'museum-linked usage of authenticity'.³⁸⁴ It states the object is original and this is the form of authenticity we see at heritage sites, as they display material examples of the past. Constructive authenticity is again object-related, where the authenticity of the object is constructed by 'points of view, beliefs, perspectives, or powers' and this is negotiable, determined by context and can even be ideological.³⁸⁵ Constructive authenticity focuses on expectations and stereotypes and Wang clarifies that 'There are various versions of authenticities regarding the same objects'.³⁸⁶ This type of authenticity does not require object authenticity, therefore, it is being disregarded in this analysis. Wang's final type of authenticity is existential authenticity, which is activity related and 'involves personal or intersubjective feelings activated by the liminal process of tourist activities'.³⁸⁷ Wang states that 'Existential authenticity can have nothing to do with the authenticity of toured objects'³⁸⁸ and that it is the touristic activities which make the *experience* authentic. Wang further separates existential authenticity into intra-personal and inter-personal subcategories, however as these relate to feelings of the body, ideas of self-making, being true to yourself, or creating family ties when away from the structures of regular life, they do not apply to this research.

³⁸⁴ Wang, "Rethinking authenticity in tourism experience," 351.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid*

³⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 352

³⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 351

³⁸⁸ Wang, "Rethinking authenticity in tourism experience," 352.

Staged Authenticity

MacCannell's 1973 article *Rethinking Authenticity in the Tourism Experience* set out the idea of staged authenticity, postulating that tourists are seeking to see the 'back region' or backstage as it is deemed to be more authentic or 'real' than the show being displayed in the 'front region'. MacCannell states that the front region, or stage, is the 'meeting place of hosts and guests or customers and service persons'³⁸⁹ and this is contrasted to the back, where 'members of the home team retire between performances to relax and prepare'.³⁹⁰ MacCannell argues that there is another region, that of the false-front stage, and terms this staged authenticity. It is a way of showing an apparent backstage, but it has been artificially constructed to meet the expectations of the tourists, as the actual backstage likely will not. MacCannell states that,

Touristic consciousness is motivated by its desire for authentic experiences, and the tourist may believe that he is moving in this direction, but often it is very difficult to tell for sure if the experience is authentic in fact. It is always possible that what is taken to be entry into a back region is really entry into a front region that has been totally set up in advance for touristic visitation.³⁹¹

The idea of seeking out behind the scenes and details about the 'making-of' is also referred to in the work of Sue Beeton,³⁹² and Nick Couldry,³⁹³ as discussed in the literature review, and both draw on MacCannell's work to explore the concept of front and back stages, agreeing that it is nostalgia which enables the tourist's suspension of disbelief and achievement of an authentic experience.

This work uses the staged authenticity framework to understand how heritage media has influenced the visitor experience, changing it in unexpected ways. This chapter examines what it means if the frontstage is the heritage media, and the heritage filming location is the false backstage, created to meet expectations. This

³⁸⁹ MacCannell, "Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings," 590.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid*

³⁹¹ *Ibid*, 597

³⁹² Sue Beeton, *Film-induced tourism [electronic resource]*, ed. Inc ebrary (Clevedon Buffalo: Channel View Publications, 2005). And Beeton, "Landscapes as Characters: Film, Tourism and a Sense of Place." And Beeton, *Travel, Tourism and the Moving Image*. And Beeton and Seaton, "Creating places and transferring culture: American theme parks in Japan."

³⁹³ Couldry, "On the actual street," 60-75.

framework is central to the analysis of Castle Howard, which was previously discussed in the branding chapter.

The historical accuracy of filming locations has not been much discussed in this thesis, because it focuses on the effect of filming on the heritage sector and acknowledges that films do not need to be historically accurate. After all, they are entertainment. This chapter will use the three frameworks of different types of authenticity to explore, analyse, and understand why filmmakers chose heritage filming locations and what lasting effect filming can have.

Objective Authenticity

Heritage sites, such as stately homes, are objectively authentic. They are material examples of the past and are presented as ways to access history. They are objectively old; it has been proved by experts and they are cared for by organisations which represent the past, such as the National Trust, English Heritage, and the Historic Houses Association. Although the sites may have been changed, conserved, and restored over the centuries, they are essentially 'old enough' and 'look right'. There does appear to be a cut-off point for the 'oldness', which is after the Second World War. Due to the lack of domestic staff after the First World War and then the taxes and death duties levied on owners of stately homes after the Second World War maintaining them proved very difficult and many houses were demolished until the 1970s saw a change in attitude.³⁹⁴ This has led to many stately homes, which were often requisitioned during the Second World War, remaining as stagnant images from when they were left, as the owners had neither the money nor resources to update the houses to the current trends, as they had done in previous generations.

This stagnation, however restored, is still an example of objective authenticity, as these spaces are seen as unchanging, and perhaps unchanged, genuine examples of the past. Despite restoration, they are still viewed as the originals. This objective authenticity is sometimes complemented by re-enactors, such as at English

³⁹⁴ This period is far more nuanced to fully explore in this work. The change in attitude was largely brought about by the organisation SAVE and the 1974 exhibition 'The Destruction of the Country House' at the V&A.

Heritage's Bolsover Castle, in Derbyshire, which employs historic stunt horse riders for events in their seventeenth-century riding school (see Figure 64) to demonstrate how the space was used.³⁹⁵ This is a form of existential authenticity, where the activities create an authentic experience for the visitor, but in this case, and at all heritage sites, the activity relates to objective authenticity. This is a theme that will become prominent throughout this chapter.

Heritage sites are designed to bring the past into the present for visitors, showcasing objective authenticity as a façade of the past. It is acknowledged that these sites are not representative of everyone's experience in the past – these material examples were commissioned by the extremely wealthy and built to survive.

The visitor experience rarely changes over the years and is often complemented by temporary exhibitions, which are explored later in the chapter. The spaces visited are mostly unaffected by modernity (except for lighting, heating, plumbing, accessibility issues and cleanliness), and attention isn't drawn to the more modern elements, keeping the ticket office, cafés, and gift shop further away from the main rooms, often in a separate building (Bolsover Castle) or in a re-purposed space without a current functional use, such as the kitchen (Kedleston Hall, Hatfield House, Lyme Park) or the orangery (Chatsworth). Although these sites display the past they aim to make money, therefore, history must be presented in a way that can be commercialised. The objective authenticity of the site is explained and contextualised for the visitor, with information boards and room guides, who are installed as volunteer experts, along with guidebooks. It is a display of the past which builds on the idea of being the historical real.

³⁹⁵ "Bolsover Castle," English Heritage, 2022, accessed 10th March, 2022, <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/bolsover-castle/>. An interesting note is that the riders/horses are part of the Historic Equestrian Team, who are often hired to work on heritage films and television. For more information about authenticity at Bolsover castle, see Lucy Worsley, "Changing Notions of Authenticity: Presenting a Castle Over Four Centuries," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 10, no. 2 (2004): 129-49.



Figure 64 Publicity photo for 'Cavendish's Horses: The Art of Manege at Bolsover Castle' in the riding school

The Public Responses to Objective Authenticity at Heritage Sites

The objective authenticity of a heritage site is one of the main draws for visitors, as evidenced in the reviews left on the *TripAdvisor* website that will be discussed in this chapter, in which, along with entry prices, parking and café options and accessing the past also frequently appears. This demonstrates visitors engaging with the site's objective authenticity and that this is a central reason for visiting. If one considers reviews from an English Heritage property, a National Trust property and a privately owned property, the same themes repeat: stepping back in time, authenticity and accessing history.

Reviews for English Heritage's Eltham Palace mention authenticity a few times, saying, 'We enjoyed a wonderful visit to Eltham. It is saturated in medieval and modern history. The authentic art -deco is spectacular'³⁹⁶ with another adding, 'Eltham is a wonderful example of authentic art-deco interior matched to a period exterior'.³⁹⁷ A third review, from 2019, states that

You have to like Art Deco to get the most from the modern part. This is authentic design from the 1930s. They should have filmed *The Great Gatsby* here, it is of that design and ethos. As with the medieval great hall (stunning

³⁹⁶ TripAdvisor Review of Eltham Palace, October 2021

³⁹⁷ TripAdvisor Review of Eltham Palace, October 2021

ceiling) English Heritage has not been able to replicate the exact furnishing, but you would have to be super critical to not find them acceptable.³⁹⁸

Not only does this review justify English Heritage's restoration of the site, but it also mentions filming *The Great Gatsby* in the art deco space and how objective authenticity is a priority. This also demonstrates how people are becoming more open about connecting heritage spaces with filming.

Basildon Park, a National Trust property, has various reviews that state 'Beautiful setting, lovely authentic house, the staff are friendly and know a lot about the history of the building.'³⁹⁹ Another is titled 'Authentic EXPERIENCE of time gone by'⁴⁰⁰ [*capitalisation in original*] and a third which says 'the house is really nice, lots of interesting history and found lots of people assuming (wrongly) that the house is as it was way back which is always surprising given how authentic it feels.'⁴⁰¹ All of these quotes mention authenticity and engage with it, and this theme is continued in reviews for the National Trust's Kedleston Hall: 'When you visit Kedleston Hall you take a trip back in time to the 1760's at this spectacular Neo-Classical mansion'⁴⁰² Another says 'we checked out the stables which again shows how life was back in the mid 18th century'.⁴⁰³ The emphasis on seeing what 'life was like' is important to these visitors, and reveals how they prioritise engaging with the objective authenticity of the site.

Some visitors use authenticity to compare Haddon Hall and Chatsworth, which is nearby, saying,

The interior [Haddon] is somber, [*sic*] quiet, tranquil, not overwhelming (at least on a weekday in early May); you feel truly transported back in time. If you have to pick between Chatsworth and Haddon Hall, and you'd rather your visit feel authentic than shiny/commercial, go with Haddon Hall. Chatsworth is arresting in how large it is (even after seeing it on film many times) and has

³⁹⁸ TripAdvisor Review of Eltham Palace, October 2021

³⁹⁹ TripAdvisor Review of Basildon Park, December 2014

⁴⁰⁰ TripAdvisor Review of Basildon Park, January 2018

⁴⁰¹ TripAdvisor Review of Basildon Park, May 2016

⁴⁰² TripAdvisor Review of Kedleston Hall, October 2013

⁴⁰³ TripAdvisor Review of Kedleston Hall, July 2018

gorgeous surrounding countryside, so that saved the Chatsworth visit from being a total disappointment. However, the inside is noisy, overwhelming, and has modern art interspersed with the historical that really distracts from the aesthetic. Haddon Hall doesn't bombard you with visual information, just offers a genuine glimpse into history, a wonderful section of the River Wye, and simple beauty.⁴⁰⁴

Here we see how two heritage visitor attractions are compared, and words such as 'authenticity', 'historical' and 'genuine' are compared with 'shiny/commercial' and 'noisy', even though both houses aim to show the same thing – material history.

There is often resistance to any change in the contents of stately homes and some visitors prefer them to remain fixed in the past. Chatsworth's recent modern art show, 'Living With Art We Love'⁴⁰⁵ and 'Burning Man'⁴⁰⁶ displaying modern art in the house and grounds, was met with a lack of enthusiasm by *TripAdvisor* reviewers, who said 'I personally am not a fan of the new art work in the house and would've like to have seen more traditional furnishings. Rooms seemed staged with a mish mash of items rather than a taking you back in time feel.'⁴⁰⁷ Another Reviewer added 'We were however, rather dismayed at the modern art work displayed on the walls which didn't seem to fit in with the house at all.'⁴⁰⁸ A third review said 'The gardens and house were as magnificent outside as ever and we visit regularly. Unfortunately our visit this last weekend in to the house was a great disappointment, modern art is not the place for this beautiful home.'⁴⁰⁹ Because these visitors want to experience material history, and presumably 'step back in time' the inclusion of modern artworks disrupts this experience and means that the space no longer meets their expectations – the inclusion of modernity, when not in an acceptable functional form (café, toilets, gift shop) is jarring. Objective

⁴⁰⁴ TripAdvisor Review of Haddon Hall, May 2018

⁴⁰⁵ "Living With Art We Love," Chatsworth House Trust, 2022, accessed 14th April, 2022, <https://www.chatsworth.org/events/living-with-art-we-love/>.

⁴⁰⁶ "Radical Horizons: The Art of Burning Man," Chatsworth House Trust, 2022, accessed 14th April, 2022, <https://www.chatsworth.org/events/burning-man/>.

⁴⁰⁷ TripAdvisor Review of Chatsworth, April 2022

⁴⁰⁸ TripAdvisor Review of Chatsworth, April 2022

⁴⁰⁹ TripAdvisor Review of Chatsworth, April 2022

authenticity no longer takes precedence in the visitor experience, it is merely a backdrop. This demonstrates the complicated relationship heritage sites have with the present and modernity, and how they must balance a variety of expectations to enable them to continue.

History as entertainment, or at least as experience, is becoming more and more common. The reviews above frequently mention filming, which can contextualise a site for a visitor before they arrive. The objective authenticity of a heritage site is often, if not always, the base for other types of authenticity that are present at the site, which is explored more below.

Visitor Behaviour Changing at Heritage sites

Several of the owners and managers interviewed for this work said that being used as a filming location had produced a noticeable change in visitor behaviour at their sites. There appears to be less reverence for material history because it has been part of mass media, or in other words, because it is now part of entertainment. Perhaps because visitors can now visit filming sets, such as the Warner Bros. Studio Tour: The Making of Harry Potter in London, there is a blurring of fact and fiction. Kym Gribble, of Montacute House, a National Trust property which was used as a location for *Wolf Hall*, *The Libertine* (2004, Laurence Dunmore), *Sense and Sensibility* (1995, Ang Lee) and was the inspiration for Tottingham Hall in *Wallace & Gromit in the Curse of the Were-Rabbit* (2005, Nick Park, Steve Box), explained that filming had blurred the lines,⁴¹⁰ but also noted that the National Trust policy had changed in recent years to deliberately remove barriers, eliminating ropes and 'do not touch' signs to make the experience more immersive and less museum-like. This narrows the distance between the present and past but doesn't completely erase it.

The big problem with those [film tourists] is that they don't necessarily understand the concept of the property not being a film set. So, they think I can just touch everything. So, the big problem is the messaging around this furniture wasn't in that film and it's historic and you can't touch it.⁴¹¹

⁴¹⁰ Kym Gribble, "Montacute Interview," interview by Rosemary Alexander-Jones, 2021.

⁴¹¹ Gribble, "Montacute Interview."



Figure 65 Exterior lighting for filming at Montacute House in January 2020

This more disturbing change in visitor behaviour can also be observed at the National Trust's Lacock Abbey, where filming has attracted a different demographic and bring sin younger people. In an interview with a member of Lacock's staff, they mentioned that not only has the *Harry Potter* filming 'changed the demographic'⁴¹² but that visitors now have 'a completely different attitude'⁴¹³ which stems from their belief that the space is more fantastical than historical, stating,

It's an escape into a fantasy world for them, and it's not a place to be revered the same way that people with a more of a bigger understanding of heritage or whose parents took them around as children to these kind of places and will keep saying 'don't touch now, just look' it's a completely different attitude to people who come out, who come having grown up watching *Harry Potter* and come and see these places, they just want to stand on everything and sit on everything and it creates a different dynamic for us to be concerned, as about caring for the building⁴¹⁴

Some people have even been carving *Potter*-specific graffiti in the cloisters, which accompanies graffiti from the English Civil War and before. The cloisters are now a space for *Potter* cosplays, as people wear robes to the cloisters and have photoshoots (see Figure 68) though very few leave the cloisters and see the rest of the site.⁴¹⁵ This behaviour is not limited to Lacock – examples from *Instagram* show

⁴¹² Abbey, "Lacock Interview."

⁴¹³ *Ibid*

⁴¹⁴ Abbey, "Lacock Interview."

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid*

other filming locations from the franchise such as Gloucester Cathedral cloisters (see Figure 69) and Durham Cathedral cloisters (see Figure 68) also receive this attention.

At Lacock, there is a further issue when children try to climb inside the historic cauldron, which is on display in the warming room (see Figure 67). This was included in a classroom scene in the first *Potter* film (see Figure 66) but dates from c.1500 and was used for cooking. The interviewee at Lacock said that the cauldron being a historic item is a sticking point, saying,

I've lost count of the amount of times people have said 'so this is a prop they just left behind' and we're like 'no this is 500 years old, the nuns used to cook in it, this is no prop'. Then they are completely astounded and very confused.⁴¹⁶

Here it is apparent that the objective authenticity of the building is a higher priority to the curator because of its fragility – the evidence seems to suggest that when visitors arrive with little to no concept of the objective authenticity, and instead immediately engage with the existential authenticity of completing activities, conservation issues arise. It is interesting to note that for *Potter* film tourists, the objective authenticity is not as important, and perhaps relates to the two sets they can visit which have been constructed for them – the *Warner Bros. Studio Tour* in London and 'The Wizarding World of Harry Potter' in the Universal Studios and Resort in the USA and Japan. Both are advertised with 'Step inside a world where the magic is real'⁴¹⁷ encouraging the film tourist to enter the diegesis. However, the Universal parks lack objective authenticity, clarifying the notion that when you have existential authenticity without objective authenticity to ground it, you have a theme park.

A key finding is that when a heritage site is a filming location and engages with film tourism, visitors' perception of the site changes, as does their attitude: A member of staff at Lacock said that filming has 'definitely changed the attitude towards the

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid*

⁴¹⁷ "The Wizarding World of Harry Potter," Universal Studios, 2022, accessed 15th April, 2022, https://www.universalorlando.co.uk/Theme_Parks/Wizarding-World-Of-Harry-Potter.aspx.

heritage, that it's got far more importance for them as the place of their film of choice rather than it having value for itself'.⁴¹⁸ They state that the 'preciousness' of the site, referring to the delicate nature of the historical fabric, is 'dying out' because 'I imagine that being film sets and being seen on-screen in so many ways relates us to being playgrounds and places to visit because of someone famous was there or it was the set of their favourite film'⁴¹⁹ and although they continued to point out that it was young people coming alone, instead of with parents who would enforce the 'do not touch' rule. Instead, these visitors' motivation is often to secure an amazing photograph.⁴²⁰

When asked about authenticity in the visitor experience, they said,

I feel like we're missing a trick in that we don't have interpretation specifically aimed at the visitors who were coming because of the filming location aspect. Because, a lot of those people will come and they won't read the interpretation that we have out, they are there specifically just to see the *Harry Potter* stuff so they're not engaging, as I say it's not aimed at them, it's a tricky one really.⁴²¹

Here we see the difference in objective authenticity through the 'interpretation' or displays of the site, and the existential authenticity that the film tourist brings with them, where engagement with the objective authenticity is not the priority. It also ties in with the high and low culture debate, in that the history of the site is more valid because it is high culture and 'real', whereas mass media is low culture, and therefore less worthy. The interviewee does state that the *Potter* filming is part of the history of Lacock now and that if they had a bigger budget there would be a much larger display about the *Potter* films, however, the visitor experience team tends to focus on displays about 'the permanent stuff'⁴²² to which they are referring to the history of the site, rather than filming, which is seen as temporary.

⁴¹⁸ Abbey, "Lacock Interview."

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid*

⁴²⁰ *Ibid*

⁴²¹ *Ibid*

⁴²² Abbey, "Lacock Interview."



Figure 66 The Sacristy, with cauldron as the Defence Against the Dark Arts Classroom in Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone



Figure 67 The cauldron at Lacock as it is displayed today



Figure 68 Cosplayers in Lacock Cloisters (left) Durham Cathedral Cloisters(right)



Figure 69 A Potter cosplayer in Gloucester Cathedral Cloister, re-enacting scenes from the films

Visitors to private sites are also exhibiting different behaviour, according to Margie Burnet of Haddon Hall. Haddon has been used in a variety of heritage media, most notably in *Pride & Prejudice*, *The Princess Bride* (1986), three adaptations of *Jane Eyre* (1994, 2006, 2010), *The Other Boleyn Girl* (2006), *Mary Queen of Scots* (2002, 2018) and the Netflix film *The King* (2019). Burnet states that one visitor was ‘obsessed’ with *Pride & Prejudice*, so,

all she wanted to do was see those bits of the house. And I sometimes get the feeling that, you do get visitors who want to just see those places and also take photographs of themselves in the place. And that can be a little bit sad

because there are lots, well, there are some, people who really only want to come and take selfies in the hall. They're not really looking at the hall⁴²³

For Haddon, there is a resistance to visitors making film tourism their priority, rather than the history of the site, as Burnet continues to say,

There's a beautiful Tudor parlour which was used as the Lambton Inn in *Pride & Prejudice*, the Keira Knightley one. And I don't think they're really looking at the actual space. They're just recognising something from a film. And they don't notice the wonderful, panelled ceiling or anything. They're just really pleased that they recognise where something was filmed.⁴²⁴

Alluding to the many Tudor and medieval narratives that have been filmed at the site, Burnet feels that film visitors will gain more from the site if the films they have seen are set in the period which the building dates from.⁴²⁵ This again demonstrates the difference in high and low culture values of the media filmed at the site, where a film depicting 'real' history or the 'correct' time period is more valued than a literary adaption. This is shown most clearly in Haddon's use in the cult film *The Princess Bride*, where the site was used as the fictional Prince Humperdinck's Castle and additional crenellations and a tower were built in the courtyard by the production (see Figure 70 and Figure 71). Burnet says that visitors still often look for the tower, which they then must explain that it was a 'fake'.⁴²⁶

⁴²³ Burnet, "Haddon Interview."

⁴²⁴ *Ibid*

⁴²⁵ *Ibid*

⁴²⁶ *Ibid*



Figure 70 Haddon Hall in *The Princess Bride*



Figure 71 Haddon Hall Courtyard 2021

Haddon celebrates its filming connections – handing every visitor a printed list of media that has been shot there and providing a film tour⁴²⁷ but the priority for the staff is to provide a visitor experience based on the objective authenticity. It is seen as having more cultural value, being more permanent and more worthy of interest.

This section notes four key findings about objective authenticity at heritage sites and the site's relationship with film tourists. Firstly, objective authenticity is the priority at heritage sites, they are showing a façade of the past in the present. Sites are presented 'as they were', except for some modern amenities, although

⁴²⁷ Though Burnet states that no one has ever taken them up on it.

elements like cafes, shops and facilities are often away from the historic parts of the site, so that attention isn't drawn to these more modern elements and it keeps the focus on the historic material. Secondly, objective authenticity is one of the main reasons many people visit heritage sites, as evidenced in reviews where people comment on the authenticity and often mention 'stepping back in time'. The objective authenticity is one of the unique appeals of heritage sites against other visitor attractions. Thirdly, the inclusion of modern artwork can alienate the regular demographic of visitors and this demonstrates the fine balance heritage sites maintain between showing the past in the present. Fourthly, filming has changed visitor behaviour at sites. Although filming can contextualise a space for visitors, it can also make it less respected. These spaces are now part of the entertainment, rather than history, and whilst not yet considered low culture their connection with mass media means that their high culture status is not quite as secure. The *Harry Potter* filming has also brought in a different demographic at sites such as Lacock, including young people that visit without parents which means that the 'don't touch' rules are not enforced from a young age. Unfamiliar with the conventions of visiting country houses, this has led to a confusion between reality and make-belief, and resulted in graffiti and climbing into the cauldron. This is indicative of a larger issue where film-influenced visitors lack the respect for sites that are expected. Owners and managers worry that visitors are only seeing the surface level of filming connections, rather than exploring deeper into the history of the site. This relates to the larger worry from managers and owners that visitors aren't engaging with the visitor experience 'correctly', or in other words, as it was designed. It is ironic that objective authenticity is central to heritage sites, yet by its nature it is fragile, and the upkeep is expensive. The objective authenticity is commercialised to fund its own preservation through conservation work therefore, any additional profit is welcome yet brings its own issues.

Existential Authenticity

While the objective authenticity of a heritage site is undisputed, the existential authenticity is more complicated. Wang states that this process 'involves personal

or intersubjective feelings activated by the liminal process of tourist activities'.⁴²⁸

The liminal process of exploring a site, engaging with activities, and actively learning about history and heritage are all part of the normal heritage visitor experience. It should be noted that there are different terms for this type of tourist activity, such as performative or embodied, however, I am using Wang's terminology as it relates to authenticity.

For the film tourist or heritage-film tourist activities such as seeking out a specific filming location, re-enactment, cosplaying, and photoshoots vary from the activities of the typical heritage visitor. The authenticity of these activities stems from the person as they undertake them.

Heritage sites offer different degrees of authenticity depending on visitor motivation; however, object authenticity is always present. Using evidence from ten interviews and twenty-four reviews from TripAdvisor, it is possible to investigate how a heritage-film tourist explores the site with their own agenda, which may differ from the pre-existing visitor experience. The heritage-film tourist may be trying to enter the diegesis by pretending that they are Elizabeth Bennet or a princess, and they engage with the space in a fantasy, pretending sense, rather than as a heritage visitor who wants to observe and perhaps learn. The difficulty arises when the heritage-film tourist's experience and activities differ from those already in place at the site. This can cause tension among the owners and managers.

Visitor Motivation

The business chapter discussed how there was an increase in visitor numbers after a broadcast or the release of film that featured the site, being featured in a factual programme such as *Countryfile* (1988-, BBC)⁴²⁹ or *Antiques Roadshow* (1979-, BBC)⁴³⁰ or even appearing in a weather broadcast.⁴³¹ Film imagery has an effect,

⁴²⁸ Wang, "Rethinking authenticity in tourism experience," 351.

⁴²⁹ Conway, "Basildon Park Interview."

⁴³⁰ Small, "Eltham Palace Interview."

⁴³¹ Gompertz, "Burghley Interview." and Jessica Courtney and Emily Price, "Tredegar House Interview," interview by Rosemary Alexander-Jones, 2021. And Croxford, "Lyme Park Interview." And Emily MacCormack, "Stourhead Interview," interview by Rosemary Alexander-Jones, 2021.

and recent feature films have motivated people to visit, as seen in the recent reviews for Montacute:

Wow, Montacute House! What a stunning National Trust property. After discovering this house and grounds were used in one of my favourite films of all time, *Sense and Sensibility*, I knew I had to visit straight away! [...] Because of my love of *Sense and Sensibility* I was desperate to get inside and every room that we were able to see looked exactly as it did in the film!⁴³²

This is a pattern seen in other reviews: 'Montacute looked amazing having seen pictures of it as well as it being featured in *Sense and Sensibility* and hence it had made it onto my hit list and hence the visit.'⁴³³ Parts of *Wolf Hall* were also filmed at Montacute, as this is also frequently mentioned by reviewers, saying, 'My wife particularly like the connections with the film of *Sense and Sensibility* and was able to spot several locations used, while I was keen on its *Wolf Hall* associations'.⁴³⁴

Media images can also encourage repeat visits, as Kym Gribble at Montacute explains 'I think in some ways it does give people an additional reason to develop an attachment to a property that they probably wouldn't have had if they'd just come to visit.'⁴³⁵ This attachment for properties can be seen in the many reviews of Montacute which mention visitors wanting to return, however, it can be difficult to judge if people do engage with return visits, as TripAdvisor discourages repeat reviews of the same place.

Altered Interiors

If the visitor has expectations for a site that are based on film imagery, sometimes these will not be met, as the interiors were altered for filming. Basildon Park, was used as the fictional Netherfield in *Pride & Prejudice* in 2005. At the National Trust's Basildon Park, the interiors are a variety of pastel shades, except for the central Octagon Room, which is bright red (see Figure 72). Sebastian Conway, the Collections and House Officer for Basildon, explained that the production made 'a lot of alterations, they used a lot of flamage, they completely changed rooms so a

⁴³² TripAdvisor Review of Montacute House, October 2021

⁴³³ TripAdvisor Review of Montacute House, April 2019

⁴³⁴ TripAdvisor Review of Montacute House, May 2017

⁴³⁵ Gribble, "Montacute Interview."

lot of the interiors bear no resemblance to now.'⁴³⁶ This was because the filmmakers wanted to utilise Steadicam to continuously move through the interconnecting rooms and the red room would break up the colour scheme of the rest of the film. The production, therefore, constructed false interior walls on a structure placed inside the Octagon Room, which still allowed the use of the windows but covered the red walls. This structure was supported by several large central columns, which can be seen in the scenes (see Figure 73).

This led to issues for visitors who have preconceived ideas about how the interior will look, as Conway continues,

They turn up and they say, 'hey what's happened here?' or they'll even come into the dining room and it's like 'woah this is a ballroom why is there a big table in it?' It does shatter the illusion somewhat for people that it is different, that it is a set⁴³⁷

This attitude is confirmed by Harvey Edgington of the National Trust Film Office, who described adding a temporary exhibition to explain filming. These exhibitions, which are explored fully further down, can act as a reassuring bridge to the visitor, as it brings their expectations in line with what is in front of them, and by adjusting their expectations they can experience existential authenticity.

⁴³⁶ Conway, "Basildon Park Interview."

⁴³⁷ Conway, "Basildon Park Interview."



Figure 72 The Octagon Room at Basildon Park



Figure 73 The Octagon Room in *Pride & Prejudice*

Expectations of Room Dressing and Filmic Experience

An expected familiarity with the site before visiting can be seen in reviews of Basildon, that say, ‘The House has been used to film both *Pride and Prejudice* and *Downton Abbey*,⁴³⁸ which will give you an idea of some of the amazing rooms inside’ [*sic*]⁴³⁹ and this is noted by Gribble at Montacute, who says, ‘Because they've seen it on television dressed in a certain way. They kind of almost feel like they know the place already. And so, it's almost there's a little bit of that kind of going

⁴³⁸ The house was used as another house's interiors for *Downton Abbey*, not for the *Downton* house itself.

⁴³⁹ TripAdvisor review of Basildon Park, May 2017

somewhere familiar, even though they've never visited before.'⁴⁴⁰ This is also part of the contextualisation films can provide that was previously mentioned.

However, the difference between how a space was dressed for the film and how it appears for visitors can also lend itself to confusion, Gribbles mentions that sometimes visitors 'wander into a room and they'll make comments about how it was set up for the production. And you'll be like, it wasn't like that at all.'⁴⁴¹ As most people only watch a film or television episode once or twice, mistakes are inevitable, but this can lead to misinformation about aspects of the site's historic narrative, which managers and owners are keen to avoid. This can be further complicated when rooms from other sites are edited into the building in the diegesis to create buildings that do not actually exist as shown. The full implication of this practice is explored later in this chapter.

The expectations that visitors develop from heritage media can be seen most clearly in the reviews for Highclere, where reviewers merge the concepts of visiting a filming location and entering the diegesis, saying 'It was interesting to stand in the main hall – it is not as large as it appears on *Downton*. How the camera crews and sound recordists fit in along with all the actors is amazing. We are sure the Dowager Duchess [*a fictional character*] would have one of her quips about how crowded it is when filming!'⁴⁴² Here we see a blending of the real and the fictional, which is becoming more common in heritage filming locations, and it often relates to the existential authenticity connecting to the objective authenticity at the site. Reviewers of Highclere frequently mention authenticity, and one reviewer struggled when their *Downton* expectations were not met, saying,

walking through the rooms we were surprised by the tatty state of the furniture (faded, ripped, and torn) (needed a massive overall by the repair shop) we know they've got to keep [it] as authentic as possible, but it looked

⁴⁴⁰ Gribble, "Montacute Interview."

⁴⁴¹ Gribble, "Montacute Interview."

⁴⁴² TripAdvisor Review of Highclere Castle, April 2022.

nothing like the scenes in Downtown Abby, and a lick of paint wouldn't hurt,[sic]⁴⁴³

This reviewer is referring to the objective authenticity (the age) of the site being visually apparent. This is mirrored in another review, which is scathing of the whole experience and is titled 'Downton Shabby'.

So the interior is of course roped off so you know which way to walk, but they immediately block you from walking into the main atrium, so you don't get the full effect and grandeur of the place. And from the start the guides keep banging on about the actual owners of the place like anyone gives a toss about them. Literally every person visiting only cares about Downton Abbey, and if they think otherwise then they are deluded.

