

**Representing Henry's Royal Palace:
The Relationship between Film, Television and Hampton
Court Palace**

Llewella Chapman

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University of East Anglia, School of Art, Media and American Studies

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Abstract

This thesis explores the relationship between the heritage industry on the one hand, and the film and television industries on the other. It will argue that a hierarchy of heritage sites exists in the United Kingdom, which, depending on a site's placement within this hierarchy, determines how a site engages with film and television. Furthermore, this thesis argues that there are three main ways in which heritage sites can engage with film and television: firstly, by allowing film and television productions to make use of a site; secondly through using film and television as part of a site's interpretation strategy; and finally, by using film and television as part of a site's marketing strategy. As a case study, this thesis focuses on Hampton Court Palace, a site maintained by Historic Royal Palaces. There is evidence to suggest that this organisation places itself highly within the hierarchy, and therefore this thesis will analyse the ways that it engages with film and television at Hampton Court Palace. First, it will document the establishment of Hampton Court's policy for allowing film producers access to this site, including case studies of selected films such as *The Private Life of Henry VIII* (1933) and *To Kill a King* (2003). Then it will analyse how the three departments instrumental in designing and installing exhibition strategies at Hampton Court Palace; Curatorial, Interpretation and Marketing; make use of film and television to present this site's history to visitors. The thesis will make an intervention within current scholarship within the area of film, television and heritage studies through understanding how heritage organisations choose to engage with film and television. Most research within this area focuses on visitor engagement with heritage sites encouraged by film and television, for example tourism trails and film pilgrimages. Instead, this thesis will research how sites engage with film and television from the perspective of internal departments working within a heritage organisation.

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List of Abbreviations

AHRC (Arts and Humanities Research Council)

AV (Audio-Visual)

ALVA (Association of Leading Visitor Attractions)

BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation)

BDRC (Business Development Research Consultants)

BFI (British Film Institute)

CBC (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation)

CGI (Computer Generated Imaging)

HBO (Home Box Office)

HRP (Historic Royal Palaces)

IMG (International Management Group)

ITV (Independent Television Network)

KTP (Knowledge Transfer Partnership)

NFFC (National Film Finance Corporation)

SoF (Sources of Funding)

TNA (The National Archives)

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Introduction

This thesis examines the relationship between the heritage industry on the one hand and the film and television industries on the other hand through a study of Hampton Court Palace. In 2015 this site, maintained by Historic Royal Palaces, ran a variety of activities which engaged with film and television.¹ These activities were predominantly based on the celebration held to commemorate the 500-year anniversary of the site.² On Saturday 10 January 2015, *Britain's Tudor Treasure: A Night at Hampton Court*, presented by Lucy Worsley and David Starkey, aired on BBC 2 at 9 p.m. Following this, parties were held in the evenings over the weekend of 3 – 5 April, where visitors were invited to: 'Explore the palace at night to a backdrop of live period music, before experiencing a *son et lumière* show projected on to the south façade of the palace'.³ Furthermore, the site engaged with film production with a 'Time Explorers: Movie Maker Mission', in conjunction with Aardman Animations. This activity encouraged children to create drawings inspired by the history of the site which were then animated to create a five-minute film. The final film, *Royals, Rascals and Us: 500 Years of Hampton Court Palace*, was screened at Hampton Court Palace in a '360-degree igloo' and across the UK at Picturehouse cinemas at their Saturday morning 'Kid's Club' during November.⁴ Beyond the 500-year anniversary celebrations, the Luna Cinema hosted a number of film screenings in the

¹ Historic Royal Palaces was established as an Executive Agency of Government in 1989 as part of the Department of Environment. In 1998, it became an independent charity by Royal Charter, and so does not receive funding from the government or the Crown, however it maintains Hampton Court Palace 'in right of Crown'.

² This anniversary year was based on Cardinal Thomas Wolsey's building commission of Hampton Court Palace in 1515.

³ <http://www.getsurrey.co.uk/whats-on/whats-on-news/hampton-court-palace-celebrates-500th-8958184>. [Accessed: 28 February 2017].

⁴ Historic Royal Palaces *Annual Review* (2015/16) <https://hrpprodsa.blob.core.windows.net/hrp-prod-container/15871/ar_2015-16-web.pdf> [Accessed: 28 February 2017].

site's East Front Gardens over the summer. In terms of production companies using Hampton Court Palace as a filming location, the most recent productions include *A Little Chaos* (Alan Rickman, 2014), *The Theory of Everything* (James Marsh, 2014), *Wolf Hall* (BBC, 2015) and *Downton Abbey* (ITV, 2015).

It can be posited that there are three main reasons why heritage organisations may allow film and television production companies access to a site. Firstly, because of the revenue which can be generated from this type of enterprise. For example, Major George Howard, Baron Howard of Henderskelfe, allowed the production of *Brideshead Revisited* (Granada Television, 1981), an adaptation of Evelyn Waugh's novel *Brideshead Revisited: The Sacred & Profane Memories of Captain Charles Ryder* (1945), to access his property Castle Howard to generate funds to provide maintenance for the site.⁵ Secondly, allowing film and television companies access to a site can offer a variety of marketing opportunities for a heritage organisation, both at the time of a production, and through the post-production marketing of films and television programmes. Finally, it is widely recognised by the UK heritage sector that film and television can generate a high volume of visitors to a site, and therefore organisations may choose to use this for a site's marketing strategy, for example by offering a temporary film exhibition or being part of a cinematic tourist trail.

Despite appearing to engage readily with the film and television industries in Historic Royal Palaces' strategy to encourage visitors to come to Hampton Court Palace, no work has been undertaken to explore how this site has developed a relationship with film and television, and whether it is proactive in encouraging this association. Specifically, while research in film and heritage studies has addressed how other heritage organisations, such as English Heritage, National Trust, and smaller, privately-owned sites engage with film and television (Amy

⁵ It should be noted that Howard was chairman of the Board of Governors of the BBC from 1980 until 1983, which suggests that he would be sympathetic towards the production of film and television at heritage sites.

Sargeant), it is evident that Historic Royal Palaces is currently overlooked in this field. ⁶ Furthermore, much of the current work within the area of film and heritage studies has focussed on audiences, and how they may or may not be encouraged to visit a site based upon the combined promotional strategies between heritage organisations and the film and television industries (Patrick Wright, Robert Hewison, Raphael Samuel and Andrew Higson). ⁷ However, there remains little investigation in this field as to how employees working within the heritage industry seek to engage with film and television, for example how exhibitions are designed and installed which may or may not be influenced by film and television, and whether marketing is designed to reflect film and television narratives to encourage visitors to heritage sites. In seeking to fill this gap, this thesis will make an intervention in addressing how Historic Royal Palaces has built a relationship with film and television, and will focus on Hampton Court Palace to understand this. It will address four particular themes: the history of Hampton Court Palace's film and television policy, how the Curatorial Department approach designing exhibitions, how the Interpretation Department create exhibitions and how the Marketing Department promote exhibitions.

Literature Review

To understand the interventions that this thesis can make within film, television and heritage studies, it is important to map the current literature within these fields by focussing on key individuals working within these areas that I have recognised above. Therefore, it will first

⁶ Amy Sargeant 'The Darcy Effect: regional tourism and costume drama', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 3: 3-4 (1998) pp.177-186.

⁷ Robert Hewison *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a climate of decline* (London: Methuen, 1987); Patrick Wright *On Living In An Old Country: The National Past in Contemporary Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Raphael Samuel *Theatres of Memory: Volume 1: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London and New York, Verso, 1994); Andrew Higson, 'Re-presenting the National Past: Nostalgia and Pastiche in the Heritage Film', in Lester Friedman (ed.) *Fires Were Started: British Cinema and Thatcherism* (London: UCL Press, 1993).

trace the work of Patrick Wright, Robert Hewison and Raphael Samuel, who in their research look towards the influence of film and television in the presentation of a heritage site and its history within social, cultural and political contexts. As part of this, Andrew Higson's work on the heritage film, and its promotion of 'Britain' and 'Britishness' makes use of Wright and Hewison, and will be discussed in relation to how these types of film make use of sites as a backdrop to their narratives. Second, it will analyse the work of Amy Sargeant in terms of films which make use of heritage sites. Finally, it will review the literature surrounding the interpretation strategy of heritage sites, and focus on work conducted by Suzannah Lipscomb, who worked as a curator at Hampton Court Palace.

The context of the rise of scholarly work aimed at understanding the term 'heritage' in the early 1980s was researched and published by Patrick Wright (1980-1985), Robert Hewison (1987) and Raphael Samuel (1994). The rise of academic interest on the impact of the heritage industry can be attributed to be due to the distinct change in social, cultural and political norms during this period, beginning when Margaret Thatcher was elected Conservative Prime Minister in 1979.

Patrick Wright's collection of essays from the early 1980s has been published in the form of a monograph, where he explains in the preface that at this time he was 'interested in examining how ideas of the national past were sustained and articulated in the present. I approached "heritage" as a cultural theme of wider reach than was necessarily the concerns of archaeologists and museum curators in their specialist fields'.⁸ He admits the limitations of this focus, where he explains that on reviewing his essays, his lack of examples of museums may be 'considered an oversight'.⁹ This thesis will look to readdress this balance, by understanding the perspectives of the organisations charged with maintaining heritage sites,

⁸ Wright, p. x.

⁹ Ibid.

and how they choose to engage with the film and television industry. Wright, instead, focuses his essays on how ‘heritage’ can be perceived during this 1980s as forming and promoting national identity: ‘my overwhelming sense at the time [1979] was of reeling with distance from a society which seemed to be making not just a virtue but a new set of political principles out of hindsight. In short, I felt as if I had stumbled inadvertently into some sort of anthropological museum’. ¹⁰

Adopting the phrase ‘The Imaginary Canadian’ from Anthony Wilden, Wright postulates the existence of the ‘Imaginary Briton’, in that he believes British society is ‘frozen over in an arresting display of the past’, which provides a unitary symbolism of national identity. ¹¹ On further analysis, however, Wright disregards this notion as he begins to explore a ‘number of theoretical sources in search of a more adequate analysis and understanding’, where his key sources are philosopher Ernst Block’s ideas of ‘non-synchronous’ culture and utopian ‘hope’, and Agnes Heller’s *A Theory of History*. ¹² Placing his argument into context, Wright outlines the history of the heritage industry in these terms:

The impulse to preserve landscapes and buildings is an insistent cultural tendency within western modernity, but it does more than naively plea for old calm and settlement in the midst of contemporary turmoil and change. In Britain a fairly diverse preservation lobby has been working with recognisable historical continuity since the second half of the nineteenth century. ¹³

He draws direct comparison between ‘preservationism’ of the nationalisation of history which ‘enables the state to project its idealised image’, and the National Trust, ‘with its million communicant members’ which he derogatively argues ‘has become an ethereal kind of holding

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Wright is referring to Anthony Wilden *The Imaginary Canadian* (Vancouver: Pulp Press, 1980) p. 3.

¹² Agnes Heller *A Theory of History* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982).

¹³ Wright, p. 44.

company for the dead spirit of the nation'.¹⁴ Wright projects his belief that the national heritage is an 'abstraction of history':

National Heritage involves the extraction of history – of the idea of historical significance and potential – from a denigrated everyday life and its restaging or display in certain sanctioned sites, events, images and conceptions. In this process history is redefined as 'the historical', and it becomes the object of a similarly transformed and generalised public attention.¹⁵

Generally, Wright does not concern himself with the influence of film and television in encouraging people to visit heritage sites, although he makes a passing reference where sites 'must be sufficiently of this world to be accessible by car or camera, but it [the site] must also encourage access to that other "simpler" world where the tourist or the viewer finally gets there'.¹⁶

Comparatively, Robert Hewison provides a more critical analysis of the heritage industry where he questions: 'How long would it be before the United Kingdom became one vast museum?', and exclaims: 'Most of the organisations which I criticise in this book have similarly worthy aims, but viewed together they present a picture of a country obsessed with its past, and unable to face its future'.¹⁷ Referring to the heritage industry as 'a new cultural force', Hewison promotes his belief that 'we' (Britain) is now 'manufacturing heritage', and points out that this industry is 'a commodity which nobody seems able to define, but which everybody is eager to sell, in particular those cultural institutions that can no longer rely on government funds as they did in the past'.¹⁸ In Hewison's argument, he develops on from

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 51.

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 65.

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 72.

¹⁷ Hewison, p. 9.

¹⁸ Ibid.

Wright where he makes comparisons between literature and the heritage industry: he discusses this point in relation to the wall plaque placed on the wall of George Orwell's house in Islington, London, and how 'we can re-enter the world of Hercule Poirot by taking the train' in reference to Agatha Christie's novels.¹⁹ Hewison defines change in the period of the 1980s as happening 'in a climate of decline', where he believes the Conservative government at this time is to blame.²⁰ Drawing upon Fred Davis' theorisation of nostalgia from a sociological perspective, Hewison argues that nostalgia is 'not simply a longing for the past, but a response to conditions in the present'.²¹ This is his main argument against Conservatism, where he argues 'with its emphasis on order and tradition, relies heavily on appeals to the authority of the past – typically in Mrs Thatcher's reference shortly before the 1983 general election to the recovery of 'Victorian values'.²²

Hewison also goes further than Wright in acknowledging the influence of film and television upon the heritage industry, where he references the television drama produced by Granada Television for broadcast on the ITV network, *Brideshead Revisited*. Hewison analyses the two formats via postmodernism, stating: 'Actual locations took on a hyper-reality: Oxford University became a Gothic jewel in a Renaissance setting, its honey-coloured stones (refaced in the 1960s) glowing in the warm sunshine of late adolescent memory'.²³ Developing on this theme, Hewison then promotes his perception of the place of the country house within the heritage industry, where he argues: 'The country house is the most familiar symbol of our national heritage... They are not museums – that is the whole basis on which they are promoted – but living organisms. As such they do not merely preserve certain values of the past... They

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 35.

²⁰ Ibid, p. 41.

²¹ Hewison cites Fred Davis *Yearning for Yesterday: A Sociology of Nostalgia* (New York: Free Press, 1979) p. 45.

²² Hewison, p. 47.

²³ Ibid, p. 51.

reinforce these values in the present'.²⁴ Defining the 'power of the cult of the country house', Hewison defines these property types as:

A building that can only be glimpsed becomes the erotic object of desire of a lover locked out. Yet he seems unaware of his exclusion. By a mystical process of identification the country house becomes the nation, and love of one's country makes obligatory a love of the country house. We have been re-admitted to paradise lost.²⁵

While Hewison understands that the use of heritage sites within film and television impact on our understanding of the presentation of Britain, and how in turn this may work to entice visitors to 'a paradise lost', I look to develop upon Hewison's argument through understanding how practitioners working within the heritage industry perceive a) the film and television industry, and b) the relationship between the two. Both Wright and Hewison make distinctions in their research between different 'types' of heritage sites in Britain within their overall arguments attempting to define the term 'heritage', and this thesis will develop upon their work and make an intervention in terms of recognising that the heritage industry itself works within an unspoken hierarchy of heritage sites, which in turn influences the presentation of sites as well as how much they choose to engage with film and television.

Raphael Samuel provides a counterargument to the work of Wright and Hewison.²⁶ Samuel admits that the term 'heritage' is 'serviceable to the local authorities, who have used it to promote town improvement schemes and to extract government money for service sector jobs'.²⁷ However, Samuel recognises that heritage is also popular with the general public, 'who seem untroubled by the philippics launched against it', with the heritage industry being 'widely

²⁴ Ibid, p. 53.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Samuel, p. 220.

²⁷ Ibid, p. 259.

accused of wanting to commodify the past and turn it into tourist kitsch'.²⁸ He accuses the 'metropolitan intelligentsia' of 'heritage-bating', where: 'Heritage is accused of wanting to turn the country into a gigantic museum, mummifying the present as well as the past, and preserving tradition as aspic'.²⁹ Samuel believes that the reasons why historians at this time appeared particularly hostile toward the heritage industry is due to their training in empirical research methods where there is a detachment from the material environment, and use of archives 'predisposes us to give a privileged place to the written word, to hold the visual (and the verbal) in comparatively low esteem, and to regard imagery as a kind of trap'.³⁰ Samuel develops this point, arguing that this hostility 'is possibly exacerbated by the fact that they are in some sort competing for the same terrain. Each, after its own fashion, claims to be representing the past "as it was", and he questions whether envy by historians may play a part: 'Heritage has a large public following, mass-membership organizations whose numbers run to hundreds of thousands, whereas our captive audiences in the lecture hall or seminar room can sometimes be counted on the fingers of one hand'.³¹ Samuel disregards notions of authenticity and the 'perceived opposition' between history being 'educational' and heritage being 'entertaining', and points out:

There is no reason to think that people are more passive when looking at old photographs or film footage, handling a museum exhibit, following a local history trail, or even buying a historical souvenir, than when reading a book... The pleasures of the gaze – scopophilia as is disparagingly called – are different in kind from those of the written word but not necessarily less taxing on historical reflection and thought.³²

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid, p. 260.

³⁰ Ibid, p. 268.

³¹ Ibid, p. 270.

³² Ibid, p. 271.

Samuel argues that scholars should recognise the similarity of intellectual curiosity between the two areas of ‘history’ and ‘heritage’.³³ He argues that heritage ‘has the edge on archive-based scholarship and research, as for example in visual awareness and the use of observational skills’, where heritage is concerned with the ‘language of looks’ and could ‘familiarize us with period palettes’, in what Samuel deems an increasingly image-conscious society.³⁴ In terms of the interpretation and presentation of history that the heritage industry provides, Samuel is positive: ‘Pedagogically, whatever the misgivings it arouses in cultural critics, heritage has been a brilliant success, making ‘history on the doorstep’ into a normal teaching resource, and opening up whole new terrains for those activity-based, or ‘playway’ forms of learning’.³⁵ This thesis aims to develop from Samuel’s argument in suggesting how historians should understand heritage in terms of its positive approach to the conservation and presentation of sites. I believe that this thesis demonstrates methodologically how the empirical approach used by historians to research history can be applied to the research and understanding of how heritage organisations preserve and display sites for visitors, which I will demonstrate through use of archives and interviews with practitioners working in the heritage industry and film production companies. Overall, what this thesis aims to develop upon in terms of the initial platform provided by Wright, Hewison and Samuel is that the heritage industry is indeed influenced by political, social and cultural perceptions relevant to a particular point in time, and make an intervention in the ways we can understand how the heritage industry presents particular sites to visitors through their perspective, i.e. an ‘inside-out’ understanding, rather than analysing it from the ‘outside-in’.

Andrew Higson, who first published on ‘heritage’ film in his article ‘Re-presenting the National Past: Nostalgia and Pastiche in the Heritage Film’, writes about ‘the cycle of quality

³³ Ibid, p. 274

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid, p. 278.

costume dramas, or what I refer to here as heritage film' in the context of how these films promote 'images of Britain and Britishness (usually, in fact, Englishness)' and how they 'became commodities for consumption in the international image market'.³⁶ Specifically, Higson focuses on *Chariots of Fire* (Hugh Hudson, 1981), *Another Country* (Marek Kaniévka, 1984), *A Passage to India* (David Lean, 1984), *A Room with a View* (James Ivory, 1986), *A Handful of Dust* (Charles Sturridge, 1988), *Maurice* (James Ivory, 1987) and *Little Dorrit* (Christine Edzard, 1987). He explains that his interest in these films 'is in the way they represent the national past, and in how this representation works for contemporary spectators. I will argue 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'.³⁷ According to Higson, this particular 'heritage cycle' apparent in the 1980s is 'in many ways symptomatic of cultural developments on Thatcherite Britain... By turning their backs on industrialized, chaotic present, they nostalgically reconstruct an imperialist and upper-class Britain'.³⁸ In terms of the conventions they inhibit, Higson argues firstly that they 'operate at very much the culturally respectable, quality end of the market, and are key players in the new British art cinema'.³⁹ Secondly, they 'win prizes' at film festivals, thirdly they are discussed critically in terms of adaptation and authorship, and finally their audiences are 'primarily middle-class and significantly older than the mainstream audience'.⁴⁰ Production-wise, due to their 'hand-to-mouth' base, as well as the reception and circulation of these films, this indicates 'that they function within a *cultural* mode of production, as distinct from Hollywood's *industrial* mode of production' according to Higson.⁴¹

³⁶ Andrew Higson 'Re-presenting the National Past: Nostalgia and Pastiche in the Heritage Film', in Lester Friedman (ed.) *Fires Were Started: British Cinema and Thatcherism* (London: University of Central London Press, 1993) p. 109.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

Drawing upon the work of John Corner and Sylvia Harvey as well as Wright and Hewison, Higson makes use of their definitions in order to place what he deems to be heritage films as forming part of the heritage industry, where these films are not only symptomatic of politics at this time, but also reflective of theories surrounding postmodernism and nostalgia.⁴² Higson argues that they ‘work as pastiches, each period of the national past reduced through a process of reiteration to an effortlessly reproducible, and attractively consumable, connotative style’, which are reflective of ‘a traditional conservative pastoral Englishness’.⁴³ Later revisiting these theoretical strands of his essay, Higson explains that there are issues with labelling ‘heritage films’ as a genre within their own right, where the problem of this includes ‘where to draw the boundaries, how to limit the category of heritage film, how to speak with any authority about why this film is in but not that one’.⁴⁴ In direct discussion of his earlier essay, Higson writes:

I applied the label loosely to a relatively small group of ‘British’ costume dramas of the 1980s and early 1990s that detailed aspects of the English past and that shared various circumstantial, formal and thematic characteristics, especially their emphasis on the upper and upper middle classes in the early decades of the twentieth century.⁴⁵

In his later research, Higson adopts a more empirical approach to understanding the representation of Britain, or rather England, in film, in his monograph *Film England: Culturally English Filmmaking since the 1990s*.⁴⁶ This is important to include in the literature review, as Higson suggests a way of understanding how the political, social and cultural

⁴² Ibid, p. 112.

⁴³ Ibid, pp. 112-113.

⁴⁴ Andrew Higson *English Heritage, English Cinema: Costume Drama Since 1980* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003) p. 9.

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 11.

⁴⁶ Andrew Higson *Film England: Culturally English Filmmaking since the 1990s* (London and New York: I.B.Tauris, 2011).

influences apparent at the time a film is produced can influence the way in which heritage sites may choose to engage with the film and television industries. Higson points out that cinema ‘is then one of the means of narrating nations, telling stories that enable audiences to imagine the nature of particular nations, demonstrating how a nation appears, what its people look like, and how they speak and behave and dress’.⁴⁷ In a comparable way, it can be argued that the heritage industry possesses a similar means to that of film and television, in that it can narrate histories of a site to visitors, produce exhibitions aimed at assisting visitors to connect with a historical period and demonstrate how people that inhabited a site lived. Another comparison between the heritage and entertainment industries can be understood from Higson’s analysis of the contemporary British film industry, where his work analyses the influence and impact of the government on the production of film. Higson explains:

During the 1990s and 2000s, the government was committed to the development of the UK production sector because of both its economic and its cultural dimensions. In part, this was about ensuring the well-being of the national economy; in part it was a recognition of the cultural and ideological role that cinema can play in national terms.⁴⁸

This thesis will make use of Higson’s research by mapping how the government, both historically and contemporarily, can be understood to have an impact on firstly, allowing the production of film at heritage sites, and secondly, the way in which sites may make use of film and television in their interpretation strategies.

There is a plethora of scholarly articles available on the notion of film-tourism, where they focus predominantly on the idea of tourist trails based on visiting locations where a film was produced, albeit mostly from either a tourism management or geography disciplinary

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 1.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p.39.

perspective.⁴⁹ This work is almost always published in the form of articles, and most tend to draw upon examples of the countries Canada, Australia and New Zealand to understand film-induced tourism with little being written specifically from the perspectives of British film-induced tourism. One of the few examples of researching British film tourism has been produced by Amy Sargeant, who has written on the BBC series *Pride and Prejudice* (1995) and its ‘interconnectedness with a number of cultural industries including heritage, museums, tourism, publishing and television’.⁵⁰ Her article is of particular relevance to this thesis in terms of the combination of how screen representations of historical narratives combine with the promotional strategies of heritage sites to entice viewers to become visitors. Sargeant begins by explaining that ‘the renewed interest in the branding of Britain’ was due to the end of eighteen years of Britain being governed by the Conservative Party and the election of Tony Blair of the Labour Party as Prime Minister in 1997. She explains that ‘it seems worth returning to the notion of the heritage film and to its relation to other aspects of the heritage and tourist industries’.⁵¹ Comparing the two, Sargeant outlines the similarities between the heritage industry and British costume drama, as both have the ability to promote Britain and its history abroad. In terms of the direct links between the two, Sargeant writes that we (as tourists) experience both of these together ‘economically, aesthetically and imaginatively’, where her

⁴⁹ See, for example (in chronological order): David Herbert ‘Literary places, tourism and the heritage experience’ *Annals of Tourism Research* 28:2 (2001) pp. 312-333; Sue Beeton *Film Induced Tourism* (Canada: Channel View Publications, 2005); Tim Edensor ‘Mediating William Wallace: Audio-visual technologies in tourism’ in: David Crouch, Rhona Jackson and Felix Thompson (eds) *The Media and the Tourist Imagination: Converging Cultures* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005) pp. 105-119; Deborah Jones and Karen Smith ‘Middle-earth meets New Zealand: Authenticity and Location in the Making of The Lord of the Rings’ *Journal of Management Studies* 42:5 (2005) pp. 923-945; Warwick Frost ‘Braveheart-ed Ned Kelly: historic films, heritage tourism and destination image’, *Tourism Management* 27 (2006) pp. 247-254; Daniela Carl, Sara Kindon and Karen Smith ‘Tourists’ experiences of film locations: New Zealand as ‘Middle-Earth’ *Tourism Geographies*, 9:1 (2007) pp. 49-63; Peter Bolan, Stephen Boy and Jim Bell ‘“We’ve seen it in the movies, let’s see if it’s true”: Authenticity and displacement in film-induced tourism’ *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes* 3:2 (2011) pp. 102-116.

⁵⁰ Sargeant (1998) pp.177-186.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, p. 177.

example of National Trust locations to film *Pride and Prejudice* (BBC, 1995) led to receiving healthy location fees from the BBC, increased admissions, generally good media publicity.⁵²

Sargeant also suggests that due to these properties being visible on screen, this has the potential to ‘encourage a more varied membership’ beyond the National Trust’s perceived attraction to the ‘middle-class, middle-aged and middle-England’, and may encourage repeat visits from current members. As Sargeant argues, based on her evidence taken from interviews published in newspapers, critical reception and promotional material of the television drama and the National Trust:

Visiting stately homes has frequently been associated with more traditional activities, such as handicrafts and gardening, but the most recent crop of film costume dramas, in its appeal to a younger audience, may have brought a wider range of visitors in its wake to the associated locations.⁵³

In terms of travel, Sargeant explains: ‘If the past is another country then we should expect historical tourism to evince some of the features of travel’, and compares this with the ways in which film and television can encourage this: ‘Historical films grant sight of places we go to imaginatively or physically and enable a relation of sameness and difference which is typical of travel abroad’.⁵⁴

Beyond the production and release of *Pride and Prejudice*, Sargeant documents that it went on to win an award in 1996 from the British Tourist Board for its outstanding contribution to tourism, and that links between the screen and the National Trust sites were encouraged by the touring of the television series’ costumes around the relevant locations. In conclusion, Sargeant determines the links between screen and site in that ‘many museums appear to mimic

⁵² Ibid, p. 181.

⁵³ Ibid, p. 182.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

cinematic practice with their dead or alive human exhibits and their fastidious set-dressing', where she argues: 'The fact filming at a place seems to have become more important than what was filmed and that perhaps one is vicariously being in the film and the glory of it rather than whatever it was seeking to present' in terms of why viewers choose to visit a particular heritage site.⁵⁵ Finally, Sargeant explains that film and television are themselves heritage commodities where they 'increasingly promote and flaunt their own pasts' through museums concerned with their presentation and promotion such as the Museum of Moving Image in London (now closed) and the National Museum of Photography, Film and Television in Bradford, now known as the National Media Museum.⁵⁶

In a later re-working of this article for a collection edited by Justine Ashby and Andrew Higson (2000), Sargeant develops her original approach by expanding her analysis on the positive influence the representation of heritage within film and television can have on inspiring visitors to sites they promote on screen. Drawing upon the example of the East Midlands Film Commission's publication 'On Location', which documents the sites used in film and television, she reiterates:

What interests me here is that the fact of filming at a particular location seems to attract public interest rather more than what was actually filmed. Perhaps location tourism owes as much to the perceived glamour and glory of the activity of making and selling cinema as to any particular film's subject matter.

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⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 186.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Amy Sargeant 'Making and selling heritage culture: style and authenticity in historical fictions on film and television', in Justine Ashby and Andrew Higson (eds) *British Cinema: Past and Present* (London and New York: Routledge 2000) p. 309.

Sargeant also makes further connections here between the influence of screen media in heritage sites, where she determines that they ‘aim increasingly for a cinematic experience in their presentation: reconstructed, appropriately dressed rooms are populated with mannequins’ and: ‘Sometimes there is an accompanying soundtrack’.⁵⁸ For cinema to distance itself from connections between itself and the heritage industry, Sargeant argues it would

require it to deny its own history within a broader cultural context. Cinema emerged from a number of cultural practices and institutions, many of which were received and sold as tourist attractions. These still extant precursors of cinema, museums and scenic displays included, now turn to cinema as their model.⁵⁹

Sargeant’s work, then, is of direct relevance to this thesis, where her research is key to the understanding that film and television can be used as an effective form of promotion for sites to attract visitors. This thesis will draw upon Sargeant’s work when analysing how practitioners within the heritage industry understand their work to relate to film and television, and secondly by focussing on how Historic Royal Palaces associate with the film and television industries.

Finally, it is worth looking towards Suzannah Lipscomb’s research as it directly analyses the interpretation strategies employed at Hampton Court Palace in 2009 from an ‘inside-out’ perspective, and therefore forms a useful platform for the research conducted in this thesis.⁶⁰ To place her article in to context, Lipscomb was employed by Historic Royal Palaces over this period as part of an Arts and Humanities Research Council ‘Knowledge Transfer Partnership’ (KTP) between this organisation and Kingston University. Lipscomb worked as a curator to help research and establish appropriate interpretation strategies that were

⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 311.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Suzannah Lipscomb ‘Historical Authenticity and Interpretative Strategy at Hampton Court Palace’ *The Public Historian* 32:3 Summer (2010) pp. 98-119.

to be put in place in 2009 to acknowledge the 500-year anniversary of Henry VIII's accession to the throne.

In her article, Lipscomb reflects on the process of 're-interpreting' the Tudor Apartments at Hampton Court, and the questions raised by this in terms of 'what it means to be authentic in a historic site, and whether interpreters need to choose between authenticity and visitor engagement'.⁶¹ Lipscomb explains that she 'examines some of the historical, interpretative, and museological issues that were encountered in the course of this reinterpretation', and explores the theory behind how curators and interpreters 'grapple' with ideas of 'authenticity, academic integrity, historical "truths" and visitor engagement', where she questions the purpose of the role a historic site has in presenting history to visitors.⁶² In terms of interpretation strategies employed in the twenty-first century, Lipscomb uses two examples from the 2009 project – the Council Chamber and Kitchen Court – to illustrate 'the difficulties inherent in different ideas of "authenticity" and expressing historical truth to our visitors'.⁶³ Going on to outline the importance of presenting accurate stories at Hampton Court, Lipscomb documents the various interpretation techniques employed to present these to visitors in 2009: 'First, there is a power in talking about "history where it happened". In Hampton Court, there are spaces where men and women, kings and queens, lived, slept, preyed, fell in love, died', where she directly cites HRP's description of their strategy towards displaying history, which is available on their website.⁶⁴ Secondly, Lipscomb argues that in order to create something 'experientially authentic', the interpretation strategy must appeal to as many of the senses as possible. These two strategies 'meet in the third interpretative technique: "embodying history", where 'experiences of the body can help to understand the

⁶¹ Ibid, p. 98.

⁶² Ibid, p. 101.

⁶³ Ibid, p. 103.

⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 112.

physical experiences of the past'.⁶⁵ Finally, Lipscomb explains that 'storytelling' is 'the most natural way for visitors to learn, to enjoy history, and to be able to reflect back on their own lives'.⁶⁶ In the conclusion to her article, Lipscomb stresses that: 'Our interpretation was rigorously researched and we tried to open up the process of interpretation to public scrutiny where possible', where she goes on to describe how the Tudor Apartments were represented to visitors as of 2009.⁶⁷ Finally, she uses statistical data to demonstrate the popularity of these new strategies with visitors, and concludes:

Crucially, we have been honest with our visitors about what they see. Maintaining a critical apparatus and moving interpretation to something more experiential where visitors can glimpse, taste and feel the past can feel mutually incompatible. Yet discovering how to hold these in tension, day-by-day, means that neither historical truth nor visitor engagement need be sacrificed.⁶⁸

Lipscomb's research provides an example of providing an 'inside-out' perspective towards researching the method of design and interpretation strategy executed at Hampton Court at this time, and can be used as a platform as to how practitioners working within the heritage industry present a sites history to visitors. I will make use of Lipscomb's research and approach in the following ways: firstly, to broaden out this research to include the impact that film and television has on exhibiting history at Hampton Court, in relation the hierarchy of heritage sites and where HRP perceives themselves to be placed. Secondly, I will also include the perspectives of the Interpretation and Marketing Departments at Hampton Court, which have different remits to exhibiting history than that of the Curatorial Department.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 114.

⁶⁷ Ibid, pp. 116-117.

⁶⁸ Ibid, pp. 118-119.

Interventions

To make an intervention in the academic fields of film, television and heritage studies which analyses the connection between these industries, the principal research question of this thesis is:

‘How does Hampton Court Palace engage with film and television in terms of
a) filming on site, b) exhibiting history and c) promotion?’

It offers a sustained focus on Hampton Court Palace that extends current scholarship researching the relationship between the heritage, film and television industries, underpinned by an analysis of English Heritage, National Trust and smaller, privately-owned sites who are understood to have a proactive relationship with film and television. By extending the current understanding of how the heritage sector engages with the entertainment industry within the broader field of heritage and film studies, this thesis will provide a comprehensive study of how heritage organisations approach such a relationship with film and television. It will investigate the process of designing and installing exhibitions and marketing strategies at this site, and how it can be understood that film and television have an influence in this process by analysing the three key departments involved in designing and marketing exhibitions and events at Hampton Court Palace: Curatorial, Interpretation and Marketing.

The research conducted as part of this thesis can be used to demonstrate the differences between different UK heritage organisations and the ways in which they choose to engage with the film and television industries, and understanding the reasons behind this. This thesis will test the hypothesis that there is a hierarchy of heritage sites, to which organisations which maintain sites perceive their ‘status’ in terms of the following categories:

- Organisation
- Type of site(s)

- Cultural/historical ‘significance’ of site(s)
- Revenue
- Media policy

Hampton Court Palace is maintained by Historic Royal Palaces, formed in 1989 as an Executive Agency of Government and attaining charitable status in 1998. When Historic Royal Palaces was formed, it maintained this site as well as the Tower of London, Kensington Palace, Kew Palace and the Banqueting House, Whitehall. It recently acquired the management responsibility of Hillsborough Castle, County Down in 2014. After 1998, Historic Royal Palaces ceased to receive funding from the government, who had previously maintained this site from 1851 until the establishment of Historic Royal Palaces. Hampton Court does however remain ‘in Right of Crown’, meaning that the current monarch holds the site in trust for the next monarch, ‘and in law cannot sell, lease or otherwise dispose of any interest’ of the site.⁶⁹ The reason that this site is held ‘in Right of Crown’ is due to it having been a former royal palace. Henry VIII acquired the site from Cardinal Thomas Wolsey in 1528 after the latter’s fall from royal favour, and since then monarchs who have resided regularly at Hampton Court have included William and Mary, Queen Anne, George I and Sophia Dorothea of Celle, and finally George II and Caroline of Ansbach. Since George III no monarch has resided at Hampton Court. This reveals the cultural and historic ‘impact’ that Hampton Court possesses – i.e. the site’s former royal collections and its status as being held ‘in Right of Crown’. Due to these connections, this contributes to why Historic Royal Palaces places Hampton Court Palace, and the other sites it maintains, highly within the hierarchy of heritage sites.

In terms of funding, in Historic Royal Palaces Annual Review 2015-16, it states its revenue to be £87 million.⁷⁰ In terms of the type of visitor attracted to this site, Historic Royal

⁶⁹ <<http://www.hrp.org.uk/about-us/who-we-are/history/>> [15 February 2016].

⁷⁰ <<file:///C:/Users/Dell/Downloads/annualreview2015-16.pdf>> [25 June 2017].