There's a few posters and placards showing a few scenes from DA [*Downton Abbey*] in the library and the dining room, but the rest just feels like you're strolling through your nan's old shabby house which hasn't been done up since the 70s. Oddly, every room (except the library and dining hall) has piles of old magazines and old books from the 80s in every corner. I saw a copy of *House and Home* from October 2016 at the foot of Lady Sybil's [*a fictional character*] bed, and there's old radios and Hi-Fis all over the place. I get that its a real house that people live in, but seeing a battered old copy of a crappy John Grisham book in Lady Grantham's [*a fictional character*] room was quite odd.⁴⁴⁴

This review shows the difficulty in managing visitor expectations where there are both historical and fictional narratives present at the site and the site's marketing relies very heavily on the *Downton* connection. For this reviewer, the fictional *Downton* identity is more important and is their motivation for visiting. This also leads to an irritation found in several reviews that some rooms can only be seen from the doorway and other spaces, such as the central hall, are roped off to restrict movement. This is compounded by the no photography rule, which is apparently heavily enforced. Reviewers question why *Downton* filming is allowed inside, but not private photographs, saying, 'They were super controlling and didn't

⁴⁴³ TripAdvisor review of Highclere Castle, April 2022

⁴⁴⁴ TripAdvisor Review of Highclere Castle, April 2022

let us take any pictures for "privacy reason" [*sic*]. Surely, they care so much about their privacy when they use their private home for movie set and tv shows'⁴⁴⁵ and another review said,

The only slight downside was strictly no photos inside as is the case for most Stately homes however you would think has its been filmed for several seasons of a TV show and 2 films there would be certain rooms you could take photographs.⁴⁴⁶

Here the reviewers cannot engage with existential authenticity, and it irritates them, as part of the *Downton*-tourist's expectations is to take photographs to say 'I was there', as noted in Beeton's work on film tourist's motivations.⁴⁴⁷ Some reviewers take this as a snub towards visitors who come specifically for *Downton*, saying

I do think they need to allow people to take photos in some of the rooms where there are no personal photos of the family e.g. the hall because we pay good money for tickets and it seems a bit unfair to allow no photography at all when most of those rooms have been seen by millions on TV in Downton Abbey?⁴⁴⁸

Being unable to engage with existential authenticity and only being encouraged to engage with objective authenticity is connected to the high culture/low culture distinction, as the houses are presented as sites of high culture, yet people arrive only wanting to celebrate low culture. The resistance to low culture, or mass media, is noted by other reviewers, with one saying,

[we visited] As Avid Downton fans.. BUT... in my opinion I felt the particular Guide we had was Anti Downton... Reams and Reams of info on the vast painting collection and the families who have lived there, with a small sprinkling of Downton she was very very nice and her knowledge was amazing. When she was telling us how Downton 'took over' the House, the grounds, how they were not allowed to speak to ANYBODY in costume and how Rude 2

⁴⁴⁵ TripAdvisor Review of Highclere Castle, October 2021

⁴⁴⁶ TripAdvisor Review of Highclere Castle, January 2022

⁴⁴⁷ Beeton, "Landscapes as Characters: Film, Tourism and a Sense of Place."

⁴⁴⁸ TripAdvisor Review of Highclere Castle, September 2020

of the cast were, but how Lovely Mrs Hughes was, and Maggie Smith, I could just sense there was some ill~feeling there.⁴⁴⁹ [sic]

This is mentioned again by another review from August 2021, which said

As a fan of the Downton Abbey TV series I was expecting to have a Downton 'experience', but that did not happen. It almost felt as if the owners of Highclere Castle are a little resentful of the fact that people visit their home because of its connection with the TV programme rather than because of an interest in their family. So much more could have been done to create a truly memorable experience, but apart from the occasional nods to the TV series in the house, the focus was really on the family. I apologise, and this genuinely is nothing personal, but I have absolutely no interest in the family (even with the family connection to the discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb) or the circles they move in. I was there because of Downton and so, I suspect, were the vast majority of the other visitors.⁴⁵⁰

The visitor expectations for these reviewers were heavily influenced by *Downton*, and therefore when they weren't met, or other more generalised aspects were celebrated in the house, it led to uncertainty and dissatisfaction. It was not enough for these visitors just to see the filming locations, they wanted to engage with the existential authenticity and connect with the media filmed there.

These expectations of engaging with existential authenticity can also be seen in reviews for Basildon, which was used for some interiors of the London house in *Downton*. Reviews from 2018 particularly mention the filming connections of *Pride & Prejudice* and *Downton*, with one saying 'If you're a fan of Jane Austen you know that this amazing façade appears on the film *Pride and Prejudice*. [...] I believe that it was also the place where some scenes of *Downton Abbey* were shot, so keep your eyes open and you will feel you are part of a British show.'⁴⁵¹ Though some people were disappointed in the apparent lack of references to filming ('Not much was made of the fact that it was used for sets in *Downton Abbey* and *Pride and*

⁴⁴⁹ TripAdvisor Review of Highclere Castle, November 2021

⁴⁵⁰ TripAdvisor Review of Highclere Castle, August 2021

⁴⁵¹ TripAdvisor Review of Basildon Park, September 2018

Prejudice which also adds interest to fans of those productions'⁴⁵²) others seemed satisfied ('The house is impressive and there are plenty of nods to its use in productions such as *Pride and Prejudice*.'⁴⁵³) though this may relate to the temporary exhibition being held at the time. Another review for Basildon mentions a specific existentially authentic activity that they engaged with, saying 'This house is a Jane Austen fan's favourite. It has been used in the 2005 *Pride and Prejudice* and *Pride and Prejudice and Zombies* and over the years I have participated in many fan girl photos. There are a lot of rooms open which I love.'⁴⁵⁴ These 'fan girl photos' are the type that Conway mentions above and are also evident in the cosplaying photos taken at Lacock and in Gloucester Cathedral's cloister. Again, there is a difficulty in pleasing those with media-based expectations, as evidenced in this review of Basildon from April 2017:

We visited Basildon Park because of its links with Downton Abbey and were a bit disappointed that, unless we asked, none of the staff mentioned it. I'm sure their visiting figures must have increased because of it, so it's a shame they don't make more of it than just a few dvds in the shop, unless you want to pay a significant amount of money for a special tour.⁴⁵⁵

For reviewers whose expectations stem from media images the objective authenticity of a heritage site isn't enough. These reviewers need to be able to engage with existential authenticity activities, such as talking about the media and learning about filming, taking photos and buying film-related souvenirs, and only then will they feel validated and their visit have felt authentic.

Unaltered Exterior

The exterior of the house is usually unchanged for filming, which leads to greater recognition by visitors, as it is the first thing they see as they approach. The recognisability has been mentioned previously, but here it is discussed in terms of engaging with existential authenticity as the heritage-film tourist tries to view the site as the characters or camera did. One example that shows this most clearly is

⁴⁵² TripAdvisor Review of Basildon Park, August 2018

⁴⁵³ TripAdvisor Review of Basildon Park, December 2017

⁴⁵⁴ TripAdvisor Review of Basildon Park, August 2018

⁴⁵⁵ TripAdvisor Review of Basildon Park, April 2017

Highclere Castle, where the long walk up to the house is replicated in the opening credits of the television series. This is noted by *Downton*-tourists, who create their own authentic experience as they approach the site.



Figure 74 One of the shots from *Downton's* opening credits

One review says, 'It has to be said that on arrival, we really enjoyed the approach as we drove up to the castle (which may have been enhanced somewhat with playing the much loved *Downton Abbey* theme song through the car).'⁴⁵⁶ Playing the *Downton Abbey* theme appears to be a pattern amongst *Downton*-tourists, as several other reviews mention doing this as it matches the shot in the opening credits and in the first episode.⁴⁵⁷ This is a good example of existential authenticity as the visitors make the drive *more* authentic for themselves by not only matching the visuals to the opening credits but by adding in the aural component of the theme song. By doing this they evoke the feelings connected to the television show and are almost part of the opening credits, it is like they are in the diegesis.

A similar phenomenon of cosplay photos can be seen at Basildon, as Conway says:

I think the iconic shot which is the front of the house and there is a still which is the Bennet sisters leaning over the loggia which is very famous and is much recreated by visitors when they come in, they have their photograph taken by

⁴⁵⁶ TripAdvisor Review of Highclere Castle, January 2021

⁴⁵⁷ 'we drove up the driveway (1.5 miles long!), with the *Downton* Soundtrack on (Obviously!)' TripAdvisor review of Highclere Castle, October 2020 and another from July 2020 make a similar statement.

someone at ground level and they pose on the loggia. That seems to be the one that seems to be the 'that's exactly how it was in the film.'⁴⁵⁸

The publicity image of the Bennet sisters and their mother on the loggia (see Figure 75) is often recreated by Austen-film tourists, as seen in Figure 76. This recreation of images from the films is expected and encouraged at National Trust sites, and the engagement with existential authenticity is apparent.



Figure 75 The loggia shot from *Pride & Prejudice*



Figure 76 An Instagram post demonstrating film tourist behaviour

⁴⁵⁸ Conway, "Basildon Park Interview."

The Blurring of Fact and Fiction

As previously discussed, the resistance to incorporating media elements and references can stem from a variety of sources, however, one of the situations the owners and managers wish to avoid is when fact and fiction become blurred, and the site loses its objective authenticity via this perception. The National Trust's Dyrham Park was used for the film *Remains of the Day* (1993, James Ivory) and this film still attracts visitors today. Eilidh Auckland, the Property Curator says,

One visitor insisted that Dyrham had been built as a Nazi stronghold because they were so convinced that it was built at the time of *Remains of the Day*, and I thought he really did get his fiction and his facts mixed up. But we've always been told not to put people straight if they're telling their family one thing you're not supposed to go and say, actually, daddy's wrong.⁴⁵⁹

This lack of correction, which appears to be National Trust policy, can lead to misunderstandings, and Auckland recalls another instance at a different property:

At Little Morton Hall in Cheshire that was filmed for *Moll Flanders*, one dad was telling his kids that the whole house, which is actually a Tudor moated manor house, was built by ITV as a prop for *Moll Flanders*, he really didn't think it was genuinely an old house⁴⁶⁰

This disbelief in objective authenticity of a site is quite rare, but still relevant as managers and owners worry that it will become more prevalent if visitors are engaging with the 'wrong' sort of experience at the site, which ties back to high and low culture and engaging with the 'correct' narrative of objective authenticity. There are challenges which need to be faced in presenting these sites that get the balance right when filming fictional narratives in particular takes place.

Heritage sites are not a film set to be visited, they are an example of the past in the present, however, meeting film tourists' expectations is an increasing demand. The interviewees feel that, once on site, the visitors will appreciate the space for what it is, an example of material history, rather than how it was once used in a film. The few films and television series that have achieved longevity in the film tourists'

⁴⁵⁹ Auckland, "Dyrham Park Interview."

⁴⁶⁰ Auckland, "Dyrham Park Interview."

minds are sometimes incorporated into the experience – the *Harry Potter* cut-out which has been in Lacock's cloisters for over a decade now has its own objective authenticity because it has been there so long.⁴⁶¹

Inauthentic Spaces in Heritage Properties

Despite the emphasis heritage sites place on objective authenticity, sometimes spaces are less authentic than they appear. Occasionally the interior spaces have been restored and reworked so that they function as visitor attractions rather than family homes. This is especially true of houses that were donated to the National Trust as empty shells, as this meant that furniture and fittings had to be brought in from elsewhere to create a space that met visitor expectations. This means that although the separate elements of the room may be objectively authentic, the overall creation is not.

Other interiors more clearly demonstrate the lack of objective authenticity, such as the drawing room at Dyrham Park. This room was created by one of the tenants of the house in the 1930s and kept by the National Trust for budgetary reasons, and 'because visitors to a country house wanted to see a drawing room'⁴⁶² despite the house never originally having one. It was used in the BBC's Adaptation of *The Pursuit of Love* (2021) (see Figure 79), as the drawing room of the eccentric Lord Merlin's house.

The space was originally a parlour, a space for talking and family meals rather than a space for withdrawing, And there is currently a project to restore the room to its appearance in the period of the house, when the walls were covered in gilt leather panels (see Figure 78).⁴⁶³

⁴⁶¹ Abbey, "Lacock Interview."

⁴⁶² Auckland, "Dyrham Park Interview."

⁴⁶³ "Restoring Dyrham Park," The Royal Oak Foundation, 2021, accessed 9th May, 2022, <https://www.royal-oak.org/support/dyrham/>.



Figure 77 The space as a drawing room at Dyrham Park



Figure 78 Painting by Peiter de Hooch showing a gilt leather wall covering in the mid-1600s



Figure 79 *The Drawing Room in the Pursuit of Love*

Avebury Manor

A different approach to authenticity is found at Avebury Manor in Somerset, near the eponymous stone circle. Continuously occupied since the Tudor period until its opening to the public in the 2010s, the house boasts a narrative covering centuries of English history, however, it was gifted to the National Trust as an empty shell. The Trust worked to restore the rooms, and this was brought to the attention of the public in the 2011 BBC television series, *The Manor Reborn*. Hosted by Penelope Keith, the series followed the restoration of nine rooms in the property, each decorated as a different era from the manor's history. This restoration differed from most, as the Trust was aiming for an interactive visitor experience, where visitors could sit on the replica furniture and touch the printed wall hangings. The authenticity was constructed through the television series, and the site gained some authenticity through the television series. The series demonstrated how the creation of a space for existential authenticity, rather than objective authenticity. Kym Gribble worked at Avebury during the restoration and details the debates around how to display the spaces,

when they were filling the rooms with all the things there was a long, long, drawn-out debate about whether or not they should darken the wood of the

furniture in the Tudor parlour and whether or not they should make the tapestries look like they would have looked when they were brand new and they went to this weird medium [compromise] where the furniture was all new oak, it was the correct colour. And I think that the tapestries were left looking old because they didn't think people would appreciate the bright colours of the tapestries that were digitally printed. And so, this room didn't look quite right. And I was always disappointed that they didn't take the opportunity to really go and show how bright the tapestries would have been showing the room full of colour rather than these kinds of muted greens and blues [that] get left in tapestries when they've got old.⁴⁶⁴

The Tudor parlour at Avebury is supposed to look as it would have done when it was first decorated in the Tudor period when the oak would have been brand new and 'very blonde and golden coloured which would have really shone in the sunlight,'⁴⁶⁵ Gribble partly blames heritage media images for the fact that visitors expect dark panelled rooms, saying, 'they have this concept because they've spent so much time watching the Tudor period drama, and [think that] everything in the Tudor period was dark because that's how it's been portrayed.'⁴⁶⁶ This can be seen in the celebrated adaptation of *Wolf Hall*, which set many scenes in dark-panelled rooms with dark oak furniture, and also in *The Tudors*, which revels in its anachronisms as pure bodice-ripping entertainment, rather than having an educational element (see Figure 80).

⁴⁶⁴ Gribble, "Montacute Interview."

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid*

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid*



Figure 80 A Publicity still for *The Tudors* showing the use of dark-coloured oak

The resulting visitor experience at Avebury matches new oak furniture with faded tapestries, presenting a space which is built upon the expectations of the visitor, rather than historic accuracy, not dissimilar to a film set. In commenting on the immersive experience at Avebury travel writer Bill Bryson picked up on this point 'In what must be the cheesiest thing the National Trust has ever done, it had allowed the house to be made into a set for a now-forgotten BBC television series.'⁴⁶⁷ This was refuted by the Trust, who said 'It's a million miles from a film set. The interiors celebrate the best of traditional craftsmanship, with cabinet-making, weaving and painting all done by hand, including the unique and fabulous hand-painted wallpaper in the dining room.'⁴⁶⁸ Here we see the two different viewpoints about objective authenticity in a National Trust house, and how filming is seen as an aberration and as less worthy, of less cultural value, and Bryson uses it as an insult. This is contested by the Trust, since being a film set implies being unreal or fake, yet the spaces they have created are examples of the hyper-real, or even hyper-heritage. It could be argued that the interiors of the nine restored rooms share features with a film set, as they were the subject of the BBC series, but the restoration would likely still have gone ahead even without the TV series. At

⁴⁶⁷ Bill Bryson, *The Road to Little Dribbling: More Notes from a Small Island* (Transworld, 2015), 180.

⁴⁶⁸ Joanne Moore, "Author accuses National Trust of fleecing stone circle visitors and keeping manor as 'film set'," *Gazette and Herald* 2015, <https://www.gazetteandherald.co.uk/news/13885340.author-accuses-national-trust-of-fleecing-stone-circle-visitors-and-keeping-manor-as-film-set/>.

Avebury, people can interact with the furniture as the usual barriers of ‘don’t touch’ and ‘don’t sit’ are removed and existential authenticity can be enjoyed with worries about conservation.



Figure 81 The Tudor Parlour at Avebury Manor

A few of the TripAdvisor reviews of Avebury reveals that authenticity is extremely subjective to the visitor, saying ‘The Trust feared that the transformation of the undervisited [*sic*] manor would be 'disneyfication' but the refurbishment [*sic*] of different rooms to represent different periods of the Manor's history is visually appealing and historically authentic if not genuinely antique.’⁴⁶⁹ Along with the differentiation of authentic and antique, this review demonstrates the resistance to be associated with a film set, though this is mentioned as a good thing in another review, that states,

The objects are not authentic period artifacts but rather replicas, many of them quite painstakingly recreated based on originals. The advantage, however, is that since you are essentially walking [on] a TV set, you can interact with everything. You can flip through the magazines, sit at the 18th c.

⁴⁶⁹ TripAdvisor Review of Avebury Manor, April 2014

dinner table, even flop on the beds. I wouldn't like it if all manor houses were redone this way, but I'm glad that one exists. It really did help me imagine these places as homes where people actually lived.⁴⁷⁰

This reviewer 'wouldn't like it' if all National Trust properties had a similar experience, however, another review expresses the opposite, and takes great joy in the existentially authentic experience, saying,

...loved being able to read the old newspapers and magazines left lying around on the sideboard, and we did lots of dressing up and trying out beds too! There are secret doors to find in panelled rooms and you can feel how heavy a Tudor pewter tankard is, or an Victorian iron. Really brings history to life when you can actually try everything out and see how it feels. Although they talk about things being reproductions it all seemed pretty authentic to me, and I'm sure some of the items are genuine (just not worth much so they are happy for people to play with them). If only all historic houses were like this...⁴⁷¹

This is the best example of engaging with existential authenticity – it is irrelevant to this visitor that the objects are replicas, they feel authentic. Finally, a review from 2018 demonstrates how accuracy and authenticity become entwined, as this person caveats the 'fake' nature of the fittings by evoking authenticity:

This manor has been fitted out in every room in conjunction with the National Trust and the BBC, but don't let that put you off. The rooms are very authentic, and with a guide in every room who are clearly on the ball, you cannot fail to find it interesting.⁴⁷²

Although it could be argued that all stately homes have objective authenticity and that this is their main attraction as visitor attractions, the role of existential authenticity cannot be dismissed. It is possible to have different types of authentic visitor experiences at a site, and they are all authentic in their own way. Some visitors wish to engage with the objectivity of the site and observe, learn, and be educated, whether this is from experiencing the spaces as a passive visitor or, as at

⁴⁷⁰ TripAdvisor Review of Avebury Manor, July 2016

⁴⁷¹ TripAdvisor Review of Avebury Manor, February 2017

⁴⁷² TripAdvisor Review of Avebury Manor, June 2018

Avebury, handling objects and interacting within the spaces. They undertake activities which are connected to film tourism, where they seek out specific filming locations and take photos, cosplay and re-enact scenes. In the lens of existential authenticity, this is valid and this is still an authentic experience because it is authentic to the visitor. Whether an experience is authentic or not depends on the visitor's expectations – Bryson thought Avebury was inauthentic because he expected objective authenticity to be on display, whereas others found the site existentially authentic because they enjoy experiencing the past directly.

This section has examined how existential authenticity is present at heritage sites through film tourist and heritage visitor activities, and how it relates to how heritage and history are displayed at these sites. Although objective authenticity is the main draw for these sites and has been for many years, existential authenticity is steadily becoming more important. It is no longer enough for a visitor to merely observe the past, they should be able to experience it as well.

Clearly heritage media can motivate people to visit heritage sites, both as film tourists who are seeking to identify filming locations or heritage visitors who hear about the site and decide to visit. These media images can act as reminders to people, who will then visit more often and forge a stronger relationship with the site, as it becomes part of their routine. Heritage media, as well as influencing visitors to visit, can also affect their expectations for what they will see when they arrive. This can lead to confusion if the interiors were drastically altered for filming, but this can be overcome with signage or temporary exhibitions. To continue the analysis of heritage media-based expectations, the exterior of a heritage site is rarely changed for filming, resulting in expectations being met or even exceeded if the film tourist engages with *Downton* as they drive up to the house. This is where existential authenticity is the clearest as the *Downton* tourist creates an authentic experience through their activities, which connects to the objective authenticity of the house. Existential authenticity activities are evidently important to film tourists and it is clear that they are disappointed if these cannot be achieved. This connects to the wider theme of high and low culture converging with heritage-film tourists, and how some managers and owners are resistant to engage with mass media

because it is the 'wrong sort' of narrative. Mass media rarely connects to the history of the site or the resident family so there can be an unwillingness to engage with a framework that seems temporary or superfluous. Some visitors have such strong expectations from heritage media images that they can blur fact and fiction, even outrightly denying the objective authenticity of the site by convincing themselves that the house was built recently or that the 500-year-old cauldron is a prop. This is an additional worry for owners and managers as objective authenticity is their perception of the main attraction of these sites, and this blurring can also lead to conservation issues where the historical material of the site isn't recognised and respected. At Avebury existential authenticity is embraced rather than restricted since the furnishings can all be interacted with because they are replicas. Here history can be experienced rather than observed, and the objective authenticity of the manor building is enough for the site to be considered heritage, even if the furnishings are more recent.

The evidence that has been considered in this section, therefore, leads to the conclusion that film tourism-based existential authenticity can be considered just as valid as normal heritage tourism as it still engages with the objective authenticity of the site. This leads to conflict when the owners and managers try to enforce one experience based on objective authenticity, and the film tourist tried to engage with another based on existential authenticity. A balance can be achieved by acknowledging that both types of authenticity are valid, and that contribute to the continuation of the site.

Staged Authenticity

A new aspect is the concept of staged authenticity, where a space or performance is created that is intended to fulfil a tourist's desire to see behind the scenes. This false backstage is designed to meet the visitor's expectations and thereby conceals the real backstage area of the house. This false backstage is sometimes used at heritage sites where filming has occurred, and this section is divided into two parts to investigate this. The first part examines the permanent visitor experience at heritage sites and explores how staged authenticity can be observed, and how heritage media images influences have altered the visitor experience. This is

followed by an examination of how the permanent visitor experience has been affected by heritage media and visitor expectations and includes examples of how two sites (Castle Howard and Clandon) have adapted to fire damage.

The second half investigates how staged authenticity is an essential part of the temporary exhibitions that are hosted by heritage sites. This section draws from five interviews and is analysed alongside data from eighteen reviews, culminating in three case studies that illustrate the different ways in which authenticity and the copy are negotiated by these properties. These three case studies have been chosen because they each demonstrate a different approach. The first, the large 'Harewood on Film' exhibition at Harewood House is used as an example of how heritage sites display costumes and props from filming and focus on the 'fakery' of these objects. The second case study looks at the exhibition of props and paintings from the film *Mr Turner* (2014, Mike Leigh) at Petworth House and compares the 'fake' prop Turner paintings to the real Turners. The final case study examines the giant Mr Darcy statue that was exhibited in the lake at Lyme Park in 2013/14 and considers how authenticity, pop culture, literature and heritage sites have become entwined as a hyperreal object can gain authenticity. The case studies begin with a general overview, then become more specific until the focus is narrowed to one large statue.

MacCannell's Theory of Staged Authenticity

MacCannell first wrote about staged authenticity in the 1970s, building on the work of Goffman.⁴⁷³ He theorises that tourists are seeking an authentic, or true experience when they travel and they are aware that some events have been designed especially for them, and are not representative of the life or culture of that area. They then seek out the 'really authentic' experience, which hasn't been designed for them and gain satisfaction from locating it. The difficulty lies in that this behind-the-scenes experience, which MacCannell calls the back region and this thesis calls backstage, rarely lives up to the tourist's expectations. The backstage area is where the preparation and rehearsal occur, allowing the performance to happen, and is therefore far more functional than glamorous. He refers to African

⁴⁷³ MacCannell, "Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings."

dancers, who wear the expected red tribal outfit and dance barefoot for the tourists, but when they are not performing wear trainers, more western clothes, and wristwatches.⁴⁷⁴ The tourist is disappointed with this revelation, as it does not meet their expectations, and feels less authentic to them.

MacCannell's theory is that a false backstage is often constructed to meet the expectations (and perhaps demands) of the tourist, which connects to the idea of Baudrillard's simulacrum or the hyper-real. This leaves the concept of three regions: the frontstage, which is the performance or film, the false backstage, which is constructed to meet the audience/tourist's expectations, and the backstage, which is the actual backstage area. This section will investigate how the idea of staged authenticity, of the false backstage, is used at heritage filming locations, including the use of temporary exhibitions.

The Permanent Visitor Experience

The permanent visitor experience at heritage sites is influenced by visitor expectations. As this thesis focuses on the effects of heritage-film tourism, this section explores how heritage-film tourists' expectations are catered for at heritage sites.

In this case, the frontstage in this situation is the heritage media, which inspires the heritage-film tourist to visit the backstage which is the filming location. The frontstage is inherently false and constructed but may contain 'true' elements. The frontstage guides the activity and provides the heritage-film tourist with expectations, such as how it will look and sound and how they will experience it, and their goal in visiting the filming location as the back region is the engagement with that experience.

If the film is the frontstage and the stately home is the perceived backstage, this is where it becomes more complicated. The stately home, depending on how much they embrace their filmic connections, may have adjusted the visitor experience to meet heritage-film tourists' expectations. This is staged authenticity; this is the false backstage that was constructed or designed to meet visitors' expectations. The

⁴⁷⁴ MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*.

heritage sites are not just trying to meet the expectations of the heritage-film tourist, but that of the regular visitor, as seen at Avebury where the tapestries were reproduced with dulled colours as this was what visitors would expect.⁴⁷⁵ The regular visitor to a heritage site, as explored in the objective authenticity section, wants to view the past, and perhaps step into it. The visitor wants to engage with the objective authenticity, which itself is likely enhanced by the owners/managers to meet visitor expectations. This is the false backstage, which builds on the objective authenticity and adds or modifies it so that it meets visitor expectations.

References to Filming in the Visitor Experience

Although some houses, such as Basildon, were dramatically altered for filming, many are not. This means that a heritage-film tourist, with expectations of how the house will look guided by the media images, will be satisfied. This can be seen in reviews for heritage film locations, such as the ones for Wilton House, whose iconic double cube room is frequently used for filming (see Figure 82 and Figure 83).⁴⁷⁶ One review said 'We chose to come here because it served as part of the interior of "Pemberley" in the 2005 version of *Pride and Prejudice*, and I am so glad that we did! It was absolutely beautiful, and we truly enjoyed it!!'⁴⁷⁷ and another said 'The house itself is so lovely inside. A lot of the rooms you will recognize in movies for example *Pride and Prejudice* and *The Young Victoria*.'⁴⁷⁸ Here we can see how this recognition adds pleasure and additional meaning to their visit.

⁴⁷⁵ Gribble, "Montacute Interview."

⁴⁷⁶ The room has been used most frequently in *The Crown* (Netflix) as the interiors of Buckingham Palace. It was also used in *Emma*. (2020, Autumn de Wilde), *Pride & Prejudice* (2005, Joe Wright), as part of Queen Charlotte's accommodation in *Bridgerton* (Netflix), *The Young Victoria* (2009, Jean-Marc Vallée), *Tomb Raider* (2018, Roar Uthaug), *The Madness of King George* (1994, Nicholas Hytner) and in *Mrs Brown* (1997, Jeremy Brock).

⁴⁷⁷ TripAdvisor Review of Wilton House, May 2015.

⁴⁷⁸ TripAdvisor Review of Wilton House, August 2015.



Figure 82 Wilton's Double Cube Room looking toward the painting



Figure 83 Wilton's Double Cube Room looking towards the doors

Sometimes the stately home staff will have adjusted the visitor experience to match the heritage media images more closely. This can be a deliberate exercise or a less conscious one, or occasionally it is out of necessity, as at Castle Howard. The devastating fire in the 1940s left many rooms blackened and without ceilings. Different rooms were renovated for each adaptation of *Brideshead Revisited*, transforming the damaged rooms into usable filming spaces that met the narrative needs of the story. By leaving the set dressing in place, Castle Howard is one of the few places where you can access the hyper-heritage space, which previously has only been seen within the diegesis. If we look at this through the framework of staged authenticity then we can see how the set-dressed spaces are the false frontstage as the true back region of the house is the fire-damaged spaces. The

owners have made the decision to keep the set dressing as it meets visitor's expectations, even though the strong Catholic iconography in the Saloon has no connection to the house's non-Catholic history.

Visitors' expectations for Castle Howard can be seen in the reviews and many are very pleased with the experience, however, there are a few who complain about the fire damage saying, 'It was very disappointing. A long staircase and statues then three rooms with no plaster but a series of boards explaining how the 1940 fire had damaged the building and the plans to refurbish. The entrance hall had dark painting and walls in need of urgent restoration.'⁴⁷⁹ There also appears to be a resistance to the information about the fire, with one review saying '...some of those [rooms] are exhibition rooms trading on the fire - 80 yrs ago and Brideshead 39 years ago . Cd [could] def do better'⁴⁸⁰ and one rather confusing review reads 'The house looked totally spectacular from the outside but although the entrance hall was impressive there were very few rooms that were furnished. Lots of rooms that had been damaged in a fire 81 years ago had undergone a degree of renovation but I didn't really want to read about what it had been like before the fire.'⁴⁸¹ Another review mentions the lack of objective authenticity of some of the furnishings, saying, 'The tour of the house takes no time and consists in reality of a small number of rooms. Even then many of the items in these rooms are not original : The fire in 1940 having had a big impact on the house.'⁴⁸² Finally there is a review which demonstrates how visitors expect to see stately homes as stately places, saying, 'Also there was a apparently a fire in 1940 in the main entrance hall, which has not been fully repaired yet. This was unfortunately due to an electrical fault (not the war which would have made it a bit interesting). Surely after almost 80 years they could have sorted this out.'⁴⁸³

It is unsurprising that the owners chose to leave the sets in place (although the Garden Room has since been slightly altered), as it must be a rare opportunity to be

⁴⁷⁹ TripAdvisor Review of Castle Howard, April 2022

⁴⁸⁰ TripAdvisor Review of Castle Howard, July 2021

⁴⁸¹ TripAdvisor Review of Castle Howard, May 2021

⁴⁸² TripAdvisor Review of Castle Howard, July 2021

⁴⁸³ TripAdvisor Review of Castle Howard, June 2019

able to hide fire damage with false walls, even if they lack objective authenticity. There is the additional complication that was addressed in the previous chapter, of these spaces which lack objective authenticity being presented as part of the historic fabric of the site. For the non-film-influenced visitor, the rooms can be accepted as part of the history of the house. For the heritage-film tourist, the inclusion of the false walls meets their expectations as they correspond to the *Brideshead* imagery.

An alternative way of dealing with fire damage can be seen at the National Trust's Clandon Park, a Palladian mansion that was devastated by a fire in 2015. The house was used in two heritage media productions before the fire, *The Duchess* (2008, Saul Dibb), where it stood in for the interiors of Devonshire House (a London palace that was demolished in the 1920s) and the television movie *The Scandalous Lady W* (2015, Sheree Folkson).⁴⁸⁴ It is now advertised as a 'remarkable ruin' and the Trust runs guided tours inside the house, saying that visitors can 'Explore the dramatic spaces opened up by the fire and the layers of history revealed.'⁴⁸⁵

The house is now being restored and the draw for visitors is seeing the restoration first hand here the attraction is how the Trust is restoring the ruin. They are 'showing the layers of history' and revealing the brick structure of the house and 'unseen craftsmanship'.⁴⁸⁶ They are showcasing the ultimate objective authenticity – here you can see deep into the layers of the building process. The website makes the ruined aspect very clear, and visitor reviews on TripAdvisor are all aware that they are visiting a ruin rather than a traditional stately home and are therefore satisfied. Some even mention visiting several times to see how the restoration work is progressing.⁴⁸⁷ It is debatable whether this only works as the entire house was

⁴⁸⁴ "The Scandalous Lady W," BBC, 2015, accessed 30th June, 2022, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b0671j78>.

⁴⁸⁵ "Clandon Park: Follow our progress on one of the UK's biggest heritage projects as we remake a remarkable ruin," NationalTrust.org, 2022, accessed 30th June, 2022, <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/clandon-park>.

⁴⁸⁶ "Explore the house on a tour of Clandon Park," NationalTrust.org, 2022, accessed 30th June, 2022, <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/clandon-park/features/explore-the-unexpected-on-a-personal-tour-of-clandon-park>.

⁴⁸⁷ TripAdvisor Review of Clandon Park/House, April 2019 and another from May 2019

damaged – they would not be as successful at Castle Howard where some of the rooms have been restored.



Figure 84 Clandon Park Library after the fire



Figure 85 Clandon in The Scandalous Lady W

Filming Influencing the Visitor Experience

Managers and owners are aware that visitors arrive at heritage sites with expectations from heritage media. The member of staff at Lacock explained:

I think it changes people's perspectives on what they will come and see. They see a period drama and there's a beautiful dining room and it's set up as, with everybody sitting down to eat and then they come here, and we don't maybe have it displayed like that. It's got a lot to answer for in influencing how we

need to display the places in order for people to feel like they've had an authentic experience themselves. [...] I always love it when you come in and see a room that's been dressed and it just looks fantastic and it feels like the room comes to life, it really does, we're not so good at that always in the Trust. It's usually that we don't have enough money to do those kinds of displays, or it can just take so long, the process to get a place really feeling like it's a home, and especially with Lacock we've got so many different periods and it doesn't fit with every single film that you have and then someone's come specifically with the idea of this look and then they see something completely different, it's a bit confusing, 'this can't have been in the film it looks completely different.' It's very odd.⁴⁸⁸

Deciding how to display rooms is a complicated issue and one that heritage media further complicates. The interviewee at Lacock discusses how having a room dressed 'properly' can make a space feel more like a home and less like a museum, but it is the budgetary issues which prevent this. A similar situation can be seen at another National Trust site of Castle Ward in Northern Ireland which demonstrates the staged authenticity at play. The house is half Palladian and half gothic and is interesting in itself, but it is the farmyard that is of interest for film tourists because of *Game of Thrones* (HBO, 2011-2019). It plays the fictional Winterfell, home of the Stark family. The National Trust has a page on their website directly connecting the site and the television series⁴⁸⁹ which quickly explains that for season one a large set was constructed on the site and that after the show became popular a replica set was built in Titanic Studios. This has not deterred film tourists, with Harvey Edgington of the Trust's Film Office saying that as of March 2021, there are still 'about 2000 extra people a week who are solely coming because of *Game of Thrones*'⁴⁹⁰ and that they rarely have an interest in the house, instead going down to the area by the lough where the filming took place. There's now an archery experience, which relates one of the key scenes in the first series (see Figure 87).⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸⁸ Abbey, "Lacock Interview."

⁴⁸⁹ "HBO's *Game of Thrones* at Castle Ward," NationalTrust.org, 2019, accessed 30th June, 2022, <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/castle-ward/features/game-of-thrones-at-castle-ward>.

⁴⁹⁰ Edgington, "National Trust Film Office Interview."

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid*

The site includes signage using the wolf head of the fictional Stark family and also includes information boards about the filming (see Figure 86). There are even cuddly wolves for sale in the gift shop.⁴⁹² The TripAdvisor reviews demonstrate how these extra activities are appreciated by visitors, saying

This entire area provided many locations for the Game of Thrones series including Winterfell, the Frey Castles (ruins of real life Audley's Castle), the Lannister encampment, and several North of the Wall scenes. If you want to see all of these locations, I suggest you search out Winterfell GoT [*Game of Thrones*] filming locations in advance and bring a map along to navigate the details. The Trust does provide a map but it is labelled with new place names.⁴⁹³

Another reviewer expresses a similar sentiment:

I was sooooo excited to visit Castle Ward. As a fan of Game of Thrones I could hardly hold my excitement. We arrived at around 5 PM to Castle Ward after all things were closed and had a hard time to find the ground where "Winterfall" stood.

After running here and there along the trails with other travelers who were looking for the same place we finally saw the direwolf of house Stark. Everything was closed and no one was there so I had to go online to try and understand the connection between what we say and Winterfall (hint: green screen).[sic]

So maybe I expected it to be more similar, but still knowing that the shooting took place there was very great and I boasted to all my friends that I am there :)⁴⁹⁴ [*formatting and spelling in original*]

These reviews demonstrate how eagerly film tourists engage with false backstage because it meets their expectations and these activities add to their experience even though the set has long been dismantled.

⁴⁹² TripAdvisor review of Castle Ward, September 2019

⁴⁹³ TripAdvisor Review of Castle Ward, October 2020

⁴⁹⁴ TripAdvisor Review of Castle Ward, October 2019



Figure 86 A sign at Castle Ward showing the filming of Game of Thrones



Figure 87 The fictional Stark family practice archery in Winterfell

In addition to the activities, the National Trust hosted a Winterfell Festival in 2018 with ‘Swordfighting, Falconry displays, and full contact jousting’⁴⁹⁵ and several actors from the series hosting question and answer sessions, as well as blacksmithing demonstrations, green screen photography, a mock trial, storytellers, meeting the Direwolf dogs from the series, singing, archery and children games. Although this is existential authenticity there is also an element of staged

⁴⁹⁵ "Winterfell Festival Programme," NationalTrust.org, 2018, accessed 30th June, 2022, <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/castle-ward/features/winterfell-festival-programme>.

authenticity here, as this is creating a Winterfell experience for visitors, where people can be as close to diegesis as possible, whilst maintaining an awareness of the separation of the real and the hyper-real with actors hosted question and answer sessions, again showing how these sites are simultaneously filming locations and part of the diegesis for film tourists. It seems to suggest that Castle Ward is not enough on its own – to be truly Winterfell and to meet the expectations of the *Game of Thrones* tourist, an additional layer must be constructed.

Temporary Exhibitions

The clearest example of staged authenticity at heritage filming locations can be seen in temporary exhibitions. Sites that have had filming often have an exhibition when the film is released, and these can happen for a variety of reasons. The *Pride & Prejudice* exhibition at Basildon was to help visitors understand how the interiors were changed for filming, and to pre-empt disappointment. However, it is more common to host an exhibition about filming is to capitalise on the attention when the film is released to bring in new visitors. Connecting with a successful film can attract visitors who lack the motivation to visit. It is rare for a site to host an exhibition about filming if the house is shown in a poor light, as visually unappealing or as being destroyed,⁴⁹⁶ and exhibitions tend to focus on films that have the same target demographic as the sites themselves (such as classic literature adaptations, Austen adaptations or historic biopics). Exhibitions about filming tend to feature costumes on mannequins, large stills from the film/ television programme, props and perhaps some behind-the-scenes information, such as photographs or paperwork including call sheets.

To examine these exhibitions using the framework of staged authenticity we can see that this is another version of the false backstage. The exhibitions are designed to meet the visitor's expectations; they expect to see behind-the-scenes elements and costumes – they do not expect to see the actors or the cameras, or the lights or the sound equipment. They accept that the equipment and personal of filming will have departed. If the heritage-film tourist's goal is to see the real, 'authentic' backstage where filming occurred, they would expect to see the space as if filming

⁴⁹⁶ All key elements of *The Wolfman*, explaining why Chatsworth doesn't celebrate this film

had just happened. The false backstage that these exhibitions show is what has been left behind after filming, the physical objects of little to no value which are placed in the rooms where filming happened, but not necessarily in the exact room where that costume was worn, or this prop was used. Again, there are exceptions, such as at Petworth, discussed below.⁴⁹⁷

This section will examine three different case studies, beginning with the exhibition from the privately owned Harewood House which is demonstrative of a typical filming exhibition. This exhibition, although complex, establishes how stately homes use references to filming in order to establish the boundary of fake and real. The second case study investigates Petworth's exhibition about the filming of *Mr Turner* and explores how the film's subject matter leads to variation in the focus of the filming exhibition. The final case study examines the exhibition of a giant Mr Darcy statue in the lake at Lyme Park and how the connection to a famous fictional character that is secure its cultural value leads to less concern about the high and low cultural distinction. Again, this section considers how heritage sites are negotiating the authenticity of the copy.

Harewood House

Harewood House is a private, eighteenth-century house in Yorkshire that has been used for filming many times. Some of the interiors, including drawing rooms, the library and the kitchen were used as the interiors of Pemberley in *Death Comes to Pemberley* (2013, BBC) (though the exterior remained as Chatsworth) and as Pemberley in *Lost in Austen* (2008, ITV). The interiors were also used in the first *Downton Abbey* film (2019, Michael Engler) as itself the home of Princess Mary (1897-1965) and the interiors were frequently used in the ITV series *Victoria* (ITV, 2016-2019) as stand-ins for the royal palaces. The site has also been used in factual programmes, such as *Mary Berry's Country House at Christmas* (BBC, 2018) and

⁴⁹⁷ It is common for stately homes to display costumes in the staterooms from a recent film. National Trust houses such as Basildon Park have displayed the costumes from the 2005 *Pride & Prejudice* and costumes from *Downton Abbey*, Barrington Court has displayed the costumes from *Wolf Hall* (2015, BBC), Lacock Abbey has displayed costumes from the Shakespeare adaptation *The Hollow Crown* (2012-2016, BBC) and Mompesson House, in Salisbury, has displayed costumes from *Sense and Sensibility* (1995, Ang Lee). Private houses also display film costumes, such as Hatfield House displaying the costumes from *The Favourite* (2018, Yorgos Lanthimos) in 2019. These costumes were also displayed at Hampton Court Palace, which was another filming location.

within the grounds is the large village set for *Emmerdale*, the long-running soap produced by ITV (1972-). The grounds were also used in *Gentleman Jack* (BBC/HBO 2019-) and *The Black Prince* (2017).

In 2021 Harewood hosted a temporary exhibition called *Harewood on Film*, which took place below stairs in the servant's quarters. Harewood's website advertised it with this statement:

With this display we hope to give you a behind-the-scenes glimpse into Harewood on film, and an understanding as to why filming is so important to Harewood as a charity. See original costumes from ITV's *Victoria*, behind the scenes images from the filming of *Downton Abbey*, and get an insight into film trickery, fakery and more.⁴⁹⁸

Here we can see some of the main themes which have dominated this research – filming being justified as a necessary income stream and the idea of real and fake. Harewood implies that the exhibition will explain how the 'trickery' and 'fakery' of filmmaking are compared to the objective authenticity or the 'realness' of the site. It is this boundary, that heritage media is somehow unreal.

The Harewood exhibition made particular use of the below-stairs spaces, designing each separate room as an example of a different film or programme. The kitchen demonstrates scenes from *Victoria* (and inadvertently *Death Comes of Pemberley* which also used the space, see Figure 88). The central table was laid with plastic fruit, vegetables and meat and was lit by film lights with barn doors, which resemble classic Hollywood film lights (see Figure 89 and Figure 90). There was a clapperboard on the table, giving the impression that the filmmakers, actors and cameras had just stepped out of the room (see Figure 91).

⁴⁹⁸ "Harewood on Film," Harewood.org, 2021, accessed 22nd December, 2021, <https://harewood.org/whats-on/event/harewood-on-film/>.



Figure 88 Harewood's kitchen in Death Comes to Pemberley



Figure 89 The Kitchen in Harwood on Film from the doorway



Figure 90 The Kitchen in Harewood on Film from the window



Figure 91 A clapperboard in the kitchen in Harewood on Film

This is staged authenticity. The space is dressed to appear like a film set, meeting heritage-film tourists' expectations but not compromising the objective authenticity of the space. Harewood appears to be saying, this space has objective authenticity but we cannot show you how it was used in its prime. However, we can show you how it was used for filming. We can show you a copy that is only loosely based on the original. We can show you hyper-heritage, so you see it almost exactly as it was on screen. The use of the clapperboard and the lights, along with the plastic food (which is fake and does not resemble dead animals in the way *Death Comes to Pemberley* dressed the room, see Figure 88), are a reminder that this is a fabrication of how the space was used.

The kitchen was also used in the promotional material for *Mary Berry's Country House at Christmas* (BBC, 2018) though it is the pastry room that celebrates this connection. Again, there is a table covered in plastic cakes and pies and there is a poster on an easel explaining that Berry cooked in the old kitchen (the previous room).



Figure 92 A promotional image for *Mary Berry's Country House at Christmas* in the kitchen



Figure 93 The pastry room with the Mary Berry information

Other servant's rooms were used to display costumes and props from *Victoria* and *Emmerdale*, again on mannequins (see Figure 94). A poster near the costumes discusses historical accuracy, explaining the aesthetic changes required for filming and touting the importance of historical accuracy (see Figure 95)



Figure 94 Three Victoria costumes in Harewood on Film

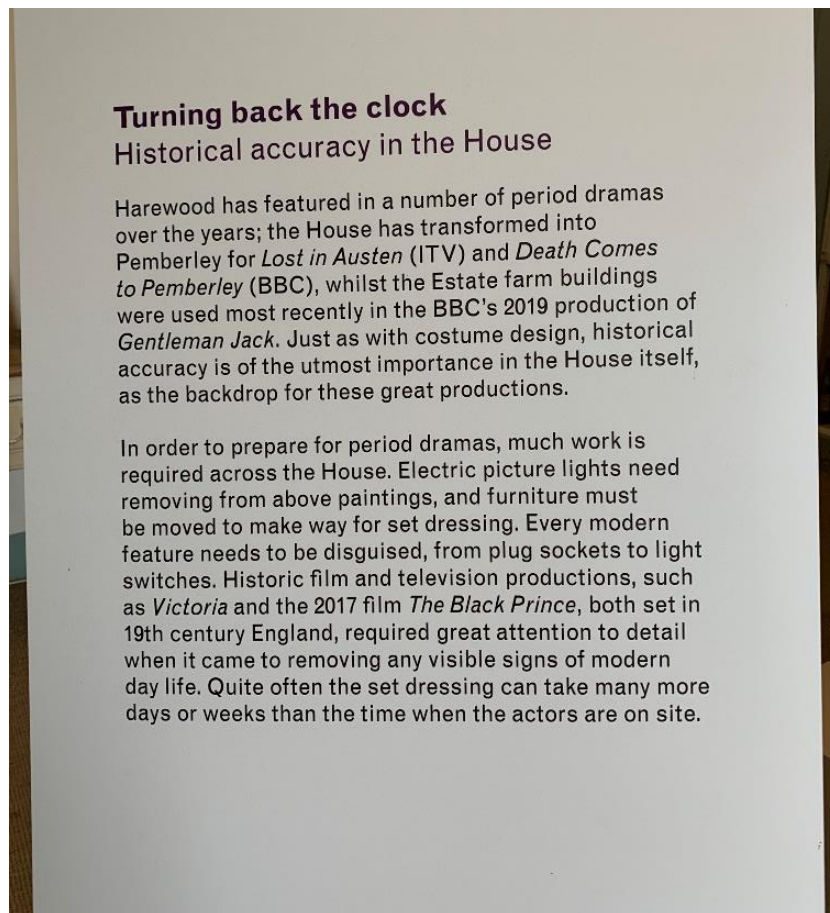


Figure 95 A poster in Harewood on Film

The exhibition ends in the steward's room, which was an office and a dining room for the senior staff. For this exhibition, it was laid out as a dining table, as if it was an upstairs space and celebrated the house's role in *Downton Abbey* (see Figure 96). The room had costumes on mannequins and stills from the film hung on the walls (see Figure 97) and several posters which discussed filming and the Princess Mary connection, who was a character in the film. The place settings were written with the *Downton* character's names but menu cards are stamped with 'Harewood House' and the heraldry is of Harewood (see Figure 98). Although the characters' names are on the place settings, the heraldry is of Harewood, blending the

identities and making a confusing statement.



Figure 96 The steward's room in Harewood on Film



Figure 97 Downton stills on the walls of the Steward's room



Figure 98 Detail of the place settings in the steward's room and the heraldry of the Earls of Harewood

The transformation of a downstairs servant's space into an upstairs dining room, with place cards explaining where the aristocracy would sit, is a good illustration of how stately homes construct the staged authenticity for heritage-film tourists. A space which had one meaning, a servant's room, is dressed to impart a different meaning and meet expectations. The servant's space has been reworked to now seat fictional aristocrats, just as Highclere has done with their exhibition spaces. Just as servants once kept the house running, now, it could be argued, filming does by providing fees, publicity and outreach that enable the house to continue in the modern world.

Petworth House

A temporary exhibition about filming at the National Trust's Petworth took a different approach when they celebrated the filming of *Mr Turner* (2014, Mike Leigh) in 2015. *Mr Turner* was a biopic about J.M.W. Turner (1775-1851), a nineteenth-century British painter who painted several landscapes from Petworth's old library. The old library is considered to be a family space,⁴⁹⁹ however it was used

⁴⁹⁹ There is still a family occupying part of the house despite the site being owned by the National Trust.

for filming several key scenes and in the months following the film's release there were guided tours into the space which is usually off-limits.⁵⁰⁰

The *Turner at Petworth* exhibition took place above-stairs and utilised the gallery spaces inside the house. The exhibition included costumes on mannequins and a behind-the-scenes short film, as well as literally highlighting the Turner paintings in the collection. There was also an

Artist's studio 'set', created by Suzie Davis, the designer for the film *Mr. Turner*. Within this scene are various props from the film, including Turner's revolving painting table, complete with paints, brushes and bowls, and replica Turner seascapes created by artist Charlie Cobb for the film.⁵⁰¹

In this exhibition, Petworth brought together the historical and fictional but maintained a boundary between them. The original Turner paintings were hung on the walls in the North Gallery and illuminated by picture lights, leaving the other (non-Turner) artwork in the dark (see Figure 99). The paintings created for the film were displayed on temporary easels, away from the original Turners and near the prop artist's table as if they were still being worked on (see Figure 100). This connects to the idea that has been previously discussed, where film and television programmes are considered temporary and the historical fabric of the space permanent. The replica has no set place in the objectively authentic space and the temporary elements must be moveable, as they are not accepted as part of the permanent narrative of the site. The Turner exhibition has been the most successful exhibition hosted at Petworth⁵⁰² though this is likely connected to Turner's enduring popularity and the inclusion of the film props may have given people a reason to visit when they otherwise wouldn't have. Combining an interesting historical figure with a biopic about them exhibited in the space where he painted is

⁵⁰⁰ Susan Rhodes, "Petworth Interview," interview by Rosemary Alexander-Jones, 2021.

⁵⁰¹ The Newsroom, "Turner exhibition at Petworth House," 2019, <https://www.sussexexpress.co.uk/news/opinion/letters/turner-exhibition-at-petworth-house-2247323>; BBC News, "Petworth House: JMW Turner film and art materials on show," *BBC* 2015, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-sussex-30718675>.

⁵⁰² Rhodes, "Petworth Interview."

a winning combination as it appeals to the target demographics and is evidently the most appropriate type of film to have shot on your property.



Figure 99 The Turner paintings illuminated in Petworth's North Gallery

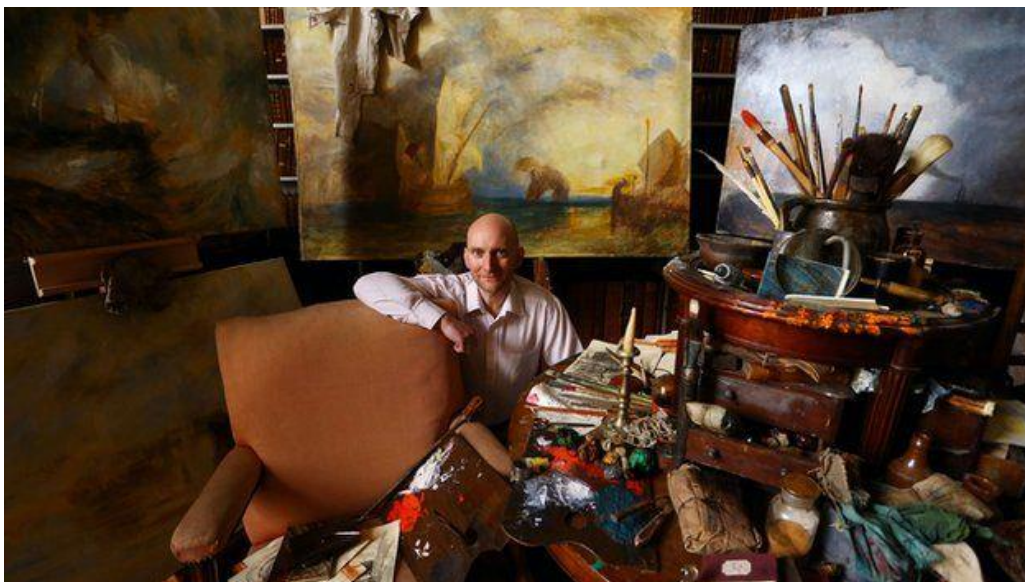


Figure 100 Part of the set in the Turner Exhibition at Petworth

Lyme Park

The National Trust's Lyme Park took a different approach in 2013-14, when the site was involved with a campaign to publicise the new television channel *Drama*. To celebrate that the channel would be broadcasting the BBC's *Pride and Prejudice* and

shows that were similar, Lyme installed a large fibreglass version of Colin Firth's Mr Darcy in the lake outside the house (see Figure 33), where it stayed for several months until it was moved to Australia.⁵⁰³

There was a mixed response to the giant Darcy statue, with some reviewers from 2013 saying

Such a beautiful house and gardens, it was just such a shame that the National Trust felt the need to put that ghastly big statue of Mr Darcy in the lake. How cheap and tacky is that thing. It looks more like something out of the Adams Family. Thank goodness it will be out of there by the end of the month. Even Jane Austen wouldnt understand what the hell that was all about ! Apart from that we had a very pleasant visit.⁵⁰⁴ [sic]

Most reviewers agree with this statement, many using the phrase 'tacky'⁵⁰⁵ however some liked it, saying 'The reflection lake was great with Darcy reflecting in it! Definitely worth a visit'⁵⁰⁶ another agrees, saying 'The gardens were immaculate and the newly placed Darcy in the reflective lake a wonderful idea'.⁵⁰⁷ This variation in opinion demonstrates how difficult it is for sites to find a medium ground for celebrating their connection to filming without alienating their core demographic of visitors. Therefore, exhibitions such as *Turner at Petworth* work so well because the film was about someone who had been in the house and left material evidence. Many of the decision about the Mr Darcy statue, from the size, material, positioning and publicity, all demonstrate how Lyme was embracing the 'fakery' of filmmaking. It is very artificial and does not even emerge from the pond shown in the original media. Mr Darcy is a much-loved fictional character, and because he is fictional there is more freedom for his depictions. The statue is an image of Colin Firth that lacks objective authenticity and this is accepted as it is part of popular culture. This version of Darcy lacks its own objective authenticity, but connects to the BBC adaptation, which in turn links back to Lyme as a filming location and the original

⁵⁰³ Croxford, "Lyme Park Interview."

⁵⁰⁴ TripAdvisor Review of Lyme Park, October 2013

⁵⁰⁵ Two TripAdvisor Reviews of Lyme Park from August 2013

⁵⁰⁶ TripAdvisor Review of Lyme Park, September 2013

⁵⁰⁷ TripAdvisor Reviews of Lyme Park, July 2013

nineteenth-century novel, meaning that the objective authenticity of the site connects to the statue as it stands in Lyme's lake.

The three different approaches taken by the sites demonstrate how a temporary exhibition about filming can vary and encourage different interpretations. Factors such as the film's subject matter (historical fiction, biopic or Austen adaptation) the imagery involved, and the availability of props and costumes all influence how the exhibition is displayed and how it connects the false backstage. These temporary exhibitions allow the stasis of the interiors to be interrupted and added to (this can also be seen in the elaborate Christmas decoration most stately homes feature each year) and the poster boards provide context and information. These exhibitions work as a false backstage as they encourage the visitor to think of the sites as film sets, but they are not presenting the spaces as they were when filming happened, which included crew, equipment, lights and protective carpet (see Figure 101) instead they present a false backstage space which meets visitor expectations without alienating their regular visitors. The curators provide information about the behind-the-scenes of filming and include visual elements such as costumes and stills to demonstrate how crucial it was for the filmmaker to engage with the objective authenticity of the space. It is almost museum-like, with objects that have been left behind and the visitors can only see the after-effects. These exhibitions are temporary and are separate from the history of the site. The boundary of 'real' and 'fake' is maintained as the authenticity of the copy is examined whilst the authenticity of the site is reaffirmed and still meets the heritage-film tourists' expectations, therefore, providing an authentic experience.



Figure 101 Behind the scenes of filming *The Favourite* at Hatfield

It is clear that MacCannell's initial framework can be applied to heritage sites when they have been used as filming locations, but it must be expanded from to fully understand them. It is argued that if the film is the front stage, or performance, then the sites themselves are the backstage, however, this becomes a false backstage or an example of staged authenticity when these spaces are modified to meet the visitors', or film tourists' expectations. The heritage sites have had to negotiate the authenticity of the copy (the filming) against the implicit objective authenticity of the site. There have been several findings. Firstly, the permanent visitors' experience is influenced by their expectations, which are increasingly influenced by heritage media images. A film tourist differs from a normal visitor because their aim in visiting is to see the filming location, preferably to find it as close to how it appeared on the screen. The expectation is usually met as many sites and interiors are not drastically changed for filming, but the film tourist is shown the space as a heritage site, rather than as a film set. Secondly, the permanent visitor experience has been altered by filming, as at Castle Howard, where the false walls from the filming of the *Brideshead* adaptations remain in place, hiding the fire damage. This is a false backstage, as the real backstage would be the fire-damaged, unrestored rooms. This can also be seen at Castle Ward in Ireland, where the Winterfell activities on-site are intended for film tourists rather

than regular visitors and demonstrate how filming has changed the permanent visitor experience. These false backstages allow the film tourist to be as close to the diegesis as possible, which meets their expectations and therefore feels authentic. Thirdly, temporary exhibitions differ from the permanent visitor experience as they define the boundary between 'real' and 'fake'. Instead, these exhibitions display the remains of filming, the costumes, the props, the stills and the paperwork. The exhibition reminds the visitor that the film elements are 'fake', implying that the heritage site is 'real'. Harewood on Film was used to illustrate how typical filming exhibitions are held and create a museum-like backstage which is neither heritage space nor diegesis. Petworth demonstrates how media about a real person associated with the site can be exploited in an exhibition. Although Turner is famous in his own right the addition of the film's props and 'fake' Turner paintings add value and interest to the exhibition, giving people more reason to visit the site and see the 'real' Turners alongside the prop paintings. Finally, the giant Mr Darcy statue at Lyme meets heritage-film tourists' expectations in an extreme way. The BBC *Pride and Prejudice* adaptation is blatantly and unavoidably referenced and brings visitors close to the diegesis – Darcy was literally larger-than-life and unavoidable; he waited for the visitors wearing his wet shirt. With this temporary exhibition Lyme becomes Pemberley and yet retains its objective authenticity as the extreme 'fakery' of the statue serves to highlight the site's 'realness'.

Staged authenticity is a contested and complicated theory and applying the framework to heritage film locations enables us to understand how the sites negotiate the ideas of authenticity by exploiting their connections with heritage media.

Conclusion

The concept of authenticity has been discussed throughout this thesis, cited as the reason why filmmakers film at heritage sites. Despite the prevalence of authenticity in heritage cinema discussion, few have examined what it means and what the implications are for heritage filming locations.

This chapter examined three different authenticity frameworks, looking at objective authenticity, existential authenticity and staged authenticity. All three

frameworks demonstrate how the sites can contribute to heritage media in varying ways, yet they all draw on notions of objective authenticity.

Objective authenticity is object-related and occurs when an object is certified as authentic by a trusted authority. Wang refers to this as being 'museum linked'⁵⁰⁸ and is often connected to historic objects and heritage sites such as stately homes. The objective authenticity is crucial for filmmakers and visitors alike – it is the main attraction, where visitors can 'step into England's story'⁵⁰⁹ by observing material examples of the past. These heritage sites are designed to make the past accessible and commercialise history, continuing the theme that has been prevalent in this work in which history becomes a type of profitable entertainment. Almost all heritage sites in England are classed as a registered charity, and as discussed in the business chapter, these charities have a duty to educate and inform. This means that the sites are designed around educating the visitor, therefore, the objective authenticity is explained to them in multiple ways during their visit. Finally, the objective authenticity of a site is connected to the high culture on display, as previously discussed. The high cultural elements of a heritage site are a draw for visitors, hoping to see artwork, architecture, design, literature, music and history together, held in stasis from the past to view in the present. The low culture of mass media is a less celebrated element, as the owners and managers of stately homes believe that objective authenticity is enough to bring visitors in.

Wang's second type of authenticity is existential authenticity, where the authenticity of a place or experience is derived from the activities the tourists undertake. This framework was applied to heritage-film tourists and their visits to heritage filming locations, where sometimes the activities were provided, and other times the activities were tourist-motivated. Sometimes the tourist is aware that these activities have been created for them to enjoy, but because they meet the tourists' expectations they are deemed authentic. For heritage-film tourists, the activities are often self-motivated and include seeking out and identifying specific

⁵⁰⁸ Wang, "Rethinking authenticity in tourism experience," 351.

⁵⁰⁹ English Heritage webpage "English Heritage," 2020, accessed 19th November, 2020, <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/>. This is their current (2022) slogan.

filming locations, taking photos, recreating moments from the source media and cosplaying. The cataloguing of these events is important to the heritage-film tourist and the photos are uploaded to social media sites to connect with other heritage-film tourists. Some sites, especially those owned by the National Trust, welcome these activities, whereas some private houses, such as Highclere, are less keen and think that it detracts from the 'real' history on display. This connects to a theme that has emerged throughout this chapter of owners and managers being wary of visitors engaging with the 'wrong sort' of experience, saying that visitors who only engage with the film tourist activities are 'missing out' on the 'real' experience of the site, as at Highclere. They perceive that film tourists do not engage with the history of the site and are blinkered by the media references, yet as is explored in this chapter, the heritage-film tourists are engaging with the objective authenticity, just through the medium of heritage media.

As visitors' expectations for a site often stem from heritage media sources, which can sometimes be met but not always, as sometimes the interiors of houses were drastically changed by the filmmakers. This can be addressed through a temporary exhibition or by questioning a room guide, but often the visual deviation won't be discussed. The objective authenticity of the site overrides the existential authenticity activities of the film tourist and as such the film tourist is likely to engage with both.

Existential authenticity is becoming more prevalent at heritage sites as heritage tourism changes to meet modern visitor expectations. This means that where once visitors would walk around the house and observe history, now they can take part in activities such as immersive experiences. There are now tasting kitchens (Dyrham), children's activity trails (various National Trust sites), interactive smartphone guides (Castle Howard) and dress-up rooms (Lyme Park). These activities cater to the visitor's need to experience as well as observe, whilst acknowledging and engaging with the objective authenticity. Ultimately this leads to sites like Avebury Manor, where the replica nature of the furnishings means that visitors can interact with them and use them, and many reviewers feel that it is irrelevant that the items lack objective authenticity as they are *real enough*. It

seems to be enough that the structure of Avebury Manor is old, and that the furnishings, though replicas, meet the visitor's expectations by appearing simultaneously old and new at the same time. The tactile nature of this experience goes against the grain for heritage spaces, where though the use of velvet ropes has receded, the use of passive-aggressive imagery such as dried thistles, pinecones or holly on chairs means that there is often a perceived distance to the objective authenticity. The past is something to be observed, not experienced. The activities found at Avebury and the activities undertaken by heritage-film tourists bridge this boundary and allow the visitors to create meaning and memories in a static, unchanging space. Visitors and heritage-film tourists can appreciate both the objective authenticity of the site whilst engaging with existential activities, and the two are bonded through the location.

The visitor experience can be analysed through MacCannell's staged authenticity to understand how the objective authenticity works with heritage-film tourists' motivations. According to MacCannell, a tourist is aware that events or performances (such as those discussed in the existential authenticity section) are provided for them, and this organisation lacks authenticity, as it is not spontaneous. The tourist then seeks out the backstage, which they perceive as being more authentic, yet rarely meets their expectations. The organisers then create a false backstage which meets these expectations and is deemed more authentic by the tourist, yet it is still constructed. If one applies this framework to heritage-film tourists and heritage filming locations and takes the performance or front stage as the heritage media, then the backstage that the film tourist seeks is the filming location. This is a difficult thing to achieve, as the heritage-film tourist can have several different ideas about the backstage. For some, they wish to enter the diegesis and 'meet their own Mr Darcy'⁵¹⁰ whereas others seek out and discover exactly how something was shot. In the latter case, the true backstage would be the film set, complete with cameras, lights, crew and actors, yet this is not what they experience. The heritage-film tourism finds a backstage where filming once

⁵¹⁰ Various TripAdvisor Reviews of Lyme Park and Chatsworth

occurred and which had returned to its use as a visitor attraction, yet sometimes may be visually unchanged from the filming.

A different example of staged authenticity can be found at Castle Howard, where two adaptations of *Brideshead Revisited* have resulted in a permanent change to the interiors of two of the rooms. The 'real' backstage of Castle Howard is fire-damaged walls, but the productions hid these with false walls, decorating the Garden Hall and the Saloon to fit the narrative needs of the different diegesis and these set decorations have remained. They are now part of the permanent visitor experience at Castle Howard and blend seamlessly into the rest of the decorated interiors. There is a display about the filming however, the interiors are believable as having objective authenticity, which was the production designer's original plan.

Another example of staged authenticity, and how filming has changed the visitor experience at the site can be seen at Castle Ward in Northern Ireland, which was used as Winterfell in *Game of Thrones*. The large film set has since been dismantled, however, the National Trust has employed third-party vendors who have created Winterfell experiences, such as archery and a tour, the gift shop also has *Game of Thrones* merchandise. These elements would not be there without the filming and without the film tourist's expectations, therefore, they demonstrate a staged authenticity designed to meet these expectations, whilst engaging with existential authenticity by providing activities.

Temporary exhibitions can also be described using the staged authenticity framework, as they present costumes and props from the filming in a way that reinforces the boundary between real and fake. For staged authenticity, this means that the film tourist is validated (they can see and learn about the filming) whilst the site informs them about the objective authenticity – there is fake prop fruit in a real historic kitchen (Harewood) and the prop paintings stand on easels whereas the real paintings are hung in a gallery and are properly lit (Petworth). These exhibitions reinforce the idea that filming is fake and that only the history at these sites is real. Filming and film tourists interpret the stasis of stately homes and create new stories that may not correlate with the accepted history of the site. The slight caveat to this is stories involving Jane Austen, which are seized upon with

enthusiasm and heavily marketed due to their worldwide appeal. Because of Austen's longevity and cultural cache, even marketing which may seem crass or cheap is embraced, such as the giant fibreglass Darcy in Lyme's Lake and the surprising number of cakes made in Mr Darcy's image.

These frameworks have enabled authenticity to be understood, but they do not fully explore the role of heritage film locations, therefore, a new framework must be developed.

7. Hermeneutic Authenticity

Introduction

The theme of authenticity has run throughout this thesis. The previous chapter explored the existing authenticity frameworks and concluded that although they clarified authenticity in their situation, they do not go far enough to truly understand the concept in this context. This chapter explains and examines a new framework developed for this work: Hermeneutic authenticity. This type of authenticity moves beyond the previous frameworks and investigates how and why filmmakers use heritage sites, and how these filming locations help create an authentic, authoritative, unquestioned, and convincing diegesis.