Palaces aims its marketing at families, and people who are based locally who are encouraged to visit regularly. Its film policy states:

We are home to some magnificent and unique filming locations. From the imposing medieval grandeur of the Tower of London, to Hampton Court, where Henry VIII's majestic Tudor Palace contrasts with William and Mary's elegant Baroque facades and immaculate formal gardens. Our locations can tell the story of 1000 years of history and provide a captivating backdrop for filming and photography... With everything from regal interiors to rustic courtyards, our palaces make the perfect location for your shoot. ⁷¹

In comparison, English Heritage and National Trust can be understood within the hierarchy's parameters as being highly placed, albeit more engaged with the film and television industries. The National Trust is an independent charity which was founded in 1895, where it obtains financial support from membership, donations and revenue from commercial operations. Beyond this, it receives government grants from the Heritage Lottery Fund, Big Lottery Fund and bodies such as the Arts Council equating to approximately £30 million. ⁷² It maintains over 350 locations including buildings, gardens and monuments of varying historic associations. ⁷³ Its main ethos is to promote the 'importance of our nation's heritage and open spaces, and [we] wanted to protect them for everyone to enjoy'. ⁷⁴ In the 2015/16 Annual Report, the income generated totalled £460.8 million. ⁷⁵ English Heritage as a heritage organisation manages over 400 historic sites; it began amassing a collection of buildings and monuments from 1882, and as with the National Trust, it also maintains sites of various

⁷¹ <https://www.hrp.org.uk/media/1099/hrp-filming-guide.pdf> [25 June 2017].

⁷² <http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/grants-and-funding/> [31 March 2015].

⁷³ <http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/about-us/> [31 March 2015].

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ http://www.nationaltrustannualreport.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/NT_Annual_Report_2015-16.pdf. [25 June 2017].

historical and cultural importance. Their position as to the presentation of the sites they maintain reads:

People are increasingly looking for experiences that bring history to life in an engaging way and nothing beats standing on the spot where history happened. We offer a hands-on experience that will inspire and entertain people of all ages. Our work is informed by enduring values of authenticity, quality, imagination, responsibility and fun.⁷⁶

Their revenue was £95.4 million according to the Annual Report 2015/16. It should be noted, however, that English Heritage recently went from being completely run as an Agent for the Department for Culture, Media and Sport, to being separated in 2015 into two organisations following the government's spending review. English Heritage has now become an independent charity like the National Trust and Historic Royal Palaces; it continues to conserve and present the sites it oversees to visitors, with the rest of the organisation's operations remaining as part of the government and renamed Historic England, which is concerned with the listing, planning, grants and research for historic and grade-listed buildings in England. In the 2014/15 Annual Report, the last before English Heritage was separated, the organisation's total income was reported as £255.58 million.⁷⁷

It can be understood that English Heritage and National Trust respond positively toward associating with the film and television industries. As to how the National Trust and English Heritage specifically approach the filming of feature film, television drama, documentary and news, the National Trust set up the Filming and Locations Office in 2003 'to manage the

⁷⁶ <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/about-us/our-values/> [25 June 2017].

⁷⁷ <https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/445367/English_Heritage_AR_A_1415_Print_Version.pdf> [26 June 2017].

significant interest in filming at our properties'.⁷⁸ The National Trust's website explains: 'We very much welcome filming and accommodate projects large and small from feature films such as *Alice in Wonderland*, *The Dark Knight Rises* and *Pride & Prejudice* to fashion photo shoots, documentaries and TV dramas'.⁷⁹ Recently, filming of the television drama *Wolf Hall* was conducted at Lacock Abbey and Montacute House. The feature film *Mr. Turner* (Mike Leigh, 2014) was filmed at Petworth House and Park, and filming for *Dracula Untold* (Gary Shore, 2014) took place at Giant's Causeway, Mount Stewart and Divis and the Black Mountain in Northern Ireland. During the filming of *Mr. Turner*, Mike Leigh explained that:

Petworth is very special for its light and the sun does exactly the same thing as it did in 1823... If you're in a real place it informs the whole thing. I always do work so that people feel bedded into the place. And a place like that – of course! Overall I think we managed to serve Petworth and get the spirit of Petworth in.

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Similarly, Mark Pybus, producer of *Wolf Hall*, believes that 'the advantages of filming in an historic location are massive... The National Trust has been very supportive and around 40% of our overall shoots have been at Trust places'.⁸¹ The National Trust explains that 'location fees for filming at places we look after help us to continue our work caring for historic houses and other special spaces. Thanks to *Wolf Hall* we'll be able to carry on protecting the locations involved in the BBC drama for future generations to enjoy'.⁸²

The National Trust also endeavours to make use of film and television in its exhibitions and promotional strategies. An example of this is Antony House. According to Harvey

⁷⁸ <<http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/film-hire/>> [31 March 2015].

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ <<http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/article-1355853690536/>> [31 March 2015].

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid

Edgington, Media and Broadcasting Manager for the National Trust, ‘the organisation has been “proactively” promoting properties to film companies since 2003’.⁸³ Antony House was used in the production of *Alice in Wonderland* (Tim Burton, 2010), and it was hoped that the marketing generated from this enterprise would ‘see a three-fold increase in visitor numbers ...It is hoped that director Tim Burton’s choice of Antony House, from around 30 sites offered to the production of *Alice in Wonderland*, will increase visitors from 25,000 to 65,000 this year’.⁸⁴ In the event, Antony House saw its visiting figures quadruple: ‘After *Alice in Wonderland* Antony went from a previous best of 23,000 visitors a year to just under 100,000 last year’.⁸⁵ As explained by Edgington, the National Trust conducted a visitor survey over the summer of 2010 to ascertain the impact of the film on the site; fifty per cent of visitors stated that *Alice in Wonderland* was the reason for their visit and fifty per cent explaining that they had children with them who were interested in the site’s connection to the film: ‘We conducted a small straw poll and half of adults and half of people with children had come specifically because of the film. The producers allowed us to boast about that fact. That turned out to be a solid marketing ploy.’⁸⁶ The National Trust promoted its association with this film heavily, and put on a variety of events in association with *Alice in Wonderland* in order to draw in visitors. Such strategies included a ‘season of Alice-themed entertainment’ inclusive of stationary model installations of characters in the film, built by Newcastle theatre company Dodgy Clutch, fabric butterflies to set-dress the hedges and trees in the property’s landscaped gardens, and an *Alice in Wonderland* themed tea-party as the main event which was either

⁸³ ‘Alice in Wonderland expected to bring tourism boost’ *Daily Telegraph* 1 March 2010. <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/film/film-news/7338663/Alice-in-Wonderland-expected-to-bring-tourism-boost.html>> [31 March 2015].

⁸⁴ ‘Alice in Wonderland set to boost National Trust visitors to Antony House by 40,000’ *Daily Mail* 18 March 2010. <<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/travel/article-1254565/Alice-Wonderland-set-boost-National-Trust-visitors-Antony-House.html>> [31 March 2015].

⁸⁵ National Trust, *Art, Buildings, Collections Bulletin* (n.d.) pp.13.

⁸⁶ Rob Sharp ‘As seen on screen: the UK’s hottest tourist spots’ *Independent* 23 February 2011. <<http://www.independent.co.uk/travel/uk/as-seen-on-screen-the-uks-hottest-tourist-spots-2222817.html>> [31 March 2015].

performed outside as a promenade performance – ‘an anarchic, roving children's party that moves around the grounds’ – or in the event of inclement weather was performed in the House.

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In terms of English Heritage’s strategy towards film, its website states: ‘Take your pick of historic monuments, stately homes, castles and sculptured gardens. English Heritage offers fabulous backdrops for fashion photo shoots, feature films, dramas and documentaries’.⁸⁸ For example, in 2015 English Heritage promoted that Dover Castle would feature in ‘two major cinema releases [sic]’, *Avengers: Age of Ultron* (Joss Whedon, 2015) and *Wolf Hall*.⁸⁹ English Heritage encourages visitors to ‘come and walk in the footsteps of famous film stars and directors, and see the real life fairytale castle and underground lair’.⁹⁰ When Sony Pictures approached English Heritage in 2007 to film the execution scenes for *The Other Boleyn Girl* (Justin Chadwick, 2008) at Dover Castle, it was, per site manager Becky Smith, the first time English Heritage had handled a film enquiry on this scale.⁹¹ It should be noted that Dover Castle is often used as a surrogate for film and television to represent the Tower of London. For English Heritage, it was an opportunity to generate further income from the site and to further the portfolio of films partly produced at Dover Castle, for example *Lady Jane* (Trevor Nunn, 1986), *Hamlet* (Franco Zeffirelli, 1990), *Wind in the Willows* (Terry Jones, 1996) and *Johnny English* (Peter Howitt, 2003).⁹² The organisation wished to obtain further understanding in how mass-scale filming of this type could be conducted in the future both at Dover Castle and at other sites maintained by the organisation. Since 2014, a Filmic Co-

⁸⁷ Susanna Rustin ‘Gloria’s adventures in Wonderland’ *Guardian* 27 March 2010.

<<http://www.theguardian.com/travel/2010/mar/27/alice-in-wonderland-cornwall>> [31 March 2015].

⁸⁸ <<http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/about-us/film-and-tv-locations/>> [31 March 2015].

⁸⁹ *Wolf Hall* is a BBC television drama, not a ‘major cinematic release’.

⁹⁰ <<http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/dover-castle/things-to-see-and-do/the-big-screen/>> [31 March 2015].

⁹¹ Becky Smith. Personal interview. 11 Dec. 2014.

⁹² <<http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/dover-castle/things-to-see-and-do/the-big-screen/>> [31 March 2015].

ordinator working by region is the first contact for film companies wishing to use an English Heritage property. The Filmic Co-ordinator then liaises with managers at the relevant site to draw up a contract to suit both the film company and English Heritage before film productions are allowed on site. Smith explains that English Heritage often gets requests to film documentaries at its sites, and often the organisation will offer them the right to film on site gratis. Other considerations that English Heritage make when deciding who can film on site is firstly the impact that filming on site will have, both in terms of visitors, health and safety, and the fabric of the building. Secondly, the time of year that filming will take place and for how long. Finally, English Heritage questions whether the filming proposed can fit around the core events that a site is due to hold throughout the year. This demonstrates the approach taken by National Trust and English Heritage towards building a relationship between themselves and the film and television industries.

Finally, taking a ‘privately owned’ site, Alnwick Castle, as an example to understand this hierarchy, it is currently maintained and inhabited by the 12th Duke and Duchess of Northumberland who occupy the Castle as their home. The site is open to visitors between April and October. In terms of the visitor offer, Alnwick Castle includes museums such as the Fusiliers Museum; exhibitions, for example after the filming of the Christmas special for *Downton Abbey* (2012-2015) took place at the site in 2014 an exhibition was held the following year; various private art and collections; and activities aimed at families and children, i.e. ‘broomstick training’ themed around the filming of the first two films in the *Harry Potter* series (Chris Columbus, 2001, 2002). Following the decision to open the Castle and its gardens to visitors around 1984, its development as a visitor attraction has risen steadily until the impact of allowing Warner Bros. to film parts of *Harry Potter* there. Since then, the increase in visitor figures has been substantial, according to research conducted on behalf of the Historic Houses Association by DC Research in 2015. Visitor figures rose from around 70,000 to 280,000 over

one year, and since the filming of *Harry Potter* this has led to visitor numbers of between 200,000 and 300,000 over subsequent years.⁹³ The total turnover of this site is reported to be around £8 million (Castle and Garden figures combined).⁹⁴ This evidence allows for the understanding that, as with Antony House maintained by National Trust and the *Alice in Wonderland* phenomenon, Alnwick Castle also uses its association with film and television productions to significant effect as a post marketing strategy. The site has been used as the backdrop for film and television productions since *Becket* (Peter Glenville, 1964). Since then, notable film and television productions (beyond *Harry Potter* and *Downton Abbey*) have included *Mary, Queen of Scots* (Charles Jarrott, 1971), the first series of *Blackadder* (BBC, 1983), *Robin Hood: Prince of Thieves* (Kevin Reynolds, 1991), *Elizabeth* (Shekar Kapur, 1998) and most recently the BBC adaptation of William Shakespeare's *Henry VI, Part I: The Hollow Crown: The Wars of the Roses* (2016). Not only does it welcome film and television production companies to make use of Alnwick Castle, but it has also designed a marketing strategy based heavily around film and television.

In part, this is explained by the employment of Christian Perdrier as Chief Executive of Alnwick Castle in 2009, a former executive at Disneyland Paris. Perdrier was recruited by the Duchess of Northumberland to assist Alnwick Castle in becoming a bigger visitor attraction where she explained: 'We don't expect to convert Hogwarts into the Magic Kingdom, but I greatly admire the Disney effect. Christian can do for visitors here what Walt Disney has done for children worldwide'.⁹⁵ Her use of 'Hogwarts' here is interesting as it reveals that the *Harry Potter* films were to be the main hook for visitors, not the history of the site itself, which dates

⁹³ DC Research, *The Economic and Social Contribution of Independently Owned Historic Houses and Gardens: Final Report*, October 2015, p.5-6.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ Martin Wainwright, 'Disney-style makeover for ancient castle', *Guardian*, 31 October 2009, <<https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2009/oct/31/alnwick-castle-heritage>> [26 June 2017].

back to 1096. On his role in generating greater visitor numbers to Alnwick Castle, Perdrier explains:

Let's bring alive Harry Hotspur. The technology allows that; we could sit down beside Hotspur and talk to him... Cannes in France – it's like Alnwick, it's a very small town – but everybody knows Cannes because of the film festival. Let's create a kind of a film festival every year, around special effects, a Harry Potter-type of approach and we'll have a festival of Alnwick where we'll have the special effects, history, movies. Let's create something like that – and Alnwick will become like Cannes on the world map.⁹⁶

Due to Perdrier's influence, the marketing strategy of Alnwick Castle today is based heavily around *Harry Potter*. The site offers visitors to immerse themselves in the magical world created by J. K. Rowling though offering 'Broomstick Training' which takes place daily during visiting hours: 'Join our resident wizarding professors and take part in one of our famous Broomstick Training sessions, on the very spot where Harry had his first flying lesson in the film production of *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*'.⁹⁷ There is also an 'On Location' tour offered to visitors: 'Hear behind-the-scenes filming anecdotes as an entertaining costumed guide provides you with an engaging tour of the cinematic locations within its walls'.⁹⁸ Described as a 'Potter Pilgrimage', the site continues to attract many fans of the *Harry Potter* franchise, where in 2017 it celebrated the 20-year anniversary of the release of *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* (1997) with a weekend of themed events.⁹⁹ The influence of the franchise on the site has been confirmed by Judith Leitch working for

⁹⁶ Karen Dent, 'From Mickey Mouse to Harry Hotspur', *The Journal*, 2 November 2009, <http://www.thejournal.co.uk/business/business-news/christian-perdrier-chief-executive-alnwick-4468668> [26 June 2017].

⁹⁷ <<https://www.alnwickcastle.com/explore/whats-here/broomstick-training>> [26 June 2017].

⁹⁸ <<https://www.alnwickcastle.com/events/alnwick-castle-on-location-tour>> [26 June 2017].

⁹⁹ <<http://www.chroniclelive.co.uk/whats-on/family-kids-news/harry-potter-party-alnwick-castle-13150589>> [26 June 2017].

Northumberland Tourism: ‘I recently spoke to a taxi driver who said that he picked up visitors from Alnmouth Station and they said that they wanted to go to Harry Potter’s castle at Alnwick’, and James Boyd, Visitor Activity Manager at Alnwick Castle explained: ‘Harry Potter has been a huge boost to the area and the number of visitors to the castle increased massively after the release of the films... We always factor Harry Potter into our events, like broomstick training and people recognise the castle from the films – it is a big draw’.¹⁰⁰

This thesis, then, will argue that the more charitable and/or government funding an organisation or site receives, the more likely or able they are to be selective as to how they approach a site’s interpretation strategy, promotion and its engagement with film and television productions. How, though, can we understand what an organisation or an individual site’s perceived cultural importance is in relation to other UK-based sites? Is this determined by organisations themselves or by external bodies? It should be explained here that this thesis argues that it is very much where the organisation perceives *itself* to sit within this proposed hierarchy. It is also evident within the hierarchy of heritage sites that there is a tension between what and how a site may wish to display and present history to visitors, and the commercial and marketing opportunities available to entertain and engage visitors with a site through film and television. By focusing on how Historic Royal Palaces choose to engage with television through the case study of Hampton Court Palace, this thesis will offer an intervention in understanding how this organisation holds a different approach to that of National Trust and English Heritage, as well as privately maintained heritage sites, and this in turn will contribute to the wider scholarship available in film and heritage studies.

¹⁰⁰ James Willoughby, ‘*Harry Potter* 20th Anniversary: A magical impact on Northumberland’ *Northumberland Gazette*, 26 June 2017. <<http://www.northumberlandgazette.co.uk/news/harry-potter-20th-anniversary-a-magical-impact-on-northumberland-1-8610272>> [26 June 2017].

This thesis hypothesizes that due to Historic Royal Palaces ‘positioning’ of Hampton Court Palace highly within this hierarchy, they do not appear to ‘officially’ engage with film and television in the ways that other organisation or sites may do, i.e. the higher a site is placed by its organisational body within the hierarchy, the site’s engagement with film and television becomes less clear and more obscure. However, as this thesis will demonstrate through specific case studies, outlined in the chapter breakdown, Hampton Court *does* engage with the production of film and television, and *does* make use of its association in order to market the site, albeit perhaps more obscurely than other organisations and sites. What this thesis argues, however, is that Hampton Court Palace’s relationship with film and television remains opaque due to the perceived hierarchy and the high placement of this site within it. Alongside this hypothesis, it can be argued that Historic Royal Palaces does not need to host film and television themed marketing or events, for example film exhibitions, to generate visitation to Hampton Court, unlike Alnwick Castle which I have used as an example here, which demonstrates that it heavily relies on a relationship with film and television in order to generate visitation. Therefore, Historic Royal Palaces can be more selective in the type of collaboration it chooses to engage with.

Therefore, this thesis aims to make an intervention in three ways:

1. Documenting the historical relationship between film, television and Hampton Court Palace, with a particular focus on the development of Hampton Court’s policy for filming since the early twentieth century;
2. How film and television can be used to exhibit Hampton Court to visitors, and in turn how visitors may draw upon their knowledge of this site from viewing film and television when visiting the site.

3. Understanding where Hampton Court Palace fits within the perceived hierarchy of heritage sites in the UK, and how this hierarchy impacts on the relationship between a site (Hampton Court) and the film and television industries;

Methodology

To approach answering the question of this thesis, ‘how does Hampton Court Palace engage with film and television in terms of a) filming on site, b) exhibiting history and c) promotion?’, and to make an intervention within the fields of film and television, and their relationship with the heritage industry, the method I will draw upon will be empirically-based cultural history. I will research the history of the relationship between film, television and Hampton Court through primary sources which document Hampton Court’s film policy, and the production and reception discourses of the films and television which portray this site and Hampton Court’s exhibitions. I will draw upon government documents, private papers, scripts, press books, film journals and reviews from a range of newspapers and periodicals which are held within the archives, for example the British Film Institute (BFI) and the National Archives (TNA). This method has been adapted from the approach used by Anthony Aldgate and Jeffrey Richards, who promote the historical methods of ‘solid research, the assembling, evaluation and interpretation of facts’.¹⁰¹ They term this approach as ‘contextual cinematic history’, which they define as placing ‘particular emphasis on the exploration of the context within which a film was produced’.¹⁰²

This approach has been developed by James Chapman, Mark Glancy and Sue Harper, where their aim is to demonstrate ‘how the principles of historical investigation can be applied

¹⁰¹ Anthony Aldgate and Jeffrey Richards *Best of British: Cinema and Society from 1930 to the Present*. Revised Edition (London, New York: I.B.Tauris, 1999) p. 8.

¹⁰² Ibid.

in practice in order to illuminate the structures and processes that have determined the nature of the medium of film and its social institutions'.¹⁰³ To do this, they define three characteristics which are needed to analyse film history: firstly an empirical method, which can be used to understand the complex relationship between films and social contexts. Secondly, that documenting film history should centre on the use of a range of primary sources, where the analysis of film arises from 'the critical examination of primary sources, both filmic and non-filmic'.¹⁰⁴ Finally, of importance to film historians is the 'understanding that films are cultural artefacts with their own formal properties and aesthetics, including visual style and aural qualities'.¹⁰⁵ This should be emphasised by analysis of the individual elements within a film. By utilising the methodologies from a film and television history perspective, I aim to provide a contextual history of certain screen representations of Hampton Court and place them within their social, cultural and political contexts in order to understand the representation of this site in film and television.

As stated by Sue Harper, the final version of a film released in the cinema is 'simply the traces left by the struggles for dominance during the production process – by the contest for creative control', where what we view effectively is the residue left over from the overall production process.¹⁰⁶ Beyond my analysis of the production histories of film and television programmes which portray Hampton Court, the analysis of the 'residue' of how screen examples present the image of the site is important as it offers us an understanding of how they are viewed and have the potential to construct an image and perception with visitors. I will then analyse the critical reception of the films and television programmes which use Hampton Court to understand the potential influence that they have on visitors to the site. To understand the

¹⁰³ James Chapman, Mark Glancy and Sue Harper (eds) *The New Film History: Sources, Methods, Approaches*. (Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) p. 2.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, p. 7.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*, p. 8.

¹⁰⁶ Sue Harper *Women in British Cinema: Mad, Bad and Dangerous to Know*, (London: Continuum, 2000) p. 3.

presentation and exhibition strategies in place at Hampton Court, and how film and television may influence this, I will make use of empirical research methods which involve interviewing employees from the Interpretation, Curatorial and Marketing Departments in HRP who work at Hampton Court. I would add the caveat that the opinions of the interviewees may not necessarily reflect the official view of HRP or a film production company, and their remembering of an exhibition, film or event may not be accurate. Nevertheless, this research is useful in that it reveals the processes behind producing film and television, and installing exhibitions at Hampton Court. In support of this, as with my analysis of the production histories of specific film and television series, I will also refer to primary source documents which I have acquired from HRP which detail their strategy for designing specific exhibitions. I will analyse the finalised exhibition of these spaces by drawing upon visitor evaluation reports that were conducted at the time of an exhibitions opening on behalf of HRP to understand the success of an exhibition strategy.

Thesis Outline

Based upon my intervention in the literature that I have identified, and the question I will be answering in this thesis, I have arranged the chapters to address the four key themes of this thesis: the filming policy applied at Hampton Court; and how the Curatorial Department, the Interpretation Department and the Marketing Department approach using film and television to present and promote the site to visitors. The first and second chapters will document and analyse the history of the film policy in place at Hampton Court. The first chapter covers the period between 1910-1989, when this site was maintained under the jurisdiction of the government; first by the Office of Works until 1943, when the department was renamed the Ministry of Works, and subsequently the Department of the Environment from 1970-1989.

This will allow for analysis of how the Office of Works designed the original policy towards filmmaking at Hampton Court, and how this policy can be understood to impact upon later policies regarding permission to film at the site. In this chapter, I will draw upon documents available in the National Archives from the above-named government departments to analyse their attitudes and approach towards allowing filmmakers access to this site. It will offer analysis of key films which were instrumental in informing the film policy at Hampton Court, for example *Hampton Court Palace* (Bert Cann, 1926) and *The Private Life of Henry VIII*. This chapter will also analyse how social, cultural and political debates during the period covered here influenced the government's policy toward film production at this site.

The second chapter follows on from this, where I will analyse how the original film policy designed by the government has adapted since HRP as an Executive Agency of Government took over the maintenance of Hampton Court. It will cover the period from 1989 to the present day. As with chapter 1, I will make use of documents that have been recently made available in the National Archives, which explain how HRP was formed, their film policy and how their interpretation strategy can be understood to be influenced by film and television. The main case study in this chapter will be *To Kill a King*. This is because *To Kill a King* was the first large-scale feature length film to be allowed access to both the exterior and interior spaces at Hampton Court. By drawing upon interviews with Kevin Loader, the film's producer, Brett Dolman, curator at Hampton Court Palace, material available in the British Film Institute and the film's critical reception, this will allow for understanding and analysis of how HRP have subsequently adapted their policy towards film at the site, and how it has influenced the organisation's later approach toward film. The second part of this chapter will document later film productions which have been allowed access to Hampton Court, namely *Pirates of the Caribbean: On Stranger Tides* (Rob Marshall, 2011), *Sherlock Holmes: A Game of Shadows*

(Guy Ritchie, 2011) and *Jack the Giant Slayer*. As with chapter 1, I will also document how social, political and cultural context influences HRP's approach toward their film policy.

In the third chapter, I will move on from the film policy applied at Hampton Court and analyse how different departments at HRP make use of film and television in relation to the interpretation strategy and exhibition design at this site. This chapter will focus on the Curatorial Department, and will offer two key case studies as examples of how this department may choose to engage with film and television to present Hampton Court to visitors: *Magnificent Henry* (2009) which led to the reinterpretation of the space known as the 'Council Chamber' in 2009. The reason for focussing this chapter on *Magnificent Henry* and the reinterpreted Council Chamber is because firstly, it marks one of the largest attempts by Historic Royal Palaces since 1989 to redisplay parts of Hampton Court. Secondly, the ambition behind these two projects displays an awareness of the importance of film and television in display strategies at this site. In this chapter, I will draw upon material which HRP kindly allowed me to access, to ascertain the scope of these two projects. I will also make use of interviews conducted with members of staff working at Hampton Court, as well as qualitative surveys conducted with visitors to understand the impact of film and television on this site.

The fourth chapter will document the Interpretation Department's use of film and television within their strategy to exhibit Hampton Court to visitors. To understand this, I will compare the television series *The Tudors* (HBO, 2007-2010) to the *Young Henry* exhibition (2007-), where they both work separately to present a younger Henry VIII to audiences at a similar time, albeit with very different strategies. While they were designed with very different intentions and audiences in mind, it is after the release of *The Tudors* on television and the opening of the *Young Henry* exhibitions that we can understand how links and publicity were forged between the two. This chapter will begin by analysing the production methods of both; in the case of *Young Henry* the interpretation style used by Historic Royal Palaces, and for *The*

Tudors its production strategy and approach towards projecting a younger Henry VIII than previous on-screen portrayals. I will then move on to analysing both in terms of how they present similar themes, and adopt similar approaches towards their separate presentation of a young Henry VIII. Finally, I will analyse whether both can be understood to link together in terms of their marketing approaches.

The fifth, and final, chapter of this thesis will analyse the approach adopted by HRP's Marketing Department and how they make use of film and television to market Hampton Court to visitors. Its focus will be on *The Other Boleyn Girl*, adapted from Philippa Gregory's novel of the same name (2001), and *The Other Boleyn Girl Costume Exhibition* held at Hampton Court in 2008. The reason for using this example is because this was the first time that Hampton Court hosted a film-based exhibition, and one that was displayed for the promotion of Universal Studios' release of the film on DVD in the UK, which did not fit with HRP's strategy for promoting Hampton Court at the time. Secondly, it was an exhibition designed solely by the Marketing Department, which makes it relatively unique in terms of the interpretation strategy adopted at this site. Normally, the Curatorial and Interpretation departments would be involved in the design of this type of exhibition. Finally, analysis of the film and its companion exhibition will assist in understanding how heritage sites can be viewed as an extension of a film text and how they work as a further form of promotion to entice visitors to heritage sites. To analyse *The Other Boleyn Girl* and its exhibition, I will draw upon documents made available to me by HRP, namely a small survey conducted by the Marketing Department after the opening of the exhibition, and interviews conducted with members of staff who worked to design the exhibition at the site.

Chapter 1.

Early Film Policy at Hampton Court Palace, 1910 – 1989

This chapter will trace the history of film policy designed by the Office of Works and applied at Hampton Court Palace from 1910 until the site came under the jurisdiction of Historic Royal Palaces in 1989. The chapter will contribute to the main argument of the thesis in explaining why those who maintain Hampton Court Palace appear to have been more selective in how they choose to engage with film and television than other organisations. In large measure, this can be understood as a consequence of the film policy applied at this site. Papers held in the National Archives reveal the relationship between the government and filmmakers who wished to use Hampton Court Palace as a backdrop for their films. They demonstrate the opinions of those working in government departments in charge of determining who and what were allowed to film at this site, and how the film policy relating to Hampton Court Palace has adapted over time. This forms the foundations of my argument regarding the hierarchy of sites and how this informs a heritage organisation's relationship with film and television. The chapter includes a key case study on one of the earliest, and certainly one of the most famous representations of Hampton Court Palace on screen, *The Private Life of Henry VIII* (Alexander Korda, 1933). The second chapter will continue to examine how the film policy for this site has developed on from the original film policy, and will focus on the period between 1989, when this site became maintained by Historic Royal Palaces, until the present day.

Development of a Cinematograph Policy, 1911 – 1929

From 1851, the government became responsible for the management of Hampton Court Palace in an arrangement of the Crown Lands Act, where the government maintained the site on behalf of the monarch ‘in right of Crown’. Placing the film policy applied at Hampton Court Palace into context, policy was designed and agreed between the Office of Works and the Lord Chamberlain’s Office, who were responsible for gaining permission from the monarch in order to allow external photography and film to be undertaken at the site. Photography, both official and amateur, was already allowed within Hampton Court Palace, and in 1911 the question of whether cinematography could be allowed at the site was addressed. Leo Stormont, director of *England Invaded* (1909), wrote to the Office of Works asking ‘permission to take two short cinematograph photographs of only one minute’s duration each at Hampton Court Palace grounds [sic]’, and enclosed a synopsis of the film he intended to make, titled *Royal England: The Story of an Empire’s Throne*.¹⁰⁷ In Stormont’s synopsis, the film was to capture ‘cinematograph pictures illustrating momentous events in English history... The scenes will be enacted by actors & actresses, in costumes of the periods chosen, & in appropriate scenery’.¹⁰⁸ Stormont’s intention was for the film to be shown at the London Hippodrome during the period of George V’s coronation, and requested permission to shoot his film in the exterior parts of Hampton Court Palace and the Tower of London. Stormont explained that he only wished to film parts of these sites that are available to the public; ‘not to any private places’; and before the public were admitted into the sites. He was also at pains to express to the Office of Works that: ‘The taking of pictures would not occupy more than 10 minutes, & there would of course be no interference with the buildings, & no possibility of damage even to a blade of grass’.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ The National Archives (TNA) WORK 19/533: Leo Stormont to Secretary of Works Department, 10 June 1911.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

Following Stormont's request, a memorandum was circulated between the Office of Works and the Lord Chamberlain's Office. 'E.C.' wrote: 'I see no objection to this subject to the Board's approval & on condition that this applicant makes an appointment for the purpose with respect so far as H. C. Palace is concerned'.¹¹⁰ 'W.F.D.' replied that if Stormont was to be allowed to film 'in this special case that it should be made quite clear that it can not be taken as a precedent', and noted that Stormont had withdrawn his application to film at the Tower of London. 'W.F.D.' expressed their concern that 'it is clear that if we allow this it will be regarded as a precedent, and we shall have the whole army of enterprising cinema-photographers wanting to follow suit'. Finally, 'S.K.D' wrote definitively: 'This sort of sham is to be deprecated: and we may refuse'.¹¹¹ In the event, Stormont went ahead with shooting his film elsewhere, though his original letter of application – explaining as it did where he wished to shoot and when – may have influenced later film policy at Hampton Court. This early response towards the filming at this site also demonstrates the Office of Works and the Lord Chamberlain's belief that allowing one filmmaker permission would create a somewhat dangerous precedent, as well as a desire to distance themselves from developing a relationship with film production.

In 1923, there is evidence to suggest that the Office of Works and the Lord Chamberlain's Office began to relax their policy in allowing filmmakers use of Hampton Court. Edward Foxen Cooper, known to his contemporaries as a 'Whitehall man of mystery' according to Roger Smither and David Walsh, wrote to E. H. Bright at the Office of Works regarding an event to be held on 14 November 1923 at the Hotel Victoria in London which was, as explained by Olly Gruner, 'intended to inaugurate and provide advance publicity for the "British Film Weeks", an all-British programme of films to be released across the country

¹¹⁰ TNA WORK 19/533: Memoranda between 'E.C.', 'W.F.D.' and 'S.K.D', 10 June 1911-16 June 1911. I have been unable to identify 'E.C.', 'W.F.D' and 'S.K.D'.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

in February and March 1924'.¹¹² Foxen Cooper began his career as a mechanical engineering draughtsman for the Fire Brigade Department of the London County Council in 1898, and became an early expert in the risks associated with the new medium of cinema. In 1915, he worked for the Board of Customs and Excise to advise on cinematograph matters, and by 1919 his services were also of use to the Foreign Office who wanted to develop the use of film for propaganda purposes, where Foxen Cooper became recognised as the government's 'advisor on cinematograph matters'.¹¹³ Regarding the 'British Film Week', Foxen Cooper explained to Bright that the Samuelson Film Company were to make a film, *The Motherland*, 'depicting historic places of interest', and that the production wanted to make use of the 'Courtyard of the House of Commons, the approaches to Windsor Castle and the walks in front of Hampton Court'.¹¹⁴ According to Gruner, the reason behind both the inaugural event and 'British Film Week' was: 'After years of playing second fiddle to Hollywood, it was hoped that the "Weeks" would instigate a British film renaissance, establish the industry as a major force in Britain and the dominions, and provide employment for thousands'.¹¹⁵ In a minute sheet following Cooper's request, 'G.B.' wrote to Foxen Cooper that they felt an exception could be made in permitting the Samuelson Film Company to make use of the sites because 'the films are historical, & in a sense educational, & I think the Board might be open to fair criticism if it took too archaic a view of this production', to which 'J.C.S.' concurred.¹¹⁶ The comment made by 'G.B.' is revealing in that it displays the growing acknowledgement of film as a developing visual medium, particularly in the projection of Britain and promotional propaganda, and the support of the government in assisting the growth of the British film industry. As Andrew

¹¹² Roger Smither and David Walsh, 'Unknown Pioneer: Edward Foxen Cooper and the Imperial War Museum Film Archive, 1919-1934', *Film History*, (Vol. 12, No. 2, 2000): 187; Olly Gruner, 'Good Business, Good Policy, Good Patriotism: The British Film Weeks of 1924', *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, (Vol. 32, No. 1, March 2012), p. 41.

¹¹³ Smither and Walsh, p. 187.

¹¹⁴ TNA WORK 19/554: Edward Foxen Cooper to E. H. Bright, 4 September 1923.

¹¹⁵ Gruner, p. 41.

¹¹⁶ TNA WORK 19/554: 'G.B.' to 'J.C.S.', 4 September-6 September 1923.

Higson argues, 'events such as... [the British Film Weeks]... were, in the long term, paving the way for government intervention to protect the production sector of the British film industry from American cultural imperialism'.¹¹⁷ In the reply to Foxen Cooper, 'G.H.B.' explained that while the Office of Works would grant the Samuelson Film Company permission to shoot at the locations requested, it was 'for the one special occasion only, which must not, in any circumstances, be taken as creating a precedent'.¹¹⁸

In 1925, George Crichton of the Lord Chamberlain's Office wrote to Lionel Earle, Office of Works, to ask that he review an application to film at Hampton Court where Crichton had ascertained 'that they want to photograph both the interior and exterior of the Palace. And that the work would take about six hours. There would only be three characters, and there would be no question of excluding the ordinary visitors to the Palace'.¹¹⁹ On replying to Crichton, Earle explained that the Office of Works had already spoken to a 'representative here from the company who has explained that they merely want to use the Palace as a back-ground for some historical or legendary scenes in the costumes of the period'.¹²⁰ Earle was happy to grant permission to the film company on the proviso that they abided by the cinematograph policy in relation to Hampton Court, which Earle explained to Crichton had been written in 1922 when Douglas Dawson, Comptroller of the Lord Chamberlain's Office, enquired about cinematograph photography at Hampton Court. The policy reads:

There are two points to be considered (1) the use of Palaces, Monuments, Public Buildings, etc. as the background for historical plays; (2) the letting out of sites

¹¹⁷ Andrew Higson, *Waving the Flag: Constructing a National Cinema in Britain* (London: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 32.

¹¹⁸ TNA WORK 19/554: 'G.H.B.' to Foxen Cooper, 7 September 1923.

¹¹⁹ TNA WORK 19/1129: George Crichton to Lionel Earle, 23 June 1925.

¹²⁰ TNA WORK 19/1129: Earle to Crichton, 1 July 1925.

in public offices, etc., from which good cinematograph views of ceremonial events can be obtained.

As to (1), we have hitherto discountenanced the introduction of Royal Palaces, Historic Buildings and ancient monuments, into scenes forming part of plays. We have, however, departed from the rigid attitude we at one time took up of not allowing film pictures to be taken of such places with any kind of actors in them. We have allowed Hampton Court Palace to be used as the background of historical or legendary scenes introducing persons in costume on the strict understanding that the scenes were not to be worked up into plays. At Carnarvon Castle we have allowed films to be taken of scenes illustrative of Welsh history. At Stonehenge we felt bound to reject a proposal to take a film introducing Druids.¹²¹

It is not clear which production company applied to film at Hampton Court Palace in 1925. However, the following year a film titled *Hampton Court Palace* (1926) demonstrates that the Office of Works *were* willing to allow such scenes in involving actors to be ‘worked up into plays’.¹²² This film was directed by Bert Cann, a cameraman who specialised in stills photography, and was scripted and produced by George J. Banfield for the production company Cosmopolitan Films. It was part of a series of twelve films, ‘Haunted Houses and Castles of Great Britain’, including *The Tower of London*, *Woodcroft Castle*, *Glamis Castle* and *Windsor Castle*, all of which were released in 1926. *Hampton Court Palace* is a 1500ft silent film shot in black and white, and stars Shep Camp (Henry VIII), Gabrielle Morton (Katherine Howard), Eric Cowley (Thomas Culpepper) and Annesley Healy (the Duke of Norfolk). The film’s plot centres on the marriage between Henry VIII and Katherine Howard and a plot by her uncle,

¹²¹ TNA WORK 19/1129: Copy of Cinematograph Policy, 5 November 1926.