This chapter is divided into three parts, examining the filmmakers' use of heritage sites from different angles, and how the feature that attracted them to filming at the sites in the first place— their objective authenticity, is also the factor that limits their use. This chapter draws from interviews with National Trust, English Heritage and privately-owned site managers and brings in secondary sources including published interviews with production designers and publicity interviews with filmmakers and actors. After defining hermeneutical authenticity, the first part of this chapter examines the motivation of filmmakers using heritage sites for filming, and how it relates back to objective authenticity. The second part examines jigsaw buildings, which are structures created within the diegesis that are constructed using several filming locations and built sets. These fabrications are entirely designed around the narrative needs of the story. These can be heavily influenced by the audience and genre expectations and can be historically inaccurate. The

third part of this chapter examines the role of audience expectations and how this can have a large impact on the choice of filming locations if the source material is well known or associated with a particular place.

To create a believable diegesis the filmmaker must meet audience expectations and the narrative requirements for the script. The use of heritage filming locations presents different benefits and challenges, and the final on-screen result is hyper-heritage.

Defining Hermeneutic Authenticity

In this section I will discuss two forms of authenticity, constructive and hermeneutic. Wang's theories of authenticity have been crucial for this work and his final framework is called constructive authenticity. Wang states that this type of authenticity is constructed by 'points of view, beliefs, perspectives, or powers'⁵¹¹ and relies on stereotypes, context, expectations and ideological elements. He states that the objective authenticity of the object is irrelevant, as it is the 'points of view, beliefs, perspectives, or powers'⁵¹² that decide the authenticity. This is the least explored of Wang's frameworks, and although useful for understanding the authenticity of an object it is not stringent enough for considering heritage filming locations.

This work has instead developed the theory of hermeneutic authenticity by extending the framework of constructive authenticity. Hermeneutic authenticity is the authenticity of the diegesis, which relies on the authenticity of the film locations to create a believable film world. This framework is connected to hermeneutic theory (or analysis) which analyses the interpretation of a text, examining its intent, its content, and its context. The phrase hermeneutic often concerned biblical or literary study, as it focuses on how an understanding of a text is developed through an analysis of its parts. But it has also been discussed in connection with architecture.⁵¹³ In this case, hermeneutic authenticity is understanding how the authenticity of a film location is being interpreted by the

⁵¹¹ Wang, "Rethinking authenticity in tourism experience," 351.

⁵¹² *Ibid*

⁵¹³ Hans-Georg Gadamer and Jacques Derrida, *Dialogue and deconstruction: the Gadamer-Derrida encounter* (SUNY Press, 1989), 21-51.

filmmaker and the audience, understanding that some perceptions of authenticity come from interpretation and repetition. To put this in the context of another famous filming location, one can see hermeneutic authenticity at the Vasquez Rocks in America, which are frequently as a filming location (see Figure 102), most notably in various *Star Trek* media, standing in for the fictitious planet Vulcan. The Vasquez Rocks now can claim authenticity as Vulcan, and this is authenticity by interpretation – they are interpreted as being Vulcan, therefore, they are. This is highlighted best in *The Big Bang Theory* (CBS, 2007-2019) episode *The Bakersfield Expedition*, where the characters dress like *Star Trek* characters and take photos by the rocks. The rocks have more meaning for them as Vulcan than as Vasquez, even if they are standing on the wrong side of them (see Figure 103).



Figure 102 The Vasquez Rocks in various media



Figure 103 The Big Bang Theory characters at Vasquez Rocks

The example of the Vasquez rocks can be applied to heritage film locations. For some visitors, sites have more meaning for them as Pemberley, than as Chatsworth or Lyme. This is constructive authenticity. For others, the site exists in two states, both as a fictional building and as a heritage site. This is hermeneutic authenticity, where the objective authenticity of the site is equally important as the filmmaker's interpretation. The objective authenticity of the heritage sites is the attraction for the filmmaker and later the heritage-film tourist, and this is what sets heritage-film tourists apart from film tourists.

Filmmakers, Authenticity and Justification

In the business chapter there was a discussion about the unique draw that heritage filming locations have for filmmakers. One reason that is often cited for shooting at heritage sites is authenticity, though as stated at the beginning of this chapter, this is sometimes incorrectly confused with historical accuracy. This tends to relate to the objective authenticity of the site, however, there are more elements which will be discussed below. As has been explored throughout this thesis, during filming heritage sites become spaces of storytelling, and in the 'fakery'⁵¹⁴ of filmmaking, the locations are seen as the one 'real' element. Filmmakers are telling a story set in the past and they are using the closest thing to the past they can find – the remaining architectural fabric from that era. Filmmakers look at the site through

⁵¹⁴ Harewood exhibition: Harewood on Film 2020

the unusual lens of using something which is presently old and hoping to show it as new. However, as evidenced in the previous staged authenticity section, this 'newness' must be shown through the expectations of today – so wooden panels are dark and tapestries are faded because that is the iconography that audiences and visitors expect.

The filmmakers often utilise heritage locations for exposition, presenting a heritage building or space within the first five minutes of any heritage media. This is used to establish the setting, era and who the film is about, and it is greatly aided by the costumes. This engages with the objective authenticity and uses it to quickly introduce the diegesis and make the audience comfortable with the film's world.

Authentic Atmosphere

It is clear that the authenticity or atmosphere is a key component as Kim Gribble at Montacute comments having observed filming

You just get an air of authenticity that you don't get from something that's being created from scratch. And I think that comes across on camera. I think you get, particularly when it comes to lighting and things, I know that they put a hundred lights up and that to a large extent is fake. But I think the way that it bounces off of surfaces of a historic building that have got a bit of life lived in them, I don't think you can replicate that. So when you've got the light hitting some wooden panelling and you get that sort of historic sheen that just comes across on camera so much better than if it was some brand new fake panelling that they've made for the production on a soundstage, there's just something about it.⁵¹⁵

Here we can see that the 'realness' of the architectural fabric is perceived as being difficult to replicate, and that is what filmmakers are trying to capture on film, as evidenced in this quote from Mark Pybus, the producer of *Wolf Hall*, who says

From the production design point of view, it is five hundred years old, and feels five hundred years old and looks five hundred years old. Whereas if you're building sets, 3-4 weeks before you film, however much distressing you do, it's difficult to give it that lived-in feel that feels authentic. It helps bringing

⁵¹⁵ Gribble, "Montacute Interview."

a realness to the project which is something that's very much at the heart of Hilary's [Mantel] books.⁵¹⁶

Again, there is a referral to 'realness' which is implicitly tied to authenticity. The filmmakers are borrowing the objective authenticity of the site to make the diegesis believable to a contemporary audience.

It has been claimed that filming at a heritage site can affect performance and the overall feeling of the film, and this is an example of hermeneutic authenticity – the objective authenticity of the site is somehow transferred to the heritage media through the filmmaker's interpretation and presentation. Margie Burnet at Haddon Hall says 'They want authenticity - to have an impact on the atmosphere of the film, [...] when we had our last film that is exactly what director said to me.'⁵¹⁷ Again, authenticity is mentioned as a factor, This tends to be mentioned as 'atmosphere' or 'feel', and a publicity interview with Dave Johnson, the location manager for *Wolf Hall* mentions how this is part of his job: 'the locations have to be accurate for the script first, so it has to have all the correct rooms, the look, the feel, and then there are all those boring practical things like parking and accessibility.'⁵¹⁸ It is noticeable that 'feel' comes ahead of practical elements in his list of priorities. This emphasis on realness can also be seen in the BBC series *Poldark* (2015-2019, BBC). Michael Ray, one of the producers spoke about the filming location of Great Chalfield Manor, saying, 'It brings scale because it looks grand. It is grand. Its got that history, its just there. Its touchable. Tangible history. These are real places, and they feel real on camera.'⁵¹⁹ Again we see this connection between wanting to bring 'realness' into the diegesis by relying on the filming locations.

Performance

Managers and owners of sites are aware that their objective authenticity is an attraction for filmmakers, though as people who are aware of historical accuracy they can have differing opinions about how authentic something is. The look and

⁵¹⁶ National Trust, *Behind the Scenes on Wolf Hall* (YouTube, 2014).

⁵¹⁷ Burnet, "Haddon Interview."

⁵¹⁸ Trust, *Behind the Scenes on Wolf Hall*. It should be noted that this is a National Trust behind-the-scenes video, therefore, there is more emphasis on the buildings than there is on parking and accessibility.

⁵¹⁹ National Trust, *See behind the scenes on Poldark series 3* (YouTube, 2017).

feel of authenticity are difficult to measure, however, some actors claim it helps their performance to be in country houses. An actor from *Sanditon*, Charlotte Spencer, who said ‘When doing a period drama and being in a place like this, it helps so much because it gets you into the character, gets you into the world in which they lived in’.⁵²⁰ Similarly, Rose Williams, who plays the protagonist in *Sanditon* (2019-, ITV) was interviewed about filming at Dyrham Park and said,

It really really helps filming at gorgeous locations like this. When I first saw the place [Dyrham] we were up on the hill and I looked down and I immediately recognised the big windows because they match the interior of Sanditon House, Lady Denham’s huge entrance hall and dining hall. So, to piece those two together rather set the tone, made me feel grounded in the place⁵²¹

Actor Johnny Flynn, who starred in the World War Two Drama *Operation Mincemeat* (2021, John Madden) said ‘I’ve done various sorts of period pieces when you really go to these beautiful houses and gardens, it really helps’.⁵²² This connection with a character through filming location appears almost as an afterthought for the filmmakers, however, it all adds to the hermeneutic authenticity, and how the authenticity is translated on the screen to create a believable diegesis.

The motivation of all people who work on a film, from producers to actors, to location managers, is to tell a story convincingly. Using heritage sites as filming locations is a way of borrowing the objective authenticity and displaying it as part of the diegesis, whilst saving money and enabling actors to connect to their characters through the heritage filming locations.

Subjective Evaluations

One of the biggest issues during filming is that filmmakers may have different values from the owners and managers of heritage sites, and this can lead to conflict, since filmmakers seek authenticity to their narrative, whereas heritage sites promote historical accuracy. As stated in the business chapter, heritage sites

⁵²⁰ National Trust, *Dyrham Park features in ITV’s Sanditon* (YouTube, 2019).

⁵²¹ *Ibid*

⁵²² National Trust, *Filming Operation Mincemeat at the National Trust’s Fenton House* (YouTube, 2022).

are usually registered charities, and part of their remit is to educate and inform. Filmmakers have no such requirements, instead, their focus is on constructing and delivering a believable story. It is relevant here to mention that heritage sites often have little control over how their sites are shown on screen, sometimes it is even the case that they are not aware of what is being shot there.⁵²³ When initially showing around the location managers, producer, directors and heads of department the house manager or owner can show them appropriate rooms, however, the filmmaker is going to use the space however they want, the space may be used in a way that it was never designed for.⁵²⁴ Although some houses managers/owners may bristle at the historical inaccuracies, others take a more diplomatic approach, as stated by Chris Small, of English Heritage, when asked if he took issue with filmmakers using Eltham Palace without regard for historical accuracy: 'I mean, there are sometimes quite necessary reasons for why a production team will have to be inauthentic around a certain house, even if it's about a certain character or a certain house.'⁵²⁵ Small says that as Eltham Palace is not playing itself, the historical accuracy is irrelevant, and demonstrates an awareness of the different factors that affect the filmmaking process. Harvey Edgington, of the National Trust Film Office, is also aware that filmmakers have different priorities when talking about the gloriously inaccurate series *The Great* (2019-, Hulu) a black comedy about Catherine the Great's (1729-1796) rise to power. Edgington refers to the comedic elements of the series meaning that accuracy is less important and that it just has to meet the audience's expectations for the era (though it is unclear how this is assessed by studios and filmmakers). *Wolf Hall* based a lot of its publicity around the idea that they were being historically accurate to the Tudor period,⁵²⁶ however, the Tudor palace scenes were actually shot in a medieval cathedral. Here we can see an illustration of how a

⁵²³ Staff, "Old Royal Naval College Interview."

⁵²⁴ Abbey, "Lacock Interview."

⁵²⁵ Small, "Eltham Palace Interview."

⁵²⁶ Ellis Stephenson, "Kent locations feature in new BBC drama Wolf Hall," KCC 2015, <https://kccmediahub.net/kent-locations-feature-new-bbc-drama-wolf-hall745>.

compromise between historical accuracy and production requirements must be reached to tell the story.

The boundaries between acceptable historical inaccuracies and unacceptable ones vary from person to person, and filmmakers rely on the audience's perceived general knowledge as to how believable their diegesis must be to be accepted.

Sometimes directors are determined to shoot a biopic where the events happened – as with Mike Leigh and *Mr Turner* shooting at Petworth. Sue Rhodes, from Petworth, said 'Mike Leigh was so keen to film here as he was filming scenes for Petworth in the rooms where those things would have happened. So actually, that was really important and special to him. And that really comes across.'⁵²⁷ And she states that this sort of accuracy/authenticity lingers, saying 'many years after that film is still something that we hear from visitors that they kind of, you know, saw in that film.'⁵²⁸

Staff at heritage sites have very little influence over how their sites are shown on film but some directors do emphasise historical accuracy over authenticity, as seen with *Wolf Hall* as long as it doesn't interfere with the narrative and create dissonance in the diegesis.

Jigsaw Buildings

The grandeur of England's architectural past has become one of the defining features of the heritage film genre, however, the way filmmakers use historic spaces to be authentic to the narrative often differs from how the spaces were used historically. They become similar to constructed film sets and the space becomes imbued with meaning from the film's narrative, rather than from historical events. Sometimes these spaces are 'brought to life' by filming, allowing people to see how these rooms could've been used.⁵²⁹ The novel thing about shooting in historical sites is that they were never meant to be filmed, however, a lot of the powerful visual imagery translates easily to the screen.

⁵²⁷ Rhodes, "Petworth Interview."

⁵²⁸ *Ibid*

⁵²⁹ Abbey, "Lacock Interview."

A filmmaker must make the diegeses feel authentic, it has to make sense as a space for the characters to occupy, and also must convey the genre of film, the era when it is set, the wealth of the characters, how much power they have and what sort of world they occupy. In a heritage film, the inclusion of a heritage building within the first five minutes of the film or television programme acts as an immediate gateway into the diegesis, coupled with characters nearby, who are dressed in clothes from the era. There is also usually a horse. Filmmakers often combine heritage locations with purpose-built sets, as seen in *Downton Abbey* where the kitchen and servant's spaces were built at Ealing Studios and complement the location filming at Highclere, or more recently *Bridgerton*, where the Featherington family's iconic staircase, with butterflies in the railings (the family's motif), was built in a studio, (see Figure 104) in both cases since no real-life equivalent could be found.

Filmmakers use the objective authenticity of heritage locations to make the diegesis seem historically authentic and create a hermeneutic authenticity that is unique to each film or television series. This differs from the authenticity found or experienced at heritage sites where sets are combined with filming locations to create buildings that suit the narrative. These I have termed jigsaw buildings, as they are separate parts of actual historical sites that slot together to form a cohesive whole.

As with all architecture, jigsaw buildings are constructed around a function. Normally a secular building's function is trade, or display, or as a home,⁵³⁰ but with jigsaw buildings, the function is to inform the viewer of location and era, aid the plot of the film and present a narratively plausible backdrop for unfolding events. This is an important difference between real buildings and diegetic buildings.

⁵³⁰ Simon Varey, *Space and the eighteenth-century English novel* (Cambridge University Press, 1990), 24.



Figure 104 *The Featherington's Staircase (a set) in Bridgerton*

Jigsaw buildings have been referred to throughout this thesis, and the key element is that however many exteriors and interiors are combined, the final building only exists within the diegesis. An example of this is Pemberley in *Death Comes to Pemberley*, where the exterior is Chatsworth and the interior a mixture of Chatsworth, Wilton, Harewood and Castle Howard. Sometimes a building is transferred to the screen with no additional rooms, such as the fictional Netherfield in the 2005 *Pride & Prejudice*, where Basildon Park was used for the exteriors and interiors, though with the aforementioned changes in colour scheme in the Octagon Room. This is rare, however, and it is far more common for filmmakers to combine sets and locations in the diegesis. The combination of heritage sites and built sets give filmmakers creative freedom without the restrictions of conservation; however, some surprising elements still happen in heritage spaces such as the Long Gallery at Hatfield, featuring a duck race in *The Favourite* and a hanging scene in *The Great*.

A jigsaw building can be seen in *The Duchess*, where two separate sites were connected through editing to allow the character, Lady Spencer, to walk through the jigsaw building of Devonshire House. The diagram (Figure 106) demonstrates how Lady Spencer enters initially through Holkham Hall (see Figure 108) then

continues to see the Duke in Kedleston's hall (see Figure 109 and Figure 110), then on to meet her daughter in Kedleston's drawing room (see Figure 111). Despite this occurring over Holkham Hall and then Kedleston Hall, three non-proximate spaces, due to continuity editing, graphic matching through the lighting and architectural design and the continuous diegetic footsteps and non-diegetic music, this sequence progresses smoothly. This results in a believable, viable space that has been constructed for the narrative, visually conveying the wealth of the Duke. The visual matching of the veined columns of Holkham's marble hall with Kedleston's present a continuous cage around the characters, denoting that despite their wealth they are trapped. Is it these sort of architecture details that filmmakers appropriate for their narrative requirements.

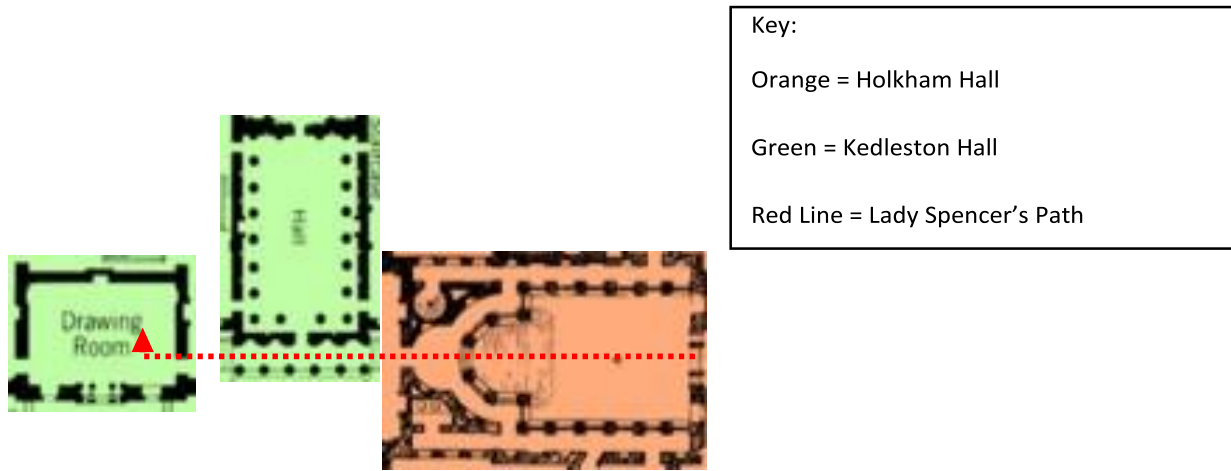


Figure 105 Devonshire House, the jigsaw building

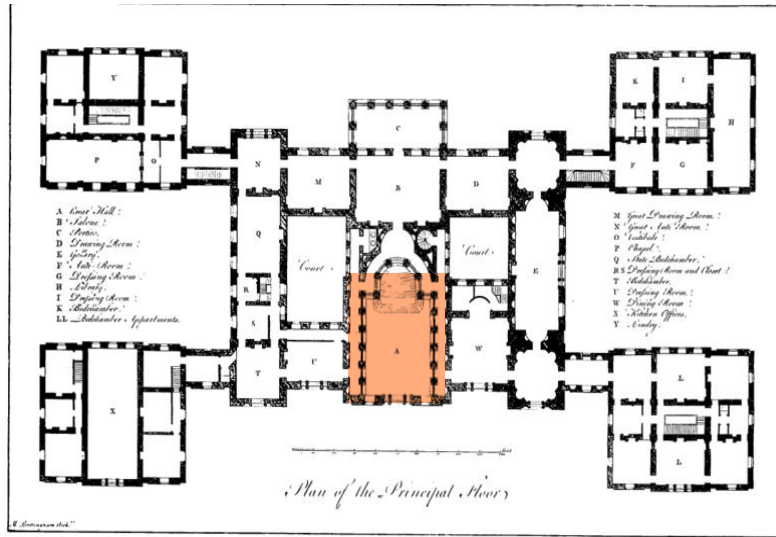


Figure 107 Holkham Hall Floorplan

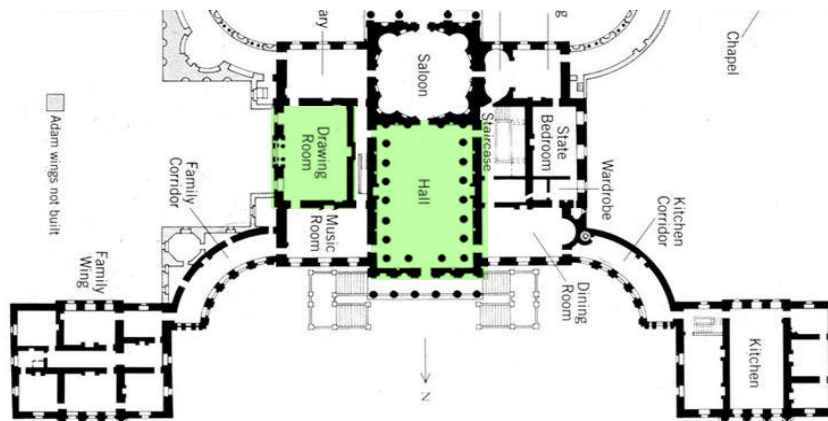


Figure 106 Kedleston Hall Floorplan



Figure 108 Lady Spencer enters Devonshire House



Figure 109 She sees the Duke in the hall



Figure 110 She talks to the Duke



Figure 111 She enters the drawing room

To consider how filmmakers create an authentic diegesis there are four different ways heritage buildings are used on-screen in feature heritage films, and all connect with the objective authenticity of the sites.

Actual

An actual, existing building portrays itself on film. This can be seen in *The Duchess* where Chatsworth plays Chatsworth, and Hampton Court Palace in *The Favourite*. This connects to the objective authenticity of the site and is a way for filmmakers to display their respect for historical accuracy. This is also the case of the use of Petworth in *Mr Turner*. This can be seen to a lesser extent in the filming locations for *Wolf Hall*

Mimetic

An actual, existing building can be used in a film to represent a different existing building. This can be seen in *The Crown*, where Ragley Hall was used as Althorp, the Spencer family estate (see Figure 112) and observed in the exclusion of Baddesley Clinton, a National Trust property with links to the gunpowder plot, where another site was used instead to represent it in the BBC mini-series *Gunpowder* (BBC, 2017), leading to confusion amongst visitors.⁵³¹

Substitutional

Where an actual, existing building stand-ins for a building that no longer exists. One example of this can be seen in *The Duchess* where Somerset House in London stand-ins for Devonshire Place, which was demolished in 1924. In the film, parts of Somerset House, Holkham Hall, Clandon Hall and Kedleston Hall all stand in for Devonshire House in separate standalone scenes, connected through the film's editing.

Fictive

Finally, existing heritage properties are used to represent fictional buildings. They can be used with few changes, as Chatsworth and Lyme Park represent Pemberley,

⁵³¹ Staff, "Baddesley Clinton Interview."

or they can be altered, as seen at Haddon for the *Princess Bride* and the additional tower, and the *Harry Potter* film series (2001-2011) uses Alnwick Castle, Lacock Abbey, Gloucester Cathedral cloisters and Durham Cathedral as the base for Hogwarts, combining a model with filming on location. Again, this approach utilises the objective authenticity of the separate sites, combining them to create something which gives the impression of a place that is ancient, mysterious and powerful (see Figure 113). Durham Cathedral has also stood in for the mythical/fictional Asgard in *Avengers: Endgame* (Anthony Russo, Joe Russo, 2019) (see Figure 114).



Figure 112 Ragley Hall as Althorp, the Spencer family home in *The Crown*

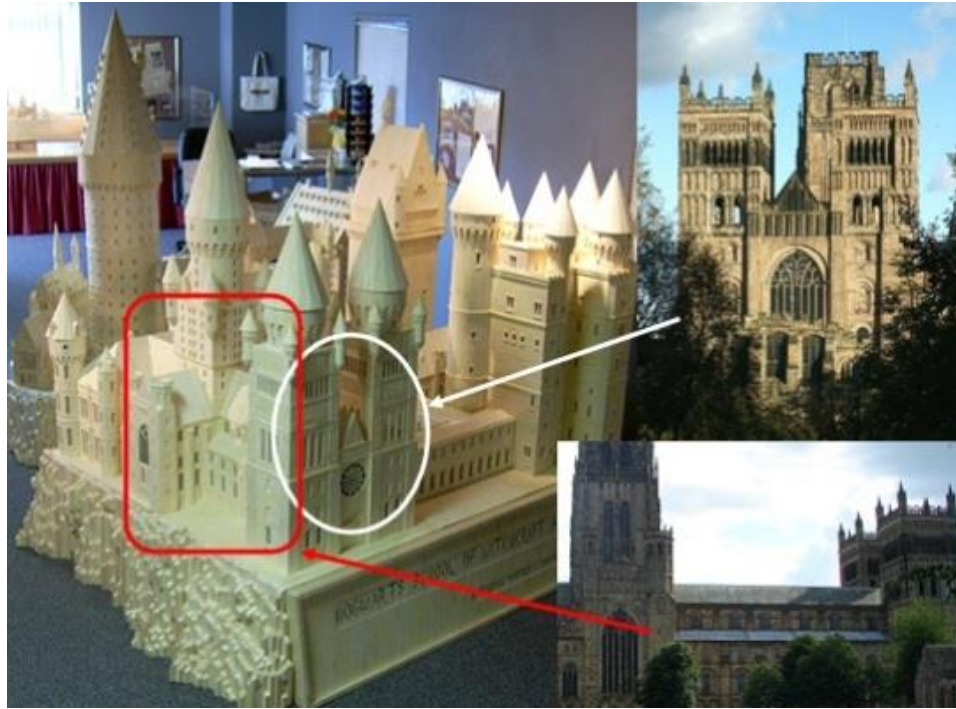


Figure 113 Elements of Durham Cathedral in the model for Hogwarts



Figure 114 Durham Cathedral as Asgard

All of these different ways of using heritage sites take advantage of the connection to objective authenticity, they use that authority, imagery and iconography to add validity and depth to the narrative, which otherwise would have to be established in other ways. It is a lot easier for a filmmaker to use an establishing shot of a heritage building to establish era and location than it is for characters to explain what year it is.

Mention must also be given to Old Royal Naval College, which has frequently been used as a generic London street (or even a Parisian street, as in *Les Misérables*) in

both heritage and modern media. One of the few times it played itself was in *Thor: The Dark World* (Alan Taylor, 2013) where the site was invaded by aliens and was partially destroyed (see Figure 115).



Figure 115 Old Royal Naval College in *Thor: The Dark World* being invaded by aliens

These four ways of using heritage buildings or sites on film can clarify how diegetic buildings and jigsaw buildings are created.

It could be argued that almost all buildings seen within a diegesis are jigsaw buildings, made up of different sets that are not concurrent in reality, but this section focuses on the ones that specifically combine heritage buildings and purpose-built sets in heritage media.

Filmmakers are aware that their jigsaw buildings only exist on film and for some this is an asset. The production designer from *Emma*. (2020, Autumn de Wilde) said of their brightly coloured fictional Hartfield:

And now that filming has wrapped and (the movie hits select theaters February 21), Fox says most of the traces of Emma's brightly colored world have been wiped clean. "I think the lady of the house wanted to keep more of it like how we decorated, but I think he maybe put his foot down about some of the vibrant pinks and things," she says. "It's gone back to how it is, which I was quite keen about, so that our world of Hartfield would be kept just for our film—completely unique."⁵³² [*American spellings in original*]

⁵³² Rachel Wallace, "Emma Takes Place in a Bright Georgian Dollhouse," *Architectural Digest*, 2020, <https://www.architecturaldigest.com/story/emma-set-design>.

Here the production designer is pleased that their version of Hartfield cannot be accessed in real life, and this connects with the boundary between real and fake which keeps appearing – if something cannot be accessed in real life it is seen to be fake.

Artificial Landscape

Jigsaw buildings rely heavily on the concept of artificial landscape, a term coined by the Soviet filmmaker and theorist Lev Kuleshov (1899-1970), and as explained in the literature review, the theory states that when two shots are filmed in separate places, the editing, character placement and character eyelines enable the two separate filming locations to appear concurrent and next to each other within the diegesis. Kuleshov termed this the artificial landscape, and again, this work connects to the idea of artificiality or fakery in using film locations. The use of the artificial landscape in heritage media relies on the audience's suspense of disbelief, for even if rooms are shown which are recognisably distinctive, such as Wilton's double Cube Room or Hatfield's Long Gallery, they are acknowledged as being part of the building presented within the diegesis. Artificial landscape is one of the key components of hyper-heritage, as the spaces are shown on screen, can only be accessed through the film, and not in reality (except in a few cases, such as at Castle Howard).

When considering the use of artificial landscape logical rules must be followed as the architecture is moved through on screen. An ornate door leads to a large room, a small door leads to a small room, kitchens and servants' spaces are below stairs and the principal rooms tend to be on the first floor. There must also be graphic matching, where shots visually match each other in framing, colour and lighting, and the use of diegetic and non-diegetic sound is key to linking up spaces through editing. Continuous footsteps are especially useful and frequently utilised.

Artificial landscape gives the filmmaker freedom to construct a building that exactly meet their narrative requirements, without being constrained by the filming locations or the studios.

Narrative Requirements

Often the reason for creating a jigsaw building is the narrative requirements. If one filming location cannot meet all the requirements, several locations are used and edited together. This can be seen in the use of heritage filming locations in *Emma*, which was set in the Georgian period:

The second [requirement for a filming location] was that it be accurate to the Georgian period (or early 19th century) in which the story takes place, and the third, that they could splash it with color from top to bottom. "The problem is most houses might be Georgian or earlier on the exterior, but then of course they've been done over in Victorian times or changed a lot later on, so it was quite a maze to find the right property," Quinn tells *Architectural Digest*. On top of that, homes maintained by the English Heritage organization or the National Trust were not an option because of their strict guidelines.⁵³³

These restrictions mean that jigsaw buildings become a requirement. This method can also be seen in *Bridgerton* for the Bridgerton family's London house, where the exterior is English Heritage's Ranger's House (see Figure 116) and most of the interiors are sets, however, the main entrance hall is at Halton (owned by the RAF, see Figure 117). Describing Ranger's House, the production designer said: 'The building was over 100 years old, and the whole idea of clean lines was a difficult thing to pull off [...] so we built the majority of the interior rooms on a soundstage' Here we can see that the production designer wanted clean lines for the aesthetic of the interiors, and found that Ranger's House couldn't provide that, so they shot the interiors elsewhere.

Sometimes different interiors are used for their difference in narrative properties – some are seen as welcoming, whereas others are not, as noted by the production designer of *The Crown* for season three:

The interiors of *The Crown* also heighten the mood, particularly with the feeling of isolation and oversize scale of the spaces. "One of Peter Morgan's early scripts talked about the 'sheer mileage' of Buckingham Palace, and I kind of ran with that," says Childs. "The hallways at Buckingham Palace do not have a homey atmosphere. I like to

⁵³³ Wallace, "Emma Takes Place in a Bright Georgian Dollhouse."

think that Lancaster House is a favorite for ‘mileage’ while Wilson House is good for atmosphere and beauty.”⁵³⁴

Despite the different associations with each space, there is an emphasis on the rooms flowing smoothly from one to another, and the production designers try to establish a ground plan of the jigsaw building so that it could exist in reality, and the characters’ pathways make sense.



Figure 116 Ranger's House as the Bridgerton House exterior



Figure 117 Royal Air Force Halton as Bridgerton House in season 1

⁵³⁴ Cathy Whitlock, "Go Inside The Crown Season 3 on Netflix," *Architectural Digest*, 2019, <https://www.architecturaldigest.com/story/the-crown-season-3-set-design>.

Filmmakers also try and match the logical progression of rooms that historic figures would have taken, from public to private, and even included gendered spaces. The ground plan can have narrative significance, as seen in the Buckingham Palace that was created for ITV's *Victoria*, which refers to the 'spine' of a corridor from which all other rooms branch off:

During a visit to Buckingham Palace at the start of production, Howells was struck by the 180-foot-long Grand Corridor. "It's very identifiable, so we thought we could make that our main spine running through the set," he says. The other rooms, such as the queen's apartments and the Throne Room, were all built off that main artery. "It was built so you can glide from one room into another and into another and into another," he says. "So if you wanted to walk through this palace, you could."⁵³⁵

The spine that connects all the other rooms parallels the protagonist's importance in connecting all the different strands of the television series and being its focal point. The ground plan is rarely talked about but is a key part of making a jigsaw building believable, beyond the graphic matching, architectural logic and diegetic sound.

Deliberate Confusion

Although much has been made of the spaces fitting together with logical sense, the opposite is also true and can be seen in a few select films, where the artificial landscape is deliberately confusing, again to aid the narrative and to add to the audience's feeling of confusion. Two recent films employ this technique, the first being *Spencer* (Pablo Lorraine, 2021) the film about Princess Diana's Christmas with the royal family at the Sandringham estate. The filmmakers deliberately chose to create a confusing floorplan with the editing, to demonstrate the isolation and restriction of the character and to confuse the audience. Instead of using a building resembling Sandringham the filmmakers used two very different German palaces, the Baroque Nordkirchen Castle for exteriors and the Tudor-style Schlosshotel Kronberg for some interiors.

⁵³⁵ Elizabeth Stamp, "Is Victoria the Next Downton Abbey?," *Architectural Digest*, 2017, <https://www.architecturaldigest.com/story/victoria-set-design-filming-locations>.

Dyas was so conscious that the “fanaticism” surrounding the royal family and Diana would lead to intense scrutiny, he purposely created “an insanely complicated jigsaw puzzle [of scenes] designed to confuse the audience.”⁵³⁶

Using these substitutions contributed, albeit at a subliminal level, to a sense of unease with viewers.

This confusion technique was also used in Netflix’s *Rebecca* (Ben Wheatley, 2020) for the construction of the fictional Manderley. When the main character arrives as the second Mrs de Winter, marrying the widowed Max, she finds the house and the staff difficult to understand and lives under the long shadow of the first wife, Rebecca. This film shot at eight different stately homes in England and included a bedroom set for Rebecca’s bedroom, left as it was when she died in mysterious circumstances. The production designer Sarah Greenwood told *Architectural Digest* of the unique situation shooting in so many places gave them:

Normally a very important part of our job is to give geography to a place[.] But in fact in this instance it was kind of about breaking the geography. Mrs. de Winter (her first name is not given) never quite gets comfortable in her new home. She always sort of was finding her way around. In a way, we the audience would also have that difficulty.⁵³⁷

This disjointed harmony is something that many filmmakers try to avoid, they prefer to graphically match the colours and architectural styles if possible, to add authenticity to their jigsaw buildings and not jar the audience. Even though many stately homes have rooms from different eras as only some of the interiors have been updated. This rarely comes across in films, as it is likely to be seen as too confusing for the audience.

Jigsaw buildings are a crucial part of the filmmaker’s toolkit when constructing a believable diegesis. To make an authentic historical film world, the filmmaker relies

⁵³⁶ Lisa Liebman, "For *Spencer*, Turning the Queen’s Country Home Into an “Elegant Prison”,” *Architectural Digest*, 2021, <https://www.architecturaldigest.com/story/spencer-movie-set-design>.

⁵³⁷ Rachel Wallace, "Rebecca Takes Place in the Ultimate English Estate," *Architectural Digest*, 2020, <https://www.architecturaldigest.com/story/rebecca-english-estate-set-design-interview>.

on the objective authenticity of their filming locations which transfers to the built sets once they are edited together. These jigsaw buildings then match the audience's expectations and meet the genre conventions. They demonstrate hermeneutic authenticity as the filmmaker uses objective authenticity to validate their diegesis. They interpret the objective authenticity of the filming locations and transfer the imagery to their built sets, then edit them together so that the spaces logically connect and progress. Jigsaw buildings are vital for filmmakers to fulfil narrative requirements or when limited by budget, conservation issues.

Audience Expectations

A further factor to consider is the audience's expectations. It is understood that the audience will have genre expectations for heritage media, such as stately homes, elaborate costumes, gender roles and details about class boundaries. However, if the film or programme is associated with a particular historic figure or source novel there may be additional expectations. This section will examine three of these: the historical figure of Beatrix Potter and the biopic made about her in 2006, the BBC's very successful recent television series adaptation of the *Poldark* novels and the biopic *Belle* (2013, Amma Asante) about the seventeenth-century aristocrat to illustrate different ways in which audience expectations affect the choice of filming locations. There is also the element of audience feeling ownership over a historic figure, which motivates filmmakers to more accurately convey the figure's home. For *Belle* West Wycombe place stands in for the existing Kenwood House, in Beatrix Potter's biopic Yew Tree Farm stands in for Hill Top and in *Poldark* Cornwall is used as itself in the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century. Although *Poldark* does use stately homes in the five series, this section focuses on the use of the Cornish tin mines and the landscape and discusses how ideas of authenticity are crucial to the connection of the locations, the source novel and the previous adaptation.

Beatrix Potter

The film *Miss Potter* was directed by Chris Noonan and released in 2006. It starred Renee Zellweger as the children's book author and illustrator Beatrix Potter and featured animations of her animal characters. The film was shot in the Lake District in England, where Potter lived for much of her life. One of the main settings of the

film was her cottage, Hill Top, which she bought in 1905 with the royalties from her first books (see Figure 118). In 1909 she bought the farm opposite Hill Top, Castle Farm, which became her main Lake District home. When Potter died she left Hill Top (and most of the land she owned in the Lake District) to the National Trust, citing that the house should be left exactly as it was. The filmmakers wanted to shoot at Hill Top, however, an interview with the production designer for *Miss Potter*, Martin Childs, revealed that it wasn't possible:

when we visited it [Hill Top], we were frustrated: it may be great for stills photography, but for moviemaking it was impossibly restrictive. Such are the surroundings (barns built later by Beatrix and therefore outside our period, a wonderful but precious heritage garden) that staging any scene (and we had many to stage) forced us too close to the front door and left us with nowhere to put the camera.⁵³⁸

They continued to look through the Beatrix Potter portfolio and found Yew Tree Farm (see Figure 119), which Potter also owned although it was bought later in her life than when the film was set, but seemed appropriate.

Its disadvantages were few, and to us insignificant: we're calling it Hill Top and it's at the bottom of a hill; all Potterfiles know the real thing, and we mustn't alienate them. At risk of oversimplifying my job, both of these would be relatively easy to overcome with carefully chosen camera angles [...] a more historically photogenic paint finish, and the addition of glazing bars and familiar Hill Top greenery. Once these were achieved the task would be for our greensmen to take it back a hundred years to become a working garden again.⁵³⁹

The final result was a site that was drastically altered to match the original, yet still maintained an air of authenticity due to the original owner and the location. The house's colour was altered to appear darker, a fence was replaced with a dry-stone wall, and a wisteria was added to the exterior of the cottage (see Figure 120).

⁵³⁸ "Miss Potter," Yew Tree Farm, accessed 15th June, 2022, <https://yewtree-farm.com/miss-potter/>.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid*

When choosing film locations the historic figure's known association with a certain area or house has to be taken into account. In the case of *Miss Potter*, the filming location's accuracy was a priority so the audience was not alienated. The filmmakers expected the audience to have prior knowledge, so, including the Lake District and Potter's cottages was important. If the audience was going to find the film authentic it had to be shot in the area and houses where she lived.



Figure 118 Hill Top



Figure 119 Yew Tree Farm



Figure 120 Yew Tree Farm as Hill Top in Miss Potter

Poldark

Statements concerning the authenticity of filming locations were made about

Poldark (2015-2019) when the BBC began working on the series in 2013. The source

novels are set in Cornwall, and much is made of the landscape, the fishing communities, and the mining communities in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Several stately homes were used over the forty-three episodes, including Chavenage House, Old Royal Naval College, Prior Park, and many interior scenes were shot at Bottle Yard Studios in Bristol. Most of the exterior filming, including the scenes involving the tin mines, was shot on location in Cornwall. One mine, originally called Wheal Roots, changed its name to Poldark Mine after hosting filming of the original series in the 1970s, and it was used again for filming for the new adaptation.⁵⁴⁰ As the *Poldark* series is an adaptation of a novel, one could argue that historically accurate to the period which it is displaying need not be paramount, and this was noted by reviewers, who said 'Much of the appeal of the television series arguably derives from the fact that it has a twinkle in its eye as it sweeps you past technicolour waves, neatly dressed miners and artfully vivid sunsets.'⁵⁴¹ The filmmakers wanted to shoot on location in Cornwall, at least in part because the 1970s *Poldark* television show had, with the producer saying 'I felt there was no way we could film it anywhere other than Cornwall, [...] [Cornwall] is like its own character, in a way'.⁵⁴² The supervising location manager of *Poldark*, David Johnson, mentioned the work involved with shooting in Cornwall, saying

There is quite a large amount to do to transform the mines, construction has to build sheds and houses and things that would have been there for the story, whereas in reality, most of what's left is purely the stone buildings of the mines and the towers. There's a considerable amount of work to try and make them appear as though they're active. I think it adds to the authenticity, and people believe everything else about it if they believe they're in the right place.⁵⁴³

⁵⁴⁰ Steven Morris, "Poldark could be a goldmine for Cornwall's tourist trade," *The Guardian* 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/travel/2015/mar/14/poldark-could-be-a-goldmine-for-cornwall-tourist-trade>.

⁵⁴¹ Sarah Crompton, "Is Poldark faithful to its literary origins?," *The Guardian* 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2015/apr/26/poldark-bbc-adaptation-faithful-literary-origins-novel-series>.

⁵⁴² Jade Bremmer, "Cornwall was too sunny for Poldark says BBC producer," *Radio Times*, 2015, <https://www.radiotimes.com/tv/drama/cornwall-was-too-sunny-for-poldark-says-bbc-producer/>.

⁵⁴³ National Trust, *Poldark series 2 - take a look behind the scenes* (YouTube, 2016).

This highlights the main reason why they chose to shoot in Cornwall, to connect to the objective authenticity of the landscape and to meet the audience's expectations that had been established with the 1970s series.



Figure 121 Poldark filming in Cornwall

Belle

Belle (2013, Amma Asante) is a feature biopic film about Dido Elizabeth Belle (1761-1804), a mixed-raced aristocratic heiress from the eighteenth century. She lived at Kenwood House, in London, which has Robert Adam designed interiors and a distinctive white façade that now overlooks Hampstead Heath. The house is currently owned by English Heritage, who open it to the public.

The poster for the film showed Kenwood in the background, however, the film wasn't shot there, as there was a large restoration project taking place during their filming dates, which meant that alternative exteriors and interiors needed to be found. As the audience was likely unaware of Belle's story and the houses she occupied, the filmmakers only had to match up with the audience's expectations of an eighteenth-century set film, which included Robert Adam interiors and Georgian architecture.



Figure 122 The Poster for Belle

The exterior of Kenwood was West Wycombe Park, and the interiors were constructed from Osterley House, Syon Park and Chiswick House.⁵⁴⁴ The distinctive yellow colour of West Wycombe's façade was changed to white in post-production, though the original yellow façade can be seen in the 2002 adaption of *The Importance of Being Earnest* (Oliver Parker). The strangest element of this film was its depiction of London, where they used the distinctive New College Lane and Catte street in Oxford with the very recognisable Sheldonian Theatre prominently visible.

⁵⁴⁴ "Belle - through the eyes of location managers," Kemps Film TV Video, 2013, accessed 15th June, 2022, <https://www.kftv.com/news/2013/09/25/Belle-through-the-eyes-of-the-location-managers>.



Figure 123 New College Lane, Oxford in Belle



Figure 124 Kenwood House



Figure 125 West Wycombe Park

Because the *Belle* story and Kenwood House are less well known than Beatrix Potter's cottages and the Lake District, it was enough for the filmmakers that the rooms and exteriors looked right – the inclusion of Robert Adams interiors which match those at Kenwood is more incidental as Adam interiors are very common in eighteenth-century design.

It is rare for audience expectations to affect the choice of filming locations to such a degree, but these three case studies demonstrate how they can sometimes be taken into consideration. To make a film authentic to a knowledgeable audience, who may specifically see this film because it is a biopic of someone they like, the filmmakers must be careful to include elements which are important to them, such as Potter's cottages or *Poldark's* mines. When a figure is less well-known there is more scope for change, but filmmakers still try to include details to create an authentic version of their world, if not an entirely accurate one.

This section has investigated hermeneutic authenticity and how filmmakers interpret the objective authenticity of heritage sites. The hermeneutic framework has been applied to understand how the objective authenticity has been interpreted, repeated and exhibited to validate the diegesis and the narrative. Through the three different approaches, I have demonstrated the concept of hermeneutic authenticity which extends beyond Wang's understanding of constructive authenticity. This section has four key findings. The first is that filmmakers chose heritage filming locations because of the objective authenticity, believing that it can add 'feel' to a period piece and that can affect the actor's performance. This leads to the second finding of this chapter jigsaw buildings which are narrative constructions that exist within the diegesis and legitimise the film's world. They are a combination of sets and heritage filming locations (often including rooms from separate buildings) that are connected through editing to create an artificial landscape. Jigsaw buildings are edited so that they graphically match from room to room, and diegetic sound such as footsteps is included to help the audiences understand that the rooms are connected. Architectural logic is generally followed, and the floorplan is similarly logical unless the narrative requires it to be confusing. Jigsaw buildings are not unique to heritage media but

are prevalent and have become a genre convention. The objective authenticity of the heritage locations bleeds into the rest of the jigsaw building, creating a hermeneutically authentic building. Thirdly, audience expectations occasionally influence the choice of the filming location. In the case of Beatrix Potter and the biopic *Miss Potter*, the filmmakers understood the importance of including her Lake District cottages and knew that it could alienate the audience if they weren't included. Although her original cottage was unsuitable, the filmmakers chose a different cottage from her portfolio rather than shooting elsewhere. This can also be seen with Agatha Christie and Greenway and the inclusion of the house in media about her. Similarly, the BBC series of *Poldark* had to shoot in Cornwall due to the audience's expectations and the precedent set by the 1970s adaptation. Finally, if the historic figure is relatively obscure then the filmmaker has more freedom to use less accurate locations, as seen with the biopic about Elizabeth Dido Belle. The filmmakers used filming locations that resembled Kenwood House yet were chosen with the narrative in mind, creating a believable diegesis that illustrated the difficulties of a mixed-race aristocrat in the eighteenth century but they would have used Kenwood if possible.

To conclude, a filmmaker's priority is creating a believable diegesis, which means that all the locations must work together and there should be no glaring abnormalities. This means that sets should flow into the historic locations and production design contributes to the narrative. This shows the audience that it makes sense for a character to occupy this space and the plot can run unimpaired. The diegesis must be authentic for it to be believable, and believable for it to be seen as authentic.

Conclusion

This chapter took Wang's concept of constructive authenticity and extended it to posit new hermeneutic authenticity, a type of authenticity that requires underlying objective authenticity, but also gains additional authenticity through expectations, genre conventions and filmic interpretation. All four different types of authenticity have been examined and illustrated, to demonstrate how the sites can contribute

to heritage media in varying ways, yet they all draw on notions of objective authenticity.

The objective authenticity of a site is important to filmmakers and forms the basis for hermeneutic authenticity. This relationship demonstrates the unique way filmmakers use the objective authenticity of a site, whilst acknowledging that there are other elements present to make a film, a narrative or a diegesis feel authentic to the audience. Hermeneutic authenticity relies on the objective authenticity of the filming location to create a believable diegesis, that includes genre conventions, stereotypes, and narrative requirements to create a diegesis that is authentic to the film's narrative. The diegesis and narrative both gain authenticity and validity from the filmmaker's interpretation of the objective authenticity of the site(s).

One heritage site will rarely contain everything the filmmaker requires, so additional rooms are added to it with built sets or rooms from other heritage sites. These are edited in using continuity editing and this creates jigsaw buildings, buildings that only exist within the diegesis and function as believable buildings for the characters. Jigsaw buildings tend to follow architectural logic and the colour schemes and architectural style will match throughout, and the floorplans will be logical unless the filmmaker wants to confuse the audience. Jigsaw buildings are not unique to heritage media but are frequently used to create the spaces the filmmakers require. The role of historical accuracy is superseded by the requirement of narrative accuracy, creating a believable diegesis in which the plot can occur. Though the narrative takes priority, if there is a historically accurate element that is important to the audience, then the filmmaker will endeavour to include it. They do not want to risk alienating their audience by not including Beatrix Potter's houses (*Miss Potter*) or the tin mines in Cornwall (*Poldark*).

Authenticity is essential and crucial in the way people perceive heritage film locations and how they're perceived in real-life. By examining the different theories of authenticity and using the frameworks this work has understood how objective authenticity is the key component of why these sites are being used as filming locations and why they have such longevity as visitor attractions.

8. Conclusion

The second *Downton Abbey* film (2022, Simon Curtis), mentioned at the beginning of the thesis, demonstrated how filming at heritage sites has become so normalised that it is included within the narratives of heritage media. As the characters discuss the pros and cons of filming they recreate conversations that owners and managers of stately homes have been having for decades as filming becomes more and more prevalent in the heritage sector.

The thesis asked the question of what impact filming has had on the English heritage sector. It has considered the cultural, and to a lesser extent, the financial impacts, and drawn upon twenty interviews from the National Trust, English Heritage and privately owned sites. Heritage sites have changed over the centuries, transforming from fortifications, to homes, to art galleries, to visitor attractions and now they stand as tangible examples of the past and as examples of national heritage. Their role as filming locations is comparatively recent and it is the first time these sites have been used to tell a story unconnected to their history. The aesthetic qualities and authenticity are considered above their historical accuracy, setting a new precedent. This conclusion is separated into three sections, to bring together all the threads of this research: thesis findings, best practice for filming and branding, and the impact of the Covid-pandemic and the post-covid developments.

Findings

Hyper-Heritage

Although the history on display at heritage sites is already heavily curated, and sites try to display the most impressive parts of history at the site when a filmmaker shoots a heritage site they curate the available spaces carefully. The final representation of a historical era on film is heavily modified to meet the narrative requirements of the plot and to meet viewer expectations and genre conventions. This thesis has formulated the term, the hyper-heritage, to describe this. The past is understood as something that is to be constructed and moulded to fit the story because, for a film or television show, the narrative is the priority.

The hyper-heritage term is used to encapsulate how everything in a scene, from the architecture, the production design, the lighting, the costumes, the acting style, the dialogue and the action, is all there to serve the narrative (see Figure 126). If the historical accuracy matches the narrative requirements for the scene then it is included, but it is never the most important thing for the filmmaker - their job is to tell a story that is engaging and interesting, and one that sells. If the historical facts match that brief then they are allowed to be included, if not, then no. It is this hyper-heritage images that heritage sites can be uncomfortable with because it may not closely relate to their perception of the past. It is a construct created for storytelling, and because it is so suffused with contemporary ideals it may be far more acceptable and accessible to the audience and the public than the history on display at these sites.



Figure 126 The Components of Hyper-Heritage

These different priorities for the filmmakers and heritage site management can cause conflict. A filmmaker is faithful to the narrative of one specific film, whereas the heritage manager has to be faithful to the historical presentation of a whole site. A filmmaker deals with a temporary state – creating authenticity for just one film, whereas the owners and managers of heritage sites are part of a centuries-old

tradition of maintaining their sites, a far more permanent endeavour. This clash of priorities comes to the fore when hyper-heritage begins to affect visitor expectations for heritage sites. The owners and managers of heritage sites prioritise presenting their history to educate visitors and stand as a material example of the past. When this aligns with hyper-heritage it is embraced, but this is not often the case. This thesis employs hyper-heritage to demonstrate how heritage media differs from the presentation of heritage sites as, although it connects to the objective authenticity of the sites, it becomes a simulacrum, a representation without substance.

Authenticity

Authenticity has been a central theme throughout this thesis, and examined in depth how filming and authenticity are connected to heritage sites. It was established that authenticity is the reason why people visit the sites; why the site is chosen by filmmakers; and how their authenticity as historic monuments enables the sites to continue to exist in their current state, despite changing tastes. The sites resist obvious modernisation (except for improving the visitor experience) and conservation is done sympathetically, and if possible, invisibly. Filmmakers use the objective authenticity of the sites to add authenticity to the diegesis of their films and use them to aid the believability of the narrative, therefore, placing less historical accuracy strain on the other elements of the film, such as costumes, makeup, lighting, props, language, and plot.

Wang's theory of existential authenticity, where authenticity is derived from activities carried out by the tourist or visitor is an essential part of film tourism. By undertaking and achieving activities, such as seeking out a filming location, recreating a scene, taking photos or buying merchandise, film tourists feel that they have had an authentic experience in an authentic space. These activities can be at odds with the established visitor experience, as seen at Highclere. The National Trust, perhaps because it has a wider remit, has a more open relationship with film tourists and has cultivated their validation through the website, books, interviews with magazines, YouTube videos and merchandising.

Film tourists and owners/managers of heritage sites both claim that the way they experience the site is the most authentic. Film tourists connect to the media and the characters shown within, and they are more real for them than the history of the site to which they may not have a connection. Owners and managers are invested in objective authenticity and, therefore, presume that because objective authenticity has always been the main draw, it is still the case. Altering the visitor experience to meet film tourists' expectations, as seen at Chatsworth, is a large and expensive project, and therefore unlikely to happen more widely. Filming is considered to be temporary and the history of the site (and therefore how it is displayed) is permanent.⁵⁴⁵ There is a worry that the initial enthusiasm for the film will fade and if heritage sites have changed the visitor experience then it will not make sense in the future, therefore, it is safer to rely on the history of the site as the attraction, rather than something that may be fleeting. If it turns out not to be fleeting – such as Castle Howard and *Brideshead*, then a permanent exhibition (or several very similar temporary exhibitions) can be established to meet this need, along with merchandising.

Heritage sites often present the past as something to be observed rather than experienced, whereas heritage media demonstrates the characters interacting with the heritage world around them and it being a key part of their experience. It is this that film tourists are trying to achieve with existentially authentic activities. They rely on the underlying objective authenticity of the site to inform and validate their existential activities, and of course, the objective authenticity is what drew the filmmakers to shoot there in the first place, completing the cycle (see Figure 127

⁵⁴⁵ Gribble, "Montacute Interview."

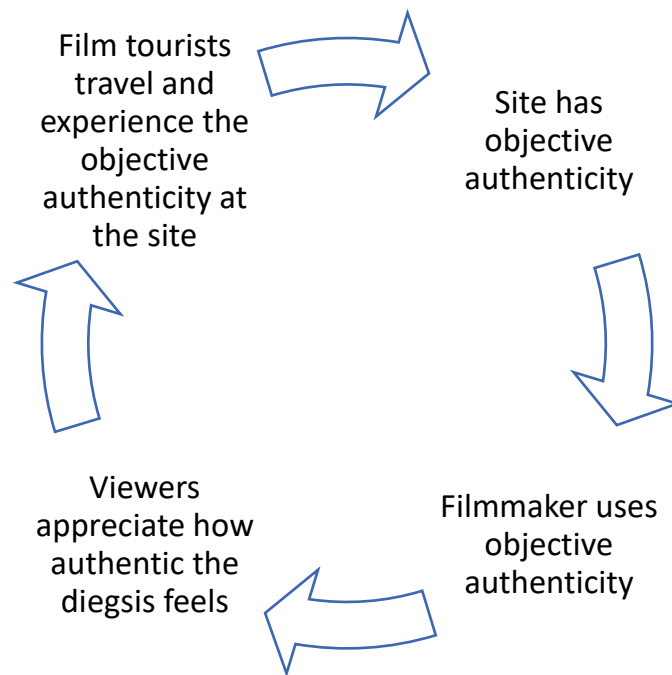


Figure 127 The Objective Authenticity Cycle in Heritage-Film Tourism

MacCannell's theory of staged authenticity explores how the simulacra are accepted in place of objective authenticity in places such as Castle Howard, and how the simulacra can overtake the objective authenticity to become the dominant narrative, as also seen in Castle Ward in Northern Ireland. The true 'behind the scenes' experience for a film tourist would be to tour a working film set but visiting the filming location is the closest they can come to this. The staged authenticity elements come from the temporary exhibitions staged at heritage sites where they present props and costumes from filming in a way that reinforces the boundary between real and fake, but doesn't overwhelm or dominate the whole visitor experience. A further site, Harewood achieved this by staging the whole exhibition below stairs in the servants' areas. The exceptions to this are heritage sites with an Austen connection, where it doesn't matter that the site was only a filming location or that the characters are fictional, her credibility, cultural highness and validity are established, and being fictional or a weak connection is irrelevant because Austen overshadows all.

A new framework was created in this thesis and forms the final type of authenticity considered: hermeneutic authenticity, which is the authenticity of the diegesis that relies upon the objective authenticity of the filming locations. When creating an

authentic diegesis the filmmaker meets genre conventions, stereotypes, audience expectations and narrative requirements to build a world where every element aids the narrative. The hermeneutic authenticity is therefore an authenticity to the narrative, that uses the objective authenticity of other elements in support. The diegesis and the narrative both gain authenticity and validity from the filmmaker's interpretation of the objective authenticity of the heritage sites. The importance of historical accuracy is acknowledged, but is superseded by the importance of *narrative* authenticity, to make the diegesis feel authentic for the characters and for the viewer. It is hermeneutic authenticity that escapes the confines of the diegesis and influences film tourists and heritage sites and it is changing the way heritage sites are experienced in England. The sites that have embraced filming no longer present themselves simply as material examples of the past, they now support the narratives of fictional families and events and this can be developed to form part of the financial securing of the sites.

These separate types of authenticity all rely on the objective authenticity of the site, and they also relate to the perceived authenticity within the heritage sector, which is harder to measure. Many interviewees were wary of the risks of being seen as simply scenery in a film by allowing the simulacra to become the dominant narrative, but this was more of a concern in private houses with a resident family, as several interviewees stressed the importance of the family which they see as providing continuity with the past.⁵⁴⁶ This is less of a concern to houses without a family, where there may be less emphasis on the 'correct' sort of narrative. Bringing all these concerns together allows the creation of a spectrum of authenticity to inform the heritage sector's point of view (see Figure 128).

⁵⁴⁶ Lowsley-Williams, "Chavenage Interview."; Castle, "Highclere Interview." Burnet, "Haddon Interview."

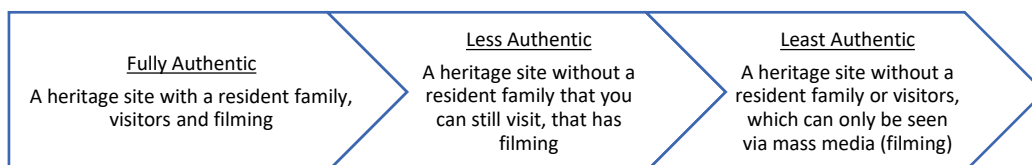


Figure 128 The Stages of Authenticity at Heritage Sites

The spectrum demonstrates how filming, if combined with other elements, can aid the perception of authenticity of a site, rather than detract from it. To further this research, a visitor survey could be carried out to understand if this spectrum is understood by visitors as well as by the heritage sector.

This growing awareness of the need to engage with the authenticity debate means that managers recognise that it is no longer just about ‘keeping the roof on’ and using filming fees to fund conservation work. Filming at heritage sites is fundamentally changing the way they are perceived and experienced in England. Questions of authenticity are raised alongside questions of conservation and cultural distinctions. By examining the different theories of authenticity and exploring the financial as well as the cultural impact of filming at heritage sites, this thesis has discussed how objective authenticity is the most important element for understanding why these sites are being used as filming locations and why they have such longevity as visitor attractions and film tourism sites.

Monetising the Simulacra

The monetisation of the simulacra was explored in detail in the branding chapter and demonstrated the relationship between the branding of the heritage site and the associated filming projects. It considered how sites monetise the simulacra through the visitor experience and merchandising, and further commercialisation of the hyper-heritage.

Castle Howard fully embraced the world of the fictional *Brideshead*, and the hyper-heritage state shown on screen can be accessed by visitors, since the sets remaining in place. The set pieces from the adaptations serve the purpose of hiding the fire-damaged walls and look convincing enough that they are accepted as part of the staterooms. This creates a post-modern visitor experience, as the rooms are copies of a fictional version of the house and do not resemble their real state. Although there are two different adaptations, there is only one house called Brideshead, unlike the several different versions of Pemberley presented in the many adaptations of Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*. Castle Howard also commercialises its connection to *Bridgerton*, with which it had a different relationship. Whilst Brideshead showed the house both decayed and as a home, *Bridgerton* shows the house in its prime, filling the rooms with the amorous adventures of the newly married couple and intercutting other properties to form what I have termed, a jigsaw building, that is one created by the filmmaker but does not exist in reality. Hyper-heritage is celebrated at Castle Howard because it meets visitors' expectations better than the current, fire-damaged, reality of the site.

Highclere differs from Castle Howard because although they also monetise the simulacra they take care to distinguish between high and low culture by establishing firm boundaries. Highclere maintains a paradoxical position, it aims to profit from its media connection with *Downton* but makes sure that it is only their 'real' history which is celebrated on-site, thereby using the fictional version to attract visitors, but not to actually provide a visitor experience of the filming. On their website and in social media they refer to Highclere as embodying the reality of country house life in the past, inviting viewers to 'go behind the scenes of the real

Downton Abbey', and thereby prioritising the history of the house over its fictional version because it is more objectively authentic.

Chatsworth's monetisation of their filmic connections has changed the visitor experience, meeting the expectations of film tourists who have seen *The Duchess* and want to learn about Georgiana. Similarly, they have embraced the fictional identity of Pemberley and heavily commercialised it in the gift shop and through events. *The Wolfman*, with its violent imagery, is ignored because it does not match the Chatsworth brand, and horror films are considered to be culturally lower than biopics and literary adaptations. Further research could profitably be done to understand how many horror films use heritage sites at filming locations, and what their approaches are.

The monetisation of the simulacra has to be done carefully, so that it benefits the heritage site and meets the expectations of the film tourists without detracting from the objective authenticity of the site.

Best Practices for Filming at Heritage Sites

This thesis has explored the different approaches filmmakers take in contacting an estate and engaging the site for filming. A similar approach was noted and identified in the chapter discussing business practices. This section brings together the best practices for filming at heritage sites, noting what would be beneficial for heritage site owners and managers.

Financial Impact and Business Plans

Despite the reluctance of many interviewees to discuss financial matters, which limited what could be said about the issue, it is apparent that the revenue from filming is an essential requirement for heritage sites in England today. The main cost, as seen in annual reports⁵⁴⁷ is conservation, as heritage sites are large, old properties that require constant upkeep.

⁵⁴⁷ Such as the *National Trust Annual Report 2019/20*. And the *Heritage, Annual Report 2019/20*.

The fees from filming can be considerable but difficult to gauge as, unsurprisingly, interviewees class them as trade secrets.⁵⁴⁸ The fees are substantial enough to enable the site to close to visitors during the filming and cope with the inevitable disruption to routine. However, sites are aware that it cannot be relied upon as a regular source of revenue; different types of heritage film go out of fashion, so do different eras of filming locations – the interest in Tudor stories has recently morphed into a fascination with regency stories. This is in contrast to the income from visitors, which is more reliable and consistent⁵⁴⁹ and therefore, this was stressed by my interviewees as being prioritised over filming projects. This means that a heritage site is branded to attract visitors rather than filmmakers and demonstrates the hierarchy of the roles the site plays. Firstly, it is a visitor attraction, which provides it with a reliable income and may be mandated by the grants the site receives. Secondly, there has to be consideration given to the tenants/owners of the houses, and although the National Trust does not have a policy about restricting filming in inhabited houses, there is an apparent trend toward filming occurring in uninhabited houses owned by them.

Thirdly, the site is a tangible historical space, it is a material example of the past that has survived into the present. This is the objective authenticity of the site, that it is authentically old, and this is its main selling point, rather than its purpose. Finally, the site has had a continuous role in the local community, first as an employer and as the 'big house' where the local landed gentry lived. More recently, especially during the pandemic, the sites have become spaces of escape for the community, where they can enjoy the grounds and walk their dogs in pleasant surroundings.⁵⁵⁰ All of the above are prioritised ahead of filming because they are either reliable income streams or are connected to the reputation of the site in the local community or among members of their organisation. Filming is positioned below all of these, despite the images produced potentially reaching an international audience. It is understood that the effect of filming, such as closing the site for several days, can divide visitors, especially regulars from the local

⁵⁴⁸ Hallett, "Waddesdon Interview."

⁵⁴⁹ Unless there is a global pandemic.

⁵⁵⁰ Staff, "Baddesley Clinton Interview."

community (who may feel a sense of ownership over the site) who don't like when 'their' site is out of reach.⁵⁵¹ The priorities shown in the figure below (Figure 129) also demonstrate how the site is branded, and this is explained more thoroughly below.

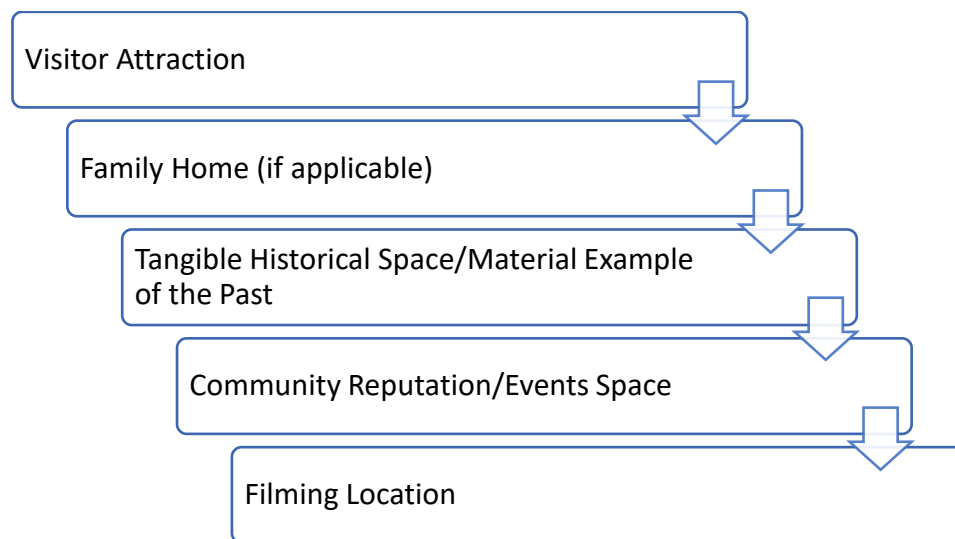


Figure 129 The priorities of Heritage Sites, from most important at the top to least at the bottom

Incorporating Filming into the Business Plan

Before the pandemic, filming was considered a low priority in the overall income of heritage sites, their inclusion in the business plans was variable, and in some cases, minimal. Although the overall process of a site becoming a filming location remains similar across sites, the business plans vary. As discussed in the business chapter, the National Trust has the most established and successful business plan, where there is a dedicated film office and website for filming inquiries. Harvey Edgington, who established the film office, has changed the perception of filming at National Trust sites, moving their reputations away from what has been described, somewhat dismissively, as an emphasis on 'frocks and bonnets'.⁵⁵² This awareness of the reputation of the site as a filming location as well as a visitor attraction is also seen at Old Royal Naval College.⁵⁵³

⁵⁵¹ Abbey, "Lacock Interview."