¹²² ‘plays’ would probably mean ‘photoplays’ in contemporary parlance.

the Duke of Norfolk, to prove her infidelity. *Hampton Court Palace* was shot mainly on location at the site, in the courtyards and the exterior parts of the site. According to the film's intertitles, Cosmopolitan Films obtained permission from the Lord Chamberlain, Rowland Thomas Baring, to produce the film at this site:

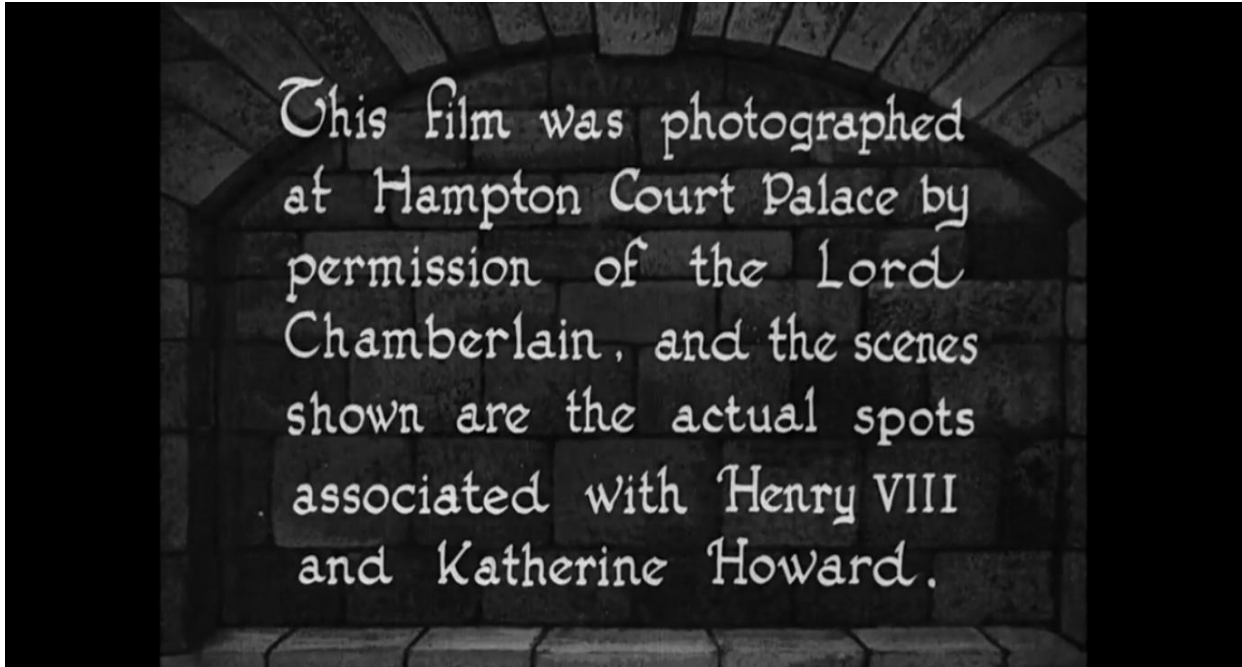


Figure 1: Intertitle in *Hampton Court Palace* (1926)

Firstly, this film 'works scenes up in to plays', therefore going against the official policy of the Office of Works at the time. Secondly, towards the end of *Hampton Court Palace* certain scenes border on what could be perceived as 'ludicrous'. For example, after Katherine Howard's execution the film returns to the present day where a policeman witnesses the ghost of Katherine pass through the main gate and courtyards of the Palace:



Figure 2: Final Scenes from *Hampton Court Palace* (1926)

The reasons behind the Office of Works, and the Lord Chamberlain, allowing Cosmopolitan Films access to Hampton Court to produce their film are not clear. I have been unable to obtain any evidence, either in the Office of Works papers held in the National Archives, nor in the British Film Institute, as to why this was so. However, what this film does demonstrate in relation to the wider argument of this thesis is that, while those who maintain Hampton Court perceive this site to be of high importance in the hierarchy of UK heritage sites and therefore do not necessarily need to encourage a relationship with film, they can be flexible and choose whether to associate with particular film productions.

Also in 1926, it is evident that the Treasury had become interested in the possible revenue which could be obtained from the film industry, particularly the lucrative American production companies. This drive was engineered by Foxen Cooper, perhaps inspired after the British Film Week in November 1924, and the permission he obtained to film at historic locations: ‘there are ways, at present neglected, by which considerable revenue might be secured from the Exchequer from the sale of cinematograph rights... there seems no doubt that the financial results would be large’.¹²³ In a report written by J.R. Chambers of the Treasury he outlined Foxen Cooper’s proposals:

(1) The use of Crown buildings for the filming of historical plays

Quite considerable revenue might conceivably be forthcoming if this proposal were adopted, particularly from the American producers, and I think we might ask ‘C.D’ and Office of Works for their observations...

(2) Letting of view points

There is evidently some revenue being lost here, since we are informed that the Office of Works grant free permits to any firms who apply to take films of public ceremonies on Crown properties. We should, I think, have the observations of ‘C.D’ and the Office of Works in this further point also.

(3) Preference to British Companies

I scarcely think it would be feasible to limit the suggested facilities, Nos. (1) and (2) above, to British Companies, but I think they might be allowed some sort of preference...¹²⁴

¹²³ TNA T 162/511: Controller, H.M. Stationary Office to the Treasury, 13 February 1926.

¹²⁴ TNA T 162/511: Report by J.R. Chambers, 8 April 1926.

After Foxen Cooper's suggestion, J. H. Slingsby, working for the Treasury, wrote to J. Connelly at the Office of Works regarding 'increasing receipts from film rights'.¹²⁵ Slingsby suggested to Connelly that:

1. The use of Crown buildings might with certain safeguards be granted to companies for the filming of scenes for historical plays... Quite considerable revenue might conceivably be forthcoming from this source, particularly from the American producers. Have the possibilities ever been considered?
2. That where it is possible to control the sites from which the most effective views and important events can be obtained facilities should be granted for exclusive rights e.g. for naval and military reviews, the Ceremony of Trooping the Colours etc. The grant might be made to one Company as the result of public tender open to all...

... It has been pointed out that the grant of the privilege of filming Hampton Court and the Tower if limited to British Companies might constitute a valuable minor preference for the British Industry. We think that British firms might certainly get some preference...¹²⁶

In Connelly's reply, he addressed the two points Slingsby made in his letter. Firstly, Connelly outlined the Office of Works' cinematograph policy as Earle had to Crichton in 1925, and in terms of potential revenue to be earned explained: 'We did not in any of these cases raise the question of payment, and it seems very unlikely that it would be worthwhile trying to get payment in return for the grant of such facilities as have been given'.¹²⁷ Already, then, we can

¹²⁵ TNA WORK 19/554: J.H. Slingsby to J. Connelly, 29 October 1926.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ TNA WORK 19/554: Connelly to Slingsby, 10 November 1926.

begin to understand how the policy in relation to filming at Hampton Court was adapting by 1926, and the type of projects that might be allowed to film at the site. This correspondence demonstrates what the Office of Works was to ‘officially’ allow to be filmed at Hampton Court, namely that the site could be used ‘as the background for some historical or legendary scenes introducing persons in costume on the strict understanding that the scenes were not to be worked up in to plays’.¹²⁸ It also appears that the Office of Works was unwilling to obtain payment from filmmakers, and the reason for this is evidenced in a memorandum written prior to Connelly replying to Slingsby: ‘it seems doubtful if producers will be willing to pay anything worth the trouble for being allowed to use buildings as the background for historical scenes’. However, Connelly does suggest here that should cinematograph plays be allowed to film at Hampton Court ‘we might get a substantial payment for the grant of the privilege’, provided that ‘it would not conflict with our principles’.¹²⁹ While the Office of Works appeared to be rigid in their approach towards Hampton Court being used as a backdrop for film, and I would argue that this is due to their belief that the value of Hampton Court would diminish if the shooting of ‘ludicrous scenes’ for film was to be allowed, we can see that they are at times willing to depart from their views, as demonstrated by the film *Hampton Court Palace*.

In 1928, it is evident that the Office of Works became willing to depart further from their previous stance. This needs to be understood in the context of the surrounding political and cultural debates of the late 1920s where the British film industry was being dwarfed by Hollywood. According to Margaret Dickinson and Sarah Street: ‘Government attention was initially drawn to the film trade by the effects of Hollywood competition on British producers, and the response was to introduce commercial protection’.¹³⁰ By 1923 only 10 per cent of the

¹²⁸ Ibid: Memorandum, Connelly, 5 November 1926.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Margaret Dickinson and Sarah Street, *Cinema and State: The Film Industry and the British Government 1927-84* (London: BFI Publishing, 1985), p. 1.

films shown in Britain were actually made in Britain, and this fell further to 5 per cent by 1926.

¹³¹ The popularity of viewing American films as opposed to British ones expressed by the public, as Jeffrey Richards notes, contributed to the British government's 'fear of Americanization', and this, alongside the 'positive desire to see British films stressing British life and ideals' and the 'fear of influence of unsatisfactory films, and films showing white people in degraded states, on the subject of races of the Empire' led to the Cinematographic Films Act of 1927. ¹³² Speaking in the House of Commons in moving the Bill for the Films Act, the President of the Board of Trade, Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, argued that acceptance of the Bill would allow British films to compete more successfully with American ones:

The cinema is today the most universal means through which national ideas and national atmosphere can be spread, and even if these be intangible things, surely they are among the most important influences in civilization. Everybody will admit that the strongest bonds of Empire – outside, of course, the strongest of all, the crown – are just those intangible bonds – a common outlook, the same ideas and the same ideals which we all share and which are expressed in a common language and a common literature. Should we be content for a moment if we depended on foreign literature and upon a foreign Press in this country?... At any rate the greatest proportion of the Press is British, and we should be very anxious if the proportion was in the opposite sense as it is with British films. ¹³³

The aims of this Act were to increase the proportion of British films being shown in cinemas, to promote the development 'of a flourishing film industry', to use film production as a way of

¹³¹ Jeffrey Richards, *The Age of the Dream Palace: Cinema and Society in Britain 1930-1939* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), p. 35.

¹³² *Ibid*: 63-4.

¹³³ *Parliamentary Debates: House of Commons*, 5th Series Vol.203, 16 March 1927, col. 2039-112.

providing and increasing the employment of British citizens, and to promote and increase awareness of Britain abroad.¹³⁴

The Cinematographic Films Act was given Royal Assent on 1 January 1928, involving the banning of blind booking of foreign films and restricting block booking with a quota imposed on renters and exhibitors which would be administered by the Board of Trade. The Act considered a 'British' film to be defined as having a majority of British persons employed as the film company's directors, the studio scenes had to be photographed in a studio within the British Empire, and the scenario author, or the author of the work that the film would be based on, was to be British.¹³⁵ Seventy-five per cent of the labour costs, exclusive of copyright costs and of the salary of one actor, actress or the producer, had to be paid to British subjects or persons living in the Empire.¹³⁶ Most relevant here in terms of shooting films at Hampton Court is when Ramsay MacDonald, Leader of the Opposition, called in 1927 for film producers 'to use our own natural scenery; to use our history, which is more magnificent for film production than the history of any other nation in the world; to use the romance, the folklore, the tradition that has never been exploited for the film industry'.¹³⁷

In 1932, Sir Stephen Tallents, Secretary for the Empire Marketing Board, published a pamphlet entitled *The Projection of England*, which I believe contributes towards the Office of Works' relaxation of their Cinematographic Policy of 1922.¹³⁸ Tallents argued:

In the cause of good international understanding within the Empire and without it; for the sake of our export trade; in the interests of our tourist traffic; above all, perhaps, in the discharge of our great responsibilities to the other countries

¹³⁴ Richards, p. 35.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid, p. 31.

¹³⁷ *Parliamentary Debates: House of Commons*, 5th Series Vol.203, 16 March 1927, col. 2059.

¹³⁸ Stephen Tallents *The Projection of England* (London: Faber and Faber, 1932).

of the Commonwealth of British peoples, we must master the art of national projection and must set ourselves to throw a fitting presentation of England upon the world's screen.¹³⁹

Tallents wished to project the 'acceptable face of Britain', and he devised a spectrum where he outlined what and how Britain should be reflected in film. Most relevant to the allowing of production companies to film at Hampton Court is the 'national institutions and virtues' that Tallents calls to represent which are: '*The Monarchy* (with its growing scarcity value)', and: 'In manufacture – *a reputation for quality*', and he goes on to outline his own list of what he feels should be represented on film, including '*Oxford and St. Andrews; Piccadilly, Bond Street, Big Ben and Princes Street, Edinburgh; and the English countryside, English villages, the English home and English servants*'.¹⁴⁰ In terms of what the government understood to be 'British' films, which was understandably an influence on the perception held by the Office of Works and Lord Chamberlain's Office as to the 'quality' British pictures they would permit to film at Hampton Court, Richards determines that: 'The politicians, who called repeatedly for films projecting Britain and the British way of life whenever the subject was raised by parliament, clearly meant the sort of subjects outlined by Sir Stephen Tallents'.¹⁴¹

The reason that the Office of Works were willing to deviate from their policy in relation to filming at Hampton Court in order to relieve the distress of the British film industry at this time is evidenced in correspondence between the Office of Works and the Lord Chamberlain's Office in 1930. Mrs Theodore Cory (née Graham) wrote to Baring suggesting that to be of assistance to the British film industry, she would like one of her novels to be produced as a film using Hampton Court as a backdrop, explaining that she was 'told by a British producer

¹³⁹ Ibid, p. 39.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, pp. 14-15.

¹⁴¹ Richards, p. 252.

that if he were allowed to film the Palace, it would be of world-wide interest'.¹⁴² Baring forwarded Cory's letter to Earle, explaining that King George V might be amenable to her proposal in support of the British film industry. However, he expressed concern that: 'If once permission is given to have a film taken within the precincts of a Royal Palace we shall no doubt have requests for Kensington Palace, Holyrood, and possibly Windsor Castle itself to be used for such purposes and I do not myself like the idea', although did believe that if British production companies were allowed to shoot films within these sites they would be able to compete against American competition: 'even Hollywood cannot produce a setting such as could be obtained either at Hampton Court, Holyrood or Windsor'.¹⁴³ In Earle's reply to Baring, he explained: 'The tendency of late has been to modify to some extent our opposition to the use of places in our charge as the background for scenes in picture plays'.¹⁴⁴ The reason for this, Earle explained, was because the First Commissioner at the Office of Works, George Lansbury, had come to the view that 'partial relaxation of our rule might be made in certain cases in which inconvenience would not be likely to be caused to the general public'. While willing to relax the rules in order to help the British film industry, Earle marks two concerns in this correspondence: firstly, that Hampton Court should not be used for 'undignified' scenes, and secondly that it would not inconvenience the public or residents at the Palace. Therefore, Earle suggested imposing strict conditions of time, and approval of a film's scenario. In the event, both the Lord Chamberlain's Office and the Office of Works gave permission for Cory to produce her film at Hampton Court, though there is no evidence to suggest this film was ever made.

¹⁴² TNA WORK 19/1129: Winifred Cory to Baring, 8 November 1930. Cory's novel is entitled *The Power Behind the Throne*, co-authored with H. Fowler Mear, which the Australian *Sydney Morning Herald* described as 'a romance of [the] Tudor days' based on Cardinal Wolsey (Anon, 'Wolsey as Romantic Hero', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 October 1931, p. 5).

¹⁴³ TNA WORK 19/1129: Baring to Earle, 12 November 1930.

¹⁴⁴ TNA WORK 19/1129: Earle to Baring, 25 November 1930.

The Private Life of Henry VIII (1933)

Following further relaxation of the rules relating to British films being produced at Hampton Court, the Office of Works received an application to shoot the biggest film to date at the site in 1933 from London Film Productions, who wanted to film part of their production *The Private Life of Henry VIII* there. The film's producer and director, Alexander Korda, had previously worked in Hollywood, where his first directing credit for the American studio First National Pictures was *The Stolen Bride* (1927). Korda was then commissioned to direct *The Private Life of Helen of Troy* (1927), replacing George Fitzmaurice. *Moving Picture World's* synopsis of this film describes:

Queen Helen of Troy, piqued by her husband's lack of interest in her, elopes with Paris to Sparta. Menelaus, her husband, egged on by his henchman, starts a war with Paris, finally effecting the return of Helen. The time-honored custom demands that he have the pleasure of killing her, but her seductive loveliness restrains him. And so at the end of the story, we find Helen engaging in a new flirtation with the Prince of Ithaca.¹⁴⁵

The focus and interest of the private life of a famous historic figure was something which Korda would return to with *The Private Life of Henry VIII*. After the success of *The Private Life of Helen of Troy*, Korda's career began to stall in Hollywood, and Korda became increasingly frustrated with the studio system. He came to London in 1932, and formed London Film Productions. Korda was interested in finding a suitable project for Charles Laughton and his wife, Elsa Lanchester, and there are many apocryphal stories regarding Korda's inspiration for making a film about Henry VIII, ranging from Laughton's resemblance to a statue of the monarch to a London black cab driver singing the music hall song 'I'm Henry the Eighth, I

¹⁴⁵ Pamela Short, 'The Private Life of Helen of Troy', *Moving Picture World*, 17 December 1927, p. 23.

Am' (1910). The film originally intended to focus on the story of the short and unconsummated marriage of Henry VIII and Anne of Cleves.¹⁴⁶

Korda had a relatively challenging time seeking financial backing for this project, stating in a later interview: 'The costume picture was the most disliked thing in the world. My colleagues said the public would not stand for it – they even told me it would be unwise to use King Henry's name in the title and wanted me to call the picture *The Golden Bed*'.¹⁴⁷ After being declined by potential investors, including Michael Balcon, chief of production at the Gaumont British Picture Corporation, the scenario was eventually taken up by United Artists, who were persuaded to do so by Richard Norton who represented them in London.¹⁴⁸ United Artists provided Korda with an advance on distribution revenues of £20,000, and this enabled Korda to begin filming in May 1933 at the British and Dominion Studios at Elstree.¹⁴⁹ Seven rewrites of the script were undertaken by Lajos Biro, and subsequently polished by Arthur Wimperis. The film's narrative broadened out to include five of Henry's six wives. As Rachael Low notes, however, the production was not without its difficulties, and the picture's costs soon exceeded the original backing.¹⁵⁰ According to Low, money to finish the production was provided by Ludovico Toeplitz de Grand Ry, a rich Italian producer, and costs to complete this film reached up to £93,710 as indicated by London Film Productions' own records.¹⁵¹

In early May 1933 the film's production manager, David Cunynghame, wrote to the Office of Works to ask permission to shoot particular scenes at Hampton Court, where he outlined that the production wanted to make use of the site 'during the course of the next few

¹⁴⁶ Greg Walker, *The Private Life of Henry VIII* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), p. 3.

¹⁴⁷ Korda, quoted from a BBC interview in Karol Kulik, *Alexander Korda: The Man Who Could Work Miracles* (Arlington House, London, 1975), p. 86.

¹⁴⁸ Walker: 3.

¹⁴⁹ Rachael Low, *Filmmaking in 1930s Britain* (George Allen & Unwin: London, 1985), p. 167.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹ BFI: London Film Productions Collection Box 5: Memorandum written by David Cunynghame, 7 January 1946.

weeks', and stressed that: 'As it is proposed to spend a considerable amount of money and time on the project it is hoped to make a really high class film'.¹⁵² After an initial meeting between Cunynghame and E. H. Donahue at the Office of Works, it was confirmed by the Lord Chamberlain's Office that Baring had given his permission for London Film Productions to access Hampton Court.¹⁵³ This letter specifically outlines that 'the work will take about three days to complete' and the specific parts of the Palace that were required: '1. On the bridge across the moat; 2. In the old Tudor and Knot Gardens; 3. In a courtyard near the kitchens; 4. On the parapet overlooking the river'. Permission was given on the provision that all filming would be completed before 9 a.m., before Hampton Court was open to visitors, and that it would not interfere with the residents, as per previous filming applications. After permission was granted, Cunynghame met with Donahue to clarify the film's production schedule. A memorandum written by Donahue revealed that Cunynghame 'complained that to finish [shooting] at 9 a.m. would give but little time each day and they would require many more days at the Palace, and asked for an extended time'. Donahue wrote that he extended the time to 9.30, in keeping with previous extensions granted to production companies.¹⁵⁴ Donahue then added that after another meeting with Mr. Howard, Superintendent at Hampton Court, it was ascertained 'about 50 performers in costume, 6 horses, and a sound van will be employed', and that filming could commence from 6 a.m. but not beyond 9.30 a.m.¹⁵⁵

After being refused permission to film after 9.30 a.m. by the Office of Works and the Superintendents at Hampton Court, Cunynghame attempted to reverse their decision by contacting other members of the government. First, he used his father, Percy Cunynghame, to approach Samuel Hoare at the India Office, who subsequently wrote to William Ormsby Gore,

¹⁵² TNA WORK 19/1129: David Cunynghame to the Office of Works, 8 May 1933.

¹⁵³ TNA WORK 19/1129: Comptroller, Lord Chamberlain's Office to the Office of Works, 25 May 1933.

¹⁵⁴ TNA WORK 19/1129: Memorandum, Donohue, 26 May 1933.

¹⁵⁵ TNA WORK 19/1129: Memorandum, Coward, 31 May 1933.

First Commissioner of Works, to ask whether the Office of Works could be of assistance in Cunynghame's endeavours. ¹⁵⁶ Ormsby Gore explained in his reply to Hoare that 'a film dealing with the time of Henry VIII is, at the moment, being produced at Hampton Court'. ¹⁵⁷ Second, Cunynghame then appealed through his mother's friend, Bertha Dawkins, to Clive Wigram, Private Secretary to the Sovereign, to change the time allowed to shoot the film. Wigram forwarded this request to Patrick Duff, Permanent Secretary at the Office of Works, to ask for his assistance in the matter. ¹⁵⁸ Duff replied to Wigram, explaining that 'as Mr. Cunynghame is somewhat dissatisfied with the decision of this Office, and he has appealed to you over our heads... the reply to the letter should come from you'. Stating the position of the Office of Works, Duff wrote:

What Mr. Cunynghame wants... is permission to photograph all day at Hampton Court Palace so as to get through the work in the very shortest possible time. This would save his Company expense, and, as he very reasonably observes, the fewer the visits which the Company paid the less trouble they would give. This might be alright if Mr. Cunynghame were the only pebble on the beach: but the fact is that we have other applications from film companies, and if one company is allowed to work at Hampton Court at any hour of the day one would have to give the same concession to anyone else who asked for it. ¹⁵⁹

Duff also expressed his concern about the possible disturbance which might be caused to residents and visitors if filming were to be allowed during the day: 'I know that if I were paying a visit to Hampton Court Palace and found the place full of film people rehearsing and "shots", as they call it, being taken, I should feel that the dignity and beauty of the place was destroyed'.

¹⁵⁶ TNA WORK 19/1129: Samuel Hoare to William Ormsby Gore, 29 May 1933.

¹⁵⁷ TNA WORK 19/1129: Ormsby Gore to Hoare, 30 May 1933.

¹⁵⁸ TNA WORK 19/1129: Clive Wigram to Patrick Duff, 8 June 1933.

¹⁵⁹ TNA WORK 19/1129: Duff to Wigram, 14 June 1933.

This correspondence, then, reveals in part the belief behind the hierarchy of heritage sites in that the Office of Works believed that by encouraging a relationship with film, this could be detrimental to the ‘dignity’ of Hampton Court.

In the event, however, *The Private Life of Henry VIII* was not filmed at Hampton Court Palace, except for the film’s opening shot of the Anne Boleyn Archway, and instead was shot at Elstree Studios and on location at Hatfield House. There remains, however, direct links between this film and Hampton Court Palace in terms of the film’s production and its final presentation, beyond the image of the archway in the film’s opening scene. As explained by Greg Walker, Charles Laughton prepared for his role as Henry VIII by visiting the Palace: Elsa Lanchester accused Laughton of ‘almost dragging Korda from his desk down to Hampton Court to see the architecture and pictures’.¹⁶⁰ In the film’s press book, it confirms that ‘Laughton spent many weeks in research work, preparing for the role of Henry VIII, a character he had long desired to portray’.¹⁶¹ Laughton also took the film’s set designer, Vincent Korda, with them, and it is evident that these visits had a significant impact on the visual representation of the King and his court in the film.¹⁶² Vincent Korda claimed to have recreated an ‘exact replica’ of Hampton Court’s Great Hall for the banqueting scenes. The cast and crew were also inspired by paintings which were on view at the time in the Palace, as well as Hans Holbein the Younger’s preparatory sketches which they accessed via the Royal Collection, and this is reflected in the design of the costumes. Laughton himself stated on his performance style to the *Daily Express*:

I cannot quite say how I got my conception of Henry VIII... I suppose I must have read a great deal about him, but for the rest I spent a lot of my time walking

¹⁶⁰ Walker: p.20.

¹⁶¹ BFI: *The Private Life of Henry VIII* Press Book (1933).

¹⁶² Ibid.

around the old Tudor Palace at Hampton Court, getting my mind accustomed to the square, squat architecture of the rooms, and the cloisters. I think it was from the architecture of the houses and the rooms that I got my idea of Henry. ¹⁶³

There is a contradiction in how much of the film's budget was spent on constructing the set of the Great Hall based on Hampton Court's. Ernest Betts' introduction to the published script, *The Private Life of Henry VIII*, was released to be a companion to the film, and in it Betts' makes the bold, and incorrect, claim that the film was made for £59,000 in total where 'some of its scenes cost only £10 or £12'. ¹⁶⁴ Whilst this may have been true of either props or certain smaller set-pieces in the film, Betts does not make clear, and of course it is unlikely that he refers to the cost of building Hampton Court's Great Hall as a studio set in this figure. As James Chapman explains, *The Private Life of Henry VIII* was one of the most expensive British films at the time of its release. ¹⁶⁵

Parts of *The Private Life of Henry VIII* were shot on location at Hatfield House, as promoted in the film's press book: 'Some of the magnificent exterior scenes were made in the grounds of Hatfield House through the courtesy of the Marquis of Salisbury'. ¹⁶⁶ A production still survives, revealing Alexander Korda shooting on location, where the building in the background is recognisable as Hatfield House. This location is used in the film, to appear as Hampton Court's gardens:

¹⁶³ Simon Callow, *Charles Laughton: A Difficult Actor* (London: Vintage, 1995), p. 61-2.

¹⁶⁴ Ernest Betts, *The Private Life of Henry VIII*, (London: Methuen, 1934).

¹⁶⁵ James Chapman, *Past and Present: National Identity and the British Historical Film* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), p. 17.

¹⁶⁶ BFI: *The Private Life of Henry VIII* Press Book (1933).



Figure 3: Korda on Location at Hatfield House ¹⁶⁷

The press book promotes the connection between the film and Hampton Court, where it explains that ‘the interior sets are faithful reproductions of those at Hampton Court and other Tudor palaces frequented by Henry VIII and genuine period furniture was employed to dress the sets’. ¹⁶⁸ The press book also provides further detail regarding the sets and furnishings by explaining that ‘the mammoth Halls of Hampton Court were built in studio’, and that:

Genuine Tudor jewelry, pewter, glass and halberds and other items were loaned by various collectors for the production. The magnificent royal bed was copied from an original at Hampton Court and two chests standing on each side of the bed are copies from originals in the Victoria and Albert museum. Copies were made also of the tapestries of the period. There were ten in all, the largest measuring 30 x 19 feet. ¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ BFI Stills Collection Archive: Korda on Location at Hatfield House (1933).

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

It is the scenes performed in the Great Hall set which form the backdrop to the narrative of Tudor history in the film's key scenes, and we can understand from the following images how closely it represents the architecture of the Great Hall at Hampton Court:



Figure 4: The Great Hall, Hampton Court Palace



Figure 5: The Great Hall Set in *The Private Life of Henry VIII* (1933)

The first Great Hall scene begins with the ladies in waiting folding linen while gossiping about Henry's marriages. Use of the Great Hall here is ironic as its original use would have been for the – predominantly male – workers at Hampton Court and lesser nobles to dine in twice a day. Other notable scenes that take part in the Great Hall in this film include Charles Laughton's entrance as Henry VIII, and the 'court scenes' involving dining, dancing and entertainment. There are also other allusions towards Hampton Court within *The Private Life of Henry VIII*, where I propose that not only were Alexander and Vincent Korda inspired to recreate the Great Hall as a set for the film on their visit to Hampton Court, but it is likely, though there is no supporting evidence for this, they would have seen the paintings on display in the Tudor Apartments, likely in the Processional Gallery, where I argue that there is direct allusion to *A Boy looking through a Casement Window* (Flemish School, 17th Century) painting within the film in the scene (00:09.24) where Henry taps on the window whilst he waits for news for confirmation of Anne Boleyn's execution, as can be seen from the following images:



Figure 6: *A Boy looking through a Casement Window* (Flemish School, 17th Century) ¹⁷⁰

¹⁷⁰ [Oil on Panel], Royal Collection.



Figure 7: Still from *The Private Life of Henry VIII* (1933)

The Private Life of Henry VIII was well received critically. An unattributed article held in the British Film Institute's Reuben Library (BFI), states: 'History is infinitely more edifying in this film than any number of text-books can make it – and very entertaining also...A very fine picture and sympathetic reconstruction'.¹⁷¹ Most critics responded well to the film's depiction of Henry VIII's private life where it eschews reference to the political, religious and social reforms at the time. Betts also, perhaps unsurprisingly, conforms to the general critical reception of the film at the time of his release where he writes in the introduction of film's published companion script that the film 'enjoyed an astonishing success all over the world' and rather charmingly writes: 'In *The Private Life of Henry VIII* we have a film of taste, of wit, of good boisterous humour, as English as a Sussex field', believing it to be technically excellent where he argues that the film is pioneering in terms of how it changed the ways the film industry perceived 'costume films' at the time, how it 'affected talkies profoundly', and how it was a huge success with audiences both in Britain and internationally.¹⁷² A contemporary review by

¹⁷¹ BFI: Anon.

¹⁷² Betts (1934).

C. A. Lejeune, writing for the *Observer*, believed the success of the film was due to the cast and crew ensemble, and that ‘it was just as good as it was reputed to be, and a little better’, and explained that she believed it would bring prestige to the British Film Industry as prior to its release: ‘British films have been the sort of thing that Hollywood can do just as well or better’.¹⁷³ Going further, she explains that Korda’s success is based on ‘clever casting, careful detail, grand photography, good set construction, but chiefly due to a very remarkable scenario’.¹⁷⁴ Lejeune describes *The Private Life of Henry VIII* as ‘national to the backbone’, and ‘not jingoistic, but as broadly and staunchly English as a baron of beef and a tankard of the best home brew’. In a preview on the film, *Picturegoer* exclaimed: ‘*The Private Life of Henry VIII* is the best picture made in this country... In the present instance he [Alexander Korda] was given a fine book, by Lajos Biro and Arthur Wimperis, and a cast headed by Charles Laughton. Result – Superb work all round, and superb entertainment’.¹⁷⁵ In a later review, the *Monthly Film Bulletin* reported ‘Henry VIII and his matrimonial misadventures have always been considered a joke by all but the sober historian, and this film’s direction and script deal with him wittily from the popular angle, giving only the barest hints of the other sides of the all-too-efficient tyrant’.¹⁷⁶ This film was also a commercial success, and it was nominated for an Academy Award for Best Film in 1933. Laughton was nominated for, and won, the Academy Award for Best Actor. Following the success of *The Private Life of Henry VIII*, I will now outline later films that applied to use Hampton Court as a cinematic backdrop, and whether the Office of Works and the Lord Chamberlain’s Office were willing to relax their position in regard to allowing filming at the site.

¹⁷³ C. A. Lejeune ‘The Private Life of Henry VIII’, *Observer*, 29 October 1933.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ *Picturegoer*, ‘Pre-Views of the Latest Films’ (Vol.3, No.120, 9 September 1933), p. 10.

¹⁷⁶ *Monthly Film Bulletin*, ‘*The Private Life of Henry VIII* Film Review’ (Vol. 13, No.151, July 1946), p. 94.

Cinematograph Policy at Hampton Court Palace, 1940 – 1970

The next period in which the question of the cinematographic policy was re-addressed was in 1947. By this time, the Office of Works had merged into the Ministry of Works, which had been formed in 1943 to organise the requisitioning of property for wartime use. The reason behind reviewing the policy towards filming at Hampton Court was two-fold. Firstly, the government toward the end of this decade were once again concerned about Hollywood's domination of the film industry and the lack of finance for British film production. To address this, the exhibitors' quota for main feature films was raised to 45 per cent in 1948, and the Cinematograph Film Production (Special Loans) Act of 1949 established the National Film Finance Corporation (NFFC) to distribute loans for film production. The exhibitors' quota was subsequently reduced to 40 per cent in 1949, and 30 per cent in 1950. Secondly, there were questions from British film production companies during this time as to what would be allowed at Hampton Court.

In 1947, Donahue, now part of the Ministry of Works, wrote to G.A. Titman at the Lord Chamberlain's Office regarding an application made by John Hawkesworth of the British Lion Film Corporation for permission to measure parts of the 'State Rooms' at Hampton Court for *Bonnie Prince Charlie* (1948).¹⁷⁷ This film was directed by Anthony Kimmins and produced by Alexander Korda for London Film Productions. The desire, perhaps, behind Hawkesworth's request to measure parts of Hampton Court Palace is likely due to Vincent Korda's set of the Great Hall built for *The Private Life of Henry VIII*. Shot on location in Scotland and at Shepperton Studios, the film's plot centred around the Jacobite Rising of 1745 where the 'Young Pretender', Charles Edward Stuart (David Niven), led an insurrection to overthrow the Protestant Hanoverians and restore the Catholic Stuart family to the throne. In assessing

¹⁷⁷ TNA WORK 19/1169: Donahue to G.A. Titman, 7 August 1947.

Hawkesworth's request, Donohue reiterated to Titman the previous position held by the Office of Works in regard to filming at Hampton Court, and cited the reason behind the previous restrictions as being 'to ensure the Palace is not made the background of some ludicrous story'.

He then questioned:

Were our ideas of maintaining control mythical? I suppose anyone could reconstruct a replica of the rooms from material furnished in existing publications... This being the case, there is at present no hindrance to the exhibition of *Bonnie Prince Charlie* at Hampton Court Palace. Was he ever there I wonder? Is he to be shown listening in disguise to discussions about himself at one of George II's Councils in the Palace? Or, as wooing a Lady in Waiting there? I have seen somewhere that Oliver Twist visited the Palace. A replica of the rooms could be used for his story too...¹⁷⁸

Donohue concludes by explaining that he feels that there is little that could be done to stop parts of the Palace being replicated as a studio set, as with *The Private Life of Henry VIII*. In Titman's reply he concurred with Donahue, and in relation to assisting the British film industry explains: 'In these times, however, we feel that we must assist film producers where we can', and writes on *Bonnie Prince Charlie*:

Although, of course, we must resist any effort which might lower the dignity of any of the Royal Palaces... I have checked that this is a serious film. History as revealed on the screen is full of hitherto undiscovered facts, and no doubt when the present work of art is out the Young Chevalier will twirl rapidly in his grave.

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¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ TNA WORK 19/1169: Titman to Donahue, 8 August 1947.

In the event, they permitted London Film Productions to measure parts of Hampton Court Palace. The film was, however, disastrous in terms of its box office receipts unlike *The Private Life of Henry VIII*. The cost of making *Bonnie Prince Charlie* totalled £760, 000, and on its release received a net revenue through distribution of £155, 570.¹⁸⁰ This was perhaps in part due to the shooting of the film, which proved problematic. As David Niven later recalled:

Bonnie Prince Charlie was one of those huge, florid extravaganzas that reek of disaster from the start. There was never a completed screenplay... we suffered three changes of directors, with Korda himself desperately taking over... I loved Alex Korda, a brilliant, generous creature, but with this film he was wallowing in confusion.¹⁸¹

After agreeing to the measuring of State Rooms at Hampton Court for the purposes of film, there were two types of film which the Ministry of Works would permit during this period to film at the site: those that were endorsed by the government, for example political and propaganda broadcasts, and educational documentaries, which can be understood from the two following examples. First, in August 1947, the Ministry of Works gave permission for colour tests to be taken by J. Mellor of Editorial Film Productions Limited. The reason behind these colour tests was to make a short film trailer of a Gold Coast Police Band performing the National Anthem. As explained by P. L. Long, working for the Films Division of the Central Office of Information in a letter to the Ministry of Works: 'This trailer has been specially requested by the Colonial Office for distribution in the Gold Coast and it has been suggested that we should use the Police Band for this purpose and photograph them against a background of Hampton Court Palace'.¹⁸² The filming of the trailer was intended to take place on the 21

¹⁸⁰ TNA BT 64/4493: Overhead costs and earnings of British films, 1950.

¹⁸¹ David Niven, 'David Niven's Own Story: Of His Life and Loves', *Australian Women's Weekly*, 15 September 1971, p. 15.

¹⁸² TNA WORK 19/1169: P.L. Long to Secretary, Ministry of Works, 14 August 1947.

August or 22 August depending on the weather. Long also explained that it would be necessary to use camera and sound equipment for filming.