⁵⁵² Edgington, "National Trust Film Office Interview."

⁵⁵³ Staff, "Old Royal Naval College Interview."

The process is less straightforward for English Heritage, which directs filmmakers to their general visitors' website, and for private homes, filmmakers work with the locations agency Locations Works to establish initial contact. Sites such as Old Royal Naval College do not have a dedicated filming team but have seventy years of experience and infrastructure, and are also only responsible for one site, rather than the hundreds that the National Trust has. If heritage sites want to encourage more filming projects, the system has to be more straightforward for filmmakers and there needs to be a reassurance that the infrastructure can support large-scale projects.

The Financial Hierarchy of Filming at Heritage Sites

Heritage sites have demonstrated that there is a clear preferential hierarchy when choosing filming projects. The most effective project, for the site, is when the building is playing itself, either in a historical/heritage film (such as Chatsworth and *The Duchess* or Petworth and *Mr Turner*) or in another genre (ORNC and *Thor: The Dark World*). This is also relevant for factual programmes, such as *Antiques Roadshow* or the news and weather, where the site is named and can be easily recognised (for example, Greenway for Agatha Christie documentaries). However, it is recognised that the site representing itself on screen is a rarity. The next step down consists of three possibilities, it would involve the site standing in for a similar existing building (as seen multiple times at Eltham Palace and ORNC); a fictional building (Highclere and *Downton*, Chatsworth/Lyme Park and Pemberley, Dyrham as Sanditon House); a demolished historic building (Somerset House, Clandon and Holkham as Devonshire Place in *The Duchess*) or as a generic historic backdrop. All of these categories tend to include exterior shots or recognisable interior shots, meaning that film tourists can easily identify the site. Heritage films, Austen adaptations, other literary adaptations and biopics all come under this heading. Following this, the inclusion of the site in fantasy films (Haddon in *The Princess Bride*) or in music videos, are less beneficial. Finally, any production that heavily redresses the site and makes it unrecognisable or presents the site in a bad light (Chatsworth and *The Wolfman*) are not regarded as significant for film tourism possibilities. Nonetheless, all filming is welcomed by sites. These examples are

illustrated in Figure 130, which demonstrates the hierarchy of recognisability, as this is the central concern, along with the fees expected.

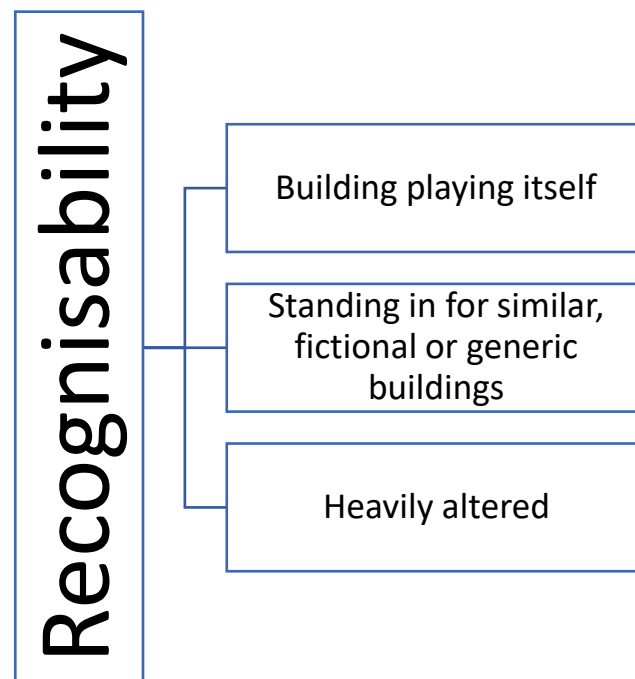


Figure 130 The hierarchy of preferred filming projects based on recognisability

The most preferable filming project, financially, is funded by an international streaming service and is either a historical or an epic fantasy series. A series means that the site should get a lot of screen time, and it is even better if they can include exterior shots where the house is recognisable. Streamers have larger budgets and usually large casts, involving longer shooting schedules which in turn produce higher fees. They are also broadcast across the world, meaning that the audience is much wider and more invested than for a feature film, and sometimes the audience demographic will be more varied. For the largest of these shows, the sites can capitalise on the connection and demonstrate that their infrastructure can cope with the demands of a large production thus encouraging further film-work.

The next level of project, financially, is a historical drama film, especially if it is a literary adaptation, and even better if it is an adaptation of a classic. These types of films tend to have reasonably large budgets and often win awards, meaning that they are widely discussed. They also film the houses as if they were in their prime, showing the house glowing in green fields or with softly lit interior rooms. This may

not be the case with fantasy epic productions, which could show the house in ruins. The historical drama, heritage film or literary adaption will reach a wide international audience (and definitely a national one) and will have well-known actors. This, coupled with the medium length of shooting schedules, means that the house does not have to be closed to the public for any length of time.

The third-level type of filming is the inclusion of the site in nationwide television shows, such as *Antiques Roadshow*, *Countryfile* and *Phil Spencer's Stately Homes*. Usually broadcast on a Sunday evening, these programmes are seen across Britain and have been linked to increases in visitor numbers.⁵⁵⁴ Although these shows have low budgets and short shooting schedules, they remind the viewers of the existence of the site and thus encourages them to travel to visit.

Finally, the least financially viable, but still useful filming projects, are the local news and weather. Often the shoot is free or the fees are low, claimed to be around £100⁵⁵⁵ and the shoot only lasts for a couple of hours, but it is then broadcast to the local area, and again interviewees stated that this has caused an increase in visitors because people are reminded of the existence of the site and resolve to visit.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵⁴ Courtney and Price, "Tredegar House Interview."

⁵⁵⁵ Gompertz, "Burghley Interview."

⁵⁵⁶ Gompertz, "Burghley Interview."

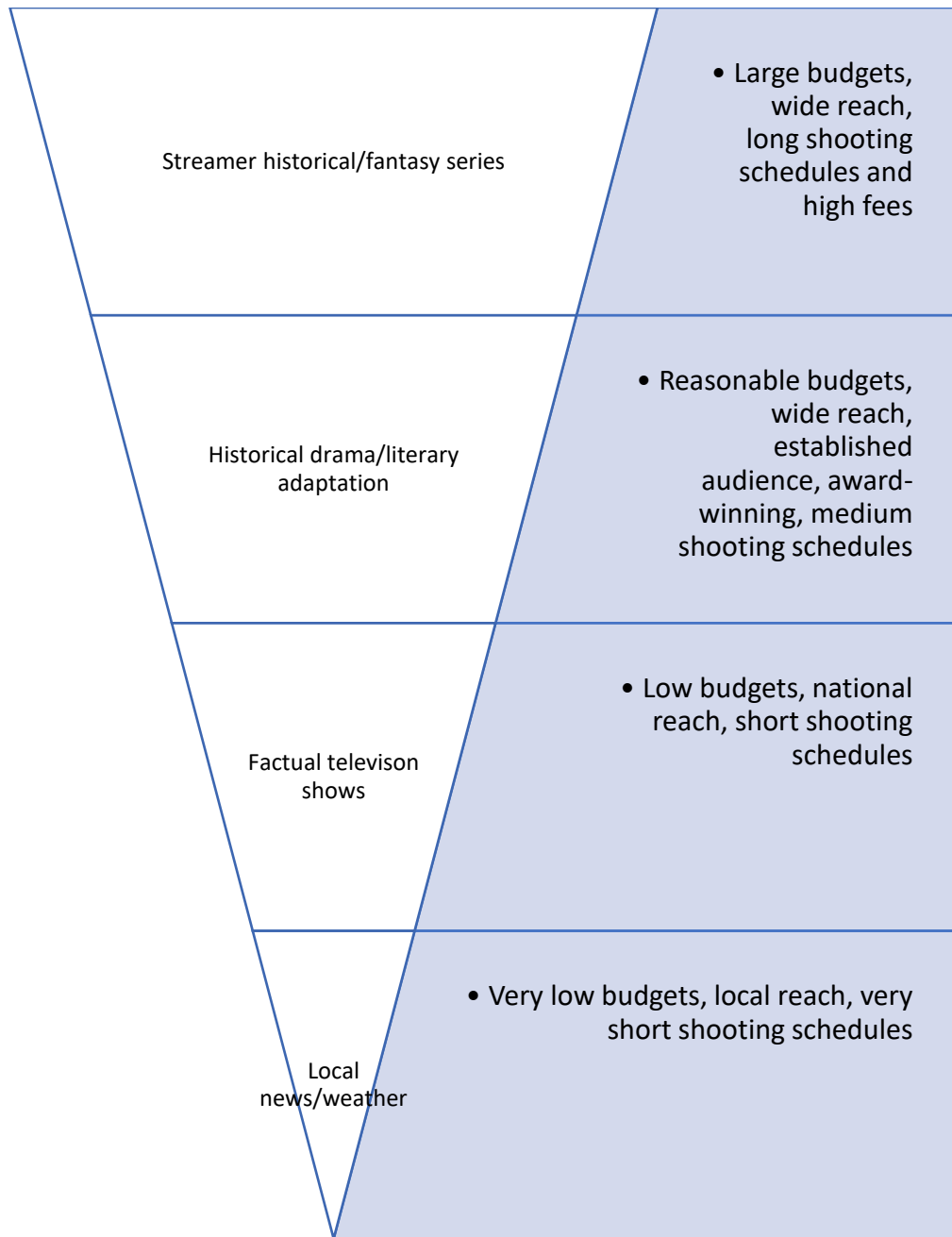


Figure 131 The Financial Hierarchy of Filming at Heritage Sites

Therefore, the most preferred production would be a film or television series about someone who lived in the house; who was preferably connected to Jane Austen or another classic author; which was financed by an international streamer; had well-known actors and would win a lot of awards. It is clear that the financial impacts of filming at heritage sites do not necessarily end with the production leaving the site.

Best Practices for the Branding of Heritage Film Locations

Heritage sites can take a variety of approaches when considering their branding when associating with film and TV productions and how it relates to high and low culture.

The Cultural Hierarchy of Films Shot at Heritage Sites

Along with the preferred financial hierarchy and recognisability of heritage sites in filming productions, there is also a cultural hierarchy, again related to the distinction between high and low culture. At the top of this hierarchy is Austen adaptations – they depict a picturesque era of English history and are timeless stories with characters familiar to many people. These adaptations enable heritage sites to connect with the considerable Austen tourism industry and often maintain that connection for years afterwards. Austen is unproblematic, an English classic with her novels and stories adapted every few years, most recently by big streamers such as Netflix and Amazon. They are so well-loved that when *Sanditon* (an ITV series based on Austen’s unfinished novel) was cancelled after the first series, fans protested, and it was renewed for a second series. *Sanditon’s* reinstatement demonstrates the current popularity of the regency era, and this is further established by the success of *Bridgerton*, a modern re-interpretation of the period, strategically set in the year that *Pride and Prejudice* was written. Again, following this are biopics about a historical figure and other literary adaptations. As the hierarchy moves down the cultural scale the budgets also shrink and the audience demographics move away from those of the expected heritage site visitor.

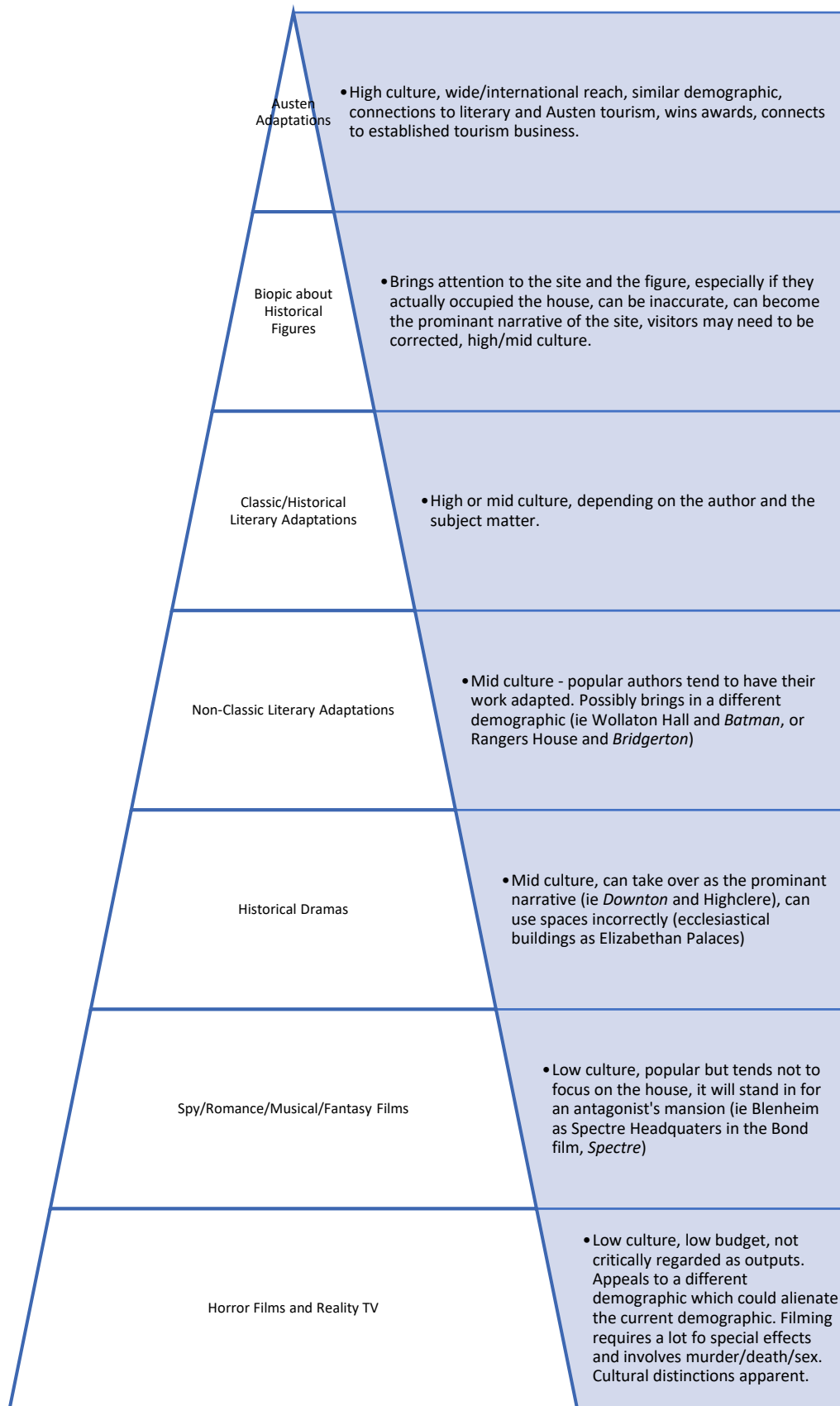


Figure 132 The Cultural Hierarchy of Filming at Heritage Sites

In between are adaptations of novels, both classic and more popular, followed by historical dramas, and middle-market films with strong action themes, with horror films and reality television at the bottom of the scale. Despite film being described as low culture, it can be demonstrated from this distinction between the types of film using heritage sites, that there can be a more nuanced reading of their cultural positioning.

Site managers seemed prepared to take on trust the content or subject matter of the films without further details being discussed. Some mentioned how they were sometimes unaware of the precise details of what was being shot on site, including the contents of the productions.⁵⁵⁷ Where content was known, almost all houses, except for Waddesdon,⁵⁵⁸ said that they would never refuse filming based on that, though all added the caveat that they would not accept pornography.

For houses with a resident family, there is often a resistance to documentaries about the family - if documentaries are booked they are about how the site functions as a place of history and as a visitor attraction, rather than about the family, maintaining the distance the family has to regular visitors. There is a conflicting desire of wanting privacy yet relying on visitor income to maintain the house, meaning that the boundaries are difficult to decide and maintain. This, however, seems to be a boundary that all houses with a resident family agree to, some even going as far as to curate the documentaries themselves (Such as Mapperton Live) but they still stay firmly in the high culture arena, as can be seen in detail in the Chatsworth documentary series. Heritage sites have expressed concern that engagement with the 'wrong sort' of filming and film tourism can be detrimental to their reputation. This work has investigated how films are considered as 'not real' or 'fake', and they are presented as the opposite of the 'real' history on display at heritage sites. If a heritage site becomes solely known as a filming location, rather than as an example of history, the very weight and authority of its existence is seen to be removed because it becomes a mere

⁵⁵⁷ Staff, "Old Royal Naval College Interview."

⁵⁵⁸ Waddesdon refuses any project which would require Nazi flags to be hung on or in the house, as the resident family are descendants of the Jewish Rothschilds.

backdrop. Sites also lose their connection to high culture and instead of being places rich in history and heritage, a tangible connection to the past, they become scenery, created to tell a fictional story and thereby lacking substance.

Further research to understand the cultural impact from a visitor's point of view, which is beyond the scope of this thesis, would be a worthwhile project.

The Heritage Sector's Reaction to Film Tourists

Sites can choose to further exploit revenue from filming by encouraging film tourism. The National Trust heavily encourages and engages with film tourism, publishing a book of filming locations,⁵⁵⁹ creating web pages,⁵⁶⁰ writing about them in the members' magazine⁵⁶¹ and even altering sites.⁵⁶² Merchandise is sold in gift shops⁵⁶³ and the National Trust creates YouTube videos about the filming.⁵⁶⁴

The Old Royal Naval College (ORNC) is also aware of the international reach of film tourism, and as well as including advertising, articles and tours on the site, they also use film stills on their social media. These are well received with hundreds of likes and interactions, demonstrating how this type of tourism is becoming increasingly valid.

The one English Heritage site interviewed for this work does not connect with film tourism, but this is not to be considered indicative of the whole organisation.

Eltham Palace has had numerous filming projects, from large-scale films to commercials and music videos, but the site publicises itself only as a site of history. The interviewee said that this was partly because Eltham has never portrayed itself on screen, it has always stood in for another location and this is suggestive of the lack of interaction with film tourism that is prevalent across the heritage sector.⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁵⁹ Edgington and Taylor, *National Trust on Screen: Discover the Locations That Made Film and TV Magic*.

⁵⁶⁰ "For film and TV lovers."

⁵⁶¹ Trust, "The National Trust on Screen."

⁵⁶² For example, at Castle Ward

⁵⁶³ Croxford, "Lyme Park Interview."

⁵⁶⁴ Trust, *Filming Operation Mincemeat at the National Trust's Fenton House*.

⁵⁶⁵ Small, "Eltham Palace Interview."

Further research could interview more English Heritage sites to provide a fuller data set, as data collection was hampered by the pandemic.

The relationship that private sites have with film tourism varies. Some private sites, such as Burghley, do not publicise their connection with film tourism. In Burghley's case, it is because there are members of the family who are connected to the royal family, therefore promoting Burghley's inclusion in *The Crown* could be seen as inappropriate.⁵⁶⁶ Burghley would rather encourage visitors who will appreciate the history, art, architecture and culture on display, engaging with the high culture elements rather than mass media. This balancing of high and low culture at heritage sites is a consideration for the financial implications of film tourism.

Film tourism is a possible steady revenue stream for heritage sites if it is handled correctly. There is a cyclical relationship emerging (see Figure 133) when filming has happened at a site and film tourism is engaged, as shown by this diagram.

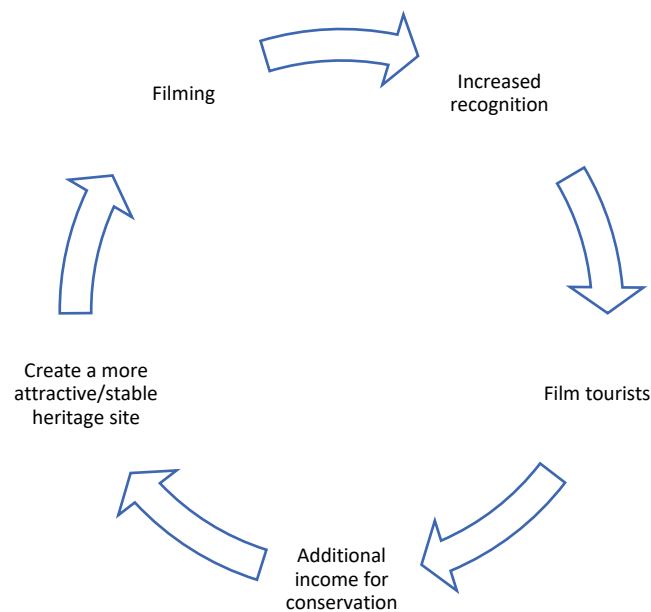


Figure 133 The Heritage-Film Tourism Cycle

This cycle demonstrates how as filming brings increased international recognition and income from tourists; more conservation work can be carried out to create a more stable site. This, in turn, leads to more filming and the cycle continues.

⁵⁶⁶ Gompertz, "Burghley Interview."

The Covid-19 Pandemic

The Impact of the Covid-19 Pandemic

One of the reasons why filming has raised in priority in recent years is due to the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic, where the usual revenue streams of visitor-based income were suddenly cut off by the national lockdowns. The lockdowns also closed down the country's borders, meaning that although the government established the film industry as an essential industry, and reinstated it during the first lockdown (23rd March 2020 – end of June 2020), production companies could not leave the country. This led to a more active relationship with the heritage industry, which due to the lack of visitors were able to offer their sites for filming more easily. This meant that some of the income lost by the lack of visitors was regained from the filming fees, and filming was able to take place on a much larger scale. The enabled sites such as ORNC to survive, and has led to a plethora of productions being released in 2021 and 2022 that highlight heritage sites in England when they would previously have been shot in Europe. The pandemic greatly affected the heritage sector, and the long-term effects are still waiting to be seen, but filming was able to help some of the sector when the initial visitor income was lost.

Preliminary Indications of Post-Covid Developments

As England moves out the pandemic and into the post-pandemic world, there is a renewed appreciation for filming at heritage sites. Some smaller private houses, such as Chavenage, have preferred filming to visitors or hosting weddings, citing that working with professionals was less damaging and needed less supervision. For houses owned by the National Trust or English Heritage the visitors and members must always be the top priority, but engagement with film tourism can encourage more people to visit, therefore, there seems to be more emphasis placed on engaging with film tourist through social media and leafletting, as well as including references to filming in the annual member's guides to all the properties.

Further research could be carried out to fully explore if the pandemic has fundamentally changed filming and film tourism practices at heritage sites or if they have started to return to pre-pandemic structures.

This thesis has explored and examined the way that filming has changed the heritage sector. It was asked why filmmaker's chose sites, why visitors visit sites, why film tourists engage with sites in the way that they do, and the influence of the hyper-heritage mages shown on screen. All these elements relate back to authenticity, authenticity to history, authenticity to the narrative and understanding the changing role these sites have played over the centuries, and how filming may be one of their new roles. The cooperation between the screen and heritage industries during the pandemic means that filming is more prevalent than ever and demonstrates how with a strong infrastructure and an openness to different ideas, sites can establish themselves more firmly locally, nationally and internationally by exploiting their connections with the media and yet remain authentic.

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Rhodes, Susan. "Petworth Interview." By Rosemary Alexander-Jones. April 2021.

Small, Chris. "Eltham Palace Interview." By Rosemary Alexander-Jones. April 2021.

Staff, Member of. "Baddesley Clinton Interview." By Rosemary Alexander-Jones. April 2021.

Staff, Member of. "Old Royal Naval College Interview." By Rosemary Alexander-
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10. Filmography

A.B.C. Murders (2018, BBC)

Anna Karenina (2012, Joe Wright)

Antiques Roadshow (1979 -, BBC)

Apocalypse Now (1979, Francis Ford Coppola)

Austenland (2013, Jerusha Hess, Jared Hess)

Avengers: Endgame (2019, Anthony Russo, Joe Russo)

Barry Lyndon (1975, Stanley Kubrick)

Belle (2013, Amma Asante)

Braveheart (1995, Mel Gibson)

Brideshead Revisited (1981, Grenada)

Brideshead Revisited (2008, Julian Jarrold)

Bridgerton (2020-, Netflix)

Cadfael (1994-1998, ITV)

Call the Midwife (2012 -, BBC)

Chatsworth (2012, BBC)

Chatsworth House (2021, Channel 4)

Christmas at Chatsworth House 2019 (2019, Channel 4)

Christmas at Chatsworth House 2020 (2020, Channel 4)

Cinderella (2021, Kay Cannon)

Close Encounters of the Third Kind (1977, Steven Spielberg)

Coronation Street (1960-present, ITV)

Countryfile (1988-, BBC)

Crocodile Dundee (1986, Peter Faiman)

Dead Man's Folly (2013, ITV)

Death Comes to Pemberley (2013, BBC)

Death on the Nile (2022, Kenneth Branagh)

Dorothy Vernon of Haddon Hall (1924, Marshall Neilan)

Downton Abbey (2010-2015, ITV)

Downton Abbey (2019, Michael Engler)

Downton Abbey: A New Era (2022, Simon Curtis)

Echoes of the Rainbow (2010, Alex Law Kai-Yui)

Emma (BBC, 2009)

Emma. (2020, Autumn de Wilde)

Emmerdale (1972-, ITV)

Enola Holmes (2020, Harry Bradbeer)

Eyes Wide Shut (1999, Stanley Kubrick)

Fantastic Beasts and Where to Find Them (2016, David Yates)

Fantastic Beasts: The Crimes of Grindelwald (2018, David Yates)

Far from the Madding Crowd (2015, Thomas Vinterberg)

Five Little Pigs (2003, ITV)

Four out of Five [Music video] Arctic Monkeys, (2018, Aaron Brown, Ben Chappell)

Four Weddings and a Funeral (1994, Mike Newell)

Frozen (2013, Jennifer Lee, Chris Buck)

Game of Thrones (2011-2019, HBO)

Garfield: A Tail of Two Kitties (2006, Tim Hill)

Gentleman Jack (2019-, BBC/HBO)

Gosford Park (2001, Robert Altman)

Gunpowder (2017, BBC)

Harry Potter and The Chamber of Secrets (2002, Chris Columbus)

Harry Potter and The Philosophers Stone (2001, Chris Columbus)

Harry Potter Film Series (2001-2011, Chris Columbus, Alfonso Cuaron, Mike Newell, David Yates)

Heartbeat (1992-2010, ITV)

Hibiscus Town (1986, Xie Jin)

Horrible Histories (2009-2014, BBC)

Jane Eyre (1996, Franco Zeffirelli)

Jane Eyre (2006, BBC)

Jane Eyre (2011, Cary Fukunaga)

Jeeves and Wooster (1990-1993, ITV)

Lady L (1965, Peter Ustinov)

Lara Croft: Tomb Raider (2001, Simon West)

Les Misérables (2012, Tom Hooper)

Lord of The Rings: Return of the King (2003, Peter Jackson)

Lord of The Rings: The Fellowship of the Ring (2001, Peter Jackson)

Lord of The Rings: The Two Towers (2002, Peter Jackson)

Lost in Austen (2008, ITV)

Love and Friendship (2016, Whit Stillman)

Marie Antoinette (2006, Sofia Coppola)

Mary Berry's Country House at Christmas (2018, BBC)

Mary Queen of Scots (2018, Josie Rourke)

Miss Potter (2006, Chris Noonan)

Monty Python and the Holy Grail (1975, Terry Gilliam, Terry Jones)

Mr Turner (2014, Mike Leigh)

Mrs Brown (1997, Jeremy Brock)

Murder on The Orient Express (2017, Kenneth Branagh)

Ned Kelly (2003, Gregor Jordan)

Notting Hill (1999, Roger Michell)

Operation Mincemeat (2021, John Madden)

Outlander (2014-, Sony Pictures)

Peaky Blinders (2013 - 2022, BBC)

Peterloo (2018, Mike Leigh)

Poldark (1970, BBC)

Poldark (2015-2019, BBC)

Pride & Prejudice (2005, Joe Wright)

Pride and Prejudice (1940, Roger Leonard)

Pride and Prejudice (1995, BBC)

Pride and Prejudice and Zombies (2016, Burr Steers)

Pursuit of Love (2021, BBC)

Rebecca (2020, Ben Wheatley)

Remains of the Day (1993, James Ivory)

Rocketman (2019, Dexter Fletcher)

Sanditon (2019-, ITV)

Secrets of Chatsworth, Secrets of the Manor House (2013, BBC)

Sense and Sensibility (1995, Ang Lee)

Shaandar (2013, Vikas Bahl)

Skyfall (2012, Sam Mendes)

Spencer (2021, Pablo Lorraine)

Star Trek (various TV shows and films, 1966-, Paramount)

Star Trek [The Original Series] (Paramount, 1966-1969)

Star Wars (1977 – present, Lucasfilm)

Star Wars: A New Hope (1977, George Lucas)

The Big Bang Theory (2007-2019, CBS)

The Black Prince (2017, Kavi Raz)

The Crown (2016-, Netflix)

The Da Vinci Code (2006, Ron Howard)

The Duchess (2008, Saul Dibb)

The Favourite (2018, Yorgos Lanthimos)

The Fortunes and Misfortunes of Moll Flanders (1996, ITV)

The Great (2019-, Hulu)

The Great British Bake Off (2010 -, BBC/Channel 4)

The Great Gatsby (2013, Baz Luhrmann)

The Greatest Showman (2017, Michael Gracey)

The Hollow Crown (2012-2016, BBC)

The Importance of Being Earnest (2002, Oliver Parker).

The King (2019, David Michod)

The King's Speech (2010, Tom Hooper)

The Libertine (2004, Laurence Dunmore)

The Madness of King George (1994, Nicholas Hytner)

The Manor Reborn (2011, BBC)

The Other Boleyn Girl (2006, Justin Chadwick)

The Personal History of David Copperfield (2019, Armando Iannucci)

The Princess Bride (1986, Rob Reiner)

The Prisoner (1967-1968, ITV)

The Private Life of Henry VIII (1933, Alexander Korda)

The Pursuit of Love (2021, BBC)

The Scandalous Lady W (2015, Sheree Folkson)

The Spy with the Cold Nose (1966, Ray Galton and Alan Simpson)

The Tudors (2007-2010, BBC)

The Wolf Man (1941, George Waggner)

The Wolfman (2010, Joe Johnston)

The Young Victoria (2009, Jean-Marc Vallee)

Thor: The Dark World (2013, Alan Taylor)

Time Team (1994-2014, Channel 4)

Tomb Raider (2018, Roar Uthaug)

Towards Zero (2007, ITV)

Upstairs Downstairs (1971-1975, ITV)

Upstairs Downstairs (2010-2012, BBC,)

Victoria (2016-2019, ITV)

Vita and Virginia (2018, Chanya Button)

Wallace & Gromit in the Curse of the Were-Rabbit (2005, Nick Park, Steve Box)

Wolf Hall (2015, BBC)

11. Appendix One
Ethics Form



**Department of Theatre, Film, Television and
Interactive Media Ethics Committee**

RESEARCH ETHICS CHECKLIST

This checklist is to be used **ONLY** for research by TFTI staff and research students where the work can be considered low-risk from an ethical perspective.

Completed Research Ethics Checklists should be submitted to the TFTI Ethics Committee for review, by email to TFTI-ethics@york.ac.uk at least TWO WEEKS before the commencement of the research work for which ethics clearance is being sought, unless an alternative deadline has been agreed, in advance, in writing with the TFTI Ethics Chair.

All research student applications MUST be first discussed, reviewed and approved by their supervisor prior to their submission. Student applications should also copy their supervisor on the email submission.

Before completing this form, please consult the TFTI Research Ethics Guidelines, available on the TFTI Ethics VLE site and Research Ethics web pages.

SECTION 1: APPLICANT AND PROJECT DETAILS

Box 1A: Applicant Details	
ALL applicants must complete this box.	
Applicant Name	Rosemary Alexander-Jones
E-mail address	Raj524@york.ac.uk
TFTI Staff or TFTI Student	Student

Box 1B: Programme Details	
STUDENT applicants must complete this box.	
Degree Programme of Study	PhD by research
Supervisor name(s) and Email address(es)	Dr Emma Pett, emma.pett@york.ac.uk

Box 1C: Research Details	
ALL applicants must complete this box.	
Research Project Title	English Historical Buildings on Film and the Effect in the Heritage Sector.
Project Start Date	October 2015
Project Duration	6/7 years

Box 1C: Research Details	
ALL applicants must complete this box.	
Collaborator details (if applicable, names, email addresses and institutions)	N/A
Funding source (if applicable)	TFTI Departmental Bursary

Box 1D: Other Ethics Reviews	YES	NO
ALL applicants must complete this box.		
Has this project been submitted to any other ethics or compliance procedures?	X	
If YES, please provide details		
Ethics approval was previously granted for an earlier round of interviews for this project in July 2017. That approval has since expired.		