Donahue replied to Long approving the proposal subject to the usual conditions in place for filming at the site; namely that all details of the film to be agreed by the Superintendents working at Hampton Court, F. J. Bright and W. J. Hepburn; that the work be conducted between Monday to Saturday outside of visiting hours and that the public and residents of the Palace remained undisturbed. However, Donahue explained that the restriction to the time that filming was permitted was ‘regretted, but it is one which is enforced for all filming work, and as there will probably be another film company working at the Palace during this month, likewise bound by the same restriction, no relaxation can be made in this instance’.¹⁸³ Donahue wrote to Long amending the regulations due to the ‘consideration of the special semi-experimental circumstances in which this trailer is being made’ where the Ministry of Works were prepared to relax their restrictions regarding the time the trailer could be shot, and permitted the production to be filmed throughout the day while making it clear that ‘this concession does not apply to Sunday, when no filming work may be done, and must not be taken as a precedent’.

¹⁸⁴ Second, in the same year a documentary production company obtained permission to film within the interior of the Palace for the first time. Alex Strasser of the Realist Film Unit wrote to Titman for permission to produce ‘an educational film on the subject of “heating and health”, and in consequence we intend to show a short sequence on the development of the English fire place, including a specimen of the Tudor type’.¹⁸⁵ Strasser outlined that the company wished to photograph a fireplace ‘in the Cardinal Wolsey Rooms’ between 20 September and 1 October. Permission to shoot in the Palace’s interior this was given by Donahue, and this was

¹⁸³ TNA WORK 19/1169: Donahue to Long, 19 August 1947.

¹⁸⁴ TNA WORK 19/1169: Donahue to Long, 20 August 1947.

¹⁸⁵ TNA WORK 19/1169: Alex Strasser to Titman, 25 August 1947.

likely due to it firstly being for an educational documentary film, and secondly because no actors were involved.¹⁸⁶

While the Ministry of Works was willing to accommodate certain types of filming beyond what they would normally allow, there was still one point of the film policy that they appeared unwilling to deviate from, namely allowing foreign, particularly American, companies the right to use Hampton Court as a backdrop for film projects. In September 1949 Ernest Betts, now Director of Publicity for Twentieth Century-Fox Productions, wrote to Donahue to ask permission for two actors, Richard Widmark and Gene Tierney, to have their photographs taken at Hampton Court to publicise their forthcoming film *Night and the City* (Jules Dassin, 1950).¹⁸⁷ Specifically, Betts proposed to take still photographs of the actors in an interior at Hampton Court. Writing to Titman, Donahue explained that he had refused Betts' request on the following grounds: firstly, he had proposed taking shots in the Palace interior, the 'State Rooms', which had not been allowed previously. Secondly, access was wanted between 5 p.m. until 11 p.m., and the Ministry of Works requested filming to be taken before 9.30 a.m., in keeping with the previous guidelines. Finally, as explained by Donahue:

... you would have to know something about the proposed film. In the past the King had not objected to the use of His Palace for filming purposes provided that the Palace was the background of something really historical. I didn't think He would approve it as a background for some sentimental trashy stuff; less still would He be likely to agree to it being used as a halo for two or three stars.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ TNA WORK 19/1169: Donahue to Strasser, 29 August 1947.

¹⁸⁷ TNA WORK 19/1169: Ernest Betts to Donahue, 14 September 1949.

¹⁸⁸ TNA WORK 19/1169: Donahue to Titman, 7 October 1949.

In his reply, Titman agreed with the concerns expressed by Donahue explaining: ‘I am glad... that you managed to resist the blandishments of Twentieth Century-Fox, for it is most unlikely that we should ever permit Hampton Court Palace to be used for “puffing” film stars’.¹⁸⁹

Cinematograph Policy at Hampton Court Palace, 1980-1989

The last time the policy was adapted was in 1980, before these sites were placed under different Executive Agencies of Government in 1989, and Historic Royal Palaces undertook the maintenance of Hampton Court. In a memorandum circulated from the Lord Chamberlain’s Office via the Comptroller, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Eric Penn, on 25 June 1980 to various Superintendents at different Royal Palaces including Hampton Court, Penn informed them: ‘Lord Chamberlain [Charles Maclean, Baron Maclean] has up-dated the guide-lines as to what filming and photography might be allowed in Royal Palaces and other Royal Residences’.¹⁹⁰ Specifically, the exterior of Hampton Court was allowed to be filmed in accordance with the following rules: ‘1. Photography and sketching from public precincts is allowed. A permit is required for a tripod or easel. 2. Filming can be done from the public precincts (a) Features – establishing shot only: no actors. (b) Documentaries – including commentator talking to camera’.¹⁹¹ This displays that, as with previous policies, the Lord Chamberlain’s Office still retained a disinclination towards allowing actors to be filmed at Hampton Court. For the interior of Hampton Court, the film and photography policy of 1980 states: ‘1. Permission to film in the Chapel Royal for an appropriate documentary will be considered. 2. Department of the Environment has photographs of State Rooms and Chapel Royal for reproduction’.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ TNA WORK 19/1169: Titman to Donahue, 10 October 1949.

¹⁹⁰ TNA WORK 14/3246: Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Eric Penn to various, 25 June 1980.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² TNA WORK 14/3246: Penn to various, 25 June 1980.

In terms of the first part of the permission dealing with the Chapel Royal, earlier evidence suggests that the first time filming was allowed to take place here was in 1951. H. Geddes, Production Manager for the Crown Film Unit, wrote to A. Studd, Ministry of Works, to request that they be allowed to film both the interior and exterior of the Palace for one of ‘several films dealing with the British way of life on behalf of the Central Office of Information’, and was designed to be aimed at audiences ‘in the Middle and Far East as a counter to anti-western propaganda’.¹⁹³ As part of the interiors that they wished to use, this included ‘a Service in the Chapel Royal’. This letter was passed onto D. G. Brock, who wrote to Titman that whilst the Ministry of Works was able to deal with the proposal regarding the exterior shots for the documentary, he wished to obtain the view of the Lord Chamberlain’s Office in regard to the use of the Chapel Royal: ‘the Crown Film Unit have suggested to the Dean that the attendance of the choir boys only would be sufficient for their purpose. They would, no doubt, want to provide their own congregation’.¹⁹⁴ Titman passed this correspondence on to the Comptroller of the Lord Chamberlain’s Office, Terrence Nugent, who directly wrote back to Brock stating that permission to film a service in the Chapel Royal was ‘subject to the concurrence of the Reverend Prebendary H. Harris’.¹⁹⁵ J. M. Ross of the Crown Film Unit wrote to Geddes from its Beaconsfield Film Studios base to confirm that they had been given permission for the shooting of the film, including the interior of the Chapel Royal.¹⁹⁶

For the second part of the 1980s film policy for Hampton Court, it makes no mention of feature film or documentary being allowed to shoot within the site’s interior and it insinuates that production companies would only be able to use stock footage for reproduction. It therefore

¹⁹³ TNA WORK 19/1169: H. Geddes to A. Studd, 2 October 1951.

¹⁹⁴ TNA WORK 19/1169: D. G. Brock to Titman, 5 October 1951.

¹⁹⁵ TNA WORK 19/1169: Sir Terrence Nugent to Brick, 9 October 1951.

¹⁹⁶ TNA WORK 19/1169: J. M. Ross to Geddes, 13 October 1951.

appears that the policy had regressed slightly from the relaxation that occurred during the 1940s and early 1950s. In terms of the permission for filming needing to be obtained from both the Lord Chamberlain's Office and the Ministry of Works, in the 1980s guide it states: 'In the care of Department of the Environment which has no fixed rules'.¹⁹⁷ The Ministry of Works was absorbed into the Department of the Environment in 1970, and this reveals that since this time, permission was only able to be obtained from the Lord Chamberlain's Office.

Conclusion

We can understand that the government provided the foundations of Hampton Court Palace's relationship with film and television from documents available in the National Archives. The three main points of the original cinematograph policy were first, that filming should not disrupt visitors or residents, and therefore time restrictions were placed on filmmakers as to when they could use the site (before 9.30 a.m. and after 6 p.m.). Second, the policy did not allow foreign filmmakers to make use of Hampton Court, which was due mainly to the government wanting to assist the British film industry. Third, they would allow filmmakers to use Hampton Court for 'historical or legendary scenes introducing persons in costume on the strict understanding that the scenes were not to be worked up into plays' and on the proviso that the scenes were not deemed 'ludicrous'.¹⁹⁸

As this chapter has demonstrated, however, there were certain occasions where the Office of Works, latterly the Ministry of Works, and the Lord Chamberlain's Office appeared willing to deviate from these points of the cinematograph policy for Hampton Court. Generally, the policy in regard to the time the site could be used by filmmakers remained relatively rigid,

¹⁹⁷ TNA WORK 14/3246: Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Eric Penn to various, 25 June 1980.

¹⁹⁸ TNA WORK 19/1129: Cinematograph Policy 1922.

however certain filmmaking was allowed during visitor hours, namely for films which were made for government propaganda purposes or news events. The government also remained unmoving in regard to privileging British-produced films over foreign film productions in their policy. The main area where they deviated from policy was in the type of film which was allowed to be produced at Hampton Court. As this chapter has shown, there were certain times where the government would allow films which ‘worked scenes into plays’, as well as some where certain scenes could be understood to be ‘ludicrous’, for example *Hampton Court Palace* (1926). This displays to us that there was some flexibility in the cinematograph policy applied at Hampton Court in certain situations while the government maintained this site.

In terms of the hierarchy of heritage sites which this thesis argues exists in terms of how heritage organisations determine their relationship with film and television, the evidence presented in this chapter supports this hypothesis in so far as those in charge of maintaining Hampton Court did not actively encourage filmmakers to make use of the site for film production due to certain prejudices that come to light in the surviving correspondence. Patrick Duff, Permanent Secretary to the Office of Works between 1933 and 1941, highlighted this prejudice when discussing an application from Twickenham Film Studios to shoot parts of a film at Hampton Court in 1933. On his referring to Twickenham Film Studios wanting ‘to take a few photographs’, he translated film producer’s terminology for George Crichton’s (Comptroller of the Lord Chamberlain’s Office) benefit as “‘shots” they call them in their horrible jargon’. ¹⁹⁹ Duff also believed that it would also be unlikely that applications to film at the Palace would become numerous, writing that ‘once the background of Hampton Court Palace has been utilised it will cease to have the attraction of novelty: and, with films as with the press, novelty seems to be the only thing that matters’. ²⁰⁰ Duff, of course, was proven

¹⁹⁹ TNA WORK: 19/1129: Duff to Crichton, 28 March 1933.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

wrong as we can understand from the subsequent applications to film at Hampton Court, including *The Private Life of Henry VIII* (1933). A possible reason behind this sentiment was that Hampton Court was perceived by those maintaining it to be placed highly within the hierarchy of heritage sites. Firstly, this is due to its status as an ex-Royal Palace, though it remains the property of the monarch ‘in right of Crown’. Secondly, it was believed filming would disturb the ‘beauty’ of the site to visitors and residents. As Duff once put to Wigram in 1933 regarding London Film Productions wishing to shoot *The Private Life of Henry VIII* during the day time: ‘I know that if I were paying a visit to Hampton Court Palace and found the place full of film people rehearsing and “shots”, as they call it, being taken, I should feel that the whole dignity and beauty of the place was destroyed’.²⁰¹ There were however certain exceptions allowed for filmmakers to make use of Hampton Court, and the Works department and Lord Chamberlain’s Office were evidently able to adapt the policy towards filming on occasion and in particular when the British film industry appeared to be in ‘crisis’. In the following chapter, this thesis will analyse how this original film policy has been developed and adapted since 1989 when the site became under the jurisdiction of Historic Royal Palaces. It will place the site in the context of the hierarchy of heritage sites and how HRP developed their film policy in relation to where this organisation perceived itself to be placed within the hierarchy.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

Chapter 2.

Current Film Policy at Hampton Court Palace, 1989 – 2016

This chapter analyses the official film policy for Hampton Court Palace since its takeover by Historic Royal Palaces in 1989. This chapter will question how Hampton Court Palace's relationship with the film and television industries has adapted due to organisational changes at this site. I will determine here whether the policy put in place under the government, outlined in Chapter 1, can be understood to have influenced Historic Royal Palaces' approach toward filming at this site, for example the Office of Works dominant perception of the film industry, and the site being a former royal palace. This will work towards answering the main focus of this thesis: how Historic Royal Palaces' perceive themselves to fit within the hierarchy of heritage sites to understand how this impacts on this site's relationship with film and television. To understand this, I will be drawing upon documents available in the National Archives to understand Historic Royal Palaces' approach towards filming at Hampton Court Palace, and by focusing on large-scale film productions which have been allowed access to this site. I will also place Historic Royal Palaces' approach towards film and television in to context by understanding the political, cultural and social contexts at the time which can be understood to have influenced their film policy.

The Formation of Historic Royal Palaces and their policy toward filmmaking

First, it is important to understand how Historic Royal Palaces (HRP) was formed in order to understand where this organisation perceives themselves to be placed within the hierarchy that

I argue exists. Furthermore, this assists us in understanding how they determine their relationship with film and television.

In September 1989, a month before HRP was launched as an Executive Agency of Government, Alan Ring, Secretary of State for the Environment, wrote to Andrew Turnbull, the Principle Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher.²⁰² Ring's letter informed Turnbull about the reasons why the Agency was created, and further documents attached to this correspondence reveal the government's intention for how HRP would approach running sites which were currently maintained by the Department of the Environment.²⁰³ The sites to be maintained by HRP were Hampton Court, the Tower of London, Kensington Palace and Kew Palace. The letter explained that 'the [Royal] Household has until now taken the view that the Royal status of the Palaces can be maintained only if many detailed decisions are referred to them. The new arrangements are a radical change'.²⁰⁴ During the negotiations between the government and the Royal Family, it was agreed that the sites would remain 'belonging to the Queen in right of Crown', and that David Beaton, the newly established chief executive of HRP, 'will have a tough job, but the Queen's agreement to the new framework... is a very important first step. Lord Airlie [Lord Chamberlain] has been particularly helpful throughout in what have inevitably been difficult negotiations'.²⁰⁵ The main reason behind the formation of HRP is set out by Ring as follows: '... until now the Palace management has involved a mix of interests – DOE [Department of Environment], PSA [Property Services Agency], English Heritage and the [Royal] Household. The result has been

²⁰² An Executive Agency of Government is treated managerially and budgetarily separate from a government department, but is designed to carry out executive functions under a particular department's jurisdiction. In HRP's case, it remained under the control of the Department of Environment, later merged in to the Department for Media, Culture and Sport, until 1998 when it became an independent charity, and thenceforth received no funding from the government or Crown to maintain the sites under their control. HRP does however retain a contract with the Secretary of State to manage the sites.

²⁰³ TNA PREM: 19/2832: Alan Ring to Andrew Turnbull, 22 September 1989.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

under-performance. Costs are high; and standards of interpretation and visitor service poor’.

²⁰⁶ Ring explains further that creating HRP was

... designed to achieve significant improvements in the way the Palaces are run and presented by focussing responsibility on a single professional organisation accountable to the Secretary of State. The Palaces are buildings of exceptional quality and history, and should, under the agency arrangements, move to a position where they set standards of excellence for the rest, rather than lag behind... ²⁰⁷

In his letter, Ring does not directly allude to other heritage organisations that the Palaces ‘lag behind’, however it is reasonable to assume that they may be English Heritage and the National Trust. This is important, as this contributes toward the argument in this thesis of the existence of a hierarchy of heritage sites, and where organisations perceive themselves to be placed. Ring’s explanation behind the formation of HRP here points towards a concern that where certain sites should be placed toward the top of the hierarchy, at this point they were falling behind sites maintained by other organisations.

The document included with Ring’s letter to Turnbull explains further HRP’s approach toward improving Hampton Court to place the site further up the hierarchy of UK heritage sites, as well as the relationship between film, television and the organisation. ²⁰⁸ Specifically, HRP was to improve the standards of interpretation at the sites, and the general services to the visitor, which the government felt ‘fall somewhat short of the standards which the exceptional historical, architectural and artistic quality of the Palaces and their contents deserve’. ²⁰⁹ Using

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ PREM 19/2832: ‘Historic Royal Palaces: Arrangements for consulting the Queen’s Household, Directorate of Heritage and Royal Estate’ (n.d.)

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

Hampton Court as a specific example, it was felt that ‘despite the magnificence of the paintings and State Rooms, many visitors leave disappointed and even bored, with memories not of the richness of its royal associations but of large rooms with little historical interpretation...’. In order to address these issues, the document outlines suggestions as to what can be done to improve the visitor experience at this site. For example, the government recognised that the National Trust were better in their interpretation strategy:

A visitor to a good National Trust property today or a high standard American site (like Old Sturbridge Village) will usually see the results of a clear overall plan for interpretation of buildings, contents and their history which feeds through to everything the visitor experiences there – even the shop or the signing. A visitor to Hampton Court Palace ought to feel, from the moment he comes through the main gate, that he is visiting a royal palace, and get some sense at different stages of what the history of the Palace really means. This could be done in a number of ways. An audio visual display in a specifically built visitor centre might give an introduction to different parts of the Palace as they were used in particular reigns. The state apartments would then be presented with appropriate furniture and paintings and perhaps special lighting or sound effects to give an impression of the rooms as they were.²¹⁰

The quotation above relates to elements which reveal that in HRP’s initial approach toward how Hampton Court could be interpreted to visitors there are allusions toward film in two ways. Firstly, that they wanted to include an introductory film in the visitor centre, and secondly, that in discussing the reinterpretation of certain spaces at Hampton Court, the use of atmospheric lighting or sound effects could be read as like that of a film set. This form of interpretation

²¹⁰ Ibid.

strategy will be further discussed in chapter 3. In the document, it is also recognised that functions and events held at the Palace could also prove to be a valuable source of income to maintain the site, and this may well include allowing filmmakers to use Hampton Court as a backdrop. Finally, in the policy drafted in this document directly relating to filming and photography at the sites that would be maintained by HRP, it states:

The agency would agree policies on filming and photography with the Secretary of State as part of the business planning process. The [Royal] Household would be consulted only if a specific case was likely to affect the amenity of residents or if it was necessary to seek special permission (not covered by the loan agreement) to film or photograph objects and pictures from the Royal Collection.²¹¹

It is likely that to begin with, HRP continued to retain the film policy as outlined by the Department of Education in the 1980s, documented in chapter 1. In terms of how their policy towards film has adapted and changed in the present, and how this contributes to the argument of this thesis in terms of how HRP define their relationship with film and television, it is important to look at which films were allowed access to Hampton Court. Therefore, I will now document the first large-scale filming project which gained access to film at this site, *To Kill a King* (2003).

***To Kill a King* (2003)**

To Kill a King was directed by Mike Barker, produced by Kevin Loader and scripted by Jenny Mayhew for the production company Natural Nylon. Natural Nylon was a production company

²¹¹ Ibid.

formed by Jude Law, Sadie Frost, Jonny Lee Miller, Ewan McGregor, Sean Pertwee, Damon Bryant, Bradley Adams and Geoff Deehan, and was described by Ian Nathan in *The Times* as

the hip production company formed in 1997 as a United Artists for the *Trainspotting* generation... Born out of Groucho gatherings as far back as 1995, where they discussed their dreams of revolutionising the ailing industry about them on the back of their own coolness, Natural Nylon announced they represented “what film-making is all about: a talent-driven, contemporary, hip environment that generates the best projects”.²¹²

The company folded in 2003, after Ewan McGregor, Damon Bryant, Jude Law and Sadie Frost left to pursue other film projects. Nathan also suggests that one of the reasons behind the unsuccessful enterprise was because Natural Nylon ‘was more about artistic integrity than genuine commercial thinking’.²¹³ *To Kill a King* was one of the last productions that Natural Nylon produced, albeit without the actor-partner’s involvement.

Originally titled *Cromwell and Fairfax*, *To Kill a King* is a film based on the aftermath of the English Civil War. Its plot centres on the relationship between Oliver Cromwell (Tim Roth) and Thomas Fairfax (Dougray Scott). The film was shot entirely on location in the south of England, predominantly at Hampton Court, Dover Castle, Ham House and Harrow School. This film is the first feature-length production to be allowed to make extensive use of the courtyards and interiors at Hampton Court, and as part of the main argument of this thesis it is important to question why HRP allowed Natural Nylon such unprecedented access to Hampton Court.

²¹² Ian Nathan, ‘Luvvy Labour’s Lost: Why the Britfilm company Natural Nylon perished’, *The Times* 9 January 2003, p. 17.

²¹³ *Ibid.*

There are several reasons that I hypothesise why HRP supported the production of *To Kill a King*. Firstly, since ITV's popular television series *Brideshead Revisited* (Granada Television, 1981), which was the first heritage drama to make very extensive use of a heritage site (Castle Howard) there had been a rise in filming at historic locations around Britain. In part, there was a realisation by different organisations in the heritage industry that allowing production companies to film on site could be a lucrative prospect, both in terms of the payment they received from production companies to film on site, and due to the rise in visitor figures through post-production marketing. Secondly, there is a perhaps more political, albeit apocryphal, reason behind HRP's enthusiasm towards supporting the filming of *To Kill a King* at Hampton Court. Prior to Natural Nylon's application to film at Hampton Court, Warner Bros. allegedly approached HRP wishing to film parts of *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* (Chris Columbus, 2001) at Hampton Court. HRP are said to have refused, and Warner Bros. proceeded to film at other locations including Alnwick Castle, the Bodleian Library and Christ Church College, University of Oxford. Sets were built at Leavesden Studios, Hertfordshire, and this is allegedly where Hampton Court's Tudor Kitchens were built as a studio set, based on sketches that the film's production designer, Stuart Craig, took whilst under the guise of a visitor to Hampton Court.²¹⁴ It is unclear why HRP refused permission to Warner Bros., though is likely due to the first point they outline in their film and photography policy, namely they felt that as the Palace is Crown property it could not be used to endorse commercial activity connected with their core work.

Officially, HRP were interested in *To Kill a King* due to historic theme that the film would portray: Charles I was temporarily imprisoned at Hampton Court in 1647. Alongside this reason, permission could have been granted as HRP realised the amount of additional

²¹⁴ There is a reference to Hampton Court within the first *Harry Potter* film. In the scene where Rubeus Hagrid (Robbie Coltrane) and Harry Potter (Daniel Radcliffe) visit Diagon Alley via the London Underground, there is an advertisement on the train stating 'Hampton Court Palace: Discover six acres of beauty. Then step outside'.

revenue they had lost in their refusal to accommodate *Harry Potter*, and they worked hard to ensure the filming of *To Kill a King* ran smoothly. Kevin Loader explains that on obtaining permission to film at the Palace: ‘We were very persistent and diplomatic in our approaches’ in the meetings held with HRP.²¹⁵ In terms of the film’s use of location, Hampton Court is the most prominent. As is stated in the film’s press pack:

The production pulled off a major coup when it was granted permission to shoot for two weeks at Hampton Court Palace. With its strong historical connections to both King Charles I and Oliver Cromwell, the production was deemed an ideal project for the Palace to open its gates to a film crew.²¹⁶

When I interviewed Loader in 2013 about the film’s production taking place within the Palace, he believed that permission in part was granted due to the time at which they asked. Loader explained: ‘Everybody started to wise up slightly about not only the publicity value of taking part in these things but also in the educational and historical value to interest generations of people about the past in a slightly different way’.²¹⁷ From HRP’s perspective, Brett Dolman, curator at Hampton Court, explained that HRP allowed *To Kill a King* to be filmed on-site as a test-case for future filming at Hampton Court.²¹⁸ The main marketing strategy at the Palace was at this time focused on promoting Henry VIII, so by allowing *To Kill a King* to film at this site it could allow for visitors to discuss Whitehall and the Civil War.²¹⁹ It was also an enticing package for HRP as they could further advertise the Banqueting House and hopefully generate a larger visitor volume to that site.

²¹⁵ Kevin Loader as quoted in Stuart Jeffries ‘Heads on the Block’ *The Guardian* 26 July 2002, p. 11.

²¹⁶ BFI: *To Kill a King* press book.

²¹⁷ Kevin Loader, Personal Interview, 9 May 2013.

²¹⁸ Brett Dolman, Personal Interview, 1 March 2013.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

In the press book for *To Kill a King*, it outlines how its production designer, Sophie Becher, wanted to put across this period of history to viewers through use of authentic-looking locations around the London and Kent area: ‘We wanted to show the England of the civil war and the immediate aftermath, as a place of divided loyalties, so when possible we were very keen to show the displacement of families’, where she explains that for the London scenes were shot to appear as authentically grubby in contrast to ‘the scenes in Whitehall Palace, Fairfax’s beautiful house etc’.²²⁰ Originally referred to as York Place, the Palace of Whitehall became the main residence of the monarch in London from 1530 when Henry VIII acquired the site from Cardinal Wolsey, until 1698, when most of it was destroyed by fire except for the Inigo Jones-designed Banqueting House. On discussing how the crew worked to reconstruct Whitehall Palace, Becher realised on reading first-time writer Jenny Mayhew’s script that this set-build would prove to be a challenge:

I knew we could build the façade of the Banqueting Hall but I couldn’t build its environs. We’d already done a little bit of filming at Hampton Court during *Lorna Doone*, so I struck upon the idea of building Whitehall Palace within one of the courtyards at Hampton Court so you have a three-sixty shot. We were very persuasive and very lucky... *Cromwell* [sic] loved Hampton Court so they were very supportive of the project.²²¹

Hampton Court, or rather HRP its governing body, were indeed supportive. They granted permission for the production company to construct the Whitehall set in Base Court, the first internal courtyard inside the Tudor palace, and to utilize other areas including Clock Court and part of the North Cloister for an arranged two weeks of shooting during January 2002. Once they had initially approached HRP to film at Hampton Court, Loader explains how

²²⁰ BFI: Sophie Becher, *To Kill a King* press book.

²²¹ Ibid.

certain Palace operational issues were outlined to them in terms of the logistics of filming at the site which needed to be adhered to. The Palace, it was explained, would not be closed to visitors during the filming of *To Kill a King*, and therefore the film's production team would be expected to produce it around visitor flow. This contributed to the complexity of negotiations in terms of health and safety which now included both impact to visitors and to the conservation of the fabric of the building during set construction. The production schedule allowed for *To Kill a King* was also tight. Due to a 'Spring event' already arranged to be held at Hampton Court, it was made clear that the cast and crew needed to be off-site by a specific date in February.²²² Loader explains their intentions as to how they wished to use Hampton Court for the film's production: 'Obviously we were quite ambitious about being there; not only did we want to use the Cloisters and some of the chambers, but more importantly we wanted to build the façade in Base Court. That was the most controversial thing'.²²³ The 'controversy' Loader is referring to is the building of the facade of Whitehall Palace in Base Court. This involved removing the lawns originally present in this area which would eventually come back to haunt the production team during the set's removal. It would also involve disruption for visitors both while the set was being built and whilst it was used for filming.

As 'Whitehall' was built to be a free-standing 'flat' – a façade – Loader explains that there was a lot of surveying from the Conservation Department where they cited issues with certain fabrics and indemnities which had to be removed before building it.²²⁴ Employees at Hampton Court, according to Loader, were extremely helpful in this regard where the Conservation Department assisted with the set build, and Operations helped to map and control visitor flow during building and filming of the 'Whitehall' scenes. Loader explained that the

²²² I have been unable to ascertain what the 'Spring event' in question was. Loader suggested in interview that it was the RHS Hampton Court Palace Flower Show, however this did not take place until July.

²²³ Loader.

²²⁴ Ibid.

set for Whitehall was built within approximately two weeks.²²⁵ It was a prefabricated set piece with a wooden rostrum constructed at the front for Charles I's execution. The most time-consuming part of the set-build was dressing the metal scaffolding beneath the rostrum as Mike Barker wished to direct the execution scene from underneath. It took a week to ten days to bolt 'Whitehall' into place in Base Court, but it was the painting and dressing of this set that took the most time as it could not be painted until it was in situ:

For the actual final finish of the stonework they did the clever thing where you put some sand on it and then you paint over it so you can get the right texture as you don't want it to look two-dimensional. A lot of the skill of set painting is about weathering and breaking-down to make the building look as though it's been weathered for years even though it hasn't.²²⁶

Becher, according to Loader, placed great emphasis on research in order for Whitehall to be accurate to the period and he remembers that a lot of time was spent getting the colour swatches for the Whitehall building fabric exactly right.²²⁷ Her historical research included contemporary external and internal floor plans, paintings, illustrations and written descriptions from the period.

Due to the time constraints placed on the production, the cast and crew used the time it took to build the facia of Whitehall in Base Court to film elsewhere in the Palace, including the scenes filmed on the King's Staircase which would lead up to where Charles I appeared imprisoned in the film, and the North Cloister and Tennis Court Lane which was dressed to appear as a London market. Loader explains that the reasons for this, as with the cost of filming, is because historic London 'is always very difficult as there are no pre-Fire of London streets

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Ibid.

available and it's almost impossible as you'll never get that run of streets to get anything that looks remotely authentic'.²²⁸ Ultimately, the budget for *To Kill a King*'s overall design costs came to £2,150,000 of the film's overall final cost of £14 million.²²⁹ Out of the final budget, £1 million was used for set construction inclusive of building and dressing costs, £278,000 for design, £680,000 for 'authentic' props and a further £192,000 for stage rental.²³⁰

In the event, *To Kill a King* became a hugely problematic film production financially, which had direct impact on the filming at Hampton Court, and HRP as an organisation. In Stuart Jeffries' report where he was present during the film's shooting at Hampton Court, he explained:

Like the fitting of [Olivia] William's corset, the making of this film has demanded a series of painful squeezes. The history of *To Kill a King* is one of unpaid wages and bills, corner-cutting, reshooting and rescripting on the hoof, computer-generated miracles, bafflingly complicated funding deals and bankruptcy, not once but twice. It's also a rare story of a British film made without public financial backing.²³¹

Filming took place at Hampton Court in January-February 2002, and on Jeffries' visit to the set on 30 January, 'all seemed to be proceeding very nicely', before disaster struck when Natural Nylon failed to provide the funds needed for filming.²³² As Barker is reported to have said to Jeffries: 'What happened was that the film went bankrupt once because the finance that was meant to be there wasn't, so no bank or bond would cover it – and without the bond, you can't do the rest of your finance'.²³³ Adam Dawtry for *Variety* reported that Natural Nylon

²²⁸ Ibid

²²⁹ Stuart Jeffries, 'Heads on the Block', *Guardian*, 26 July 2002, p. 10.

²³⁰ Budget shown to author by Loader.

²³¹ Jeffries, p. 10.

²³² Ibid, p. 11.

²³³ Ibid.

‘were forced to suspend production [on] February 11 when the pie’s financing fell apart’, which Dawtry explained was because: ‘Shooting started January 20 without a U.S. [distribution] deal in place, which meant Natural Nylon and sales company IAC Films were unable to close their bank financing, and ultimately could not continue cash-flow to the production’.²³⁴ Barker went onto explain at the time that there was no guarantee of the film’s completion, and therefore had no choice but to suspend filming:

On the last day of filming, when we went bankrupt, we didn’t even have enough money to remove our 200ft set of Whitehall Palace from Hampton Court. We’d dug all the lawns up and we couldn’t replace them because we couldn’t pay for turf. I mean this is the Queen’s palace! It was really embarrassing. Dougray came up with the money to pay for the set removal.²³⁵

Whilst Dougray Scott was able to provide the funds to remove the set from Hampton Court, funds were not provided to return the turf which had been removed from Base Court, and Dolman reported that it was HRP who paid for it to be replaced.²³⁶

As to the finished film itself, there is continuous paradox evident throughout the film in terms of narrative, location and character. J. C. Davis argues that Oliver Cromwell is a paradoxical historic figure where his reputation switches continuously between ‘greatness’ and ‘persistence’ and that our view of him ‘has moved through extremes: from darkness to light and, latterly, towards paradox which seeks to embrace something of both’.²³⁷ Beginning in medias res in 1645 after the decisive Battle of Naseby, the opening scene of *To Kill a King* confronts the viewer with a montage where the narration is to be front-ending and circular. Its

²³⁴ Adam Dawtry, ‘Nylon’s *Cromwell* tries to buck up’, *Variety*, 18-24 February 2002, p. 9.

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ Dolman.

²³⁷ J.C. Davis *Oliver Cromwell* (London: Arnold, 2001) p. 9.

opening provides a low-angle shot of Cromwell's corpse hanging from the Base Court archway at Hampton Court where we take the position of the eyes of a child, a continuous motif adopted throughout the film. Shot in the style of a William Hogarth painting, *To Kill a King* presents the viewer with an interesting comparison between Hampton Court and Whitehall Palace in terms of architecture. The scenes depicting the facade of Whitehall include Charles I's execution and Cromwell's investiture and the subsequent failed assassination attempt. The execution begins with a boy peering through a lattice window where Charles is preparing to leave Whitehall to be put to death. This tableaux is framed in an similar style to that of the painting *A Boy Looking through a Casement Window* (Flemish School, 17th Century), which is reminiscent of *The Private Life of Henry VIII* where Henry VIII peers through the window as discussed in chapter 1:



Figure 8: Boy looking through to Whitehall 'interior' in *To Kill a King* (2003)

Loader explains that as the set of Whitehall was only a free-standing flat, they had to juxtapose the interior shot of Charles filmed at Penshurst Place, which was also used for the scenes of his imprisonment, with the lattice window constructed and filmed at Shepperton Studios.²³⁸ In the film it is therefore a deliberate intercut to connect the two. The camera proceeds to pan steadily

²³⁸ Loader.

along as the boy follows Charles' exit onto the rostrum. This combines to continue the theme constructed throughout the film that we are to see this version of history through the voyeuristic gaze of a child through use of camera reflection and refraction. The ominous diegetic sound of a tolling bell remains throughout the scene to heighten the viewer's sense of foreboding at the act of killing a king. When Charles enters out of 'Whitehall' onto the wooden rostrum, the viewer immediately witnesses the difference between the 'Whitehall' set and the Tudor fabric of Hampton Court:



Figure 9: Whitehall/Hampton Court (1)

This was deliberate. In terms of the accuracy needed to displace Whitehall back into the period represented in the film, Loader states: 'it would have been very hard to get that juxtaposition between the white fabric of that building nestling cheek-by-jowl with the more Elizabethan and pre-Elizabethan structures of Whitehall Palace so that's why we went to film Whitehall in Hampton Court'.²³⁹ Following Charles' entrance, the camera provides a subjective reaction shot to the crowds gathered to witness the execution. Following this, Barker once again positions us to witness the act through the gaze of a child as the camera tracks a girl as she hides beneath the rostrum. We witness the actual execution from a low-angle shot through the

²³⁹ Ibid.

wooden slats of the rostrum as the camera and girl's face become smeared with blood. The scene ends with an irony in Cromwell's speech: "With this you are subjects no more, but citizens, free men, you do not have to kneel to any other man". As Cromwell addresses the crowds in front of 'Whitehall' after his investiture as Lord Protector, the combination of Whitehall and Hampton Court is clearest here where the recognisable entrance to Base Court is at its most visible:



Figure 10: Whitehall/Hampton Court (2)

Mainly due to financial issues plaguing the film's production, the critical reception of *To Kill a King* was understandably mixed, though most critics acknowledged that the film had potential to be of interest to audiences, albeit a limited 'arthouse' audience and would have little interest beyond Britain. The film's box office gross on its opening weekend in the UK on 16-18 May 2003 was US \$96,776.²⁴⁰ To put this in context, *To Kill a King* was placed fourteenth in the highest weekend UK box office gross in a week where the leading films were a superhero film, *X2: X-Men United* (Bryan Singer, 2003), an American/Australian action-comedy film, *Kangaroo Jack* (David McNally, 2003) and a UK James Bond spoof, *Johnny*

²⁴⁰ Figure obtained from Box Office Mojo, <<http://www.boxofficemojo.com/intl/uk/?yr=2003&wk=20¤cy=us&sort=gross&order=ASC&p=.htm>> [24 September 2015].

English (Peter Howitt, 2003). *To Kill a King* came below *Armaan: The Desire* (Honey Irani, 2003), an Indian Hindi drama, and *Antwone Fisher* (Denzel Washington, 2003), an independent American film.²⁴¹

One of the issues with the film is the very fact that it does not present itself favourably towards either a particular gendered or specific age of audience. The film is arguably too masculine (disregarding the weak female lead presented in Anne Fairfax) to be of interest to a female audience who are not perceived to be interested in the period of history the film presents. Whilst the film is masculine-focussed in terms of the relationship between Cromwell and Fairfax as well as the political machinations during the Civil War period, it lacks the large and bloody battle scenes to create a 'hook' to garner interest for audiences who favour Hollywood historical epics such as *Braveheart* (Mel Gibson, 1995). According to this film's skewed version of history, *Braveheart* positions William Wallace (Mel Gibson) as the underdog leading the Scottish into the First War of Scottish Independence, and who assists Robert the Bruce (Angus Macfadyen) in winning Scotland its independence from Edward I (Patrick McGoohan). *To Kill a King's* lack of battles as are witnessed in *Braveheart* is of course due to its much smaller budget, though Loader attempts to justify this omission in *To Kill a King* by explaining 'onscreen battles have to be incredibly simple or you can't understand them. Like in *Braveheart* – there's a load of blokes on the left of the screen in blue woad and there's a load of blokes on the right with pointed sticks and they're going to meet in the middle'.²⁴² Regardless of Loader's attempt to justify the lack of blood and gore on the battlefield in *To Kill a King*, Barker rather wittily admits that mainly it was a budgetary issue, where as opposed to this film's original projected budget of £12 million, *Braveheart's* budget was US \$72 million:

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Jeffries, p. 10.

‘We couldn’t really have 20,000 people running down a hill like in *Braveheart*. Not least because we only have four extras’.²⁴³

To Kill a King would always have been a ‘hard-sell’ to distributors and audiences. *To Kill a King* remains one of only a few films to ever be produced about the historical civil war period between 1642-1658, including *Cromwell* (Ken Hughes, 1970) and *Winstanley* (Kevin Brownlow, 1976), though this period has also been represented in costume dramas such as *Witchfinder General* (Michael Reeves, 1968). When interviewed, Loader iterated his surprise at how little such an ‘interesting period of British history’ had been ‘exploited’.²⁴⁴ He develops on this by explaining: ‘there are analogues, there is civil and political turmoil from 300 years ago that feel very contemporary and speak to us now of how to deal with similar situations’.²⁴⁵ James Chapman places *To Kill a King* in to the context of the ‘economic and cultural viability of British national cinema’ at the time of its release, determining that ‘more recently the contraction of the production sector of the British film industry has meant that historical films have become fewer in number, but the genre has still attracted ambitious independent producers’.²⁴⁶ Chapman suggests that due to *To Kill a King*’s focus on the little-known figure of Thomas Fairfax, as well as the film’s lack of marketing exposure, this contributed to audience disinterest.²⁴⁷ Andrew Higson supports Chapman’s view of the reason behind *To Kill a King*’s low audience figures, where he explains that:

The British distributor of *To Kill a King*, for instance, identified the core audience for the film as older, more discerning cinemagoers who hanker after

²⁴³ Production Budget for *Braveheart* obtained from Box Office Mojo <<http://www.boxofficemojo.com/movies/?id=braveheart.htm>> [23 September 2015] and Jeffries, p. 10.

²⁴⁴ Loader.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ James Chapman ‘The World Turned Upside Down: *Cromwell* (1970), *Winstanley* (1975) *To Kill a King* (2003) and the British Historical Film’ in Leen Engelen and Roel Vande Winkel (eds) *Perspectives on European Film and History* (Belgium: Academia Press, 2007) p. 112.

²⁴⁷ Chapman, p. 128.

upscale period fare such as *Mrs Brown*, thereby neatly identifying both the planned market position for the film, and links between films about the early modern and modern pasts.²⁴⁸

Regardless of the lack of funds which lead to a somewhat fragmented and disjointed final film and a lack of audience interest, critics nevertheless were relatively positive, where three types of discursive sources (British trade papers, British quality papers and US trade papers) offer different critical perspectives. For example, Allan Hunter in British trade paper *Screen International* described the film as ‘an ambitious, solidly executed period drama’, where ‘the film still displays a much more complex grip of the issues at stake than was seen in Ken Hughes’ *Cromwell*’.²⁴⁹ Film critic Philip French reviewed the film in the *Guardian*: ‘*To Kill a King* is a decent and honourable film that, unfashionably in contemporary cinema, shows some interest in ideas and how they function in public life’.²⁵⁰ Reviewers also focus on the lack of battle sequences, where Hunter writes that the film is: ‘A sober, serious-minded tale in which revolution and evolution fight for intellectual supremacy, it unfolds in gloomy debating chambers and draughty castles rather than the mud-spattered fields of battle’, where he believes that it lacks ‘the rousing epic sweep of a *Braveheart*’.²⁵¹

BBC Gloucestershire describes *To Kill a King* as: ‘Lacking the budget for extras-dominated battle sequences, the real action takes place in darkened back rooms and whispered conversations between like-minded men. It’s a claustrophobic film, in which all the conflicts are fought with words and wit, not weapons or warriors’.²⁵² Another common theme running

²⁴⁸ Andrew Higson, *Film England: Culturally English Filmmaking since the 1990s* (London and New York: I.B.Tauris, 2011) p. 206.

²⁴⁹ Allan Hunter, ‘Reviews’ *Screen International* 1403 2 May 2003 p.28.

²⁵⁰ Philip French, ‘You and Whose New Model Army?’ *Guardian* May 18 2003.
<<http://www.theguardian.com/film/2003/may/18/philipfrench>> [23 September 2015]

²⁵¹ Hunter, p. 28.

²⁵² ‘Film Review’ *BBC Gloucestershire*
<www.bbc.co.uk/gloucestershire/films/reviews/t_z/to_kill_a_king.shtml> [24 August 2015]

throughout most of the reviews is that the film comes across rather like a history lesson. For example, Brian Pendreigh in the *Radio Times* wrote: ‘Despite woefully stilted dialogue, this is a fascinating if controversial history lesson’, and Hunter describes *To Kill a King* as ‘a history lesson propelled by ideas rather than action’. ²⁵³ In terms of whether *To Kill a King* succeeded in evoking the seventeenth century, through its use of Hampton Court and set design, this is something that reviewers at the time of the film’s release all agreed: ‘WH’ reviewing *To Kill a King* for *Time Out London* states that although ‘the crammed, convoluted, episodic narrative is wearisome’, this is ‘despite the seductive attractions of fine heritage location work and painterly lighting’. ²⁵⁴ Chanie Rosenberg for *Socialist Review* writes: ‘If one accepts the film within the limits offered, it is a fine presentation... with very impressive locations, costumes and crowd scenes’. ²⁵⁵ In the USA, Derek Elley for trade paper *Variety* suggested that audiences ‘will be richly rewarded by *To Kill a King*’, and that it ‘provides a muscular interpretation of Jenny Mayhew’s literate script to pleasing results’. ²⁵⁶ Elley’s review does balance this however by suggesting that ‘the film fumbles its ending, and is a tad short on action to marble the talkier moments’. ²⁵⁷ Elley concurs with the view of Rosenberg, where he believes ‘what money was available is still all up on the screen, giving a flavor for 17th-century life’, where he states ‘English locations, including Hampton Court, are convincing’. ²⁵⁸

²⁵³ Brian Pendreigh, ‘To Kill a King Film Review’ *Radio Times*, 2003, <www.radiotimes.com/film/kbnhk/to-kill-a-king-2003> [24 August 2015]; Hunter, p. 28.

²⁵⁴ ‘WH’, ‘Film Review’ *Time Out London* 2003. <www.timeout.com/london/film/to-kill-a-king> [24 August 2015]

²⁵⁵ Chanie Rosenberg, ‘A Revolution in the Making’ *Socialist Review* June 2003, p.275.

²⁵⁶ Derek Elley, ‘Review: *To Kill a King*’ *Variety* May 12 2003. <<http://variety.com/2003/film/markets-festivals/to-kill-a-king-1200541764/>> [23 September 2015]

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ Elley.

Current Film Policy

Despite the problems arising with the production of *To Kill a King* at Hampton Court, the experience of allowing large-scale filming did not deter HRP from allowing other production companies to film at the site, or the others under its jurisdiction (Kensington Palace, Kew Palace, the Banqueting House and the Tower of London). HRP has since allowed Hollywood blockbusters to film at Hampton Court, for example *Pirates of the Caribbean: On Stranger Tides* (Rob Marshall, 2011), *Sherlock Holmes: A Game of Shadows* (Guy Richie, 2011) and *Jack the Giant Slayer* (Bryan Singer, 2013), all of which were filmed at Hampton Court in 2011/12. None of these films can be said to directly reflect any of Hampton Court's history, nor, with the arguable exception of *Pirates of the Caribbean*, are they films representing the historical past. This is directly at odds with the first principle outlined in their filming and photography guidelines that as the palaces are Crown property, films cannot 'promote or endorse commercial activity unconnected with our core work'.²⁵⁹ It is not at all clear how HRP perceive that these three films 'promote or endorse' their core work exactly, which are outlined in the 'Financial Statements 2012':

1. To manage, conserve, renovate, repair, maintain and improve the Palaces to a high standard consistent with their status as buildings of royal, historic and architectural importance;
2. To help everyone to learn about the Palaces, the skills required for their conservation and the wider story of how monarchs and people together have shaped society by providing public access, by exhibition, by events and

²⁵⁹ HRP: *Guidelines for Filming and Photography* (2012/13)

education programmes, by the preparation of records, by research and by publication and by such other means as are appropriate.²⁶⁰

However, it does note under the ‘Having a Wider Impact on the World’ core strategy section in the financial statement that: ‘The palaces continue to feature as filming locations. Highlights include the major feature film, *Jack the Giant Killer*, due for release in summer 2012’, referring to *Jack the Giant Slayer*.²⁶¹ This particular core strategy is defined as ‘help everyone explore the story of how monarchs and people have shaped society... Our priority is to broaden our reach, build awareness, support and influence for HRP as widely as possible in all our communication and public-facing activities’.²⁶²

From this, it could be understood that by allowing production companies to film at the Palace, it provides a media opportunity to advertise Hampton Court to an international audience. This would seemingly make sense; however, two points are worth noting in regard to HRP’s justification. Firstly, when *Sherlock Holmes: A Game of Shadows* was filmed at Hampton Court, it made use of the Tudor Kitchens and the East Front Gardens to represent locations in Paris. In the Gardens, a green screen was set up to reflect the Eiffel Tower, while the Tudor Kitchens were dressed to look like a French patisserie. There is an apocryphal story that when Guy Richie, the film’s director, visited the set created in the Kitchens he pointed to the fire lit within the space and exclaimed “I want a hog on that!”. He then proceeded to ignore the advice of his production designer that it was supposed to be a patisserie.²⁶³ Whether it is true or not about a hog being spit-roasted in the Tudor Kitchens, these two filming examples do not particularly reflect Hampton Court or its history. Secondly, at point of contract between

²⁶⁰ HRP: ‘Financial Statements’ (2012) p.2. <<http://www.hrp.org.uk/about-us/corporate-reports/>> [17 February 2016]

²⁶¹ Ibid, p. 5.

²⁶² Ibid, p. 3.

²⁶³ I was told this by a State Apartment Warder colleague who witnessed the exchange in the Tudor Kitchens in 2011.

HRP and production companies, they do not request a clause to make use of the film for the purposes of marketing and promoting their sites.²⁶⁴ Therefore, it is not clear how they propose feature-length films could assist in HRP 'Having a Wider Impact on the World'. Officially, Ella Sullivan, Filming Officer for HRP, has explained that the organisation receives a 'huge volume' of filming enquires for all of the sites they maintain. Therefore, they 'prioritise filming which tells the historical stories of the palaces, and also that which highlights the work of HRP as a charity, and the work it does'.²⁶⁵ This is, of course, representative of their policy for film and photography, and appears to be the official response with which they promote the endorsement of allowing crews to film at HRP's sites. As we can understand from the three examples I have cited here, however, they are not in any way reflective of this position.

As these films have not used Hampton Court to represent itself, but rather dress this site to represent their own narratives – for example *Jack the Giant Slayer* dressed Base Court to appear as a medieval marketplace, and the production rode a horse down the North Cloister which is, of course, a highly unlikely scenario, as well as the examples I have used for *Sherlock Holmes* – it is important to question why production companies choose to film on site as opposed to a studio. There are two possible reasons for this. Firstly, it could be due to the aesthetic pictorial quality that production companies can achieve by filming on site. Secondly, it could be because it is cheaper to film on location as opposed to a studio. The latter reason is more likely for film crews applying to film at Hampton Court, as it is cheaper to use than constructed studio sets. In regard to HRP's charges for the right to film on site, Sullivan has informed me that they do not charge for news crews to cover exhibitions and events at the Palaces and the Tower, whereas small-scale crews, for example BBC TV documentaries are 'usually' charged £350 per hour as well as VAT, for 'medium scale entertainment, depending

²⁶⁴ Ella Sullivan, Email Interview, 11 February 2016.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

on the costs we incur and the size of the set up' can be up to £500 per hour.²⁶⁶ She explains that for feature-length films 'we usually agree a rate of around £1000 per hour, dependant on impact and scale of course. In addition to this, if there are any additional costs for things like electrics or moving large objects – we'd ask the feature film to cover those too'.²⁶⁷ From the perspective of production companies, this is highly attractive.

Why, then, is it so cheap to film at Hampton Court? There are a couple of speculative reasons that can be offered. First is that it is cheaper to film on location as large sets do not have to be built, and Hampton Court can provide an 'authentic' historic backdrop, although as I have explained this is not always utilized. The second reason for film production companies to make use of Hampton Court is the UK Film Tax Relief which was established by the government in 2007. This scheme works to encourage production companies to make use of British locations. In order to decide which productions are eligible for these tax breaks, the film proposed needs to qualify as 'British', either by passing the relevant BFI Cultural Test or by qualifying as an official co-production, and be intended for release.²⁶⁸ To apply for the BFI Cultural Test, there must be one production company that is registered with Companies House and within the UK corporation tax net.²⁶⁹ For example, Disney set up the company Blackbeard Productions in order to claim the tax breaks for *Pirates of the Caribbean*. It is a points-based test where the proposed film needs to achieve at least 18 points out of a possible 35, and in order to calculate this the BFI have determined four sections: 'Cultural content' (up to 18 points), 'Cultural contribution' (4 points), 'Cultural hubs' (5 points) meaning post-production or studios, and 'Cultural practitioners' (5 points).²⁷⁰ Furthermore, there are four ways to

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ More information on the cultural test for determining a British film or a UK co-production is available at the BFI website <<http://www.bfi.org.uk/supporting-uk-film/british-certification-tax-relief/cultural-test-film>> [17 February 2016].

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

achieve points for ‘Cultural content’ where the BFI calculates whether the film is set in the UK (4), the lead actors are British or EEA citizens or residents (4), the film is based on a British subject matter or ‘underlying material’ (4), and the original dialogue being recorded in English (6).²⁷¹

If a co-production meets the requirements set out by the BFI Cultural Test, once certified it ‘counts as a national film in each of the territories and may qualify for public support on the same basis as national films in that territory’.²⁷² Films that are classed as eligible with an expenditure of more than £20 million are entitled to an additional tax deduction of 80 per cent of qualifying UK expenditure, and are able to surrender losses in exchange for a cash payment of up to 20 per cent of their production costs.²⁷³ Interestingly, the government are echoing similar concerns towards the British film industry as they did in the 1920s, which led to the Cinematographic Films Act 1927. The Treasury echoes Sir Stephen Tallents’ pamphlet *The Projection of England* in its rationale:

Cinematic film provides a universal and readily accessible medium for the expression and representation of British culture and national identity. Films can help reflect, explore and challenge our diverse history, cultural beliefs and shared values. In doing so, the best British films not only help us to reach a better shared understanding of Britain and its place in the world, but are also instrumental in spreading awareness and appreciation of British culture around the world. As such, British films are an important part of our cultural heritage

²⁷¹ Ibid.

²⁷² HM Treasury *Reform of film tax Incentives: Promoting the sustainable production of culturally British films*, July 2005.

²⁷³ <http://filmlondon.org.uk/filming_in_london/taxreliefs> [17 February 2016].

and a significant channel for the continuing expression and dissemination of British culture.²⁷⁴

All three of the films produced in part at Hampton Court – *Pirates of the Caribbean*, *Sherlock Holmes* and *Jack the Giant Slayer* – received these UK tax breaks to film in Britain.²⁷⁵ In terms of *Pirates of the Caribbean*, its production company Disney received \$32.1 million from this tax relief scheme.²⁷⁶ Certainly since 2007, there has been a rise in the interest in filming at this site, and it is likely that the tax breaks available in the UK is the main underlying reason as to why filming at Hampton Court is now an attractive proposition for filmmakers, as well as its own minimal charge.

Conclusion

As we can understand from how the film policy for Hampton Court has adapted since HRP has come to maintain this site since 1989, there are three main parts of the policy which have changed. First, HRP have become more amenable to allowing filmmakers to work during visitor opening hours, and to take over large parts of the site in the process. They first allowed such large-scale filming at Hampton Court during the day with *To Kill a King*. They also allowed for the later examples in this chapter, *Pirates of the Caribbean: On Stranger Tides*, *Sherlock Holmes: A Game of Shadows* and *Jack the Giant Slayer* to film during visitor opening hours as well. In terms of how this worked, the operation was based on organising visitor flow around the areas being used for filming at various times. External contractors arranged for extra security to assist in this at the site. Second, unlike when Hampton Court was maintained by the

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ British Film Commission 2014 <<http://www.britishfilmcommission.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/BFCBrochure2014website.pdf>> [17 February 2016].

²⁷⁶ Christian Sylt, 'Fourth Pirates Of The Caribbean Is Most Expensive Movie Ever Made With Costs of \$410 Million', *Forbes*, 22 July 2014 <<http://www.forbes.com/sites/csylt/2014/07/22/fourth-pirates-of-the-caribbean-is-most-expensive-movie-ever-with-costs-of-410-million/#7a46d895e224>> [17 February 2016].

government, HRP are willing to allow foreign film productions access to this site. Reasons behind allowing this is likely due to the third change in the film policy at Hampton Court: the revenue generated by HRP for allowing filmmakers access to the site. While the government did not make money from this enterprise, HRP have realised that allowing filmmakers access to this site can be lucrative. The three points of the film policy noted here are indicative of a more proactive approach towards the production of film at Hampton Court by HRP than when the government maintained the site. However, the way that HRP's film policy itself is written is contradictory to these points.

While HRP appear to be more proactive regarding allowing filming at Hampton Court, albeit surreptitiously, I would argue that this is for three key reasons. Firstly, by the hierarchy of heritage sites. This can be understood from the early documents surrounding the setting up of HRP as an Executive Agency of Government available in the National Archives. The documents reveal how there was a concern that Hampton Court, and the other sites which were to become maintained by HRP, were falling behind other heritage sites in terms of what is offered to visitors and the interpretation strategy in exhibiting the site. While the government up until 1989 resisted large-scale filming at Hampton Court due to it having once been a royal palace, and the perception that it would 'destroy the beauty' of the site for visitors, as I documented in chapter 1, HRP recognised that changes had to be made in light of the perception that they were slipping down the hierarchy. Second, HRP realised the possible financial revenue which can be generated from allowing large-scale access to film productions at Hampton Court. This is particularly important, as HRP have ceased to receive funding from the government from 1998 when it became an independent charity. Therefore, it relies on funding from a variety of sources to generate the income necessary to maintain the site to the standard it needs to stay towards the top of the hierarchy of heritage sites. Thirdly, whilst HRP is now a charitable organisation which receives no funding from the government per se, I argue

that we can understand the relaxation of their rules regarding filming at the Palace is in part due to the political and cultural debates at the current time. Filming on location in Britain is now a more attractive deal to both British and overseas production companies. As with the Cinematograph Films Act of 1927, the 2012 tax relief scheme works to promote the quality of the British film industry abroad, and ‘is vital to sustaining the competitiveness of film production in the UK’ as stated by a research study conducted by the think-tank Oxford Economics on behalf of the British Film Institute.²⁷⁷ In a similar statement to that of Ramsay MacDonald in 1927 in using Britain for the backdrop of British films, Film Minister Ed Vaizey is quoted in a press release as saying: ‘Film Tax Relief is at the heart of our drive to support the production of culturally British films within a sustainable and vibrant industry’.²⁷⁸ Echoing Sir Stephen Tallents, the report states:

The core UK film industry contributes substantially to the cultural life of the UK. UK films are a means of expression of British identity. UK films also address the social challenges faced in the 21st Century, including unemployment, prejudice and race, as well as positive themes such as family values, friendship and triumph over adversity.²⁷⁹

As we can understand from this, the government are attempting to achieve through these tax breaks what the government of the 1920s were attempting to do in protecting and promoting the British film industry. As stated in the *Economic Impact* report for the BFI on films shooting on location: ‘Films not only generate interest in a country but also act to remind people about what the country has to offer – for example by showcasing scenery and the cultural offer’.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁷ Oxford Economics ‘The Economic Impact of the UK Film Industry’ September 2012, p.16.

²⁷⁸ HM Treasury ‘Government announces extension of Film Tax Relief’, Press Release, 10 November 2011. <<https://www.gov.uk/government/news/government-announces-extension-of-film-tax-relief>> [2 March 2016]

²⁷⁹ Oxford Economics, p. 11.

²⁸⁰ Oxford Economics, p. 66.

I would argue that these three key reasons behind HRP becoming more proactive in relation to film production at Hampton Court is because of the recognition since the early 1980s that film could offer potential revenues as well as positive representations of a site, which began with *Brideshead Revisited* (Granada Television, 1981) filming at Castle Howard. As other heritage organisations, such as English Heritage and the National Trust, have become more proactive in their film policies, so has HRP. However, HRP has, to date, not used the films which have been produced at Hampton Court to form part of the interpretation or marketing strategy at this site, and this is in part due to the competition between heritage organisations, and HRP's desire to be at the top of the hierarchy.

Now that this thesis has outlined the film policy of Hampton Court, it is important to analyse how HRP makes use of film and television in other ways to understand how their placement within the hierarchy of heritage sites effects the way they present the site to visitors, and how film and television can be understood to influence the interpretation strategy adopted at this site. Chapter 3 will now discuss how the Curatorial Department associates with film and television with a focus on *Magnificent Henry* (2009) and the re-interpretation of the Council Chamber.

Chapter 3.

Curating Hampton Court Palace: *Magnificent Henry* and the Council Chamber

This chapter will contribute to understanding the relationship between Hampton Court Palace and the film and television industry, and the influence of the hierarchy of heritage sites has on this, by focussing on two key case studies applicable to this site: *Magnificent Henry* (2009) and the reinterpretation of the Council Chamber. These examples will be used in this chapter to explain how Historic Royal Palaces display and exhibit Hampton Court Palace to visitors, and will focus on how one of the key departments, the Curatorial Department, is instrumental in this. It will also explore how they may make use of film and television in their strategy. The two following chapters will focus on the other two key departments in designing and displaying exhibitions at Hampton Court Palace: the Interpretation Department and the Marketing Department. The reasons behind selecting *Magnificent Henry* and the reinterpreted Council Chamber is because firstly, it marks one of the largest attempts by Historic Royal Palaces since 1989 to redisplay parts of Hampton Court Palace, in this case the Tudor Apartments, and secondly, the ambition behind these two projects displays an awareness of the importance of film and television in exhibition strategies at this site. This chapter, as well as the two following chapters, will be arguing that the three key departments involved in displaying and exhibiting the site understand that film and television is a useful tool to promote Hampton Court Palace in three ways: firstly, film and television can draw visitors to a site (i.e. a tourism trail); secondly, film can be used in exhibitions to assist in visitor engagement (for example audio-visual screens); and thirdly how film and television can influence exhibition strategy. This chapter will be drawing upon interviews conducted with members of staff working at Hampton

Court Palace, and documents that Historic Royal Palaces allowed access to for the development of this thesis.

Magnificent Henry

Documents retained by Historic Royal Palaces made available during my research reveal their original intentions behind re-designing the Tudor Apartments at this site. *Magnificent Henry*, the title of the project, was conceived to coincide with the 500th anniversary of Henry VIII's accession to the throne. An analysis of these documents, including correspondence, budgets and design ideas will help to understand the process behind designing and interpreting Hampton Court Palace to visitors, and the departments directly involved in decision making. It will also reveal tensions between an original design brief, and what is achieved in the final design, and how departments work together to achieve what is intended. Analysis of these documents will also reveal the level of engagement Historic Royal Palaces wish to associate with film and television, and the reasons why.

According to the *Master Plan Report: Relaunch of Hampton Court Palace – Henry 2008-2009*, written by the 'Henry Project Team' in 2007, 'Henry at Hampton Court 2008-2009 is a large-scale representation of key spaces within the Tudor Palace'.²⁸¹ One of the reasons that HRP wished to 'freshen-up' the interpretation strategy in Tudor Apartments was because of research conducted by Mark O'Neill, Head of Art and Museums for Glasgow City Council, in collaboration with St Andrews University. The 'Kelvingrove Display Philosophy' arose from this research, which mapped the changes in the ways in which sites interpret and display

²⁸¹ The Henry Project Team consisted of 'a cross-departmental team of 53 people, all employees of Historic Royal Palaces'. John Barnes, Conservation and Learning Director, was the Project Owner with managers from across departments including Curatorial, Interpretation, Marketing, Conservation and Operations intended to manage specific elements of the 'relaunch' of Hampton Court. The 'core team' consisted of Polly Schomberg (Project Manager), Kent Rawlinson (Hampton Court Buildings Curator) and Suzannah Lipscomb (Henry Research Curator), p.3. This document is in the author's possession.

a historic site to visitors. O'Neill argues that in the nineteenth century a museum's communication of artefacts was presented in 'lecture mode', and was adapted in the twentieth century to 'dialogue mode'. Where sites were once 'subject centred', today they are now 'visitor centred'. O'Neill understands that there are two 'philosophies' that the heritage and museum sector in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have in common: they are 'object based' and both promote 'public education'.²⁸² Another reason for the reinterpretation of the Tudor Apartments was that according to the *Master Plan*, HRP wished to attract new visitors to Hampton Court: families, defined as two groups, 'culture' and 'leisure', and to encourage repeat visitation.²⁸³

There were two main reasons behind HRP's intention for *Magnificent Henry*. Firstly, in order to encourage visitors to come to Hampton Court, HRP are interested in 'visitor hooks', i.e. events and themes, which usually involve the celebration of a specific '500th anniversary' of some kind. For example, a previous exhibition, *Henry VIII: Images of a Tudor King* (1998) coincided with the 500th anniversary of Henry's birth, and more recently in 2015 HRP celebrated the 500th anniversary of Hampton Court itself, which they base on the beginning of Cardinal Thomas Wolsey's building works in 1515. Secondly, it was because Hampton Court was not the only heritage site or museum to want to produce an exhibition in order to celebrate the 500th anniversary of Henry VIII's accession to the throne. The British Library was to at the same time display a competitive exhibition *Henry VIII: Man and Monarch* designed by lead curator David Starkey. Other sites also capitalising upon this anniversary included the Royal Collection exhibition *Henry VIII: A 500-year Anniversary* (2009) held at Windsor Castle and

²⁸² <<http://www1.hw.ac.uk/kescotland/media/StAndrewsONeillppt07.pdf>> [4 February 2016].

²⁸³ HRP defines the 'culture family' as families wanting to learn about the history of a site based upon its educational value and social interaction. The 'leisure family' are defined as wanting to spend time together at a site to have 'fun' and enjoyable day out. *Master Plan*, p. 5

Henry VIII: Dressed to Kill (2009) in association with the Royal Armouries and the Tower of London.

In order to achieve the ‘large scale representation’ of the Tudor Apartments for the anniversary, an estimated project budget of £4,751,829 was calculated by HRP’s Sources of Funding (SoF) team.²⁸⁴ Within the estimated budget, four specific ‘directions’ were determined by the Henry VIII Project Team in order to achieve the scope of their intention for the Tudor Apartments and, as stated in the *Master Plan*, it was believed that ‘all together, they [the directions] are capable of delivering an entirely new, exciting, cutting edge experience at the Palace which is capable of attracting new audiences and increasing current and core audiences’. The four ‘directions’ were: ‘Life at Henry’s Court’, which was intended to entice visitors to Hampton Court and become ‘a Tudor courtier to Henry VIII’s Palace’. The second direction termed ‘Henry 500’ was to be a temporary ‘installation type intervention’ (exhibition) to occur throughout 2009 which would display 500 objects. The third direction was ‘Processional events and Swathing the Palace in Gold’. This was to include four seasonal events themed around historic events during the reign of Henry VIII which took place at Hampton Court, and the temporary dressing of Henry VIII’s Apartments in cloths of gold.²⁸⁵ The fourth direction was to include ‘A season of celebrations’ to be held over the summer of 2009 to ‘keep the Palace fresh for return visits’ which included special events such as weekend late night openings, a four-day music festival, a ‘Tudor Catwalk’, a masquerade ball and a

²⁸⁴ In order to calculate this, two separate reports were compiled. One by Colin Briggs of the SoF team which determined the estimated cost of the fabric works needed to support ‘Life at Henry’s Court’, and one by Nick Gold, Quantity Surveyor for PT Projects Limited which was concerned with the estimated costing for interpretation interventions needed for the project. As stated in the appendix of the *Master Plan Report*: ‘The two QSs have ensured that their cost plans do not replicate individual items, and have agreed the separation between base build interventions and interpretative interventions’. Separately, the base build intervention was estimated at £1,000,000, and interpretative intervention came to a total estimate of £3,751,829.

²⁸⁵ Processional Events according to the *Opening and Events Programme* document in the appendices of the *Master Plan* included Easter celebrations, Henry VIII’s birthday, Edward VI’s baptism and Christmas. There was a separate budget calculated by Nick Gold for the ‘Swathing of the Palace in Cloth of Gold’ which came to an estimated total of £17,308, where most was to be spent on the purchase and installation of the fabric itself (£11,300).

tournament.²⁸⁶ A ‘soft opening’ of the combination of these four interpretation strategies was planned to take place on 1 April 2009.

In order to achieve their vision as to how visitors could engage with the Tudor Apartments, HRP very much wanted to present the space to the visitor in terms of ‘life in another time within the same space’. Namely, they wanted the visitor to engage with the Apartments and relate to the stories of historical persons associated with Hampton Court. As the *Master Report* explains: ‘we have, as human beings, a common shared experience of that which defines us ... This means that we identify key experiences as transcending time’. As an organisation, HRP define their unique selling point as ‘the capacity and ability to bring alive a unique historical experience which is strengthened by visitor participation and interaction with content and with people, and not so much in the retelling of history’, and the Henry VIII Project Board set out the key objectives for the reinterpretation as being focussed on ‘fun’ and ‘understanding’ for families, where they make reference to Confucius (c.450 BC): ‘Tell me, and I will forget. Show me, and I may remember. Involve me, and I will understand’. These principles and objectives were intended to inform the following interpretative choices made for the intended relaunch of Hampton Court in 2009.

After the Project Board identified its objectives as to how to approach its reinterpretation strategy, it went on to outline in the *Master Plan* the different elements of the intended visitor experience throughout the Palace. Base Court, the first courtyard that visitors enter from the West Gate, was intended to be the hub from which other routes around the Palace could be accessed. Originally, it was intended that visitors upon entering would be greeted by State Apartment Warders in ‘costume’ who would distribute ‘printed material providing

²⁸⁶According to the *Master Plan*, a summary costing was worked out based upon the *Opening and Events Programme* document and was calculated at £150,000 for the ‘Processional Events’. It does however state in the *Master Plan* that ‘the financial feasibility and investment opportunities for these events require further investigation’, p.22.

orientation choices, and interpretive props such as an ambition or petition to be delivered to King Henry VIII'. It was believed this would create a sense of anticipation in visitors towards meeting 'Henry'.²⁸⁷ On entering the courtyard, visitors would be encouraged to engage in a communal experience through exploration of '3D sculptural interventions' and a 'low tech game which is hands on, highly visual, highly tactile and children friendly'. This was intended to display the potential social climb or fall from grace for a Tudor courtier. As the *Master Plan* states: 'For visitors to adopt the role and have the experience of a Tudor courtier is the core principle informing the representation of the Tudor Palace'. Alongside this description, images are included in the *Master Plan* to convey the Project Board's inspiration behind the game, including an image of a chessboard and people playing an outdoor game of snakes and ladders. Whilst none of the above outlined strategies (the costumed introduction, the '3D sculptural interventions', or the game) came into fruition in the Project's final realisation, there is inclusion of the painting *The Field of the Cloth of Gold* (British School, c.1545) in the document.



Figure 11: *The Field of the Cloth of Gold* (British School, c.1545)

²⁸⁷ *Master Plan*, p. 21-22.

The wine fountain, as can be seen in this painting, highlighted above, was eventually what was recreated physically and installed as a fully functioning wine fountain in Base Court in 2010:

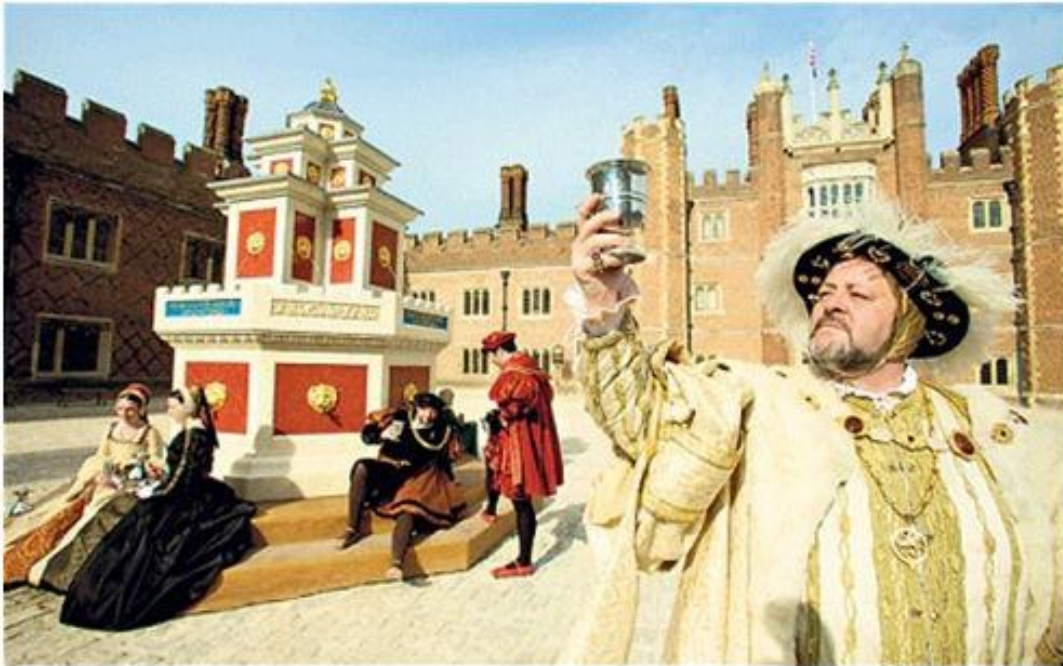


Figure 12: The wine fountain in Base Court

According to a press release on HRP’s website, it was intended that ‘the new wine fountain will act as a magnificent centrepiece to the courtyard, whilst also serving a functional purpose – it will run with red and (chilled) white wine on weekends and bank holidays (beginning 1 May), enabling visitors to raise a glass to Henry VIII and his magnificent Tudor Palace!’²⁸⁸ In the event, the wine fountain flowed much less than originally envisaged, partly due to a lack of available staff to assist in the consumption of wine.

The Information Centre was to include ‘an immersive, audio-visual experience with projections around the walls’ where the Tudor court would ‘seem to take life’. This is the first example in the document which directly alludes to using film in order to offer information to

²⁸⁸ ‘Henry VIII’s wine fountain recreated at Hampton Court Palace’ *HRP* 01 April 2010. <<http://www.hrp.org.uk/news-and-media/press-resources/hampton-court-palace-press-releases-and-archives/hampton-court-palace-press-release-archive/henry-viii-s-wine-fountain-recreated-at-hampton-court-palace/>> [4 February 2016].

visitors as an interpretation strategy.²⁸⁹ Use of the film in the Information Centre was to encourage visitors to ‘step into a first-person perspective’ of Tudor court life through a combination of ‘projection, touchscreen and low-tech interactives’.²⁹⁰ This description in the *Master Plan* is accompanied with a still of the television drama *The Tudors* (HBO, 2007-2010):



Figure 13: Still of *The Tudors* (2007-2010) in the *Master Plan Report*

This could be understood to display an awareness from the Henry Project Board of the lure that film and television representations of Tudor history provide for visitors to come to Hampton Court, although officially this remains unacknowledged. This, I argue, is due to their placement within the hierarchy of heritage sites, where HRP does not feel that it needs to actively encourage a relationship with film and television and therefore uses it more surreptitiously. The above use of the still taken from *The Tudors* in the *Master Plan* is an example of this. After exiting the Information Centre, visitors were encouraged follow the path around to the

²⁸⁹ *Master Plan Report*, p. 24.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

entrance of Henry VIII's Apartments. On entering the Great Hall, visitors were to 'meet' the first two of Henry's wives – Katherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn – and an installation would represent them individually. There was also to be a focus on the *Story of Abraham* tapestries (1540-1543) situated in the Great Hall where visitors could examine 'magnified' details of the tapestries and would be encouraged to make connections between the Biblical story of Abraham and Henry VIII.



Figure 14: Reinterpretation of the Great Hall in 2009

For the following space, the Great Watching Chamber, the Henry Project Board wished to create a space that felt 'luxurious, rich, sensual – it is the VIP, bling side to court life', where it was intended that there would be a form of audio emanating from the space where visitors would be able to hear Henry's voice for the first time.²⁹¹ In order to evoke the 'glamour' embodied by the Watching Chamber, it was intended that visitors would fulfil the role of 'courtiers as echoed by the tapestries', and in order to encourage them to do this there would

²⁹¹ *Master Plan Report*, pp.27 - 31.

be tactile objects included within the room, for example Tudor musical instruments, as well as places to sit, write poetry and a space for ‘drinking, betting and flirting’. A small space off of the Watching Chamber, the Garderobe (a form of Tudor toilet), would be designated to ‘show in a simulated fashion just how the room [Watching Chamber] might have looked when the tapestries were new and bright’.²⁹² In order to achieve this, it was suggested in the *Master Plan* that the interpretation strategy would be to use ‘visual projections’ directed onto cloth hanging from the walls to display to the visitor ‘how the Palace is now a shadow of its former self’. There would be more seating and ‘luxurious props’ in this space to encourage visitors to lounge. While the Garderobe did not come to include visual projections on its walls in the final realisation of the project, this displays another form of interpretation that can be understood to be influenced by film.



Figure 15: The Great Watching Chamber in 2009

²⁹² Ibid, p. 31.