Box 1E: Conflicts of Interest	YES	NO
STAFF applicants must complete this box.		
1 Are any ethical concerns / conflicts of interest likely to arise as a consequence of funding source (with respect to your own work or that of other individuals/departments within in the University e.g. perceived or actual with respect to direct payments, research funding, indirect sponsorship, board or organisational memberships, past associations, future potential benefits etc...)		X

Box 1E: Conflicts of Interest		YES	NO
STAFF applicants must complete this box.			
2	Does the Principal Investigator or any other key investigators or collaborators have any direct personal involvement in the organisation sponsoring or funding the research that may give rise to a possible conflict of interest?		x
IF YES to either question please describe these possible ethical concerns or conflicts of interest.			

Please complete Section 2: Research Summary

SECTION 2: RESEARCH SUMMARY

Box 2A: Research Outline	
ALL applicants must complete this box.	
1	<p>Aims and objectives of the research</p> <p>Please provide the aims and objectives of the research, including the questions or hypotheses that will be examined.</p> <p>My thesis analyses the lasting effecting being a filming location has on an English Historical building such as a stately home. My hypothesis is that the staff at many sites consciously alter the visitor experience in order to capitalise on fans of the films, if the films fit into their current branding. I aim to explore what this means with regards to the public understanding the history of the site when there is a blending of history and fiction. I will also be discussing how a heritage site becomes a filming location, and describing the process.</p>
2	<p>Methods of data collection and types of data</p> <p>Please outline how the data will be collected from or about human participants (e.g. face to face audio recorded interviews, anonymous online surveys hosted by Google Forms, telephone surveys etc.) Please give details of all proposed research activities and specify exactly what types of data will be collected for each activity (e.g. paper based notes, photographs, audio recordings etc.).</p>

Box 2A: Research Outline	
ALL applicants must complete this box.	
	<p>I shall conduct face-to-face interviews, either over video-chat or in person (as the situation presents) with managers, visitor experience designers and public relations departments at the stately homes. If this is not possible then I will conduct the interviews over the phone and send the info sheet and consent form via email. I will record these interviews with the interviewee's consent for transcription purposes. Video-chat will be the preferred option of conducting the interviews.</p> <p>I will also conduct a data scrape of publicly accessible websites such as TripAdvisor, Twitter, public pages on Facebook (which do not require an account or password to view), public pages on Reddit, public blogs and publicly available YouTube videos, including comments posted beneath the videos. This data will be anonymised in the final work.</p> <p>I will also be visiting the houses and taking photographs of the visitor experience, without identifiable humans present in the pictures. I will also observe visitors to the stately home to see how they respond to the visitor experience.</p>
3	<p>Research Outside of the UK</p> <p>Will you be conducting research outside of the UK? If so, specify where. Have you checked whether local ethical approval is required? Are there any different civil, legal, financial or cultural conditions that you need to be aware of? If so, please provide details of how you will ensure compliance with these conditions and/or regulations.</p> <p>See the University's guidance on conducting research outside the UK for further details: https://www.york.ac.uk/staff/research/governance/research-policies/guidanceoutsideuk/</p>
	N/A

Please complete Section 3: Participants

SECTION 3: PARTICIPANTS

Box 3A: Participant Summary	
ALL applicants must complete this box.	
1	<p>Recruitment of Participants</p> <p>How many participants will take part in the research? How will they be identified and invited to take part in the study? Please give details for all activities described in Box 2A, Question 2.</p> <p>It is sufficient to provide estimated numbers. But, please provide details for each of the research activities described in the previous box.</p> <hr/> <p>My goal is to interview as many staff at stately homes which have been used as filming locations as possible. I am currently looking to contact around 20 estate offices, with the hope of interviewing at least 6.</p> <p>I intend to send an introductory email to the estate office, or filming office of each site and enquire as to who to contact, and I will proceed from there.</p> <p>The datascape will involve searching for the site’s publicly available social media pages, also searching for specific hashtags and location tags connected to the site or to the film. I will also look at fan-pages such as The Jane Austen Societies’ social media and publicly available blogs written about a visitor’s experience.</p>
2	<p>Anonymity</p> <p>Will the data you collect from participants be treated anonymously or non-anonymously in any outputs (e.g. reports, assessments, research papers etc.)?</p> <p>If you intend to treat your data anonymously in the outputs, how will you ensure that anonymity is maintained? If you intend to treat the data non-anonymously, please explain and justify why a non-anonymous approach is appropriate in this work?</p> <p>Note that a “privacy by design” approach is required for research activities, whereby data is always treated anonymously in outputs unless there is a good reason to identify the participants.</p>

Box 3A: Participant Summary

ALL applicants must complete this box.

	<p>The data I collect will be treated anonymously, unless the interviewee expresses a desire to be associated with this work by name. In order to facilitate this I have created two types of consent forms and info forms, so that if the interviewee wishes to be named they can fill out the correct form.</p> <p>The transcriptions and recordings of the interviews will be filed under the stately home's name and the files will be encrypted and stored on the department's secure storage drive and accessible through a password-protected computer. When referring to these interviewees in the thesis they shall be anonymised with letters unrelated to their names, unless they have expressed otherwise.</p> <p>If a paper consent form is used it shall be shredded at the conclusion of the project.</p> <p>Data gathered from the datascape will be anonymised unless it is from one of the official PR accounts for the stately home or film that I am studying, as these accounts are designed as advertising for companies. Quotes from users will be paraphrased in the thesis and there will be no identifiers except for the website where they were posted.</p>			
3	<p>Payments, reimbursements and incentives</p> <p>If research participants are to receive any payments, reimbursement of expenses, or any other incentives or benefits for taking part in your research, please give details, indicating what and how much they will receive and the basis on which this was decided. Please also explain how you will ensure that you are complying with financial regulations.</p> <p>My participants will not be paid or reimbursed for their participation.</p>			
4	<p>Obtaining Consent</p> <p>Please explain how voluntary informed consent to participate will be elicited from participants. If different groups are involved in the study (e.g. parents, children, staff), please describe the sequence of consent. Please give details for all activities described in Box 2A, Question 2.</p> <p>The participants will be given an info sheet and then will be required to sign a consent form. I will only be interviewing adults in their professional capacity.</p>			
5	<table border="1"><tr><td>Information Sheets</td><td>YES</td><td>NO</td></tr></table>	Information Sheets	YES	NO
Information Sheets	YES	NO		

Box 3A: Participant Summary			
ALL applicants must complete this box.			
	Please confirm that you will provide all participants with a Participant Project Information Sheet that is based on the template provided on the TFTI Research Ethics web pages.	X	
6	Consent Forms	YES	NO
	Please confirm that you will take written Informed Consent from all participants using a form that is based on the template provided on the TFTI Research Ethics web pages. Note that it is expected that explicit written Informed Consent is taken from all participants, unless there is a good reason to use verbal consent.	X	
	If NO, please explain in what situations and contexts you will take verbal consent and how you will manage and record that verbal consent has been taken.		
7	Feedback	YES	NO
	Will you be providing the participants with any feedback on their involvement? E.g. providing them with access to research papers? Note that it is generally expected that participants will have the option to receive some form of feedback on the work.	X	
	If YES, please explain how you will provide the relevant parties with feedback and when, e.g. by giving them access to the completed report by emailing them a pdf version of accepted conference papers. If NO, please explain why not.		
	Participants will be emailed a link to the finished work after it has been ratified by the Board of Examiners.		
8	Dissemination and Distribution	YES	NO
	Do you intend to disseminate or distribute your finished work anywhere?	X	

Box 3A: Participant Summary

ALL applicants must complete this box.

If YES, please explain what you intend to do with the finished work? E.g. put on YouTube, submit to conferences etc.

The finished work will be submitted to conferences and for publication, and the data may also be used in making short films about the project which may end up online or in festivals. Anonymity will be observed, and participants will not be identified.

Please complete Section 4: Research Ethics Concerns

SECTION 4: RESEARCH ETHICS CONCERNS

Box 4A: Checklist of Research Ethics Questions		YES	NO
ALL applicants must complete this box			
1	<p>Will the project involve conducting work that would typically require NHS Ethics approval?</p> <p>That is, will you be working with any of the following as participants, if recruited specifically due to their involvement with the NHS:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Patients and Users of the NHS, - Relatives or carers of patients and users of the NHS, - NHS staff? <p>OR will you be using or accessing NHS premises or facilities as part of the work?</p>		X
2	<p>Will the project involve conducting work that would typically require Her Majesty's Prison & Probation Service Ethics approval?</p> <p>That is, will you be conducting research with staff and/or offenders in prison establishments, National Probation Service (NPS)/Community Rehabilitation Companies (CRC) regions or within Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Service (HMPPS) Headquarters?</p> <p>OR will you be conducting research on HMPPS premises?</p>		X
3	<p>Will you be working with vulnerable participants (e.g. those under 18, people with learning disabilities, people with mental impairment due to health or lifestyle, people who are terminally ill or recently bereaved etc.)?</p> <p>Note that if you are unsure whether someone you would like to work with could be considered vulnerable under the circumstances, you are required to discuss your concerns with your supervisor and/or Ethics Chair. It is generally expected that any student working with vulnerable groups would submit a Full Research Ethics Clearance form.</p>		X
4	<p>Will you be discussing sensitive or potentially upsetting or distressing topics with participants?</p>		X

Box 4A: Checklist of Research Ethics Questions		YES	NO
ALL applicants must complete this box			
5	Is it reasonably foreseeable that the work could involve causing physical or emotional distress to participants or researchers?		X
6	Is it reasonably foreseeable that the participants could disclose or discuss participation in illegal activities (e.g. drug use)?		X
7	Is it reasonably foreseeable that the participants could disclose confidential or sensitive information (e.g. financial data, sensitive organisational data)?		X
8	Will you be deliberately misleading the participants in any way?		X
9	Will you be filming or making recordings of people without their knowledge and consent (e.g. covert filming of people in non-public places)?		X
10	Will you be researching or discussing issues relating to terrorism or political extremism as part of your work?		X
11	Will you be collecting online data that has been generated by human participants (e.g. social media data) from closed, restricted forums (i.e. from closed communities or those that require approved membership to view, e.g. restricted Facebook groups)?		X
12	Will you be identifying anyone from online data that has been generated by human participants (e.g. social media data) from either open or closed forums (i.e. by including information that could make the individual identifiable, such as direct quotes or usernames)?	X	
13	Could the work involve potentially damaging property and/or the natural environment?		X
14	Will the work involve animals?		X
15	Is it reasonably foreseeable that the work could result in any anticipated university/institutional risk (e.g. adverse publicity or financial loss)?		X

If you have answered “YES” to ANY of the questions in Box 4A: Checklist of Ethical Research Ethics Questions:

This Research Ethics Checklist may be insufficient to accommodate the ethical risks of your proposed work.

Some lower-risk ethical issues can be accommodated without further scrutiny by the TFTI Ethics Committee provided that you agree to follow a process that is considered appropriate. These situations and processes are described on the TFTI Ethics VLE site.

IF there is a suitable procedure to manage this ethics issue, please complete Box 4B to provide further details of how you intend to manage the ethical issues associated with your proposed work.

Box 4B: Further Details

Complete this box if you answered “Yes” to any question in Box 4A AND there is an identified procedure to manage the ethical risks in this situation.

Provide details of the nature of the ethical risks that you identified by answering YES to questions in Box 4A and describe the process that you will follow to minimise the risks.

I will conduct a data scrape of publicly accessible websites such as TripAdvisor, Twitter, public pages on Facebook (which do not require an account or password to view), public pages on Reddit, public blogs and publicly available YouTube videos, including comments posted beneath the videos.

Data gathered from the data scrape will be anonymised unless it is from one of the official PR accounts for the stately home or film that I am studying, as these accounts are designed as advertising for companies. Quotes from users will be paraphrased in the thesis and there will be no identifiers except for the website where they were posted.

Alternatively, the associated risks of your proposed work may be sufficiently low risk that an appropriate approach can be agreed with the TFTI Ethics chair without requiring submission of the TFTI Research Ethics Clearance form. Your

supervisor/module convenor may contact the TFTI Ethics on your behalf to identify an agreed process on a case-by-case basis. If your supervisor has discussed your proposed work with the TFTI Ethics Chair via email, please complete Box 4C: Case-By-Case Agreed Process.

Box 4C: Case-By-Case Agreed Process		YES	NO
<p>Applicants must complete this box IF they have answered "YES" to any questions in Box 4A AND there is no identified procedure to manage the ethical risks of the proposed work.</p> <p>Note, that most applicants will need to submit a TFTI Research Ethics Clearance form and this case-by-case process approach is ONLY suitable for work that can be considered low risk.</p>			
1	Have you or your project supervisor discussed the proposed work and associated ethical risks with the TFTI Ethics Chair via email?		X
2	Were you or your project supervisor able to agree a process to manage the low risks associated with your proposed work?		X
<p>IF YES to BOTH questions please provide further details of the anticipated risks of the proposed work and the process that was agreed with the TFTI Ethics chair. Please include dates of the email correspondence AND the name and email address of people involved.</p>			

If the associated risks of your proposed work cannot be accommodated through an identified procedure or through a case-by-case agreed process, then you will need to submit an application to the TFTI Ethics Committee for review using the Research Ethics Clearance Form.

Please complete Section 5: Data Protection

SECTION 5: DATA PROTECTION

Box 5A: Checklist of Data Protection Questions		YES	NO
ALL applicants must complete this box			
1	<p>Will you guarantee that you will inform all people whose personal and/or special category data that you are using:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What data you will be collecting and why; • How you will be storing the data; • The legal basis under which you are storing the data; • When/if/how the data will be destroyed? <p>Please note that using a GDPR Compliant Project Information Sheet will ensure you meet these requirements.</p>	X	
2	<p>Will you guarantee that IF you use a portable device to collect electronic data you will transfer that data to your University Google Drive account or University Filestore as soon as possible after the interview AND delete it from your personal device?</p>	X	
3	<p>Will you guarantee that the data will ONLY be accessible to the project team AND that IF the project team extends beyond the University of York that you have consulted the University's IP and Legal team to ensure appropriate data protection safeguards are in place?</p>	X	
4	<p>Will you guarantee that you will ONLY use Google Forms OR Qualtrics to host online surveys that collect personal and/or special category data?</p>	X	
5	<p>Will you guarantee that you are collecting the MINIMUM amount of data necessary for the intended project?</p>	X	
6	<p>Will you guarantee that IF you are storing or accessing data from OUTSIDE the European Economic Area (EEA) you will access the data through your University of York Google Account connected to the University of York Virtual Private Network (VPN)?</p>	X	

Box 5A: Checklist of Data Protection Questions		YES	NO
ALL applicants must complete this box			
7	Will you guarantee to destroy all physical AND electronic data EITHER after your module marks have been ratified by the Board of Examiners OR 10 years after last requested access?	X	
8	IF storing electronic data for 10 years after last requested access, will you guarantee to EITHER use a University Google Drive account OR an approved data repository service to store the data?	X	
9	Have you screened your project against the Data Protection Impact Assessment (DPIA) screening questions AND if required conducted a DPIA and submitted a copy to the Data Protection Officer for review?	X	

Box 5B: Further Details
Complete this box if you answered "No" to any question in Box 5A.
Provide details of the nature of the data protection risks that you identified by answering NO to questions in Box 5A and describe the process that you will follow to minimise the risks. Please note that if you are not compliant with the agreed procedures above, this application will be referred to the University Data Protection Officer for advice.

Please complete Section 6: Applicant Agreement

SECTION 6: APPLICANT AGREEMENT

Please mark your answer to each question in Box 6A: Applicant Agreement with an “X” or a tick in the appropriate column. Please note that you **MUST NOT** begin contacting participants **UNITL** you have received a response from the Ethics committee.

If you are a research student, please also have your supervisor also complete Box 6B: Supervisor Agreement and provide their signature overleaf.

Once completed, submit the checklist for review by the TFTI Ethics committee by emailing the checklist to TFTI-ethics@york.ac.uk from the applicant’s University of York account. The Ethics Committee will accept a typed/digital signature from the applicant if the form is returned by email from the applicant’s University of York account, and similarly a typed/digital signature and responses to the supervisor questions if the supervisor is cc’d to that email.

Box 6A: Applicant Agreement		YES	NO
ALL applicants must complete this box.			
1	I will ensure that the research conducted for the above project will meet all the statements as expressed in this Research Ethics Checklist.	X	
2	I will ensure that all work related to the research will be guided by the University’s ethical rules and regulations.	X	
3	I understand that I must not progress with this project until I have received confirmation from the TFTI Ethics committee that Ethics approval through this Research Ethics Checklist is appropriate for this project.	X	
4	I have included example Project Information Sheets and Participant Informed Consent Forms, as part of this Ethics application, if appropriate.	X	

Box 6A: Applicant Agreement		YES	NO
ALL applicants must complete this box.			
5	I understand that I must adhere to the TFTI requirements for storing and using personal and special category data in compliance with the General Data Protection Regulation. Note that GDPR compliance guidance can be found on the TFTI Ethics VLE site.	X	
6	I agree to ensure that all payments made to personnel in relation to this project will comply with financial regulations.	X	
7	I agree to report any changes to the above as soon as is feasible to the Chair of the TFTI Ethics Committee.	X	
Applicant Name		Rosemary Alexander-Jones	
Signed		R EA Alexander-Jones	
Date		10 th September 2020	

Box 6B: Supervisor Agreement		YES	NO
STUDENT applicants must have their supervisor complete this box.			
1	I have reviewed this checklist in discussion with the student.	X	
2	I believe the Research Ethics Checklist is appropriate for this work and that no further Ethics approval is required.	X	
3	IF you have selected “No” in response to statement 2: I confirm that the student will submit either the Research Ethics Clearance Form for further ethical approval.		
Supervisor Name		Dr Emma Pett	
Signed		Emma Pett	
Date		11 th September 2020	

12. Appendix Two

Information Sheets and Consent Forms

Anonymous Participants

The Use of English Historical Buildings on Film and the Effect on the Heritage Sector

UNIVERSITY *of York*

Department of Theatre, Film, Television and
Interactive Media Ethics Committee

Participant Information Sheet – Anonymous Research

Project background

The University of York would like to invite you to take part in the following project:
The Use of English Historical buildings on Film and the Effect on the Heritage Sector.

Before agreeing to take part, please read this information sheet carefully and let us know if anything is unclear or you would like further information.

What is the purpose of the project?

This project is being performed by Rosemary Alexander-Jones (raj524@york.ac.uk) who is a PhD student at the University of York. This research is part of Rosemary's PhD and is supervised by Dr Emma Pett (emma.pett@york.ac.uk).

The work that is being performed for the assessments within the module is being conducted according to restrictions that have been subject to approval by the TFTI Ethics committee. The Chair of the TFTI Ethics committee can be contacted on TFTI-ethics@york.ac.uk.

For this research project, we are interested in understanding how being a film location can affect the visitor experience at heritage properties, including how it may affect the public's perceptions of the past. Your participation in this project will involve a face-to-face or video interview which will last around 30 minutes. It will be audio recorded and will involve questions concerning filming production and preproduction, the visitor experience and the public's perception and experience of the heritage site. The interview will later be transcribed, and written notes may be taken during the interview.

Please note that to comply with the approved Ethics requirements of this work, we do not intend to discuss sensitive topics with you that could be potentially upsetting

or distressing. If you have any concerns about the topics that may be covered in the research study, please raise these concerns with the researcher.

Your participation in this project is voluntary. If you wish, we will provide you with access to the final thesis once it has been ratified by the exam board, and publications which arise from this research. If you would like to receive access to these, you can indicate as such on the consent form.

Why have I been invited to take part?

You have been invited to take part because of professional your role in this heritage property.

Do I have to take part?

No, participation is optional. If you do decide to take part, you will be given a copy of this information sheet for your records and will be asked to complete a participant consent form. If you change your mind at any point during the research activity, you will be able to withdraw your participation without having to provide a reason. To withdraw your participation, you need to let Rosemary know that you wish to withdraw, and all your data will be deleted as soon as possible. The cut-off date for withdrawal is 31st October 2021.

On what basis will you process my data?

Under the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), the University has to identify a legal basis for processing personal data and, where appropriate, an additional condition for processing special category data.

Personal data is defined as data from which someone could be identified. For example, in this study we will be collecting your name, email address, job title and phone number, which are needed in order to schedule the session and provide you with access to the finished products upon the project's completion.

In line with our charter which states that we advance learning and knowledge by teaching and research, the University processes personal data for research purposes under Article 6 (1) (e) of the GDPR:

- *Processing is necessary for the performance of a task carried out in the public interest*

Special category data is personal data which the GDPR says is more sensitive, and so needs more protection. In this study, we will not be collecting any special category data.

Research activities will only be undertaken where ethical approval has been obtained, where there is a clear public interest and where appropriate safeguards have been put in place to protect data.

In line with ethical expectations and in order to comply with common law duty of confidentiality, we will seek your consent to participate where appropriate. This consent will not, however, be our legal basis for processing your data under the GDPR.

How will you use my data?

Data will be processed for the purposes outlined in this notice.

Will you share my data with 3rd parties?

No. Data will be accessible to the project team and personnel associated with the Department of Theatre, Film and Television at the University of York only.

Yes. Some select third parties will have access to your data for grading and publication purposes.

Your data may be used in Rosemary's thesis, publications or film productions which detail the research.

Anonymised data may be reused by the research team or other third parties for secondary research purposes.

How will you keep my data secure?

The University will put in place appropriate technical and organisational measures to protect your personal data and/or special category data. For the purposes of this project we will store data using secure University services provided by Google and the University Filestore.

Information will be treated confidentially and shared on a need-to-know basis only. The University is committed to the principle of data protection by design and default and will collect the minimum amount of data necessary for the project. In addition, we will anonymise or pseudonymise data wherever possible.

Will you transfer my data internationally?

Possibly. The University's cloud storage solution is provided by Google which means that data can be located at any of Google's globally spread data centres. The University has data protection complaint arrangements in place with this provider. For further information see, <https://www.york.ac.uk/it-services/google/policy/privacy/>.

Will I be identified in any outputs?

No. Your participation in this research activity will be treated anonymously and you will not be identified in any outputs.

How long will you keep my data?

Data will be retained in line with legal requirements or where there is a business need. Retention timeframes will be determined in line with the University's Records Retention Schedule.

What rights do I have in relation to my data?

Under the GDPR, you have a general right of access to your data, a right to rectification, erasure, restriction, objection or portability. You also have a right to withdrawal. Please note, not all rights apply where data is processed purely for research purposes. For further information see, <https://www.york.ac.uk/records-management/general-dataprotection-regulation/individuals-rights/>.

Questions or concerns

If you have any questions about this participant information sheet or concerns about how your data is being processed, please contact the TFTI Ethics Chair (TFTI-ethics@york.ac.uk) in the first instance. If you are still dissatisfied, please contact the University's Acting Data Protection Officer at dataprotection@york.ac.uk.

If you have any questions about the project itself, please contact Rosemary Alexander-Jones (raj524@york.ac.uk) or her supervisor Emma Pett (emma.pett@york.ac.uk).

Right to complain

If you are unhappy with the way in which the University has handled your personal data, you have a right to complain to the Information Commissioner's Office. For information on reporting a concern to the Information Commissioner's Office, see www.ico.org.uk/concerns.



**Department of Theatre, Film, Television and Interactive Media
Ethics Committee**

Participant Consent Form

Thank you for your interest in this project. This research activity will be used to understand how being a film location can affect the visitor experience at heritage properties, including how it may affect the public’s perceptions of the past.

Please read the following statements carefully and tick the appropriate box:

	YES	NO
I have read the information sheet about this project		
I agree to take part in this project		
I consent to the interview being audio recorded		
I understand my right to withdraw and/or have my data destroyed from this project by the 31 st October 2021.		
I understand that my participation in this project will be treated anonymously		
I am over the age of 18		

Participant Name

Researcher Name

Rosemary Alexander-Jones

Participant Signature

Researcher Signature

Date

__/__/__

R EA Alexander-Jones

Date

__/__/__

If you wish to be informed about the outcomes from this project, please provide your email address:

Non-anonymous Participants

The Use of English Historical Buildings on Film and the Effect on the Heritage Sector

UNIVERSITY *of York*

Department of Theatre, Film, Television and
Interactive Media Ethics Committee

Participant Information Sheet – Non-Anonymous Interviews

Project background

The University of York would like to invite you to take part in the following project:
The Use of English Historical buildings on Film and the Effect on the Heritage Sector.

Before agreeing to take part, please read this information sheet carefully and let us
know if anything is unclear or you would like further information.

What is the purpose of the project?

This project is being performed by Rosemary Alexander-Jones (raj524@york.ac.uk)
who is a PhD student at the University of York. This research is part of Rosemary's
PhD and is supervised by Dr Emma Pett (emma.pett@york.ac.uk).

The work that is being performed for the assessments within the module is being
conducted according to restrictions that have been subject to approval by the TFTI
Ethics committee. The Chair of the TFTI Ethics committee can be contacted on TFTI-ethics@york.ac.uk.

For this research project, we are interested in understanding how being a film
location can affect the visitor experience at heritage properties, including how it may
affect the public's perceptions of the past. Your participation in this project will
involve a face-to-face or video interview which will last around 30 minutes. It will be
audio recorded and will involve questions concerning filming production and
preproduction, the visitor experience and the public's perception and experience of
the heritage site. The interview will later be transcribed, and written notes may be
taken during the interview.

Please note that to comply with the approved Ethics requirements of this work, we
do not intend to discuss sensitive topics with you that could be potentially upsetting
or distressing. If you have any concerns about the topics that may be covered in the
research study, please raise these concerns with the researcher.

Your participation in this project is voluntary. If you wish, we will provide you with
access to the final thesis once it has been ratified by the exam board, and

publications/productions which arise from this research. If you would like to receive access to these, you can indicate as such on the consent form.

Why have I been invited to take part?

You have been invited to take part because of your professional role in this heritage property.

Do I have to take part?

No, participation is optional. If you do decide to take part, you will be given a copy of this information sheet for your records and will be asked to complete a participant consent form. If you change your mind at any point during the research activity, you will be able to withdraw your participation without having to provide a reason. To withdraw your participation, you need to let Rosemary know that you wish to withdraw, and all your data will be deleted as soon as possible. The cut-off date for withdrawal is 31st October 2021.

On what basis will you process my data?

Under the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), the University has to identify a legal basis for processing personal data and, where appropriate, an additional condition for processing special category data.

Personal data is defined as data from which someone could be identified. For example, in this study we will be collecting your name, email address, job title and phone number, which are needed in order to schedule the session and provide you with access to the finished products upon the project's completion.

In line with our charter which states that we advance learning and knowledge by teaching and research, the University processes personal data for research purposes under Article 6 (1) (e) of the GDPR:

- *Processing is necessary for the performance of a task carried out in the public interest*

Special category data is personal data which the GDPR says is more sensitive, and so needs more protection. In this study, we will not be collecting any special category data.

Research activities will only be undertaken where ethical approval has been obtained, where there is a clear public interest and where appropriate safeguards have been put in place to protect data.

In line with ethical expectations and in order to comply with common law duty of confidentiality, we will seek your consent to participate where appropriate. This consent will not, however, be our legal basis for processing your data under the GDPR.

How will you use my data?

Data will be processed for the purposes outlined in this notice.

Will you share my data with 3rd parties?

No. Data will be accessible to the project team and personnel associated with the Department of Theatre, Film and Television at the University of York only.

Your data may be used in Rosemary's thesis, publications or film productions which detail the research.

Anonymised data may be reused by the research team or other third parties for secondary research purposes.

How will you keep my data secure?

The University will put in place appropriate technical and organisational measures to protect your personal data and/or special category data. For the purposes of this project we will store data using secure University services provided by Google and the University Filestore.

Information will be treated confidentially and shared on a need-to-know basis only. The University is committed to the principle of data protection by design and default and will collect the minimum amount of data necessary for the project. In addition, we will anonymise or pseudonymise data wherever possible.

Will you transfer my data internationally?

Possibly. The University's cloud storage solution is provided by Google which means that data can be located at any of Google's globally spread data centres. The University has data protection complaint arrangements in place with this provider. For further information see, <https://www.york.ac.uk/it-services/google/policy/privacy/>.

Will I be identified in any outputs?

Yes. Your participation in this interview is non-anonymous and therefore you will be identified in the following outputs: the final thesis, production and publications which detail this research.

How long will you keep my data?

Data will be retained in line with legal requirements or where there is a business need. Retention timeframes will be determined in line with the University's Records Retention Schedule.

What rights do I have in relation to my data?

Under the GDPR, you have a general right of access to your data, a right to rectification, erasure, restriction, objection or portability. You also have a right to withdrawal. Please note, not all rights apply where data is processed purely for research purposes. For further information see, <https://www.york.ac.uk/records-management/generaldataprotectionregulation/individualsrights/>.

Questions or concerns

If you have any questions about this participant information sheet or concerns about how your data is being processed, please contact the TFTI Ethics Chair (TFTI-ethics@york.ac.uk) in the first instance. If you are still dissatisfied, please contact the University's Acting Data Protection Officer at dataprotection@york.ac.uk.

If you have any questions about the project itself, please contact Rosemary Alexander-Jones (raj524@york.ac.uk) or her supervisor Emma Pett (emma.pett@york.ac.uk).

Right to complain

If you are unhappy with the way in which the University has handled your personal data, you have a right to complain to the Information Commissioner's Office. For information on reporting a concern to the Information Commissioner's Office, see www.ico.org.uk/concerns.

**Department of Theatre, Film, Television and
Interactive Media Ethics Committee**

Participant Consent Form – Non-Anonymous Interviews

Thank you for your interest in this project. This project aims to understand how being a film location can affect the visitor experience at heritage properties, including how it may affect the public’s perceptions of the past.

Please read the following statements carefully and tick the appropriate box:

	YES	NO
I have read the information sheet about this project		
I agree to take part in this project		
I consent to being interviewed for this project		
I consent to the interview being audio recorded		
I understand my right to withdraw and/or have my data destroyed from this project by the 31 st October 2021		
I consent to be identified by name in the outputs from this project		
I am over the age of 18		

Participant Name

Researcher Name

Rosemary Alexander-Jones

Participant Signature

Researcher Signature

Date

__/__/__

R EA Alexander-Jones

Date

__/__/__

If you wish to be informed about the outcomes from this project, please provide your email address:

13. Appendix Three Consent forms

The Use of Historical Buildings on Film and the Effect on the Heritage Sector



**Department of Theatre, Film, Television and Interactive Media
Ethics Committee**

Participant Consent Form

Thank you for your interest in this project. This research activity will be used to understand how being a film location can affect the visitor experience at heritage properties, including how it may affect the public's perceptions of the past.

Please read the following statements carefully and tick the appropriate box:

	YES	NO
I have read the information sheet about this project	Yes	
I agree to take part in this project	Yes	
I consent to the interview being audio recorded	Yes	
I understand my right to withdraw and/or have my data destroyed from this project by the 31 st October 2021.	Yes	
I understand that my participation in this project will be treated anonymously	Yes	
I am over the age of 18	Yes	

Participant Name:

Ellie Fisher

Participant Signature:

E. Fisher

Date:

07/04/2021

Researcher Name:

Rosemary Alexander-Jones

Researcher Signature:



Date:

07 / 04 / 22

If you wish to be informed about the outcomes from this project, please provide your email address:

The Use of Historical Buildings on Film and the Effect on the Heritage Sector

UNIVERSITY *of York*

Department of Theatre, Film, Television and
Interactive Media Ethics Committee

Participant Consent Form – Non-Anonymous Interviews

Thank you for your interest in this project. This project aims to understand how being a film location can affect the visitor experience at heritage properties, including how it may affect the public's perceptions of the past.

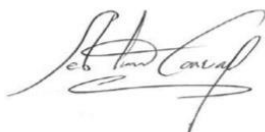
Please read the following statements carefully and tick the appropriate box:

	YES	NO
I have read the information sheet about this project	X	
I agree to take part in this project	X	
I consent to being interviewed for this project	X	
I consent to the interview being audio recorded	X	
I understand my right to withdraw and/or have my data destroyed from this project by the 31 st October 2021	X	
I consent to be identified by name in the outputs from this project	X	
I am over the age of 18	X	

Participant Name:

Sebastian Conway

Participant Signature:



Researcher Name:

Rosemary Alexander-Jones

Researcher Signature:



Date:

16 / 03 / 21

Date:

16/03/2021

If you wish to be informed about the outcomes from this project, please provide your email address:

sebastianconway@nationaltrust.org.uk

The Use of Historical Buildings on Film and the Effect on the Heritage Sector

UNIVERSITY *of York*

Department of Theatre, Film, Television and
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I am over the age of 18	✓	

Participant Name:

David Compton

Researcher Name:

Rosemary Alexander-Jones

Participant Signature:

David Compton

Researcher Signature:

Rosemary Alexander-Jones

Date:

18/3/2021

Date:

18/03/2021

If you wish to be informed about the outcomes from this project, please provide your email address:

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Participant Name:

Sophie Allanby

Participant Signature:

SAllanby

Date:

17/03/2021

Researcher Name:

Rosemary Alexander-Jones

Researcher Signature:



Date:

17__/_03__/_21__

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I am over the age of 18	X	

Participant Name:

Caroline Lowsley-Williams

Participant Signature:

Caroline Lowsley-Williams

Date:

25/03/2021

Researcher Name:

Rosemary Alexander-Jones

Researcher Signature:



Date:

25__/_03__/_21__

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I am over the age of 18	X	

Participant Name:

Chris Small

Participant Signature:

C Small

Date:

19/03/2021

Researcher Name:

Rosemary Alexander-Jones

Researcher Signature:



Date:

19 / 03 / 21

If you wish to be informed about the outcomes from this project, please provide your email address:

Greenway House

“Brilliant – here is my consent form. Feel free to use my typed name as the digital signature” Email dated 24th March 2021.