After experiencing the ‘bling’ and ‘glamour’ of Tudor court life in the Watching Chamber, the Project Board wished to provide the visitor with a ‘Corridor of Petitions’ which ran down the first half of the Processional Route from the Watching Chamber. Rather ambitiously, this corridor was to be ‘groaning under the weight of so many portraits of courtiers of all kinds’, where it is suggested in the *Master Plan* that these portraits were to be hung ‘at all levels in a random scheme’ in order so that all visitors with differing heights could come ‘face to face with the characters at Henry’s court’.²⁹³ This gallery was also to include mirrors hung in and amongst the paintings on the walls, in order that the visitor would see ‘him/herself as one of these courtiers’. Not all of the paintings used were to be original: it is suggested in the *Master Plan* that there would also be copies of paintings (presumably of original paintings that could not be loaned to the Palace) and audio-visual screens ‘showing talking courtiers who speak directly to the visitor in many different European languages’. Again, this is another example of the influence of film and television in the Henry Project Board’s intended interpretation strategy. Drawing directly upon the painting *A Boy Looking through a Casement Window* (Flemish School, 17th Century), there is also the suggestion that visitors ‘would find anonymous small boys tapping on a window’, and likely this would have been achieved using projection onto the surrounding walls.²⁹⁴ This, of course, has similar allusions to that of *The Private Life of Henry VIII* (1933) and *To Kill a King* (2003), both of which make use of this painting in the two films, as discussed in chapters 1 and 2 of this thesis. For the second half of the Processional Gallery, the focus was intended to be on ‘Henry and Love: his family’, where paintings of Henry VIII, his wives and children would be hung. The Henry Project Board wished to use this space to unite all of Henry’s wives’ portraits and the interpretation

²⁹³ *Master Plan Report*, p. 32.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 33.

surrounding these portraits would include ‘directional sounds and audio narrative allowing visitors to come close to the intimacy of Henry’s familial relations’.²⁹⁵

In terms of the Council Chamber, this was originally intended to provide the ‘climax’ to the visitor experience, as this is where they would finally get to meet ‘Henry’. Visually, they were to ‘see huge images of the legendary monarch, and they hear about some of Henry’s biggest and important decisions ... in the room where he actually may have made the decisions’.

²⁹⁶ The Henry Project Board’s approach towards the interpretation strategy for this space is quite vague in its intention. The *Master Plan* suggests that ‘objects, technology and/or live interpretation’ may be used to express ‘different critical opinions’ to visitors; however, it does suggest that objects would assist the visitor in discussing the ‘impact his [Henry’s] decisions had on his courtiers and still have on us today’. These discussions were to persuade the visitor to decide whether Henry was a ‘tyrannical king or heroic leader’. In order to ensure that this space did not feel ‘over-intellectualised’, it was suggested that light touches should be included ‘such as a tyrant/hero swingometer’. In this space’s final realisation, it was the Council Chamber which became one of the most prominent and innovative spaces that formed part of the reinterpretation strategy for the Henry VIII Apartments, and is discussed later in this chapter in relation to how it makes innovative use of audio-visual screens which can be understood to have been influenced by film and television.

Present within the *Master Plan* is an unusual and quite innovative suggestion to house a ‘Bond Street Boutique: The King’s Wardrobe’ in a small space situated in Clock Court. Visitors were to feel a ‘sense of luxury’ when entering this space dressed in ‘deep colours and plush fabrics’ that would ‘frame images and textual interpretation about costume, image and

²⁹⁵ Ibid, p.35.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

how to dress for court' based on Tudor Statutes of Apparel.²⁹⁷ The intention for this space was to present replicas of Henry VIII's dress, specifically 'the ones he wore only once, the ones through which he projected his power', where examples included were Henry's coronation regalia, wedding robes that he wore on his marriage to Anne of Cleves, garter robes, mourning dress, and 'the clothes he is wearing in the Whitehall Mural'. These items of clothing were to be 'beautifully lit and displayed' with accompanying written interpretation, presumably in the form of plaques, which would focus on how Henry created 'his dramatic and lasting visual image'.²⁹⁸ There is a large storage cupboard contained within this space, and it was suggested by the Project Board that this could be used as a mirror-lined 'dressing room' for visitors to try on certain Tudor-style clothing 'before parading on the "catwalk" for a photo'. What this interpretation offers to the visitor was a concerted effort to suggest that 'there would not have been a Henry without Holbein', and the Project Board directly linked this space with the intended interpretation strategy for the Council Chamber where the *Master Plan* states: 'in a different but spectacular way to the Council Chamber, we are reflecting on how image is deliberately constructed through personal identity'.²⁹⁹ While this space was not reinterpreted as the Henry Project Board suggested, the initial idea behind the dressing of it reveals an awareness that visitors can relate to history through dress and costume, and this also highlights a further dimension between film, television and heritage sites in terms of reinterpreting Tudor dress. This is something which I will be analysing further in chapter 5, which focusses on the temporary exhibition of *The Other Boleyn Girl* (2008) costumes at Hampton Court.

It should be noted that the use of contemporary terms in the *Master Plan*, for example 'bling', 'Bond Street Boutique', 'catwalk' etc., displays that the Project Board are overlaying modern meanings onto the past. In Suzannah Lipscomb's article about the process of

²⁹⁷ Ibid, p.38.

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

reinterpreting the Tudor Apartments for the 500th anniversary celebrations, she explains that to evoke a sense of ‘history where it happened’, the visitor needs to be able to connect with the past through ‘experiential interpretation’, meaning that they should be encouraged to connect to the past through a variety of senses.³⁰⁰ Therefore, the overlaying of modern terms is indicative of the Project Board’s intention to get visitors to connect with the history of Hampton Court through applying contemporary terminology with which they can relate to.

The *Master Plan* outlines a highly ambitious plan to reinterpret the Tudor Apartments at Hampton Court, and reveals that film and television in various ways were to be included throughout different spaces. This relates to the argument in this thesis of a hierarchy of heritage sites in that due to HRP placing themselves highly within it, they do not feel the need to associate themselves with film and television as much as other sites possibly do, HRP nonetheless does engage with these media albeit in subtler ways. In the design brief, titled *Henry at 500* based on the *Master Plan*, it outlines to potential contractors that they were to be involved in ‘a project to re-present the Tudor Palace of Hampton Court (2006-2009), together with a special exhibition to celebrate the 500th anniversary of Henry VIII’s accession (2009)’.

³⁰¹ In the 12-page brief, it outlines the summary, scope and context that the Project Board intended the exhibition to achieve, where they admit that it is a ‘challenging ambition’ to realise the project that will ‘transform existing routes at Hampton Court, open new areas of the Palace up for visitors, re-imagine lost areas of the Palace and evocatively introduce new storylines and new approaches to storytelling in our historic spaces’.³⁰² As stated in the design brief: ‘This is an attempt to provide greater clarity for the visitor... this means replacing the long (and often

³⁰⁰ Suzannah Lipscomb ‘Historical Authenticity and Interpretative Strategy at Hampton Court Palace’ *The Public Historian*, (32:3 Summer 2010) pp. 98-119.

³⁰¹ Historic Royal Palaces. *Henry at 500 Contractor’s Design Brief* (N.D.) TS. In author’s possession.

³⁰² *Ibid.*

confusingly named) list of “visitor routes”.³⁰³ The document then goes on to outline the interpretation approach suggested in the *Master Plan* for designers to develop.

The first discussed in the brief is the Information Centre, which was to ‘be redefined as a scene-setting area for the Tudor Palace in its entirety’, where the Project Board wished to provide the visitor with some basic introductory material and to ‘challenge some of the more widely held Henrician myths’. There is an intention outlined here to experiment with different interpretation strategies, such as graphics, audiovisual technology and film, where ‘parallel visitor evaluations’ would be held to test the effectiveness of these elements. Also included here is one of the publicity stills from *The Private Life of Henry VIII*, and this presumably is to highlight to a tenderer the importance of this space being used to address the breaking of commonly held perceptions of Henry VIII, and which once again displays HRP’s awareness of film as constructing visitors understanding of Tudor history.



Figure 16: Production Still from *The Private Life of Henry VIII* (1933) as used in the design brief for *Magnificent Henry*

³⁰³ Ibid.

Following this, the brief outlines what was hoped to be achieved within the Henry VIII Apartments and courtyards. It is explained here that these spaces were to follow the history of Henry VIII's reign from where the narrative of the *Young Henry* exhibition ended (1527), and would be 'the largest and most ambitious permanent re-presentation element to "Henry at 500"'.³⁰⁴

It is in the design brief where the intended use of film and television which portray Henry VIII as an interpretation strategy becomes clear. In other documentation film and television are used for either possible inspiration, such as in the *Master Plan*, or referenced in terms of how the Project Board wanted to break with popular perceptions surrounding Henry VIII. In the part of the design brief that is concerned with 'Henry 500', it states that:

This exhibition will, for example, dwell specifically on the history of Hampton Court and Henry VIII as iconic figures of English history and architecture. This will trace the image of Henry VIII and his wives through... the 20th century images of Henry VIII on film and television. The appearance of Hampton Court Palace as backdrop, stage or filmset in these varied works will also be analysed.

³⁰⁵

This is one of the closest admissions in any of the surviving documents surrounding *Magnificent Henry* that film and television would form a key part of the reinterpretation of the Tudor Apartments. After the brief on what was intended for 'Henry 500' an appendix of a 'wishlist' of possible exhibition loans was included. For the theme of 'Henry VIII and Hampton Court: English icons', a film clip from *Henry VIII* (Granada Television, 2003) was suggested, and for the theme of 'The Private Life of Henry VIII' (which according to the design brief would be held in Apartment 15) there was to be the 'film clip of Henry in bed with Anne of Cleves, from *The Private Life of Henry VIII* (BFI, to be sourced)' used. This is, of course,

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

incorrect, as there is no scene in *The Private Life of Henry VIII* where Henry appears in bed with Anne of Cleves. The author of the design brief is likely referring to the scene in *The Private Life of Henry VIII* where on their wedding night, Henry and Anne play cards and she wins her ‘freedom’ from Henry to marry her sweetheart. In the event, this part of the project did not come to fruition, however it does inform us that HRP did consider directly alluding to representations of Henry VIII on screen through exhibiting scenes from the film. It demonstrates an understanding that visitors relate to film and television, and also that film and television can also be understood as an influence on those who design exhibitions and interpret the spaces at Hampton Court.

Much of the ambition behind the *Magnificent Henry* project was not realised as originally envisaged in the final display of the Tudor Apartments. There was tension between what the Henry Project Board wished to achieve, and what they were able to deliver as part of the 2009 celebrations. Through other documents I have been able to obtain from the Interpretation Department at Hampton Court, there are various reasons why the original project had to be adapted. Firstly, there appears to have been a problem in exhibiting 500 objects around the Tudor Apartments as a temporary exhibition. It is acknowledged in the *Master Plan* that

given the temporary nature of possible loans, sometimes replicas of those objects would be required. This impacts on opportunities for display (i.e. showcasing, environmental control and security levels, lighting conditions etc) as well as costings – there has been no allowance made as yet for showcases in the costings within this document.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

Kent Rawlinson, Buildings Curator, and Brett Dolman compiled an ‘A-list’ of potential loans in December 2006, which was circulated to members of the Project Board. In the correspondence between the Project Board, it appears that issues arose in the timescale needed to obtain temporary loans for the objects. Another reason behind the difficulty in acquiring the ‘A-list’ of objects is because other exhibitions were to be held in 2009 based on Henry VIII, and there was competition as to who would display items relating to this monarch.

Secondly, while a design brief was drafted, there is no evidence to suggest that anyone was ever contracted to design and install *Magnificent Henry*. Dolman hinted when interviewed that this project proved to be too ambitious in terms of both budget and presentation.³⁰⁷ He explained that communications broke down between the Project Board and the ‘externally commissioned designers’, though there is no documentation available as to who was employed, or how the breakdown in communication happened. However, minutes from a meeting held on 12 January 2007 regarding *Magnificent Henry* revealed that the Project Board could not ‘leave [the] tendering [of loans] to November [as it] doesn’t give enough time to develop exhibition with designers’.³⁰⁸ To attempt to combat this difficulty, it was decided that a new way needed to be devised to deliver the Henry project on time, where it was suggested that a new brief needed to be developed without so much ‘story detail’, with a plan to tender designers in April/May and to use ‘creatives’ to develop stories and exhibition.³⁰⁹ A concern in this meeting was raised ‘as to how to make best use of such consultants’, where it was believed that some consultants who had previously been commissioned by HRP were ‘costly and very hard work’.

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³⁰⁷ Brett Dolman. Personal Interview. 1 March 2013.

³⁰⁸ Kent Rawlinson, Kate Woodall, Polly Schomberg and Sandra Botterell, *Magnificent Henry* meeting minutes, Hampton Court Palace, 10am-12 p.m., Library, A&L Offices, Friday 12 January. In author’s possession.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

In terms of the budget projected for *Magnificent Henry*, it appears evident in an agenda for a meeting held on 23 January 2007, which focussed on exhibition dates and the timetable for installation, that the original projected cost had been underestimated.³¹¹ On the back of the agenda, hand-written notes include a list of estimated cost figures over a three-year spectrum: ‘07-08: £200K, 08-09: £340K, 09-10: £70K’. The author of the hand-written note outlines how further money will be partially spent on interpretation: the ‘introduction to the Tudor Kitchens (£100K)’, ‘Apartment 14 and Apartment 15 (£200K)’, ‘Base Court Interpretation (£100K)’ and ‘Undercroft (£100K)’.³¹² Totalling £1.11 million, it can be understood that these costs were not estimated in the original budget of £4.7 million, which goes toward explaining why certain elements of the original project were dropped, for example the ‘Swathing of the Palace in Gold’, and the ‘Bond Street Boutique’.

Finally, certain issues were identified, specifically by the Curatorial Department, in terms of the time allotted to install the design changes necessary to reinterpret the Tudor Apartments.³¹³ It was acknowledged in the meeting held on 12 January that *Magnificent Henry*: ‘Still need[s] to open in Summer 09’.³¹⁴ This reveals the time constraints in place for the re-interpretation of the Tudor Apartments, which had to be achieved in 2009 as it was to celebrate the 500-year anniversary of Henry VIII’s accession to the throne. In a later meeting which took place on 16 February 2007, it reveals the tensions between what the Henry Board wanted to achieve and what they actually could for the 2009 celebrations.³¹⁵ It is noted in this document that the Council Chamber was to be ‘opening a year late [2010]’, although the minutes do not document why, which highlights the problems with the original timescale put

³¹¹ “Initial creative and process planning”, agenda, Hampton Court Palace, 9.30-11 a.m., Barrack Block meeting room, 23 January 2007. In author’s possession.

³¹² Ibid.

³¹³ Rawlinson, Woodall, Schomberg and Botterell, *Magnificent Henry* meeting minutes, Friday 12 January.

³¹⁴ Ibid.

³¹⁵ “Agree broad themes of Henry the Magnificent” agenda, Hampton Court Palace 3-5 p.m. Barrack Block meeting room 16 February 2007. In author’s possession.

in place to install the interpretation strategy. In the event, the Council Chamber did open in the summer of 2009, where it housed the temporary *Henry's Women* exhibition before re-opening as a 'Council Chamber' in the autumn. Furthermore, it can be understood that the timescale proved to be unworkable through the Project Board's original intentions from the *Courtlife Programme December 2007 – December 2008* and *Courtlife Programme January 2009 – June 2009* appendices included in the *Master Plan*.³¹⁶ Tenders to design the interpretation for 'Henry the Magnificent' were to be researched by the Project Board between January - February 2008, with the design brief and relevant documents to be completed within this time. The process of acquiring tenders was to take place over February with the appointment of relevant designers and an investment report to be produced by the end of March. Once external designers had been employed by the Project Board, it was intended that they would develop the interpretation design for *Magnificent Henry*, for which the concept drawings would be signed off by the end of June 2008. After this, the installation phase for applying the agreed interpretation design would begin in August and completed by November. During this time, there would be ongoing research conducted by the curators, as well as 'content production e.g. writing' and 'manufacture', presumably of materials needed to interpret the individual spaces. A second installation phase would start at the end of 2008 with an aim to be completed by the beginning of April 2009 when it was intended that there would be a soft opening of *Magnificent Henry* to visitors. As this date was immovable, this was part of the reason that a project of this scale proved too large to install within a year. The other reason, as highlighted by the above documents, is that no tender was released to external designers.

Regardless of the issues which arose with *Magnificent Henry*, something had to be offered to visitors in April 2009 to mark the occasion of the 500-year anniversary of Henry

³¹⁶*Master Plan Report*.

VIII's accession to the throne, and this was eventually marketed as *Henry: Heads and Hearts*, which was displayed in Henry VIII's Apartments. As stated excitedly in HRP's press release, with no hint as to the tensions that went on previously in regard to the reinterpretation of *Magnificent Henry*:

King Henry's palace has been majestically transformed in preparation for the anniversary year, with new displays, presentations and interpretations bringing the story of the King and his court to life as never before!.. King Henry VIII's State Apartments have been lavishly re-presented, featuring magnificent new furnishings and important historic exhibits.³¹⁷

The press preview was held on Thursday 9 April with the 'grand reveal' to visitors on Friday 10 April. As a permanent re-presentation, *Henry: Heads and Hearts* places the Tudor Apartments' narrative in 1543, the year Henry VIII married Kateryn Parr at Hampton Court. By using this point of time in Henry's reign, it was believed that this had the potential for visitors to become both submerged within and to be able to look back at Tudor history, as this strategy could relate back to what had gone on previously at this Palace.³¹⁸ The reinterpreted Council Chamber space is perhaps the closest to what the Henry Project Board envisaged when intending to redesign the space. The way in which this space was reinterpreted offers an example of how film and television can be understood to inform the way the Curatorial and Interpretation Department display and exhibit a space to visitors which this Chapter will now analyse.

³¹⁷ <<http://www.hrp.org.uk/news-and-media/press-resources/hampton-court-palace-press-releases-and-archives/hampton-court-palace-press-release-archive/henry-viii-heads-and-hearts/>> [10 February 2016]

³¹⁸ If, for example, the interpretation strategy had focused on Jane Seymour, the Tudor Apartments would not have been able to represent the latter part of Henry VIII's reign.

The Council Chamber Reinterpretation (2009-)

In October 2009, a space within the Tudor Apartments opened and attempted to recreate a ‘working’ Council Chamber appropriate to the reign of Henry VIII, where the monarch would have held Privy Council meetings. It was to be based, as with the rest of the eventual strategy *Henry: Heads and Hearts*, on the year 1543, and there were many political and religious matters surrounding this time which could be addressed. As a masculine space, it objectifies the ‘body politic’ of kingship, and historically provides poignant references to his wives. This includes how in 1530 the Council decided to challenge Rome’s authority, beginning the seeds of ‘Royal Supremacy’ and the annulment of his first marriage to Katherine of Aragon. It formed part of Edward VI’s baptismal procession in 1537 which was held in the Chapel Royal, Henry’s only son provided by his third wife Jane Seymour, who died ten days later from puerperal fever. As with the rest of reinterpretation strategy for Henry VIII’s Apartments, by focussing the Council Chamber’s design on 1543, it allowed for the telling of previous historical narratives that are associated with this space. It was important that the Council Chamber also retained the ‘unity of voice’ presented within the rest of the Tudor Apartments, to ensure that the concept of this re-designed space remained an enhancement of rather than a distraction from the visitor’s exploration of the *Henry: Heads and Hearts* narrative. The press release for *Henry: Heads and Hearts* describes the newly interpreted and re-opened Council Chamber thus: ‘The King’s Council Chamber will become a ‘virtual’ multimedia debating chamber, immersing visitors in the experience of debating and counselling the King over some of the difficult issues of 1543, including religion, Henry’s successor, his marriage with Kateryn [sic] Parr and general domestic affairs’.³¹⁹ It has long been the practice at Hampton Court to spell Katherine Parr as ‘Kateryn’.

³¹⁹ <<http://www.hrp.org.uk/news-and-media/press-resources/hampton-court-palace-press-releases-and-archives/hampton-court-palace-press-release-archive/henry-viii-1509-2009-media-pack/>> [7 February 2016].

The design of the Council Chamber intended to transform the space into an immersive, digital experience for visitors, whereby the visitor is encouraged to take part in a Privy Council debate. They are invited to watch and engage with the material provided in the format of four audio-visual (AV) screens where digitalised councillors debate upon matters of state concerning 1543 and appear to talk across each other. The Interpretation Department commissioned Newangle, who had previously created short films for HRP to use in exhibitions, to devise these.³²⁰ The four councillors represented were Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester; Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford; William Paget, Secretary; and John Russell, Earl of Bedford. The AV screens were initially conceptualised to provide a ‘human’ element deemed essential to visitor engagement with the Council Chamber, and to evoke ambience and recreate the space’s ‘working’ element, where the AV screens effectively adopt the form of talking portraits, and Newangle refer to their work as ‘four living portraits of courtiers’.³²¹ These screens present four scripted debates which each ran for approximately two minutes, and which were repurposed from available contemporary historical sources dating from 1543 researched by the Curatorial Department. Decisions were taken by the curators as to the language used and the subject matter presented within the individual scripts. They also assessed whether the scripted debates had been appropriated correctly from the original source materials provided. Ultimately the intention was for the adapted text to be educational, informative and most importantly enabling the visitor to engage.

The AV screens were of course a modern intervention to give the impression that councillors were present in the room to bring the scripted debates to life on a rotational, continual and believable basis. The idea promoted by the Interpretation Department was that they would work to ‘humanise’ the Council Chamber and connect with the visitor as well as

³²⁰ <<http://www.newangle.co.uk/#!/viewProject&projectID=129>> [15 February 2016].

³²¹ Ibid.

provide the contrasting attitudes of the four councillors. The debates on the AV screens are run on a continuous loop within the space, apart from on the occasions where the live interpreters use the Council Chamber. For this, visitors were invited to watch ‘Henry’, sitting on the throne debating live with other members of his ‘court’, and sometimes visitors. This occurred once every day over 2009 at 2.30 pm, and it was intended to provide visitors with a ‘live’ version of the debates that occur on the AV screens, however as it is live it therefore added a factor of spontaneity. The live interpretation in the Council Chamber formed part of what was termed the ‘Order of Service’ for visitors to Hampton Court in this celebratory year. Beginning at 11 am, various live interpretation performances would occur in and around Henry VIII’s Apartments and the Courtyards on a daily basis, centred around the celebration of the marriage of Henry VIII to Kateryn Parr:

| | | |
|--|--|--|
| <p>Welcome to Henry VIII's palace. Come and join in a day of celebrations as we prepare for the wedding of Henry VIII to his sixth wife, Kateryn Parr.</p> | | |
| 11.00am | Welcome to the day of festivities. Are you with the bride or the groom? Meet at Base Court | 30 min |
| 12.00pm | Last minute nerves. Will Kateryn follow her head or her heart? Meet at Clock Court | 30 min |
| 12.30pm | Help Kateryn choose her wedding dress. Mary II's Apartments | 30 min |
| 1.30pm | Join Henry as he celebrates his last hours as a single man. Master Carpenters Court | 30 min |
| 2.30pm | Gentlemen are invited to attend the King in Council - while his new bride seeks advice from the ladies. Meet at Base Court | 30 min |
| ✠ Henry VIII and Kateryn will be married in private ✠ | | |
| 3.30pm | Be the first to congratulate the bride and groom. Henry VIII's Apartments (Great Watching Chamber) | 10 min |
| 3.40pm | As the day draws to a close, please gather for the final procession of the King and his new Queen. Base Court | 20 min |
| 4.10pm | The ceremonies are now over and the King prepares for his wedding night. Mary II's Apartments | 20 min |
| <p>All activities are costumed live interpretations.</p>  | | <p>This is Henry's sixth marriage . . .</p> <p style="text-align: center;">✠</p> |

Figure 17: Live Interpretation ‘Order of Service’ (2009)

In terms of how the visitors experience the Council Chamber, Studio A Associates were commissioned by the Interpretation Department to design the space, and they explain on the design strategy they offered:

We were challenged to retain an authentic feel of the Tudor interior while integrating modern audio-visual presentations and creating a suitable space for live action interpreters. We designed a space with Tudor-inspired semi-circular seating where visitors can sit and listen to the audio-visual presentation, but which can easily be shared by live interpreters and actors when necessary. The whole exhibit balances modern show technology and period features without detracting from the integrity of the original interior.³²²

The following two images reveal the original plans for the Council Chamber, as designed by Studio A Associates, from the specification provided by HRP:

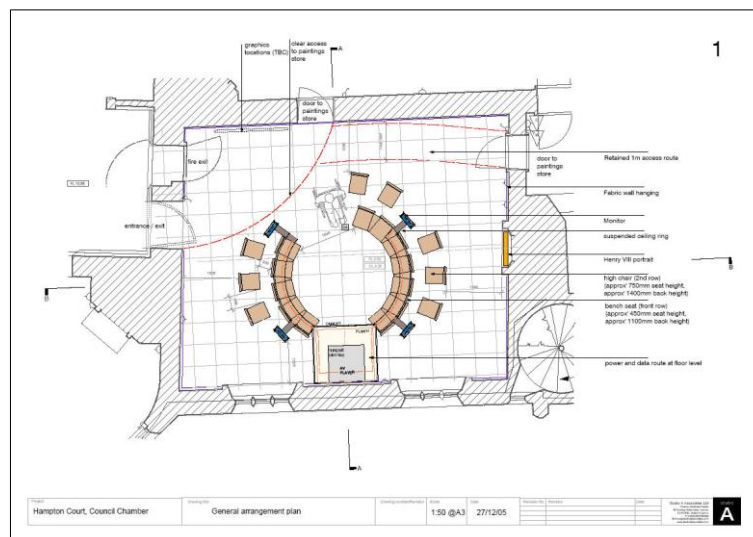


Figure 18: Council Chamber Floor Plan

³²² <<http://studioaassociates.com/showproject.php?id=18>> [7 February 2016].

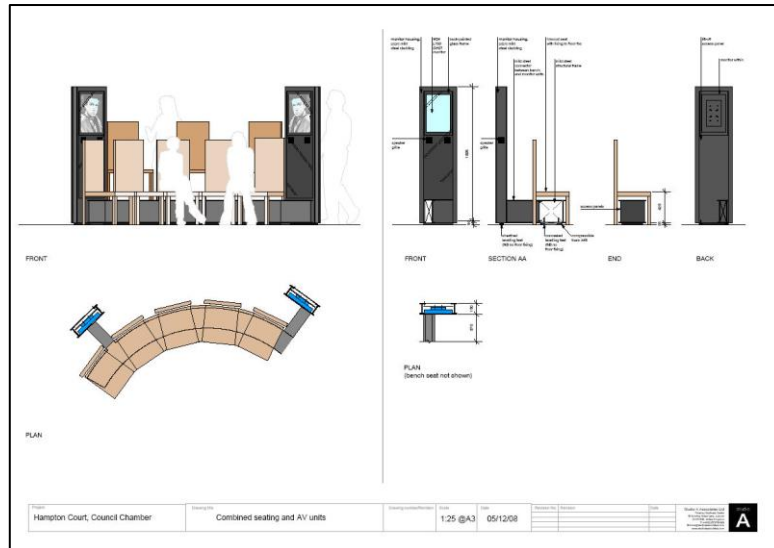


Figure 19: Council Chamber Seat and Monitor Housing

From looking at these original plans, we can understand how the final realisation of this space is like what was suggested:



Figure 20: The reinterpreted Council Chamber (2009-)

In order to redesign the Council Chamber, which arguably is one of the few spaces that received the original treatment intended by the Henry Project Board, the Interpretation Department, working with Studio A Associates, based the ‘dressing’ of this space on a surviving

contemporary painting – *The Family of Henry VIII* – as inspiration for the atmosphere and look of the space. The background of this painting is set within Whitehall Palace. By using this image, the Council Chamber can be said to present to visitors a construction of what the King’s Privy Chamber in Whitehall Palace could have looked like prior to its destruction in 1689:



Figure 21: *The Family of Henry VIII* (British School, c.1545)

This painting provides us with an important representation of Henry VIII’s dynastic intentions: it is likely that Henry himself commissioned this painting to be a visual representation of his Third Succession Act which was passed by Parliament in 1543. This Act introduced his daughters Mary and Elizabeth back into the line of succession after his son Edward and any potential children produced from his marriage to Kateryn Parr. Henry appears in his throne at the centre of the image beneath the canopy of state. He is flanked on the left by his son and heir Edward, and on his right by ‘his one true wife’ Jane Seymour, Edward’s mother. On the left, outside of the pillar, his eldest daughter Mary is placed, and on the right Henry’s youngest daughter Elizabeth. The view through the arches is of the Great Garden at Whitehall Palace.³²³ Here there are two figures, the one on the right being identified as Will Somers, Henry’s comic fool. It is believed that the figure through the archway on the left is

³²³ <<https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/405796/the-family-of-henry-viii>> [7 February 2016].

Mary's 'natural' fool, Jane.³²⁴ One way in which this painting can be read is that you would be a 'fool' to be on the outside of Henry's inner court circle. According to Simon Thurley, the interior of Whitehall Palace was 'essentially chivalric and heraldic and relied on the use of military forms, bright colours and strong silhouettes'.³²⁵ Its interior was panelled in carved linenfold wood to give the appearance of warmth reflective of tapestries. Both the wall panels and the fret-carved ceiling formed geometric patterns reflective of 'grotesque' architecture.³²⁶ The ceiling was 'enlivened with the royal arms in moulded work and lead balls'.³²⁷ All of this is reflective of the fact that Henry 'needed a set of splendid lodgings appropriate to his majesty'.³²⁸ Little is known about Henry's privy chamber except from the paintings *The Family of Henry VIII* and Remigius van Leemput's copy of Hans Holbein the Younger's Whitehall mural (1667). As Kevin Sharpe explains: 'Henry's buildings themselves blazoned the king's identity and authority. Like other Renaissance princes, Henry regarded his palaces as a display of the virtue of magnificence but also as a representation in stone of the solidarity and durability of the Tudor dynasty'.³²⁹ We can see how *The Family of Henry VIII* is directly reflected in the design of the Council Chamber, and thus providing the visitor with a representation of Whitehall Palace that they would otherwise not physically experience due to these following images:

³²⁴ Suzannah Lipscomb determines that 'natural' fools would be characterised today as people with learning difficulties. 'All the King's Fools' *History Today*, August 2011. <<http://www.historytoday.com/suzannah-lipscomb/all-king%E2%80%99s-fools>> [7 February 2016].

³²⁵ Simon Thurley *Whitehall Palace: An Architectural History of the Royal Apartments 1240-1690* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1999) p. 46.

³²⁶ Grotesque referring to the Italian word 'grotteschi', meaning 'underground'. Around 1500, excavations in Italy uncovered villas from the Roman period. The decorations in these architectural discoveries included animals, fantasy creatures, columns and vases interconnected with vines and festoons.

³²⁷ Thurley, p. 46.

³²⁸ Ibid, p. 47.

³²⁹ Kevin Sharpe *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009) p. 147.



Figure 22: Design Elements taken from *The Family of Henry VIII* (British School, c.1545)



Figure 23: *The Family of Henry VIII* (British School, c.1545) as used within the Council Chamber (2009-)

Whether it is the flooring, canopy, chair of state, wall hangings, or the Chapel Court Tudor garden visible from the windows designed by Todd Longstaffe-Gowan, all of these elements

are recognisable parts of this painting, which arguably allows for entertaining submersion for the visitor and a ‘physical’ reconstruction of a painting.³³⁰

To establish the success of the reinterpreted Council Chamber, and visitors’ relationship with the use of the AV screens within the space, I will now draw upon a visitor survey that I conducted on behalf of the Interpretation Department. This qualitative survey was completed over two weeks in October 2009, where sixty visitors were interviewed within the space to allow them to discuss their opinions of the Council Chamber whilst placed within the immersive experience that the space arguably offers. The results taken from this survey include the visitors’ reaction to the design and interpretation of the space, their understanding of how the Council Chamber would have been used based on the information presented to them, and how the visitors choose to engage with the available interpretation. The specific questions that the survey set out to answer were: ‘does the Council Chamber successfully appeal to all identified audiences?’, ‘do visitors develop and improve their knowledge through their experience?’, ‘are visitors able to connect and engage with the space as was intended?’, ‘are visitors leaving the Council Chamber with some awareness of the key issues of the day concerning Henry VIII and his Councillors?’, and ‘was the amount of information and style of interpretation suitable for the target audience?’.³³¹

Having spent some time in the Council Chamber, visitors were asked to identify what they believed the historical purpose of the space would have been, and how they would describe it to a visitor who had not seen it. Generally, visitors understood the purpose of the room and who it was used by, however only 32 per cent named the space specifically as a ‘Council Chamber’, although the overall majority recognised it to have been an area where debates took

³³⁰ Joanna Fortnam ‘How two Tudor lion statues came home to Hampton Court Palace’ *Telegraph* 11 September 2009. <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/gardening/6174283/How-two-Tudor-lion-statues-came-home-to-Hampton-Court-Palace.html>> [15 February 2016].

³³¹ Llewella Burton *Council Chamber Evaluation Report* 2009. In author’s possession.

place. They also confirmed that they felt the intended purpose for the space – that of a ‘debating chamber’ – was clear in what it was trying to achieve. Some individual visitor responses are included here to display their specific thoughts towards the clarity in terms of the Council Chamber’s design: ‘Clear layout – like Arthur’s Round Table’, and: ‘The way the room is set out with a throne and a semi-circle of chairs shows it is meant for discussion’. Another visitor also believed that the installation of the AV screens were ‘very helpful’ in indicating the purpose of the space.³³² Following these initial questions, visitors were asked what they thought of the design of the Council Chamber, and whether they felt it added or detracted from their understanding of what the space and its history was about. The majority of respondents (47) replied that the design added to their understanding, where some of the positive responses included: ‘[I] could imagine it would have been like this – excellent use of colours’; ‘very faithful to reality. The circle makes us feel part of the Privy Council and at home within the chamber’; ‘[it] helps me to understand what this room is easier because of the setting of the scene’ and: ‘I think it was good as it’s honest in its modernity and useful to my understanding’.

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As can be understood from these comments, most were directed at the surrounding design of the space, with a particular focus on the AV screens which were a central part of delivering the message to visitors as to what happened in a Council Chamber (i.e. debates) c.1543. Interestingly, the minority who believed that the design of the Council Chamber detracted from their understanding of the space and its history, clarified that this was also due to the seating arrangements and ‘modern’ use of AV screens for interpretation. This goes somewhat towards understanding the personal preferences of visitors and their individual

³³² Ibid.

³³³ Ibid.

expectations of how a space should be ‘dressed’ and presented to convey history, although the majority of interviewees responded positively to the interpretation strategy.³³⁴

In terms of whether the reinterpreted Council Chamber had achieved the intended ‘unity of voice’ between its own design and the rest of the reinterpretation for *Henry: Heads and Hearts* around the surrounding apartments, 68 per cent of visitors stated that it did. Comments included: ‘Yes – it’s the best in route. I feel it reflects the King the most in appearance of design’; ‘Yes [it] embodies [the] whole message’; ‘I like the blue surroundings and the fleur-de-lys decoration on the wall hangings’ and: ‘I like the suspended ceiling – it feels like a chapel’.³³⁵ Again, as with the question regarding what visitors thought to the Council Chamber’s design, those who felt that the space did not conform to the overarching *Henry: Heads and Hearts* strategy cited the use of ‘modern’ elements namely the AV screens.³³⁶ Referring to the screens themselves, three questions were asked to the survey participants to determine whether the use of this method within the Council Chamber makes the space involving for visitors, as this form of interpretation is arguably a primarily passive exercise due to the screens having similar connotations to that of watching television. Therefore, it was particularly important in the survey to question visitors on the use of the screens and how they felt it contributed to the overall reinterpretation of the Council Chamber.

Questions asked of the visitor included firstly whether they felt that the use of the AV screens made the Council Chamber more accessible and the debates easier to understand, and secondly whether this style of interpretation was suitable for what the space it was used in. In terms of whether the screens were ‘accessible’, meaning that visitors could follow the historic debates that are screened via this method, 58 visitors responded that the way the debates were

³³⁴ Ibid.

³³⁵ Ibid.

³³⁶ Ibid.

presented made them easier to understand, and all of the visitors interviewed stated that this method of interpretation was suitable to use within the space.³³⁷ This is interesting as this result is somewhat at odds with the few negative comments offered by visitors when asked about the overall design of the Council Chamber, as well as how this space complements the rest of Henry VIII's Apartments. On the one hand, this could be due to confusion from the visitors as to what was being asked; on the other hand, while they liked the way the debates were presented via the AV screens, they may perhaps have felt that it had no place within an actual 'historic' setting. It should also be noted that the rest of Henry VIII's Apartments did not particularly include any other form of technology as a form of interpretation at this time.

Following this, the next question posed was how visitors found receiving information about Tudor history in this manner in comparison to other forms of interpretation available around the rest of the Palace, such as written plaques, audio guides, film, interactive touch screens, tactile games, etc. A majority of 31 visitors stated that they believed the AV screens were 'favourable', and that by including them in the Council Chamber it offered a good variety of different forms of interpretation throughout the site. Visitors did tend to stress however that while they felt the use of the screens was appropriate in this space, they would not necessarily work elsewhere. The survey then questioned visitors on whether they preferred the live interpretation conducted in the Council Chamber, or the scripted AV screens, or if they both complemented each other. Of those who responded more favourably towards the use of AV screens, it was felt that this was due to being able to concentrate more on the debates and that they appeared more accurate and serious in tone. For the visitor who preferred the live method, they believed that this form was more spontaneous and lively, as well as seemingly more interactive and 'human' in its nature. It was agreed by all visitors, however, that these two

³³⁷ Ibid.

interpretation methods ultimately complemented each other and worked harmoniously. After asking the visitor what they believed the Council Chamber's purpose would have been, based upon the design strategy, as well as how they felt the forms of interpretation available worked within the space, visitors were finally requested to provide details of where they had gained prior knowledge to assist them in their overall understanding of the Council Chamber's context. Half of the interviewees responded that they were aware of what a Council Chamber was due to having prior knowledge. When prompted, the two most common responses from visitors as to how they acquired this understanding were from general knowledge and popular media such as film, television, the Internet and books. Visitors believed that the Council Chamber reminded them of a form of modern parliament today, and some also cited that the resurgence of popular culture dramatising Tudor history at the time persuaded them to visit Hampton Court to learn more about Henry VIII. This evidence offers an interesting comparison between what heritage organisations feel that they should present, and what proves to be a draw for visitors as well as how they obtain knowledge about certain elements of history through popular culture and the viewing of film and television.

Conclusion

Through the analysis of how the Curatorial Department assist in the design and application of interpretation strategies at Hampton Court, we can understand how HRP situates itself within the hierarchy, and how the strategy for designing and installing exhibitions draw upon film and television. Due to HRP's perceived place within it, where I argue they place themselves above privately-owned sites, and perhaps equal to, if not above, English Heritage and National Trust, they are more surreptitious in their use of film and television within their interpretation strategy. From a Curatorial perspective, their interest lies in the information that is imparted to visitors.

This is due to their role. As historians, their remit is to present history to visitors based on archival research. They assess available historical evidence and provide the information they gather to the Interpretation Department in order to assist the narrative an exhibition is to display. There can be tensions between such narratives and what evidence survives to support them. For example, as part of the re-interpreted Tudor Apartments in 2009, a chamber next to the Royal Pew displayed a short film which included a reconstruction of the marriage of Henry VIII and Kateryn Parr. While there is material available in the Hampton Court Palace archive to suggest that they were married at Hampton Court, the Curatorial Department were unable to ascertain where Henry VIII and Kateryn Parr were exactly married at the site. Therefore, the written interpretation included alongside with the film had to explain this. The role of the Curator is to assess the accuracy with which narratives are presented and exhibited to visitors.

We can understand from the first case study in this chapter, *Magnificent Henry*, that HRP, and the Curatorial Department, have an awareness of the influence that film and television has on both visitors, and the method of interpretation used in exhibitions, as we can understand from the references to film and television within the *Master Plan* and *Design Brief*. The main suggestions focused around a small film-based exhibition, including mention of *The Private Life of Henry VIII*, a costume ‘boutique’, and use of film as a medium to interpret certain spaces, for example the Information Centre. The four main reasons why *Magnificent Henry* was not realised in its original form was firstly due to an issue of acquiring relevant objects for the ‘Henry 500’ installation, secondly that no one appears to have been tendered to design and install the Project Board’s ambitious intention for the Tudor Apartments, thirdly an escalating budget, and finally an unfeasible timescale with which to apply the proposed new interpretation which ultimately proved impossible. In the event, *Henry: Heads and Hearts* was what became of the original intention by the Henry Project Board to produce a celebration of Henry VIII’s accession to the throne, and in 2009 this version of reinterpreting Henry VIII’s

Apartments achieved a relative degree of success. For example, the space which was redesigned as a ‘working’ Henrician Council Chamber c.1543. We can understand from the survey conducted within this space that visitors generally responded positively to the interpretation approach that was adopted in the design of this space. In particular, visitors responded well to the use of AV screens which displayed Privy Councillors as ‘talking heads’, and which were not dissimilar from ‘talking heads’. Visitors also liked the overall design of the space. Throughout 2009, Hampton Court Palace received 541,646 visitors, an improvement upon previous figures of 492,891 in 2008 and 488,197 in 2007, and this may reasonably be attributed in part to the marketing surrounding *Henry: Heads and Hearts*, as well as the volume of visitor events provided to celebrate the 500-year anniversary throughout the year.³³⁸

In terms of promotional discourse, Hampton Court Palace received a healthy representation in the press because of *Henry: Heads and Hearts*. In a promotional ‘puff’ piece, Christine H. O’Toole reports in the *Pittsburgh Post Gazette* (USA), rather excitedly, that:

‘Henry is coming!’ screams the banner snapping in the river breeze at Hampton Court Palace. It’s more accurate to say he never left. Five hundred years after he was crowned King of England, Henry VIII’s favorite party palace is leading London’s anniversary celebration for the monarch whose wife-chopping, food-chomping legend lives on.³³⁹

After outlining other sites that are also celebrating the 500-year anniversary O’Toole states: ‘It’s at Hampton, however, where Henry’s spirit of revelry is revived’.³⁴⁰ Xanthe Whittaker, reporting

³³⁸ Figures obtained from the Association of Leading Visitor Attractions (AVLA). <<http://alva.org.uk/details.cfm?p=595>> [12 February 2016].

³³⁹ Christine H. O’Toole ‘London to relive the glory days of Henry VIII’ *Pittsburgh Post Gazette* 22 March 2009 <<http://www.post-gazette.com/life/travel/2009/03/22/London-to-relive-the-glory-days-of-Henry-VIII/stories/200903220208>> [12 February 2016].

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

for the *Daily Mail* on 28 April 2009, highlighted visiting Hampton Court Palace first in his article ‘A royal knees-up: UK castles celebrate the 500th anniversary of Henry VIII’s coronation’, stating: ‘In celebration of his coronation in 1509, food archaeologists will be running Tudor cookery demonstrations, experimenting with traditional recipes, ingredients and cooking methods. The palace will also play host to a number of Henry VIII exhibitions and lectures’.³⁴¹ In terms of the overall success of what became of ‘Henry the Magnificent’, *Henry: Heads and Hearts* won approval from visitors and critics alike, and this was highlighted when this specific part of Hampton Court’s interpretation was long-listed for the Art Fund Prize for Museums and Galleries in 2010.³⁴²

³⁴¹ Xanthe Whittaker ‘A royal knees-up: UK castles celebrate the 500th anniversary of Henry VIII’s coronation’ *Daily Mail* 28 April 2009 <<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/travel/article-1173955/UK-holidays-Celebrate-500th-anniversary-Henry-VIIIs-coronation.html>> [12 February 2016].

³⁴² <<http://www.artfund.org/news/2010/04/01/museums-celebrate-art-fund-prize-nomination-with-love-your-museum-weekend-10-11-april-2010>> [12 February 2016].

Chapter 4.

Interpreting Hampton Court Palace: *Young Henry* (2007-) and *The Tudors* (2007-2010)

This chapter will focus on another department that is instrumental in designing exhibitions and interpretation strategies at Hampton Court Palace: the Interpretation Department. This department works alongside the Curatorial and Marketing Departments, the latter being the focus of chapter 5. The Interpretation Department's remit differs from that of the Curatorial Department, in that it designs exhibition spaces and decides what type of interpretation format is used to explain an exhibition's narrative to visitors. It makes decisions on the style of the interpretation used to frame a narrative, and make use of the historical research that the Curatorial Department provides to assist the telling of an exhibition's story. The purpose of this chapter, then, is to understand the relationship between the Interpretation Department and film and television. How does it make use of this in the design of exhibitions? What type of interpretation methods does it use which are influenced by these media? This chapter will answer these questions to contribute to the argument of this thesis, namely that as HRP positions themselves highly in the hierarchy of heritage sites, they do not rely as heavily upon a relationship with film and television as other organisations and sites do. The focus of this chapter will be on the *Young Henry* exhibition, which opened to visitors at Hampton Court in 2007. It will offer a comparative analysis with *The Tudors* (HBO, 2007-2010). The reason for focusing on these two examples is because while they were produced separately from one another, they both deal with a similar period of Tudor history. Secondly, after *The Tudors* was released, and *Young Henry* opened to the public, they combined a post-production marketing

strategy. Finally, we can understand from these two examples how film and television can influence the Interpretation Department's exhibition strategy.

The production of *The Tudors* (2007-2010)

The Tudors, created and written by Michael Hirst, who was also script writer for *Elizabeth* (1998) and its sequel, *Elizabeth: The Golden Age* (2007), was produced for the American cable channel Showtime, a subsidiary of the CBS Corporation. This television series forms part of a cycle of film and television series which depict Tudor history since the late 1990s, beginning with *Elizabeth* and *Shakespeare in Love* (1998). The numerous portrayals of Tudor history on screen over this period include Philippa Gregory's novel *The Other Boleyn Girl* (2001), and its subsequent television and film adaptations, which will be analysed further in chapter 5 in relation to its use by the Marketing Department. Other television portrayals within this cycle include documentaries narrated by David Starkey, for example *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (2001), broadcast in the UK on Channel 4, and dramas such as *Henry VIII* (2003) produced by Granada Television for ITV. These versions present Henry VIII in the image of 'Holbein's Henry', which refers to how Henry VIII is depicted in Hans Holbein the Younger's iconic painting *The Whitehall Mural* (1537). Previous film representations, beginning with Charles Laughton's portrayal of Henry VIII in *The Private Life of Henry VIII*, and continuing with Richard Burton in *Anne of the Thousand Days* (Charles Jarrott, 1969), Keith Michell in *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (BBC, 1970) and Sid James in *Carry On Henry* (Gerald Thomas, 1971) have been of the 'Holbein's Henry' mould.³⁴³ What is different in terms of the producers'

³⁴³ Kevin Sharpe writes that film and television are a recent expression of the Henrician myth began by Hans Holbein the Younger's painting, explaining that 'however diverse, the one aspect that unites these renderings in purely visual terms is Holbein's image of the king that lurks behind them all'. Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 97.

intention for *The Tudors* is that it attempts to break away from ‘Holbein’s Henry’. Michael Hirst explained his vision for this television series thus: ‘I wanted a new Henry’, and Hirst felt that it should aim to show Henry VIII in a different, more ‘exciting’ way from previous portrayals.³⁴⁴ The aim of *The Tudors* was to appeal to contemporary Anglo-American audiences, and therefore Hirst’s intention to ‘bring the period to life’ was to provide what he termed a ‘heritage trail’ through England, which also included reference to Hampton Court. *The Tudors* was filmed on location in Ireland and subsequently advertises the filming locations as a heritage trail. Hirst’s vision of Henry VIII in *The Tudors* was for the king to appear as ‘real, sympathetic and human’.³⁴⁵ To do this, Hirst wanted Henry VIII as possessing a strong belief in his own power and his divine right to rule, to which the television series could question ‘what can and did he [Henry VIII] do with it [the power]’? It was the intention that *The Tudors* should appeal to a contemporary audience and modern concerns: ‘Henry is not distanced in time, but right in your face, who you could talk to’, thus promoting a sense of immediacy: a Henry for ‘our time’.³⁴⁶ Hirst believed that the image of ‘Holbein’s Henry’ as mimicked in previous on-screen portrayals needed to be broken to achieve this.³⁴⁷

The Tudors can be understood as deliberately positioning itself against previous screen representations of Henry VIII. Instead of depicting this king later in his reign, and resembling the image constructed by Hans Holbein the Younger’s *Whitehall Mural* (1526), *The Tudors* reflects an earlier, contemporary image of Henry VIII painted by Lucas Horenbout. The miniature depicts Henry in profile as a beardless young man possessed with an aquiline nose and strong jaw-line:

³⁴⁴ Michael Hirst *The Tudors: It’s Good to be King* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2007) p. xiii.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*



Figure 24: *Henry VIII* (Lucas Horenbout, 1526)

The decision to break with the ‘traditional’ image of Henry VIII for *The Tudors* was, as explained by Hirst, because:

I was fed up with his English iconic version as a fat, bearded monster with a vast ego, and very little brain. Holbein’s tyrant! I wanted to make the point that everything I wrote was based on historical research and historical ‘fact’ (as reported, that is, by historians!) My Henry VIII is new, in that audiences have never seen him portrayed this way, but he’s not a figment of my imagination.

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The Tudors’ approach toward presenting Tudor history focuses on how Henry VIII became a ‘tyrant’. Irish-born Jonathan Rhys Meyers was cast in the leading role in a distinct effort made by the series’ producers to distance themselves from previous representations based on the image of ‘Holbein’s Henry’. In an interview prior to the series’ release, Rhys Meyers admitted that he did not look like Henry VIII, but he wanted his performance to bring the king to life in a way that both audiences and critics would embrace. Rhys Meyers believed that ‘they saw

³⁴⁸ Hirst, pp. xiii – xiv. This statement does, however, actually ignore earlier screen portrayals of a younger Henry VIII, for example Robert Shaw’s performance of the younger king in *A Man for All Seasons* (1966).

something they liked in me they wanted for their Henry’, going on to state that ‘it’s not Charles Laughton’s, Keith Michell’s or Ray Winston’s Henry, it’s mine’.³⁴⁹

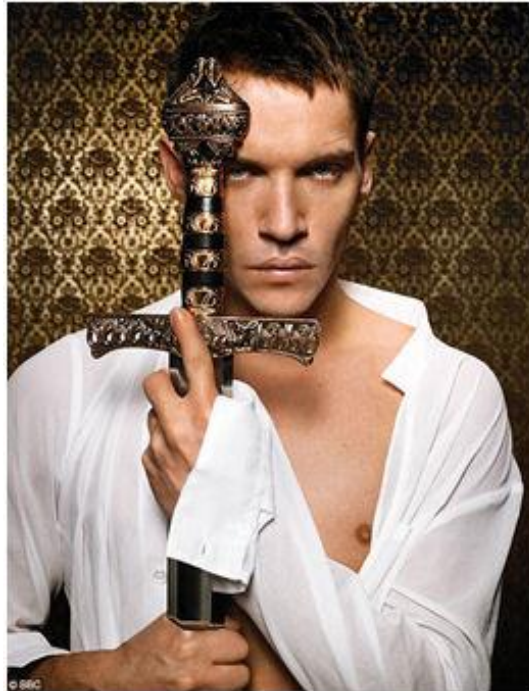


Figure 25: Jonathan Rhys Meyers as Henry VIII in *The Tudors* (2007-2010)

Rhys Meyers’ proclamation echoes Richard Burton’s attempt in *Anne of the Thousand Days* to distance his portrayal of Henry VIII from previous actors who performed this role. Each actor since Charles Laughton in *The Private Life of Henry VIII* has arguably attempted to interpret the role of Henry VIII in their own way, in a similar fashion to actors performing as Henry V and Hamlet in Shakespeare plays. The reason behind wishing to put their own stamp on the role of Henry VIII, so to speak, is the perceived belief that this is a leading, possibly career defining role to undertake. For Rhys Meyers, who had previously appeared in minor roles for film, for example Joe in *Bend It Like Beckham* (Gurinder Chadha, 2002) and Chris Wilton in *Match Point* (Woody Allen, 2005), the role of Henry VIII was of importance to him as can be understood from his statement quoted above. *The Tudors* was to be his first leading role for

³⁴⁹ Jonathan Rhys Meyers ‘The Tudors: Jonathan Rhys Meyers is King’ CBS Showtime New York: 13 April 2007. Web. <www.sho.com/tudors> [24 February 2016].

television. Hirst supported Rhys Meyers' casting, believing that the actor could bring a 'vitality and energy' to the role, and would challenge the role's limitations: 'he is playing against his type and yet he captures the intense physicality that Henry VIII had and captures Henry's attractive, physical power and majestic authority', in reference to the fact that as an actor, Rhys Meyers is arguably too short, standing at 5 feet 8 inches to Henry VIII's 6 feet 2 inches, and not 'ginger' enough, being brunet, to play Henry VIII.³⁵⁰

The Interpretation Department's strategy behind *Young Henry* (2007-)

The *Young Henry* exhibition, while also attempting to portray a more youthful image of Henry VIII as *The Tudors* does, has a very different remit to that of the television series. According to Hampton Court's lead marketing campaign, this site is "'Henry VIII's home" – the place to come, meet and learn about the Tudors'. Promoted as a family-orientated site to visit, HRP aims to engage visitors through use of creative interpretation strategies including artefacts which survive from the Tudor period. The *Young Henry* exhibition can be understood to be a development upon a previous, temporary exhibition displayed at Hampton Court from September 1990 until April 1991 entitled *Henry VIII: Images of a Tudor King*, which focussed primarily on Henry's Renaissance achievements. This exhibition was a forerunner to *Young Henry* in terms of attempting to break with the perception of Henry VIII being a 'tyrannical' ruler. The focus of the former exhibition did, however, centre on Tudor propaganda and placed Holbein's famous depiction of Henry VIII in the Whitehall mural at its centre. This previous exhibition's narrative followed the themes of the Tudor dynasty, the English Reformation and Henry's 'princely magnificence', where the interpretation was curatorial-driven and relied on contemporary artwork of the Tudor period. *Henry VIII: Images of a Tudor King* coincided with

³⁵⁰ Hirst, pp. xiii – xiv.

the 500-year anniversary of Henry's birth and was situated in the same area of the palace as *Young Henry*, in Cardinal Wolsey's Apartments.³⁵¹ The 'Wolsey Apartments' form the oldest surviving part of Hampton Court which is accessible to visitors and date back to 1526. As such, they embody the Tudor themes of grandeur, wealth and heraldry throughout their architectural design. The larger rooms in the apartments held receptions for discussion and negotiation of state business. The smaller spaces would have formed Wolsey's privy apartments. *Young Henry* was designed to be a forerunner which would lead into the 2009 anniversary celebrating Henry's accession to the throne, known originally as *Magnificent Henry*. This project was intended to provide the Tudor areas of the Palace with a complete overhaul in terms of their image and interpretation strategy.

According to the *Master Plan Report: Relaunch of Hampton Court Palace – Henry 2008-2009*, written by the HRP Henry Project Team in 2007, 'Henry at Hampton Court 2008-2009 is a large-scale representation of key spaces within the Tudor Palace'. This was a germination of an idea which came from the belief that 'the heritage and leisure industry intends a strategic re-think document of a large complex space or series of spaces – in this [HRP's] case the Tudor Palace at Hampton Court'. Regarding the design brief for *Young Henry*, it was proposed that Hampton Court was to be marketed to visitors as a 'Tale of Two Palaces', where one half was presented as Tudor and the other as Baroque, based on Christopher Wren's commission in 1689 from William III and Mary II to design and rebuild the East Front at the Palace.³⁵² As explained in the *Design Brief*: 'By 2014 it is our intention

³⁵¹ This highlights that HRP are interested in visitor 'hooks' throughout their time in maintaining this site, which usually involve the celebration of a specific 500-year anniversary of some kind. For example, HRP's most recent interpretation strategy was to celebrate the 500-year anniversary of Hampton Court, which they base on the beginning of Cardinal Thomas Wolsey's building works in 1515.

³⁵² This was not without problems. Christopher Wren's original plan was to demolish the original Tudor parts of Hampton Court with the exception of the Great Hall. As funds were not allocated, Wren's original intention was never achieved. Therefore, Wren only rebuilt the King and Queen State Apartments on the south and east side of the Palace. £113,000 was spent on the rebuilding the new apartments. In terms of the issue beyond funds, when building work began at this site William wanted results quickly and therefore due to excessive speed and the poor quality of the building materials used a large section of the south range collapsed, killing two workmen and

to have both these magnificent stories articulated in the palace' relating to both parts of Hampton Court.³⁵³ It was recognised by HRP that Hampton Court 'remains one of the key surviving buildings most closely associated with Henry VIII', and that due to Henry's personality and reign 'he is one of the main reasons why people come to Hampton Court'.³⁵⁴ Wanting to situate the Palace firmly in potential visitors' minds as '*the* place in the UK to visit and learn about Henry VIII', the intention for this permanent exhibition was to be installed prior to 2009, which would provide a taste, so to speak, of HRP's interpretation strategy which would lead to the crescendo in this year where HRP would celebrate Henry VIII's accession to the throne. To achieve this, *Young Henry* was to be installed in 2007. The Interpretation Department designed the brief of *Young Henry* in direct relation to HRP's 'Discovery' principle: 'we explain the bigger picture and then encourage people to make their own discoveries: to find links with their own lives and the world today'.³⁵⁵ Intended to be imaginative and practical, *Young Henry*'s brief, designed and managed by Interpretation Manager Kate Woodall, was to explore new ways of storytelling with the main aim 'to investigate the life and court of Henry VIII and the impact this King had on British society'.³⁵⁶ To generate high visitor volume, HRP believed this exhibition was an opportunity to 'play around' with the typical conventions visitors understood about Henry: his wives, his 'over-indulgence' and the English Reformation.

At the time of writing the design brief, there were originally two parts concerned with projecting a 'Young Henry' to visitors, namely 'Finding Henry' and 'Young Henry'. The former aimed to link the different Tudor apartments at Hampton Court by providing 'creative

injuring eleven. When building work resumed, it was carried out at a slower pace, although it was halted in 1694 due to the death of Mary. Building work eventually resumed in 1697 and was completed in 1698.

<<http://www.hrp.org.uk/hampton-court-palace/history-and-stories/a-building-history/a-new-palace/>> [24 February 2016]

³⁵³ Kate Woodall *Design Brief for Young Henry* (2004). Document in author's possession.

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

³⁵⁶ Ibid.

ideas or methods by which to tie these parts together'.³⁵⁷ In other words, this element of the strategy was to assist visitors in site orientation both in the courtyards and apartments. The latter, *Young Henry*, was to be a permanent exhibition which depicts the first twenty-four years of Henry's reign, where its main narrative follows the 'King's Great Matter', his desire to annul his first marriage and break with the Roman Catholic religion, with a sub-plot of Katherine of Aragon's and Cardinal Wolsey's stories. Situated in Wolsey's Apartments, the rooms use a variety of contemporary interpretation methods (film, audio-visual screens, voice-overs and information boards) in a historic setting allowing for the exhibition's narrative to tell the story of the three figures, Wolsey, Katherine and Henry. It was hoped that visitors would be able to empathise with them, particularly Katherine. The design brief explains that the exhibition was to be 'astonishing and evocative', and was to offer a range of different modes of interaction where the visitors' journey through the route was to be advertised as a form of a trail or quest. It was intended that visitors should arrive 'expecting to feel Henry's presence'.³⁵⁸ The original project budget for both 'Finding Henry' and 'Young Henry' was estimated at £160,000, of which £110,000 was to be spent on the 'Young Henry' element and £50,000 on 'Finding Henry'.³⁵⁹ This budget was to include all fees 'including but not exclusive to design, build, production and installation' for the exhibition, where other areas such as conservation, building work, image sourcing and copyright, audience evaluation and staffing would be covered by other budgets from different departments within HRP.

'Storytelling' was to be promoted by *Young Henry* as a key interpretative tool in this exhibition to provide the visitor with what the brief refers to as a 'history happened here moment', meaning that visitors would connect the history of Henry VIII specifically within the apartments this exhibition was placed. The brief highlights that visitors should be able to 'sense

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

³⁵⁸ Ibid.

³⁵⁹ Ibid.

history’, where it states that *Young Henry* needed to evoke emotional responses as well as trigger all the five senses.³⁶⁰ This was to be achieved through an interpretation strategy which presented ‘tradition with a twist’. In order to do this, the narrative presented in *Young Henry* was to be ‘fused with unexpectedness’, as ‘Henry was not born to be king – he lived in the shadow of his elder brother Arthur’.³⁶¹ Beyond Henry VIII, the brief explains how the other two protagonists’ – Katherine of Aragon and Cardinal Wolsey – stories are also unique, Katherine because she ‘was not the prim and stubborn divorcée that we might expect’, and because Wolsey was a ‘talented butchers son, who practically ran the country for his master [Henry VIII]’.³⁶² Intending to ‘smash the stereotype of Henry VIII’ promoted by Holbein and later screen portrayals, HRP very much wanted *Young Henry* to ‘reveal the complexity of the young man behind the myth’, where they wished to promote that Henry VIII’s first marriage to Katherine of Aragon was ‘a long and close one’; and whilst Wolsey was employed by Henry, this king was very much influenced by his advice and perhaps most interestingly: ‘That Henry wasn’t always fat and was actually considered very handsome’.³⁶³ This echoes Hirst’s attempt with *The Tudors* to break the convention of portraying Henry VIII in the last third of his reign through the casting of Rhys Meyers. Beyond foregrounding the stories of these three historic figures, the exhibition also wanted to highlight to visitors the political and social climate at the time of Henry VIII’s early reign. This part of the exhibition narrative would focus on European politics of the surrounding countries of France, Spain and the Holy Roman Empire. To do this, various interpretation methods were used to foreground the shifting political alliances between monarchs during this period, for example Henry’s meeting with the King of France, Francis I,

³⁶⁰ Ibid.

³⁶¹ Ibid.

³⁶² Ibid.

³⁶³ Ibid

at the ‘Field of the Cloth of Gold’, and Katherine and Wolsey’s roles within ‘this European power struggle’.³⁶⁴

To present these narratives to the visitor, the interpretation strategy included the use of Tudor paintings and portraits of ‘key characters’ to ‘unpick’ the personalities of these figures for visitors to Hampton Court.³⁶⁵ Alongside these, it is suggested that artefacts would be displayed to provide a visual context of the exhibition narrative in support of the paintings. The apartments themselves were to assist in evoking the atmosphere of *Young Henry*, and within them a range of contemporary media was to be installed. As suggested by the brief, these methods included use of quotations taken from primary sources to display the conflicting opinions regarding Henry, Katherine and Wolsey, and text panels which would foreground stories and anecdotes which would illustrate specific points of the exhibition narrative.³⁶⁶ It is noted in the brief, however, that these panels were to be kept short, have a strong factual basis, yet be ‘light and irreverent in tone’. Beyond the more traditional methods of interpretation in *Young Henry*, it was proposed that this exhibition could also include ‘audio-visual displays’ to assist visitors in understanding the historic sources such as paintings and artefacts used within the space, and ‘low-tech interactives’ which would offer a good ‘contrast with static paintings’ and ‘allow for those who want to view paintings without having to “do” anything’.³⁶⁷ ‘High-tech interactives’ could also be installed to animate the paintings and artefacts for visitors, although it is stated in the brief that ‘these would need to be robust, and designed to be enjoyable to those [visitors] directly participating and those watching [the interactive]’.³⁶⁸ This is due to *Young Henry* being intended as a permanent installation.

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

³⁶⁵ Ibid.

³⁶⁶ Ibid.

³⁶⁷ Ibid.

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

In terms of the audience that *Young Henry* wished to attract, it is stated in the design brief that all interpretation methods installed must appeal to a variety of learning styles, where they differentiate between visitors who are ‘visual learners’ preferring to engage with pictorial representations of history, ‘auditory learners’ who focus on discussion, audio and speech, and ‘kinaesthetic learners’, i.e. those learning from ‘hands-on’ methods which focus on ‘doing, moving and touching’. Regarding the apartments themselves, the brief outlines how each room could be used for *Young Henry*, inclusive of suggestions of what could be displayed. The first two rooms provide views of both Base and Clock Court, and as explained in the brief, ‘large areas of blank wall provide an interpretive “blank canvas”’.³⁶⁹ Rooms 3 and 4, the two largest chambers in these set of apartments, provides ‘a good impression of an (unfurnished) “high status” courtiers or royal chamber of the early-16th century’, and the brief suggests this is possibly where the narrative of European politics could be presented. Rooms 5 and 6 are both promoted as being small and ‘wonderfully intimate’, inclusive of Tudor linen-fold panelling. Finally, rooms 7 and 8, the last apartments, were both small Tudor chambers inclusive of ‘16th century features’ such as a Tudor fireplace and doorway, and included blank walls with which to provide an ‘interpretative black canvas’, as with the first two rooms.³⁷⁰ The intended exit for the exhibition, known as the ‘Beauty stairs’ which leads on to the Stone Gallery and out into Clock Court, were built for William III to connect his refurbished apartments and the Tudor part of the Palace. As the exit is architecturally different to that of the atmosphere provided in the Wolsey Apartments, the brief highlights that ‘we may need to address this in some way’ in terms of their markedly different historical contrast.

To ‘map’ the messages prevalent in the narrative for *Young Henry*, the brief outlines how these could be attached to a specific room. It is suggested that a timeline/family tree of the

³⁶⁹ Ibid.

³⁷⁰ Ibid.

Tudors should be included to allow for visitors to place the different historic characters represented within the space. In terms of Henry, Katherine and Wolsey, their individual displays ‘could be located in one of the “simpler” Tudor rooms’, and use ‘images of [contemporary] paintings/portraits/busts as illustration with quotations and short texts’.³⁷¹ An audio-visual (AV) presentation was suggested to project the story promoted in *Young Henry*, ‘weaving’ through the historic objects on display and how they relate directly to the characters. As suggested in the brief: ‘The result of this would be that by the time visitors reach the paintings themselves they already understand what’s happening in the painting and why, [and] that the painting is like a cartoon strip, that it is a piece of political propaganda, and [provide] possible modern parallels’.³⁷² For the conclusion to *Young Henry*, the brief informs potential contractors that HRP wished to finish the exhibition ‘by wrapping up the downfall of Wolsey and Katherine, with a brief teaser for the next part of the exhibition – i.e. Anne Boleyn, Henry’s new image...’³⁷³ The proposed timescale for the tender, appointment of contractors and installation of the exhibition is included in the appendices for the brief, where the tender was to be issued by September 2006, with the appointment of designers/contractors completed by November the same year. The installation of the exhibition was to take place between May and June 2007 with the exhibition to be opened to visitors on 28 June 2007. This would therefore coincide with Henry VIII’s 516th birthday.

As with *The Tudors*, *Young Henry* also wanted to present a younger Henry VIII to visitors.³⁷⁴ The idea was that by focussing on the early reign of Henry VIII it would provoke debate and challenge preconceptions.³⁷⁵ The exhibition attempts to provide a strong underlying narrative for visitors to understand this monarch in a different light, beginning with a

³⁷¹ Ibid.

³⁷² Ibid.

³⁷³ Ibid.

³⁷⁴ Woodall.

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

holographic image placed at the exhibitions entrance which was intended to be reflective of both a 'young' and 'old' Henry VIII, combining the two paintings of Henry VIII – *Henry VIII* (English School c.1509) and *Henry VIII* (Hans Holbein the Younger, c.1536-1537):



Figure 26: Holographic Image of Henry VIII in *Young Henry* (2007-)

The Tudors versus Young Henry

Young Henry opened to the public in June 2007 and *The Tudors*' US release was on the Showtime/HBO network in April 2007, and aired in the UK later in the year on BBC 2. Despite the differences in the ways the television series and exhibition attempt to portray Henry's early reign, they have similar intentions in the themes which they promote and the style in which they achieve this. Chris Gidlow, Live Interpretation Manager at Hampton Court, revealed in interview that *Young Henry* was not the immediate success HRP believed it would be. It was

not until the release of *The Tudors* that the exhibition would be deemed popular: he explained that visitors commonly believed that *Young Henry* was in fact an accompaniment to *The Tudors* and that it offered a further engagement with Henry's story beyond what was represented on screen.³⁷⁶ Separately, the television series was deemed by visitors to assist in the presentation of historic figures the exhibition space focuses on. It is worth pointing out that only visitors who have viewed both *The Tudors* and visited the exhibition can connect the narratives presented by both. Visitors can then choose to compare the similarities in approach and narrative promoted by each, where they can combine their knowledge of the two if they choose to. This is not without assistance from marketing of both *The Tudors* and exhibition, as they both encourage post-production comparisons which are discussed later in this chapter.

The narrative of *Young Henry* attempts to engage with visitors by using popular references and a feminine focus to present the politics of the Tudor court and wider European contexts. For example, rooms 3 and 4 of the exhibition include a female voice-over that recites Katherine's letters to Henry where she discusses the English victory over the Scottish at the battle of Flodden Field. This displaces what could be deemed a typically male perspective with an overtly feminine one. To encourage visitors to engage with Tudor history in a tactile way, *Young Henry* includes bonnets, caps and capes for adults and children to dress up in. Puppets were made, for example a dragon to reflect the dragon firework in the *Field of the Cloth of Gold* (British School, c.1545) in room 4, to encourage children to understand the narrative presented by Tudor paintings through play. By setting the exhibition in Wolsey's Apartments, this forms an attempt to anchor the narrative in a 'historic' setting. Physical objects included in the rooms, such as furniture, support the exhibitions *mise-en-scène*. Quotations taken from written accounts and sources from the Tudor period are displayed and integrated within the

³⁷⁶ Chris Gidlow, Personal Interview, 10 July 2012.

space. These appear in the format of audio-visuales, voice-overs and on the furniture to place Henry's early reign into historical context.



Figure 27: Written interpretation in *Young Henry* (2007-)

Compared with *Young Henry*, *The Tudors* aims to provide its viewer with a fast-paced jaunt through Tudor history in terms of landscape, character and language. These elements combine to progress the narrative of a young Henry's 'Great Matter'. Again, as with *Young Henry*'s narrative, this incorporates Henry's desire to sire an heir, the annulment of his marriage to Katherine (Maria Doyle Kennedy) and the beginning of the reformation of England. Certified a '15' for its DVD release, *The Tudors* has a very different audience intention to that of *Young Henry*. Whereas Hampton Court's audience is predominantly families, *The Tudors* can progress a more complex narrative through adult themes of sex, politics and violence. Adopting the format of *The Sopranos* (1999-2007), its context forms a soap opera through the playing out of drama in the royal, and according to *The Tudors*, Henry's

much used marriage bed. The central motif is revenge and war in the pilot episode, 'In Cold Blood', and this is continued throughout the series ending with Wolsey's death. Set in 1518 and beginning in medias res, it thrusts us into the narrative supported by characters walking and talking fast discussing the plot in the style of *The West Wing* (1999-2006). Every narrative arc is presented in the pilot and continued at pace through the remaining nine episodes. This is positioned as a very masculine version of history: the first scene begins in Urbino, Italy, with the assassination of the English Ambassador (Sean Pertwee) by the French. As blood seeps from his wounds flowing onto the floor, the camera cuts to a set of Whitehall Palace. We finally meet Henry in a pique of patriotic anger who wishes to use the death of his ambassador as an excuse for war to seize back his title as 'King of France'. After the scene's conclusion where Cardinal Wolsey (Sam Neill) manipulates Henry into sponsoring a 'Treaty of Universal Peace', Henry announces 'Now I can go play'. The camera cuts to the first female we witness, who is not his 'virtuous' wife Katherine, but one of Henry's mistresses, Lady Elizabeth Blount (Ruta Gedmintas). She appears completely naked as Henry romps with her in bed. Erotically charged and infused with sex, *The Tudors* is not simply positioned for a female Anglo-American audience but provides a male perspective too.

The final episode of the first series, 'The Death of Wolsey', works to complete the various narrative arcs which began in the pilot episode, yet also leaves room for further development in its commissioned second season. Its opening scene continues the theme of dress and undress promoted throughout the series for viewer's voyeuristic pleasure by using phallic metaphors. The camera directs our gaze towards Henry masturbating in his privy chamber while imagining Anne Boleyn (Natalie Dormer) sewing stump-work embroidery, where she is ironically positioned as the embodiment of feminine piety. Her needle adopts phallic associations; as it pierces through the fabric, Henry achieves his sexual release. In his fantasy, Henry subconsciously replaces Katherine with Anne as queen, inclusive of her

submissive attitude as a loving wife. A later scene places pious Katherine in a similar position for our comparison. Here, Katherine is sewing Spanish black-work embroidery with her ladies-in-waiting and is presented as non-sexual and the image of wifely devotion. The rest of the episode continues at pace, with the narrative developing the theme of politics versus religion. As a heritage hybrid, it encompasses motifs reminiscent from *Elizabeth* (1998) when addressing the burnings for heresy in its attempt of 'horror heritage'. As Peter Hutchings explains, this type of drama 'works to extend or transform some of the parameters of heritage. *Elizabeth*, for example, offers a darker and considerably more violent rendition of English history that can be found in 1980s heritage dramas'.³⁷⁷ This is likely due to the fact that Hirst worked on the production of *Elizabeth* as well, where he wrote the script. The episode reaches its climax with the suicide of Cardinal Wolsey in prison. Intercut with a court pageant, the viewer is positioned as the judge; we are to decide Wolsey's innocence. The camera provides close-ups of a variety of allusions to religion as Wolsey prays, including rosary beads and Christ nailed to the Cross reflecting Catholicism. An apple is placed in the foreground of the *mise-en-scène*, referring to the temptation of power and carnal desires which Wolsey has been seduced by throughout the series. As Wolsey talks directly to us via the camera he states: "I know myself for what I am and I throw my poor soul upon your forgiveness in the full knowledge that I deserve none at your loving hands". Reflective of theatrical artifice, the series is historically inaccurate, however what it foregrounds is a sense of immediacy: we are part of Henry's Tudor court. As with *Young Henry*, *The Tudors* wants to evoke in us the feeling that we belong.

As to *The Tudors*' and *Young Henry*'s reimagining of Henry, in both the king is a lusty, well-built and athletic 'Adonis'. As both are a perceived opportunity to re-familiarise us with

³⁷⁷ Peter Hutchings 'Uncanny Landscapes in British Film and Television', *Visual Culture in Britain* (Vol. 5, No. 3, 2004) p. 27.