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I understand my right to withdraw and/or have my data destroyed from this project by the 31 st October 2021	✓	
I consent to be identified by name in the outputs from this project	✓	
I am over the age of 18	✓	

Participant Name:

Lauren Hutchinson

Participant Signature:

Date:

24/03/2021

Researcher Name:

Rosemary Alexander-Jones

Researcher Signature:

_____ 

Date:

24 / 03 / 21

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The Use of Historical Buildings on Film and the Effect on the Heritage Sector

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I consent to the interview being audio recorded	X	
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I consent to be identified by name in the outputs from this project	X	
I am over the age of 18	X	

Participant Name:

Margie Burnet

Participant Signature:

Margie Burnet

Date:

24/03/21

Researcher Name:

Rosemary Alexander-Jones

Researcher Signature:

[Signature]

Date:

24 /03/ 21

If you wish to be informed about the outcomes from this project, please provide your email address:

[Redacted Email Address]

The Use of Historical Buildings on Film and the Effect on the Heritage Sector



**Department of Theatre, Film, Television and Interactive Media
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	YES	NO
I have read the information sheet about this project	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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I consent to the interview being audio recorded	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand my right to withdraw and/or have my data destroyed from this project by the 31 st October 2021.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that my participation in this project will be treated anonymously	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am over the age of 18	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Participant Name:

LADY CARNARVON

Researcher Name:

Rosemary Alexander-Jones

Participant Signature:



Researcher Signature:



Date:

8/14/21

Date:

08/14/21

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The Use of Historical Buildings on Film and the Effect on the Heritage Sector



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I am over the age of 18	X	

Participant Name:

Emma Hitchings

Participant Signature:

Emma Hitchings

Date:

13/03/2021

Researcher Name:

Rosemary Alexander-Jones

Researcher Signature:



Date:

13 / 03 / 21

If you wish to be informed about the outcomes from this project, please provide your email address:

emma.hitchings@nationaltrust.org.uk

Lyme Park

“Please find attached the signed participants form.” Email dated 27th March 2021

The Use of Historical Buildings on Film and the Effect on the Heritage Sector

UNIVERSITY *of York*

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I am over the age of 18	Y	

Participant Name:

 K Croxford

Researcher Name:

Rosemary Alexander-Jones

Participant Signature:

Researcher Signature:



Date:

 27 / 03 / 21

Date:

 27 / 03 / 21

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Participant Name:

Paula Andrews

Participant Signature:



Date:

12/4/2021

Researcher Name:

Rosemary Alexander-Jones

Researcher Signature:



Date:

12/04/21

If you wish to be informed about the outcomes from this project, please provide your email address:



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I consent to the interview being audio recorded	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand my right to withdraw and/or have my data destroyed from this project by the 31 st October 2021	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I consent to be identified by name in the outputs from this project	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am over the age of 18	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Participant Name:

KYM GRIBBLE

Researcher Name:

Rosemary Alexander-Jones

Participant Signature:



Researcher Signature:



Date:

23/3/2021

Date:

23/03/21

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Participant Name:

Harvey Edgington

Researcher Name:

Rosemary Alexander-Jones

Participant Signature:

Harvey Edgington

Researcher Signature:



Date:

15/3/21

Date:

15/03/21

If you wish to be informed about the outcomes from this project, please provide your email address:

Old Royal Naval College

The Use of Historical Buildings on Film and the Effect on the Heritage Sector



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I understand that my participation in this project will be treated anonymously	✓	
I am over the age of 18	✓	

Participant Name:

_____ Sasha Greig _____

Participant Signature:



Date:

30/03/2021

Researcher Name:

_____ Rosemary Alexander-Jones _____

Researcher Signature:



Date:

____/____/____

If you wish to be informed about the outcomes from this project, please provide your email address:

Petworth House

“as promised please find attached my completed consent form.” Emailed dated 29th March 2021.

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UNIVERSITY *of York*

Department of Theatre, Film, Television and
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Participant Name:

Susan Rhodes

Participant Signature:

Date:

23/03/2021

Researcher Name:

Rosemary Alexander-Jones

Researcher Signature:

_____ 

Date:

23 / 03 / 21

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Participant Name:
Emily MacCormack

Participant Signature:


-

Date:

 18 / 03 / 2021

Researcher Name:

Rosemary Alexander-Jones

Researcher Signature:



Date:

 18 / 03 / 21

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I am over the age of 18	X	

Participant Name:

Jessica Courtney

Participant Signature:

Jessica Courtney

Date:

28/04/2021

Researcher Name:

Rosemary Alexander-Jones

Researcher Signature:



Date:

28 / 04 / 21

If you wish to be informed about the outcomes from this project, please provide your email address:

Tredegar House continued

The Use of Historical Buildings on Film and the Effect on the Heritage Sector

UNIVERSITY *of York*

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I am over the age of 18	x	

Participant Name:

Emily Price

Participant Signature:

Emily Price

Date:

28 / 04 / 2021

Researcher Name:

Rosemary Alexander-Jones


Researcher Signature:



Date:

28 / 04 / 21

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The Use of Historical Buildings on Film and the Effect on the Heritage Sector

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I am over the age of 18	✓	

Participant Name:

Kim Hallett _____

Participant Signature:

KIM HALLETT

Date:

15 __ / _03__ / _2021__

Researcher Name:

Rosemary Alexander-Jones

Researcher Signature:



Date:

_15__ / _03__ / __21__

If you wish to be informed about the outcomes from this project, please provide your email address:

14. Appendix Four Interview Questions

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Interview Questions for Baddesley Clinton

- What is your role at the property?
- Has there been much filming at the site?
- Do you receive many enquiries about filming?
- Do people visit the house due to having seen it on film/TV?
- Can you tell me about the film visitors? What do they want to see? How do they behave?
- Do you think film visitors have different expectations to your normal visitors?
- Have you had any noticeable rises in visitor numbers after films were released/broadcast?
- Has the film brought in more international visitors, or visitors from different demographics?
- Has filming altered how the site is perceived?
- Have there been any conservation issues from filming or film visitors?
- Are all filming locations available to visitors?
- Do you have any reference to filming in the visitor experience?
- If you have a gift shop, does it contain items connected to filming?
- What has been the effect of Covid on the site?

Interview Questions for Basildon Park

- Who decides what spaces to use?
- Have you noticed people visiting because of the films?
- Was there an increase in visitor numbers following the film/TV's release?
- Does it bring in new types of visitors - different demographics?
- Do they behave the same way as your 'normal' heritage visitor?
- The set built inside the octogen room – do people look for it?
- Do you have reference to the films as part of the visitor experience – info boards, room guides are briefed, posters, walks?
- Exhibitions or events?
- Is it still an authentic experience for the visitor?
- Do you think it gives context to visitors?
- Has there been any conservation issues?
- Were you surprised by *Pride and Prejudice and Zombies*?
- Do you have items about the productions in the gift shop?

Interview Questions for Burghley House

- What is your role at Burghley?
- What is the process of filming happening at Burghley? Who gets in touch with who?
- Do you get many enquiries?
- Who chooses what spaces are used? Are any used again and again?
- Conservation issues?
- When filming: furniture is moved? Is the house closed? Is there an alternate route? Do you have staff watching the film crew?
- What is the most well-known production shot at the site?
- Do you have visitors who come because they've seen your site on screen?
- Have there been any noticeable rises in visitor numbers?
- Different demographics?
- Marketing opportunities?
- Pride and Prejudice?
- What happens to the money made from filming?
- Are all filming locations visible to the public?
- Creative geography and just using rooms
- Does historical accuracy and time period matter?
- Anything you won't film? Or have turned down?
- Anything in the visitor experience that relates to filming?
- Do you have items in the gift shop?
- Do you have exhibitions or events?
- Why do you think people want to film at Burghley?
- Use of Stamford Village?
- What has been the effect of Covid on the house?
- Authenticity in the visitor experience - is film tourism still authentic?
- Taking image further? Extending reach? Altered how perceived?

Interview Questions for Castle Howard

- Who decides what spaces to use?
- Have you noticed people visiting because of the films?
- Was there an increase in visitor numbers following the film/TV's release?
- Does it bring in new types of visitors - different demographics?
- Do they behave the same way as your 'normal' heritage visitor?
- Do you think it gives context to visitors?
- Which production brings in the most visitors/ has the most connection?
- Tell me about the exhibition and the leaflet you've produced
- Tell me about the spaces that were restored for the Brideshead productions – the stud walls
- With the restoration – is it still an authentic experience for the visitor?
- Have there been any conservation issues?
- Are you expecting visitors from Bridgerton?
- Do you have items in the gift shop relating to filming?

Interview Questions for Chavenage House

- What is your role at the site?
- What is the process of filming happening at Chavenage? Who gets in touch with who?
- You've been a film location for a long time, how did that start?
- Does the Historic Houses Association help at all?
- Do you get many enquiries?
- Who chooses what spaces are used? Are any used again and again?
- Is the house recognisable on film?
- Conservation issues?
- When filming: furniture is moved? Is the house closed? Is there an alternate route? Do you have staff watching the film crew?
- What is the most well-known production shot at the site?
- Do you have visitors who come because they've seen your site on screen?
- Have there been any noticeable rises in visitor numbers?
- What happens to the money made from filming?
- Are all filming locations visible to the public?
- Creative geography and just using rooms
- Does historical accuracy and time period matter?
- Anything you won't film? Or have turned down?
- Anything in the visitor experience that relates to filming?
- Do you have items in the gift shop?
- Do you have exhibitions or events?
- Why do you think people want to film at Chavenage?

Interview Questions for Dyrham Park

- What is your role?
- Do you look after other properties in the area? Are any of them used for filming?
- What is the process of filming happening at Dyrham? Who gets in touch with who?
- Do you get many enquiries?
- Who chooses what spaces are used?
- When filming: furniture is moved? Is the house closed? Is there an alternate route? Do you have staff watching the film crew?
- Conservation issues?
- What is the most well-known production shot at the site?
- Do you have visitors who come because they've seen your site on screen?
- Have there been any noticeable rises in visitor numbers?
- Different demographics?
- Marketing opportunities?
- What happens to the money made from filming?
- What are the conservation issues?
- Are all filming locations visible to the public?
- Creative geography and just using rooms
- Does historical accuracy and time period matter?
- Anything you won't film? Or have turned down?
- Anything in the visitor experience that relates to filming?
- Do you have items in the gift shop?
- Do you have exhibitions or events?
- Why do you think people want to film in NT houses (rather than constructed sets?)
- What has been the effect of Covid on the house?
- Authenticity in the visitor experience - is film tourism still authentic?
- Taking image further? Extending reach? Altered how perceived?

Interview Questions for Eltham Palace

- What is your role - what do you do?
- What is the process of filming happening at Eltham Palace? Who gets in touch with who?
- How much is centrally organised - or do you organise it at the site?
- Do you get many enquiries?
- Who chooses what spaces are used?
- When filming: furniture is moved? Is the house closed? Is there an alternate route?
Do you have staff watching the film crew?
- What is the most well-known production shot at the site?
- Do you have visitors who come because they've seen your site on screen?
- Marketing opportunities?
- What happens to the money made from filming? Big pot or for your site?
- What are the conservation issues?
- Does being in London help?
- Does historical accuracy and time period matter?
- Fees?
- Anything you won't film? Or have turned down?
- Anything in the visitor experience that relates to filming?
- Do you have items in the gift shop?
- Do you have exhibitions or events?
- Creative geography
- Covid and filming

Interview Questions for Greenway House

- What is your role at the site?
- Have you had much filming at Greenway?
- What is the process of filming at Greenway?
- Do you have an infrastructure in place?
- What else do you have filmed there? Or other filming inquiries?
- Do you close the site if there are film crews?
- Did you keep the original furniture? (if it was shot inside?)
- Were there conservation issues?
- Why do you think people wanted to film *Dead Man's Folly* at Greenway?
- What was it like to have *Dead Man's Folly* shot where it was set?
- Did visitor numbers increase after filming?
- Do you have any references to the film in the visitor experience?
- Is there more of an emphasis on the historical rather than the filmed in the visitor experience?
- Do you market the connection with the TV programme, or is it just part of the Agatha Christie draw?
- Are all the filming locations visible to the public?
- Do visitors really want to see the boat house? What do you have in the boat house?
- Do visitors who see the film have different expectations than visitors who haven't? Do they want to see the places where it was filmed, rather than just experience the house?
- Do you have any items in the gift shop?
- Would you consent to having something filmed there that wasn't Agatha Christie?
- Effect of Covid and reopening?
- Have you noticed different behaviour from film fans as opposed to Agatha fans?

- Tell me about the member engagement campaign about Agatha Christie?
- Does your social media ever incorporate elements from the films/TV programmes?
- You mentioned the International Agatha Christie festival – are screenings part of it?
- Would you do screenings in the grounds? Or film tours?
- For documentaries – do they ever change anything before they film? Or is it kept as is?
- Is the house too recognisable as Agatha Christie's house to be used for other things?
- Is it also the London issue?

Interview Questions for Haddon Hall

- What is your role at Haddon?
- Have you had a lot of filming at Haddon?
- Do you get a lot of enquiries?
- How many productions film a year?
- How does the process of filming happen? Do you have an agency or do you get in touch with people, or them with you?
- Does more filming happen inside or outside?
- Who chooses what spaces to film in?
- Do you close the house when filming happens?
- Any conservation issues from filming?
- Did visitor number's increase after filming?
- Different demographics?
- Do you have any references to the film in the visitor experience?
- What happens to the money made from filming?
- Are all filming locations visible to the public?
- Do visitors who see the film have different expectations than visitors who haven't? Do they want to see the places where it was filmed, rather than just experience the house?
- Creative geography and just using rooms
- Does historical accuracy and time period matter?
- Anything you won't film? Or have turned down?
- Do you have items in the gift shop?
- Do you have exhibitions or events?
- What has been the effect of Covid on the house?
- Authenticity in the visitor experience - is film tourism still authentic?
- Taking the image of Haddon further? Extending reach? Altered how perceived?
- Why do you think people want to film at Haddon?

Interview Questions for Highclere Castle

- What is your role at the property?
- Has there been much filming at the site? How did filming first become an option?
- Do you receive many enquiries about filming?
- What was the process of becoming *Downton Abbey* - who got in touch with who?
- Who chooses what spaces to film in - do you direct people to certain rooms?
- Have the fees from filming helped with any specific projects at Highclere?
- Have you seen a rise in visitor numbers following the airing of *Downton*?
- Can you tell me about the film visitors? What do they want to see? How do they behave? Do they try to find the servant's spaces?
- Do you think Downton-inspired-visitors have different expectations to your normal visitors?
- Has the film brought in more international visitors, or visitors from different demographics?
- Has filming altered how the site is perceived?
- Have there been any conservation issues from filming or film-visitors?
- Are all filming locations available to visitors?
- Do you have any reference to filming in the visitor experience?
- If you have a gift shop, does it contain items connected to filming?
- Have you ever had any exhibitions or events related to filming?
- Do you think that being recognisable as *Downton* is a good thing or a bad thing?
- Does historical accuracy and time period matter when there is filming going on?
- Anything you won't film? Or have turned down?
- Why do you think people want to film at Highclere?
- What has been the effect of Covid at Highclere?

Interview Questions for Lacock Abbey

- Tell me about the process of being a film location - do you get word from the film office and then coordinate?
- How many productions a year?
- Who decides what spaces to use?
- Is there an increase in visitor numbers following the film/TV's release?
Which ones do you get the most of? Hp? Downton? Cranford?
- Do you think people see it on film and want to visit? / Why do you think they want to visit?
- Do they engage with the site differently to your 'normal' heritage visitors?
- Does it bring in new types of visitors - different demographics?
- Are there posters, walks etc in the site about the film connections?
- Have you done exhibitions about your films?
- Are there items in the gift shop(s) to do with the films?
- Did you do any special events to do with the films?
- Is it still an authentic experience for the visitor?
- Do you think that seeing these spaces on screen gives the audience a type of ownership?
- Why do you think filmmakers want to use Lacock?
- Downton village - a mixture of Bampton and Lacock - does it matter?
- Has being a filming location altered how Lacock is perceived by the public?

Interview Questions for Lyme Park

- What is your role at the site?
- Have you had a lot of filming at Lyme?
- Do you get a lot of enquiries?
- How does the process of filming happen?
- Does much filming happen inside or outside?
- Do you close the house when filming happens?
- Any conservation issues from filming?
- Have other P&P productions wanted to use it as Pemberley?
- Can you tell me about the giant Colin Firth statue from 2014
- Did visitor number's increase after filming?
- Different demographics?
- Do you have any references to the film in the visitor experience?
- What happens to the money made from filming?
- Are all filming locations visible to the public?
- Do visitors who see the film have different expectations than visitors who haven't? Do they want to see the places where it was filmed, rather than just experience the house?
- Is there a blurring of Lyme and Pemberley?
- Creative geography and just using rooms
- Does historical accuracy and time period matter?
- Anything you won't film? Or have turned down?
- Do you have items in the gift shop?
- Do you have exhibitions or events?
- What has been the effect of Covid on the house?
- Authenticity in the visitor experience - is film tourism still authentic?
- Taking the image of Montacute further? Extending reach? Altered how perceived?
- Why do you think people want to film at Lyme?

Interview Questions for Mapperton House

- What is your role at Mapperton?
- Has there been much filming at the site?
- Do you receive many enquiries about filming?
- What has been the biggest filming project at the house?
- What is the process of filming? Do you close the whole site?
- Do people visit the house due to having seen it on film/TV?
- Was the site changed at all for any of the films?
- Have you had any noticeable rises in visitor numbers after films were released/broadcast?
- Has the film brought in more international visitors, or visitors from different demographics?
- Do you think film visitors have different expectations to your normal visitors?
- Have there been any conservation issues from filming or film visitors?
- Are all filming locations available to visitors?
- Do you have any reference to filming in the visitor experience?
- If you have a gift shop, does it contain items connected to filming?
- Have you had any exhibitions or events to do with filming?
- Why do you think people want to film at Mapperton?
- What has been the effect of Covid on the site?

Interview Questions for Montacute House

- What is your role at Montacute?
- What is the process of filming happening at Montacute? Who gets in touch with who?
- Do you get many enquiries?
- Who chooses what spaces are used? Are any used again and again?
- Conservation issues?
- When filming: furniture is moved? Is the house closed? Is there an alternate route? Do you have staff watching the film crew?
- What is the most well-known production shot at the site?
- Were-rabbit and Tottington Hall.
- Do you have visitors who come because they've seen your site on screen?
- Have there been any noticeable rises in visitor numbers?
- Different demographics?
- Marketing opportunities?
- What happens to the money made from filming?
- Are all filming locations visible to the public?
- Creative geography and just using rooms
- Does historical accuracy and time period matter?
- Anything you won't film? Or have turned down?
- Anything in the visitor experience that relates to filming?
- Do you have items in the gift shop?
- Do you have exhibitions or events?
- Why do you think people want to film at Montacute?
- What has been the effect of Covid on the house?
- Authenticity in the visitor experience - is film tourism still authentic?
- Taking the image of Montacute further? Extending reach? Altered how perceived?

Interview Questions for the National Trust Film Office

- What is your role - what do you do?
- How long has NT had a film office? (2003)
- How many enquiries do you get a month?
- How many productions are filmed a year?
- When did the NT start to take filming opportunities as a feasible income revenue?
- Fees?
- What happens to the money made from filming? Does it go back to the individual sites?
- What sites are filmed at the most?
- Do you have a site you recommend a lot?
- Is it all London-adjacent?
- One that isn't used enough?
- Does historical accuracy and time period matter?
- Do filmmakers ask for specific historic periods/houses, or do you guide them?
- What are the conservation issues?
- What sort of restrictions do you impose?
- How far does your role go - do you help with logistics and organisation at the sites?
- Are NDAs used?
- Are you aware of visitor numbers increasing - is this part of your consideration?
- Why do you think people want to film in NT houses (rather than constructed sets?)
- Why do you think people want to visit these places?
- What about the disruption to visitors during filming?
- Marketing opportunities afterwards?
- Effect of Covid?
- Industry after covid?

Interview Questions for Old Royal Naval College (ORNC)

- What is your role at the site?
- How did filming begin?
- What is the process of filming happening at ORNC?
- Do you have a dedicated film office?
- Do you get many enquiries?
- How many enquiries turn into films?
- How many films/filming a year?
- How do you cope with students being around?
- Is there much disruption for visitors when filming is going on? Do you close the site?
- Any conservation issues from filming?
- Do you have visitors who come because they've seen your site on screen?
- Did visitor number's increase after filming?
- Different demographics? More international?
- Have films altered how ORNC is perceived?
- Do you have any references to the film in the visitor experience?
- What happens to the money made from filming?
- Are all filming locations visible to the public?
- Do you have visitors who come specifically to see it as a filming location?
- Do visitors who see the film have different expectations than visitors who haven't? Do they want to see the places where it was filmed, rather than just experience the site?
- Often used as a London street - why do you think that is?
- Do you have a guide, or a leaflet about what has been filmed? Do you advertise?
- Anything in the visitor experience about filming?
- Does historical accuracy and time period matter?
- Anything you won't film? Or have turned down?
- (if there is a gift shop) anything in the gift shop to do with filming?

- Is ORNC more recognisable because of films?
- Why do you think people want to film at ORNC?
- What has been the effect of Covid?

Interview Questions for Petworth House

- What is your role?
- What is the process of filming happening at Petworth? Who gets in touch with who?
- Do you get many enquiries?
- Who gets the final say – the family?
- Who chooses what spaces are used?
- Conservation issues?
- Did you move the art?
- What is the most well-known production shot at the site?
- Do you have visitors who come because they've seen your site on screen?
- What was it like having Mr Turner filmed where he actually was?
- Exhibitions and events about filming?
- Anything in the visitor experience that relates to filming? Or posters, info boards, leaflets?
- Rise in visitor numbers after any films?
- Are there still visitors seeking Mr Turner?
- Do you have items in the gift shop?
- Uses spaces not available to the public like the old library - effect on visitors?
- Does historical accuracy and time period matter?
- Anything you won't film? Or have turned down?
- What happens to the money made from filming?
- Authenticity in the visitor experience - is film tourism still authentic?
- Taking images further? Extending reach? Altered how perceived?
- Effect of Covid? More filming? More marketing?

Interview Questions for Stourhead

- What is your role at the property?
- Have you had a lot of filming at Stourhead?
- Inside the house and on the grounds?
- Do you get a lot of enquiries?
- How many productions film a year?
- Who chooses what spaces to film in?
- Do you close the house when filming happens?
- Any conservation issues from filming?
- Most well-known film?
- Did visitor numbers increase after filming?
- Do visitors mention filming?
- Pride & Prejudice?
- Different demographics?
- Marriages - proposals, routine visits mentioned in email?
- Do you have any references to the film in the visitor experience?
- Has the money from filming been used for any projects?
- Creative geography and just using rooms
- Does historical accuracy and time period matter?
- Anything you won't film? Or have turned down?
- Do you have items in the gift shop?
- Do you have exhibitions or events?
- What has been the effect of Covid on the house?
- Do film tourists just want to see the filming locations - are they blinkered?
- Authenticity in the visitor experience - is film tourism still authentic?
- Taking the image of Stourhead further? Extending reach? Altered how perceived?
- Why do you think people want to film at Stourhead?
- Effect of Covid?

Interview Questions for Tredegar House

- What are your roles at the site?
- Do you get many enquiries?
- There's been a lot of TV filming at the house - how did that start?
- What has been the biggest filming project at the house?
- What is the process of filming? Do you close the whole site?
- Do people visit the house due to having seen it on film/TV?
- Was the site changed at all for any of the films? It's a very versatile space?
- Does historical accuracy matter during filming?
- Have you had any noticeable rises in visitor numbers after films were released/broadcast?
- Has the film brought in more international visitors, or visitors from different demographics?
- Do you think film visitors have different expectations from your normal visitors?
- Have there been any conservation issues from filming or film visitors?
- Are all filming locations available to visitors?
- Do you have any reference about filming in the visitor experience?
- If you have a gift shop, does it contain items connected to filming?
- Have you had any exhibitions or events to do with filming?
- What has been the effect of covid on the house?
- Why do you think people want to film at Tredegar?

Interview Questions for Waddesdon Manor

- Can you tell me about your role at Waddesdon? What do you do?
- What is the process of being a film location? How do people find out about you?
- Who chooses what spaces are used? I notice the dining room has been used a lot
- Are there productions which aren't appropriate for Waddesdon?
- Can you tell me about fees?
- Why do you have productions filmed at Waddesdon?
- Are there conservation issues?
- When filming: furniture is moved? Is the house closed? Is there an alternate route? Do you have staff watching the film crew?
- Do visitor numbers increase after filming?
- What productions draw the most visitors?
- Are there any parts of the visitor experience which relate directly to filming?
- Are visitors expected to see the rooms how they were on film?
- Does this make it less authentic?
- Do you have items in the gift shop?
- Do you have exhibitions or events?
- Creative geography with *Death Comes to Pemberley* - adding in rooms.

15. Appendix Five ORNC Media

Media shot at Old Royal Naval College up to 2019

From ORNC's website

1. Sons of the Sea – 1925 Film
2. Indiscreet – 1958 (Cary Grant, Ingrid Bergman) Film
3. The Charge of the Light Brigade – 1968
4. Agatha -1978 (Dustin Hoffman)
5. Murder by Decree – 1979
6. King Ralph - 1991
7. Shining Through - 1992
8. Patriot Games – 1992 (Harrison Ford(FILM))
9. Dr Who – Dimensions in Time - 1993
10. The Madness of King George – 1994 (Nigel Horthorne)
11. Four Weddings and a Funeral – 1994 (Rowan Atkinson/Hugh Grant) (FILM)
12. Sense and Sensibility - 1995
13. The Secret Agent - 1996
14. The Wings of a Dove - 1997
15. The Avengers - 1998
16. The Ideal Husband - 1999
17. A Christmas Carol - 1999
18. Quills - 2000
19. Lorna Doone – 2000
20. The Mummy Returns – 2001(FILM)
21. Lara Croft: Tomb Raider – 2001 (Angelina Jolie) (FILM)

22. Charlotte Gray – 2001
23. The Four Feathers – 2002 (Heath Ledger) (FILM)
24. What a Girl Wants – 2003
25. Shanghai Knights – 2003 (Jackie Chan) (FILM)
26. Stage Beauty – 2003 (Claire Danes)
27. Bright Young Things – 2003
28. Finding Neverland – 2004 (Johnny Depp)
29. A Different Loyalty – 2004
30. Colditz -2004
31. Annapolis – 2005
32. Starter for Ten – 2005 (James McAvoy)
34. Garfield II – 2005
35. The Queen – 2005 (brief appearance with flowers outside Buckingham Palace)
36. Amazing Grace – 2005
37. The Woman who saw herself Disappear – 2006
38. Namastey – 2006
39. The Golden Compass – 2006 (Nicole Kidman) (FILM)
40. Death Defying Acts – 2006
41. Captain Cook – 2006
42. The Oxford Murders- 2007 (Elijah Wood)
43. Eastern Promises – 2007 (FILM)
44. National Treasure II – 2007 (Nicholas Cage) FILM
45. Young Victoria- 2007 (Emily Blunt) FILM

46. The Duchess- 2007 (Kiera Knightly) FILM
47. Wolfman- 2008 (Benicio Del Toro) FILM
48. Sleep with me- 2008 TV
49. Papyrus -2008 FILM (entrance to Painted Hall)
50. Dorian Gray- 2008 (Ben Barnes) FILM
51. London's Calling -2008 (Bollywood) FILM
52. A Cloud Upon the Slope -2008 (Japanese) FILM
53. Creation- 2008
54. Sherlock Holmes- 2008 (Jude Law + Robert Downey Jnr) FILM
55. Veer (Bollywood)- 2009 FILM
56. Wolfman- 2009 FILM
57. Gulliver's Travels- 2009 (Jack Black, Emily Blunt, Billy Connolly, James Corden, Catherine Tate)
58. Sherlock Holmes- 2010 (Jude Law + Robert Downey Jnr) FILM
59. The King's Speech- 2010 (Colin Firth) FILM
60. Patiala House- 2010 (Bollywood) FILM
61. Pirates of the Caribbean on Stranger Tides- 2010 (Johnny Depp) FILM
62. Sherlock Holmes II- 2011 (Robert Downey Jnr/ Jude Law) FILM
63. The Iron Lady- 2011(Meryl Streep) FILM
64. Magnus Rex (Batman) Christian Bale. Michael Caine
65. Parade's End (2012) (Benedict Cumberbatch) FILM
66. Skyfall James Bond (2012) (Dame Judi Dench) FILM
67. Les Misérables – 2012 (Russell Crowe, Hugh Jackman, Anne Hathaway) FILM
68. Belle – 2012 (Mbattha-Raw) FILM

69. Thor 2 – 2012 (Chris Hemsworth, Natalie Portman) FILM
70. Chavez – 2013 (Michael Pena) Film
71. Jupiter Ascending - 2013
72. The Muppets - 2013
73. Man from UNCLE – 2013 (Henry Caville/Armie Hammer)
74. The Royals – 2013 (Elizabeth Hurley)
75. Cinderella – 2013 (Richard Madden/Nonso Anozie)
76. Mortdecai – 2013 (Johnny Depp/Paul Bettaney)
77. Angel of Death – 2013
78. Frankenstein – 2014
79. The Royals – 2014 (Elizabeth Hurley)
80. The Great Fire – 2014 (Javk Houston/Charles Dance)
81. Suspicions of Mr Whicher – 2014
82. Testament to Youth – 2014
83. Grace O'Malley – 2014
84. Curse of Hendon – 2014 (Sacha Baron Cohen/Mark Strong)
85. Bastille Day – 2014 (Idris Elba)
86. Now You See Me (2) – 2015 (Morgan Freeman/Mark Ruffalo/Woody Harrelson)
87. Taurus (Mission Impossible) – 2015
88. Spectre (James Bond) - 2015
89. The Royals – 2015 (Elizabeth Hurley)
90. Quacks – 2015
91. Old Royal Naval College [ORNC] (Pr?) 16

92. The Crown -2015 (Matt Smith, John Lithgo)
93. Secret Agent - 2015 (Beatriz Batarda)
94. SSGB – 2015 (Aneurin Barnard, Rainer Bock)
95. The Foreigner – 2015 (Pierce Brosnan)
96. Flog it – 2016
97. Final Portrait – 2016 (Arnie Hammer, Geoffrey Rush) directed by Stanley Tucci.
98. BBC Advert for 2016 European Football Championship (Gary Linaker, Alan Shearer,
99. Rio Ferdinand, Gabby Logan)
100. Golden Circle (Kingsman 2) – 2016 (Colin Firth, Elton John, Halle Berry)
101. The Apprentice – 2016 (Alan Sugar, Karen Brady)
102. Passage of my Youth – 2016 (Chinese film)
103. The Royals – 2016
104. Victoria & Abdul – 2016 (Judy Dench)
105. Holmes and Watson – 2017 (Will Farrell, John C Reilly)
106. Quacks – 2017 (Rory Kinnear, Tom Basden, Lydia Leonard, Mathew Baynton)
107. Darkest Hour – 2017
108. Born a King - 2017
109. My Dinner with Herve – 2017 (Peter Dinklage, Jamie Dornan)
110. Poldark -2017 (Aidan Turner, Eleanor Tomlinson, Jack Farthing, Heida Reed)
111. Lucky Man – 2017 (James Nesbit)
112. Royal Stag Whiskey advert - 2017
113. Sword and Sceptre – 2017

114. Vita and Virginia -2018 (Gemma Arterton, Elizabeth Debicki)
115. Killers Anonymous – 2018
116. Mrs Wilson – 2018 (Iain Glenn, Keely Hawes)
117. The Rook – 2018 (American Police TV drama)
118. Flightless – 2018 (BBC)
119. Poldark -2018 (Aidan Turner, Eleanor Tomlinson, Jack Farthing, Heida Reed)
120. Pennyworth – 2018 (Ben Aldridge, Jack Bannon, Paloma Faith)
121. The Crown – Dec. 2018 (Josh O’Connor Charles Dance)
122. The Crown – Jan. 2019 (Olivier Coleman, Helena Bonham Carter, Tobias Menzies, Charles Dance)
123. Pennyworth – Feb. 2019 (Paloma Faith)
124. The Rook – Mar. 2019 (Emma Greenwell)
125. Frankie Drake Mysteries – April 2019
126. Bollywood – May 2019
127. Belgravia – May 2019 (Tamsin Greig, Philip Glenister, Harriet Walter and Alice Eve)
128. Enola Holmes – Jul/Aug 2019 (Millie Bobby Brown)
129. London Macao (Advert) – Sept 19 (David Beckham)