Tudor history, they both attempt to destabilise conventions through historical estrangement. The ‘body politic’ and the ‘body natural’ both play a mediating role in here how each narrative is understood ‘between the biological trajectory of individual (mortal) bodies, and their eternal symbolic place on the time line of the nation’.³⁷⁸ *The Tudors* self-consciously frames the ‘psychosexual aspects’ of Henry’s nature and promotes a fast-paced sexual thriller through a lens of youth, desire and passion.³⁷⁹ By comparison, *Young Henry* utilises the discourses of taste, consumerism and identity to change the apparatus of our view of Henry. The purpose of both is to make him popular, and align him to contemporary sensibilities by focusing their narratives on his spectacular Renaissance achievements rather than what could be deemed by some to be his unacceptable and ruthless succession of wives. Intending to reshape Henry’s historical reputation, they utilise the public’s increasing appetite for the insight into the current Royal Family’s private lives to frame his character. Henry in both is arguably positioned as a ‘brand’, where he can be understood to be a form of tourism and encompasses a romantic and emotive image in *Young Henry*, and comparatively a ruthlessly aggressive and sexually promiscuous young King finding his power in *The Tudors*.

Viewers of *The Tudors* can apply their own knowledge of Rhys Meyers playing Henry VIII on visiting *Young Henry*, and this comparison is encouraged within a short film projected in room 1 of the exhibition, designed by Newangle on behalf of the Interpretation Department. The short film was installed after the exhibition opened, and Chris Gidlow explained that the cast employed to play Henry VIII, Katherine of Aragon and Cardinal Wolsey were selected to reflect the casting of *The Tudors*.³⁸⁰ As a combination of visual, aesthetic, commercial and popular constraints, the film deliberately chose not to emulate contemporary paintings which

³⁷⁸ Julianne Pidduck, *Contemporary Costume Film: Space, Place and the Past* (London: BFI Publishing, 2004) p. 170.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 157-8.

³⁸⁰ Gidlow.

depict Henry's appearance, and instead casts a Rhys Meyers lookalike. At two minutes and twenty seconds long, the short film works to allow visitors to redefine their understanding of Henry. Its strategic placement means that the film is a trailer to the narrative that continues throughout the exhibition for the visitor to follow. It is a silent film, and its extra-diegetic music is an original composition also devised by Newangle, influenced by the arrangement of *Pastime with Good Company* (Henry VIII, 1514) where they modernised the music to highlight specific narrative points. Changes in pace and context in this film are supported by the crescendo and volume of its supporting soundtrack. To evoke atmosphere, it connects the film and room. The film provides a fast-paced and intercut montage representing the three characters we are to engage with and foregrounds a feminine perspective of Tudor life where there is a central focus of sexual and emotional life throughout the exhibition's narrative, and this possibly offers comparisons with the masculine perspective offered by *The Tudors*. It includes the displacement of other apartments at Hampton Court, for example the Great Hall and fragments of the *Abraham* tapestries (Peter Coeck van Aelst, 1543-1545) appear within it. These aim to serve as points of recognition for the viewer, who may have already visited Henry's surviving State Apartments before *Young Henry*. They also, like the casting choice, reflect deliberate choices made by the Interpretation Department. The Great Hall was completed in 1533 and the *The Story of Abraham* tapestries were commissioned by Henry VIII in 1540. Therefore, they work as signifiers of Hampton Court to converge both leisure and cultural consumption where *Young Henry* is packaged as a tourist product, but are not reflective of the historical year which the short film's narrative represents (c.1509-1514).

Katherine is the first character we are introduced to in the film. Positioned as pious, beautiful and serene, the conscious choice for her to appear before Henry aligns us with her: we are to relate to her perspective throughout the exhibition. Use of Katherine supports the original narrative intention of *Young Henry* before the release of *The Tudors*: as explained by

Gidlow, 'to get Hampton Court's regular audiences to see something new'.³⁸¹ *Young Henry* too can also be understood as attempting to appeal to the demographic of female visitors, as it is Katherine who is positioned as the main protagonist. She is given her own voice throughout the film and exhibition which is applied to a traditionally masculine history. The exhibition therefore works to provide a feminine perspective to further our understanding against the overtly masculine discourse presented by *The Tudors*. Henry in the exhibition's film is first viewed naked from the back as we watch him dress into a cambric linen shift. This shot heightens our sense of voyeurism – we are to associate with Henry's private as well as public life in the exhibition. The frenetic camera follows this as it provides a masculine montage of hawking and sword-play. Wolsey appears continuously as working on matters of state, first by completing and sealing documents and then by pacing purposefully through cloisters flanked by numerous Tudor courtiers. The camera emulates similar references to the first scene in the pilot episode of *The Tudors*, foregrounding Wolsey's political experience versus Henry's passion and youth. *The Tudors* however goes further in their characterisation of Wolsey where he appears a smug, ruthless and cunning politician. This film demonstrates that whilst film and television portraying Tudor history is not 'officially' recognised by HRP, they are more than willing to surreptitiously use film and television references. Another example of this is in the touch-screen in room 3 where it introduces a comic strip entitled 'Heroic Henry meets Mad Max' to explain the painting *The Meeting of Henry VIII and the Emperor Maximilian I* (c.1513).

³⁸¹ Ibid.

Post-production Marketing Strategies

The Tudors invites commercialised comparisons with Hampton Court in three distinct ways. The first is the use of CGI to present historic buildings reflective of the Tudor period in the pilot episode to anchor the narrative:



Figure 28: Hampton Court as it appears in *The Tudors* (2007-2010)

The recognisable facade of Hampton Court appears in the scene where the French Ambassador (Jonathan Ryan) rides to visit Wolsey to discuss the peace treaty with France in the first episode. Whilst it correctly places Hampton Court in period as being owned by Wolsey, the deliberate use of the Palace as viewers would recognise it today is important, for example the inclusion of the Great Hall which was not built until 1533, after Wolsey's death. The second strategy is utilised in the promotional pamphlet included with the DVD box set of the first season. The poster designed for *Young Henry* is placed on the second page in the pamphlet stating: "Young Henry at Hampton Court. Come and See the Games He Played".³⁸² A promotional still released for *The Tudors* is similar in its juxtaposition of character. The

³⁸² *Advert for Young Henry*. London: Historic Royal Palaces, 2007. Print.

positioning reflects characterisation through the ironic parody of Christ's Last Supper as opposed to *Young Henry* who frames the characters as chess-pieces easily manipulated:



Figure 29: Promotional Image for *Young Henry* (2007-)



Figure 30: Promotional Still for *The Tudors* (2007-2010)

These images together encourage associations where the viewer embarks on a journey of discovery between screen and site. Finally, *The Tudors*' website uses Hampton Court to foreground its 'authenticity'. It provides external clips of curators employed at Hampton Court, Kent Rawlinson and Brett Dolman, who discuss both the architecture of Henry's palace and his political achievements.³⁸³ Another clip provides viewers with information about Tudor cuisine as told from the perspective of Marc Meltonville, a food historian working for Historia, who are externally commissioned by HRP to provide Tudor Cookery Workshops in the Tudor Kitchens at Hampton Court. Effectively, these strategies combine to advertise the site. They both work to promote Henry as having a larger-than-life personality, and debunk preconceived ideas as to what this monarch should have looked like. *The Tudors* is an example of how popular representations of history in film and television allow every tourist to become an 'expert' to approach their understanding of heritage sites.

Reception of *The Tudors* and *Young Henry*

For the first season of *The Tudors*, critical reception was decidedly mixed. In terms of the US reception, where the show was first aired, reviews were generally positive. Alessandra Stanley of *The New York Times* believes that it 'weaves its way through all kinds of court intrigue and bawdy sexual escapades, but for some reason it leaves the greatest romance of the Renaissance hazy', referring to Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn.³⁸⁴ She rates the series as being 'enjoyable but not exhilarating, engaging but not hypnotic', and 'beautiful to behold but not quite clever and beguiling enough to hold fickle viewers' attention for 10 episodes'.³⁸⁵ In terms of the portrayal of Henry, she is relatively positive: 'Rhys Meyers is a gifted actor and works the

³⁸³ <<http://www.sho.com/sho/the-tudors/video/season/1>> [22 February 2016]

³⁸⁴ Alessandra Stanley 'Renaissance Romping with Henry and his Rat Pack' *The New York Times* March 30 2007. <<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/03/30/arts/television/30tudo.html>> [22 February 2016]

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

shadows of his character with gusto, even though he is an odd fit for the larger-than-life role of Henry', although as with other critics, Stanley highlights the differences in looks between the actor and the monarch: 'It's not just that his build and coloring are so different from the way the king was depicted by Holbein and other painters; the actor's mien is broody and watchful, better suited to a scheming courtier or pining poet than an extroverted royal peacock'.

³⁸⁶ Aswini Anburajan for *ABC News* writes: 'If only history class could have been so much fun', and describes it as being a 'sexy and lavish historical drama' which 'makes the drama of *The Tudors* compelling'. ³⁸⁷ Anburajan cites in the article how 'industry watchers say *The Tudors* has the potential to create the sort of iconic drama that could expand Showtime's viewer base and brand the channel as a must-have in the way its premium cable rival HBO has done with *The Sopranos*, *Sex and the City* and *Entourage*'. ³⁸⁸ In terms of American audiences, she describes them as 'lapping the show up', where: 'More than 1 million viewers previewed the show online or through on-demand before it premiered, and more than 1.2 million viewers caught the official series premiere on April 1, the largest debut for the network in the last three years. Viewership has grown every week, according to Showtime'. ³⁸⁹

Jim Bawden, writing for Canadian newspaper *The Star*, directly associates *The Tudors* with Hampton Court, where he states: 'When Henry VIII proudly strides through Hampton Court in the new 10-part miniseries *The Tudors*, it'll be a slightly diminished merrie monarch you'll glimpse'. ³⁹⁰ The reason behind this 'diminished' Henry VIII, according to Bawden, is due to the cuts made to the original filming because the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's broadcast television network (CBC) wished to delete 'some of its scandalous nudity and its

³⁸⁶ Ibid.

³⁸⁷ Aswini Anburajan '16th Century Sex and Power Thrill Audiences' *ABC News* 24 April 2007. <<http://abcnews.go.com/Entertainment/story?id=3069076&page=1>> [22 February 2016]

³⁸⁸ Ibid.

³⁸⁹ Ibid.

³⁹⁰ Jim Bawden 'A slightly neutered Tudors' *The Star* September 28 2007. <http://www.thestar.com/entertainment/television/2007/09/28/a_slightly_neutered_tudors.html> [22 February 2016]

compendium of filthy words’, which he wittily explains he couldn’t detect himself. Bawden believes that: ‘Sex sells history and this version of the overly sexed king attributes virtually everything to his robust lusty nature and desire to have a strong male heir’, although he is seemingly unimpressed with the casting of Rhys Meyers as Henry stating that he ‘doesn’t look at bit like the famous, lustful king who succeed to the throne at 19. Meyers is reed thin with dark, cropped hair and a pouty expression’. ³⁹¹ Ultimately, he is favourable towards *The Tudors*, explaining that it ‘turns history into sexy entertainment – but it will be a little less sexy for Canadian viewers’. ³⁹²

For the British critics, Lina Das writing for the *Daily Mail* reviews *The Tudors* as providing the viewer with ‘the Hollywoodisation of Henry’, where she describes Rhys Meyers as being ‘a preening rock star figure’ where his casting questions the typical on-screen portrayal of Henry VIII and directly references Laughton in *The Private Life of Henry VIII* ‘if anyone should labour under the impression that this Henry VIII is the portly, drumstick wielding megalomaniac we all love to hate, then think again’. ³⁹³ She agrees that while critics may question the historical accuracy of the series, all should be in agreement that it is ‘good entertainment nonetheless’. ³⁹⁴ Bill Coles’ review of *The Tudors* is similarly positive, where he explains: ‘viewers are left in absolutely no doubt as to what they can expect from the rest of the series: raunchy sex, plenty of violence and an extra dose of raunchy sex for good measure’. ³⁹⁵ He is relatively sympathetic in regard to what *The Tudors* is, as opposed to what it is not: ‘What the snobs seem to disregard is that, despite the scripts being as racy as a modern soap opera, they are also packed full of historical details – many that the viewers of such dramas

³⁹¹ Ibid.

³⁹² Ibid.

³⁹³ Lina Das ‘Lie back and think of Olde England! Is this TV’s sexiest historical romp?’ *Daily Mail* 7 September 2007. <<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/reviews/article-480475/Lie-think-Olde-England-Is-TVs-sexiest-historical-romp.html>> [22 February 2016].

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

³⁹⁵ Bill Coles ‘Ruder Tudors and the rise of ‘Kisstory’ *Daily Express* 12 October 2007.

<<http://www.express.co.uk/expressyourself/21864/Ruder-Tudors-and-the-rise-of-Kisstory>> [22 February 2016].

may never have known – and anecdotes based on the most learned of documents. It's entertainment, sure, but it also has its roots in history and watching just one episode may teach some people more than they ever knew about those times'.³⁹⁶

After the release of *The Tudors* on BBC 2, Clemmie Moodie writing for the *Daily Mail* focusses on the popularity of *The Tudors* after its UK release and the series' inaccuracies: 'Modern radiators, Tarmac driveways, concrete bollards and Victorian carriages have all made appearances in the tenpart series set in the 16th Century'.³⁹⁷ Claiming that 'many' viewers and academics had complained about the inauthenticity of the series, Moodie continues her attack by quoting from Leandra de Lisle, biographer of the Tudors, who believes: 'Overall the series is badly written with an extremely cheap feel to it. It is hugely disappointing. With inaccuracies in almost every sentence, the BBC is dumbing down the Tudor period'.³⁹⁸ Historian and author Alison Weir was also asked to comment on the series for Moodie's article, where she believes that *The Tudors* is little more than a 'Hollywood fairytale', and complains about Rhys Meyers' casting: 'Henry had red hair, not black hair as this actor has, and some of the scenes are just plain gratuitous. Henry was a very discreet king: he would never have indulged in womanising openly'.³⁹⁹ Viewers, according to Moodie, were also disappointed, where she quotes from responses provided on the BBC's 'Points of View' webpage and cites: 'Imagine my bitter disappointment [with] a rewritten, out of context, out of time story about Henry VIII... The story of the Tudors is juicy enough already, it certainly did not need this Americanisation'.⁴⁰⁰ On the sexualisation of the Tudor period, another viewer is quoted as saying: '[*The Tudors*] is

³⁹⁶ Ibid.

³⁹⁷ Clemmie Moodie 'Henry VIII: The glaring errors in BBC's sexed-up, dumbed-down Tudors' *Daily Mail* 24 October 2007. <<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-489336/Henry-VIII-The-glaring-errors-BBCs-sexed-dumbed-Tudors.html>> [22 February 2016].

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

a porno-style historical semi-drama [and] quite obviously not aimed at the serious TV-watcher'.⁴⁰¹

Moodie reports in her article that the BBC released a statement in an attempt to justify their acquisition and showing of *The Tudors*:

[It] is not a documentary drama, and as with all dramas it is reasonable to expect a fair amount of artistic licence and to allow the writers to interpret and invent historical events. BBC Acquisitions hoped to attract a new, younger audience to history which we feel we have achieved. *The Tudors* is watched by over two million viewers, all of whom are enjoying the interpretation.⁴⁰²

David Starkey, interviewed by Nicole Martin for the *Daily Telegraph*, directly attacks *The Tudors*, which he describes as 'gratuitously awful' and that it 'bought "shame" on the corporation by distorting history for dramatic effect'.⁴⁰³ The reason for this, according to Starkey, is due to it being 'riddled with errors and inaccuracies', where it has been 'dumbed down to appeal to an American audience' and therefore the BBC 'has squandered public money'.⁴⁰⁴ This could be deemed as somewhat unfair: *The Tudors* does not pretend to be a documentary or historically accurate. What must also be remembered in the context of Starkey's belief that *The Tudors* is 'shameful' is that he himself often appears in television documentaries focussing on the British monarchy and in 2006, a year prior to *The Tudors*' UK release, the final part of his documentary *Monarchy with David Starkey* (2004-2006) broadcast on Channel 4 received 1.4 million viewers, as opposed to *The Tudors* first episode which 'made

⁴⁰¹ Ibid.

⁴⁰² Ibid.

⁴⁰³ Nicole Martin 'BBC period drama The Tudors is "gratuitously awful" says Dr David Starkey' *Daily Telegraph* 16 October 2008. <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/celebritynews/3210142/BBC-period-drama-The-Tudors-is-gratuitously-awful-says-Dr-David-Starkey.html>> [22 February 2016]

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

an impressive debut with more than 3 million viewers' according to the *Guardian*.⁴⁰⁵ It received 3.3 million viewers, a 15 percent share in the 9 p.m. slot on the Friday it was released on BBC 2, beating *A Bucket o' French and Saunders* on BBC 1 with 2.8 million viewers and *Ugly Betty* on Channel 4 with 2.4 million.⁴⁰⁶

In regard to the success of the *Young Henry* exhibition, Kristen Bailey on the occasion of the exhibition opening on 28 June wrote how it was 'refreshing to hear more about Katherine, who is often dismissed in retellings of Henry's story as the plain first wife who was cast aside for a younger model'.⁴⁰⁷ On the design of the exhibition itself, Bailey states: 'A stylish, uncluttered design makes the exhibition simple to understand but still tells the story of this Tudor triumvirate in fascinating detail, in the place where many twists and turns of the tale took place'.⁴⁰⁸ This displays how HRP were at least successful in their intention to get visitors to connect the narrative promoted by *Young Henry* with the historic atmosphere and architecture offered by Wolsey's Apartments. How, though, did visitors to the exhibition respond to the interpretation strategy used? An interim visitor evaluation was conducted by Tom Williams in 2008 to determine this.⁴⁰⁹ This extensive report consisted of detailed interviews conducted with 40 visitor groups, with follow-up interviews with a further 40 visitors by telephone and email as well as creating 'mind-maps' with a small sample of 10 visitor groups.⁴¹⁰ The key questions that this survey set out to answer were firstly how visitors enjoyed the exhibition in relation to HRP's learning objectives, secondly how effective the

⁴⁰⁵ *Guardian* 'TV Ratings' 12 December 2006. <<http://www.theguardian.com/media/2006/dec/12/overnights>>. *Guardian* 'TV Ratings' 8 October 2007. <<http://www.theguardian.com/media/2007/oct/08/3>> [22 February 2016].

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁷ Kristen Bailey 'The Young Henry VIII Revealed At Hampton Court Palace' *Culture 24* 28 June 2007 <<http://www.culture24.org.uk/history-and-heritage/royal-history/art48411>> [22 February 2016]

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁹ Tom Williams *Young Henry Evaluation Report* (2008). In author's possession.

⁴¹⁰ Mind-mapping refers here to a particular concept which is promoted by the *Young Henry* exhibition, such as a character, where visitors would then add what ideas, words or concepts came to mind after visiting the exhibition.

interpretation methods installed were in communicating the history presented in *Young Henry*, and finally the extent to which the key narratives were being received and understood by visitors.⁴¹¹ Out of the 40 groups interviewed, 72 per cent of the general attitude toward the exhibition was overwhelmingly positive. Generally, visitors assessed what worked best within the exhibition in terms of what engaged them the longest, which in this case was the paintings (19 per cent) and the interactives (13 per cent), and what was most memorable parts of *Young Henry* were, where visitors cited the ‘aspects of Henry VIII’s life’ (17 per cent), ‘aspects of Katherine’s life’ (13 per cent) and the chairs (13 per cent) as the most interesting.⁴¹² What these results display to us is that whilst visitors found narrative aspects of the exhibition the most interesting, the interpretation methods were considered by most to be the more memorable and what visitors spent the most time engaging with. This raises a question as to how much of *Young Henry*’s narrative is being transmitted through an interpretation medium, as opposed to the method being more overwhelming in and of itself, for instance do people remember the story the chairs tell, or do they remember the chairs themselves?

Visitors were asked as part of the survey whether they were convinced by the exhibition attempting to portray a younger Henry VIII. The responses given were mixed, in that some were disappointed at the lack of information regarding the upbringing, early life and accomplishments of Henry and Katherine, and that *Young Henry* did not really address their idea of who ‘young Henry’ was.⁴¹³ One respondent explained: ‘There could be more on this side of things, about the beautiful young man he is described as being’. Some visitors did however respond positively to the message the exhibition wished to convey about Henry VIII, and were convinced by the exhibition’s portrayal of him: ‘I didn’t realise that he was so good-looking and active in his youth’; ‘He was nice, not as horrible as we thought’; ‘... this is not the

⁴¹¹ Tom Williams.

⁴¹² Ibid.

⁴¹³ Ibid.

typical story – that Henry got messed around and got fat’ and: ‘He was clearly a different man in his younger years to how he was later in life’. ⁴¹⁴ In terms of how visitors related to Katherine’s story as promoted by the exhibition, where her voice is particularly prevalent, the results from the survey reveal that the nature of Henry’s marriage to Katherine was a surprise to many visitors, particularly in terms of its length and the responsibility she undertook as regent of England whilst Henry was campaigning in France in 1513. The evaluation report notes that this was likely the most effectively communicated narrative that the design brief for *Young Henry* wished to convey, with visitors stating: ‘Katherine’s power – that she ruled England for periods when Henry was away. We didn’t realise she was so important, or the length of time they [Katherine and Henry] were together’. ⁴¹⁵ Many respondents were positive toward Katherine after the exhibition, where they cited ‘she was a true wife to him’; ‘Their marriage was a long-term thing – it seems a genuine marriage and an attempt to produce an heir. Perhaps even a marriage as we would understand it today’; ‘My view of her [Katherine] has changed. She was much more of a companion to Henry than I would have thought’. ⁴¹⁶

I would argue that visitors connected with Katherine as portrayed in this exhibition for two reasons. Firstly, Katherine is rarely portrayed in popular culture, for example *The Private Life of Henry VIII* (1933) ignores her completely, as does *Anne of the Thousand Days* (1969) and *Carry On Henry* (1971). When she does usually appear on screen, she is often dealt with quickly to, somewhat ironically, make way for Anne Boleyn. Secondly, the exhibition very much encourages the visitor, particularly those who are female, to engage with her history on an emotional level, an example of this being in room 6 where a list of the children she either miscarried, were still-born or died shortly after birth are listed within a blocked doorway:

⁴¹⁴ Ibid.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid.



Figure 31: Room 6 of *Young Henry* (2007-)

The written interpretation on the chair is also emotive where it states:

The death of each of her short-lived children was a bitter blow for Katherine. In 1511 her first son had died amid the celebrations for his birth. Ten years later, aged thirty five, it was difficult for Katherine not to fear the worst. She would never provide her husband with another boy.⁴¹⁷

Katherine is very much projected as a ‘tragic heroine’, and visitors were drawn into this part of the exhibitions’ narrative, where according to the evaluation report they found her experience ‘moving and compelling’, to which their responses focussed on the tragic aspects of her life such as the loss of her children and continued devotion to Henry VIII after their separation and the subsequent annulment of their marriage. Visitors also believed after visiting *Young Henry* that she was an extremely strong woman: ‘That she was a strong ruler in her own right and she stuck to her guns... her story is quite tragic: her ongoing devotion to Henry and

⁴¹⁷ *Young Henry* exhibition, room 6, n.d. Hampton Court Palace, London.

all that infant mortality. You don't often get to learn about the wives as real people – I thought the exhibition really addressed that'.⁴¹⁸ Another visitor stated: 'She found the man she loved and couldn't accept the issue of providing an heir could change that. She was an incredibly strong woman', and another felt sympathetic towards her – 'she was a decent woman, kind and lovely and just put aside. She was so determined'.⁴¹⁹ This is interesting as it is usually her successor, Anne Boleyn, who is believed to be a strong and determined female, albeit due to her determination and ambition to become Queen of England as she is portrayed in many television series and films. Therefore, this exhibition works to redress the balance between the two women.

In terms of how visitors related this exhibition to *The Tudors*, certain respondents directly correlated the two: 'It ties in well with *The Tudors* on TV' and 'We can relate it to the history we learned in school and *The Tudors* TV series'.⁴²⁰ One respondent drew upon an earlier representation of Tudor history on screen when being questioned about the character of Wolsey as presented by *Young Henry*:

I remember watching *A Man for All Seasons* where he [Wolsey] was depicted as being fat and evil – but there was obviously much more to him than that. He was self-serving and did what he wanted and got away with it... I'd like to find out more about him – how did he become so powerful? How did he gain that power?

What this displays is that visitors bring their preconceptions with them to Hampton Court, and *Young Henry*, which have been formed by film and television portrayals of Tudor history, as well as by their educational background. As Tom Williams explains in his evaluation report,

⁴¹⁸ Williams.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

⁴²⁰ Ibid.

there were a significant number of visitors who felt that *Young Henry* had given them no insights into this period of Henry VIII's life, for example: 'We knew it all before we came – it's a period that was drummed into us in the 50s' referring to their school education.⁴²¹ It is clear that for some respondents this exhibition did little to alter their preconceptions as built by school and popular culture, where they variously described Henry as 'ruthless, paranoid, greedy, fickle, a megalomaniac, a slut and a madman', with one visitor exclaiming: 'He went mad!'⁴²² This is despite *Young Henry* attempting to portray Henry VIII in a more sympathetic light during his earlier years. What this exhibition did achieve, however, is a concerted attempt on HRP's part to draw comparisons between site and popular culture with specific links created between *Young Henry* and *The Tudors*. Ultimately, whilst some visitors remained unconvinced by *Young Henry*'s attempt to get them to 'sympathise' with Henry, most did begin to question the stereotypical image of Henry as began by Holbein and continued by many film and television portrayals of this monarch.

Thomas Freeman believes that there are two weaknesses to the non-traditional portrayal of Henry: firstly, they base their power on audience pre-conception and secondly, he argues that the more they subvert tradition, the stronger it is re-established.⁴²³ However, I would argue that both *The Tudors* and *Young Henry* present us with subjective, not objective histories that together form a potent act of presenting us with an image of a young Henry. *The Tudors* provides a different telling of Tudor history where the sexualised narrative is subject to Henry's masculinised perception. *Young Henry* meanwhile conforms to the feminine gaze through Katherine's perspective and allows the visitor to connect both *The Tudors* and *Young Henry* to accommodate a more rounded narrative. Both achieve the 'humanising' of Henry by aligning

⁴²¹ Ibid.

⁴²² Ibid.

⁴²³ Thomas S. Freeman 'A Tyrant for All Seasons: Henry VIII on Film', in: Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (eds) *Tudors and Stuarts on Film: Historical Perspectives* (Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009) p. 45.

him with a contemporary audience: *The Tudors* by using visually spectacular pastiche and *Young Henry* through the digitalisation of history created by the audio-visuals, film and voice-over. Ultimately, the viewer-as-visitor comes to know Henry personally and privately by us inviting him into our home by viewing *The Tudors* and visiting him at his, Hampton Court, through HRP's marketing strategy. While both these examples may not have directly inspired each other, by the similar breaking of conventions of Holbein's Henry they allow us to view Henry beyond the common image and perception of his character.

Conclusion

This chapter has documented the ways in which the Interpretation Department approach designing and installing exhibitions at Hampton Court, and how it makes use of references toward film and television to achieve this by using the example of *Young Henry*. This exhibition can be directly compared with the television series *The Tudors*, as firstly, both have many similarities in their approach toward presenting a 'young' Henry VIII and secondly, there are direct post-production marketing strategies which connect the two formats. As can be understood from the example of *Young Henry*, the Interpretation Department make use of popular culture in two separate ways. First, it uses audio-visual methods to present a narrative within exhibitions, for example the short film in room 1 of the exhibition, and interactive touch-screens throughout *Young Henry*. The touch screens are used in this exhibition mainly to explain the paintings to visitors. Second, it can be understood that the Interpretation Department make direct reference to film and television within the overall narrative of *Young Henry*. For example, within one of the touch-screens, they make creative use of film titles: 'Heroic Henry meets Mad Max' in reference both to the painting *The Meeting of Henry VIII and the Emperor Maximilian I* (c.1513) and *Mad Max* the film franchise. The Interpretation

Department also references *The Tudors* directly in the short introductory film in room 1 of the exhibition, where the actor playing Henry VIII looks more like Jonathan Rhys Meyers than contemporary portraits of the young king. It is, however, in the post-production marketing strategies of both *The Tudors* and *Young Henry* that the references between the two are clearest, including the advertising and use of short interview clips available on *The Tudors* website.

Based on the example used in this chapter of *Young Henry*, it is clear that the Interpretation Department do reference film and television in its strategy, although this appears surreptitiously. I would argue that this is because HRP as an organisation places itself highly within the hierarchy of heritage sites, and therefore does not feel the need to rely on using film and television with which to frame their exhibitions at Hampton Court. Therefore, it can be argued that the Interpretation Department is somewhat constrained and limited in how they make use of film and television, particularly in its referencing of film and television within an exhibitions narrative. Secondly, there are limitations in terms of how the Interpretation Department makes use of film and television to present history to visitors as opposed to *The Tudors* which, whilst its narrative and *mise-en-scène* anchors the series within the correct time, space and place, is created to entertain. The remit of the Interpretation Department is to educate the visitor of the history of the site as well as to do this in an entertaining way. This highlights the main key difference between film, television and interpretation strategies within museums and heritage sites; screen representations are created predominately for a mass-market audience to entertain, and exhibitions are created to educate whilst being entertaining enough to attract visitors. The connections between the two can be understood firstly from the use of Hampton Court Palace in *The Tudors*, secondly from the later installation of the introductory film placed at the beginning of *Young Henry*, and thirdly from the marketing which provides direct comparisons between both. In terms of whether *Young Henry* and *The Tudors* managed to achieve what they intended, that being the presentation of a young Henry VIII, whilst they

individually managed to get both critics and visitors to question the commonly perceived image of Henry, it is unlikely that they ultimately managed to completely break the perception of Holbein's Henry.

Chapter 5.

Marketing Hampton Court Palace: *The Other Boleyn Girl Costume Exhibition* (2008)

This final chapter will analyse how Historic Royal Palaces' Marketing Department make use of film and television in order to promote Hampton Court Palace, and how this assists the general marketing campaign used for this site. In terms of how this contributes to the argument of this thesis, that a hierarchy of heritage sites exists which goes toward explaining different organisations' relationships with film and television, we can understand that the Marketing Department has the clearest relationship with film and television than that of the Curatorial Department and the Interpretation Department. This is in part due to the remit of this department, where the Marketing Department's role is to advertise Hampton Court to prospective visitors and entice them to come to the site, particularly as Hampton Court is situated out of the central London area. It can generally be understood that visitors relate to history through the viewing of film and television, and this is one of the reasons that the Marketing Department is keen to forge links between the site and film and television. In order to understand this, this chapter will analyse *The Other Boleyn Girl* (Justin Chadwick, 2008), a film adapted from Philippa Gregory's novel of the same name (2001) and its marketing campaign, *The Other Boleyn Girl Costume Exhibition*, which was an exhibition designed at installed by the Marketing Department at Hampton Court in the summer of 2008. The specific focus for this case-study will be on Anne Boleyn, Henry VIII's second wife, because of the prominence of her in both the film and the exhibition. To analyse *The Other Boleyn Girl Costume Exhibition*, I will assess how the boundaries between this film and its subsequent exhibition cross to complete a three dimensional, visceral tableau of the costumes from the film

for the visitor. I will question how corporate sponsorship, the desire for curatorial independence and historical accuracy of the exhibition work in tandem with the film's *mise-en-scène* to promote and market the film. Beginning with the original source text, I will analyse the adaptation in order to understand how the costumes can be viewed to assist in the formation of character and the projection of the narrative within the film. Following this, I will then compare the film to its companion exhibition to understand firstly how exhibitions of this type are designed and installed by HRP's Marketing Department, and secondly to understand how heritage sites can possibly be viewed as an extension of the film text and how they work as a form of promotion.

The popularity of Anne Boleyn and *The Other Boleyn Girl* (2001)

Anne Boleyn, Henry VIII's second wife, has been a contentious figure in historical and cultural representations. She is commonly presented in popular culture as the ambitious 'commoner' who managed to cut the mantle of queenship in to her own gown, and who died dramatically by a French executioner's sword. This reflected in the sheer amount of popular cultural representations of her life. Indeed, out of all six of Henry VIII's wives she is the most represented in film and television including both leading roles, for example Henny Porten in *Anna Boleyn* (1920), and cameos such as Vanessa Redgrave in *A Man for All Seasons* (1966). Such promotion of a short-lived queen consort who reigned only for three years is unusual. Reasons for this are often debated, but most sources agree that there are two elements behind such preoccupation with Anne. Firstly, as Alison Weir summarises: 'Henry VIII's marital affairs brought the royal marriage into public focus for the first time in our history', therefore inspiring a contemporary voyeuristic desire to understand the private lives of monarchs.⁴²⁴

⁴²⁴ Alison Weir *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (London: Pimlico, 1997) p. 1.

Secondly, she is ambiguous. Few historical documents survive specifically associated with Anne, hence the ability in popular history to weave convincing arguments for or against her character. As Eric Ives explains ‘no one knows what Anne said to Henry in bed. Anne, moreover, left no journal, no memoranda and very few letters, so her inner life must be inferred from externals, for instance what she believed from what she chose to read and promote’.⁴²⁵

Those who are positive towards Anne Boleyn are Karen Lindsey and David Starkey.⁴²⁶ Ives also falls into this category and presents a romantic and evocative image of Anne where he claims that ‘Anne deserves to be a feminist icon’ and should be understood as integral to the exercise of power that dominated sixteenth century Tudor court politics.⁴²⁷ He develops his perspective by suggesting that Anne embodies the feminine power of ‘image’, ‘presentation’ and ‘message’, and proposes that her marriage to Henry was a love-match which was rare in the Tudor period and almost unheard of in the English monarchy.⁴²⁸ Alternatively, we have available to us the more colourful and dramatic approach adopted by Weir.⁴²⁹ Weir is not alone in her perception of Anne Boleyn, and is supported by Antonia Fraser and Greg Walker.⁴³⁰ Weir dramatically states that Henry’s relationship with Anne ‘began with passion and ended with bloody death’.⁴³¹ Definitively stating that: ‘Anne Boleyn was an ambitious adventuress with a perchance for vengeance’, Weir turns Anne’s story into an almost farcical tragedy where she appears to be the inspiration behind Shakespeare’s villainous Lady Macbeth.⁴³² While those writing on Anne Boleyn generally fall in to one of two binary categories, most accounts are consistent in believing that she exercised a sexual power over most of the men in

⁴²⁵ Eric Ives *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn* (Malden, Blackwell Publishing, 2005) p. xv.

⁴²⁶ See Karen Lindsey *Divorced, Beheaded, Survived: A Feminist Reinterpretation of the Wives of Henry VIII* (Boston: Da Capo Press, 1995) and Starkey.

⁴²⁷ Ives, p. xiv.

⁴²⁸ Ibid, p. xv.

⁴²⁹ Weir, p. 3.

⁴³⁰ See Antonia Fraser *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (London: Phoenix Press, 2012), and Greg Walker ‘Rethinking the Fall of Anne Boleyn’ *Historical Journal* 45:1 (2002) pp. 1-29.

⁴³¹ Weir, p. 3.

⁴³² Ibid.

Henry VIII's court, himself included. As Fraser states 'whether it was aroused desire or hostility, the fascination was there', and that fascination, especially in sexual terms, remains today.⁴³³

Philippa Gregory manages to capture the sexualised scandals of court life through her use of dress in *The Other Boleyn Girl*.⁴³⁴ She positions dress as transcending from the 'body politic', which is embodied by the presentation of sumptuous, Tudor gowns, to the 'body natural' where her characters spend an extraordinary amount of time in a state of undress. As a romance that has its feet in history, Gregory's novel won the Parker Romantic Novel of the Year Award.⁴³⁵ This reflects its extremely popular reception, reaching the 'Top 100 Bestseller' list in *The Guardian*.⁴³⁶ *The Other Boleyn Girl* is written from the perspective of Anne's sister Mary. Due to little being known of Mary, this allows Gregory more freedom in terms of artistic licence. Gregory adopts a fresh approach and the tactic of employing a different perspective, Mary's, to the commonly known tale of Anne's downfall. The novel focuses on the sexualised scandals of Tudor court life. Projecting herself as a historian – Gregory obtained a PhD, not in history but in eighteenth-century literature, from the University of Edinburgh, and includes a bibliography for readers to use as a reference for further research – she spends a lot of time in the novel weaving a romantic tale of spicy sexual intrigue with a sisterly war of ambition. Its setting is located in the climactic moment of Henry VIII's reign from 1527 to 1533, involving the break from Catholic Rome and the origins of the English Reformation. This happens alongside the annulment of his first marriage to Katherine of Aragon and completes its narrative with the beheading of Anne Boleyn.

⁴³³ Fraser p. 151.

⁴³⁴ Philippa Gregory *The Other Boleyn Girl* (London: HarperCollins, 2001).

⁴³⁵ Angelique Chrisafis 'Everyday story of courtly folk takes romantic fiction award' *The Guardian* 19 April 2002. <<http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2002/apr/19/books.booksnews>> [2 March 2016]

⁴³⁶ Ibid.

The description of clothing in Gregory's novel is used for narrative function and material representation to evoke a sense of being submerged within the Tudor court for the reader. As an example of this, Mary and Anne's clothing is used for comparison in this excerpt:

It was a lovely morning. I was wearing a new riding habit of yellow velvet, made for me with a bolt of cloth the king had given me. Anne was at my side in one of my old gowns. It gave me a fierce joy to see her wearing one of my hand-me-downs. But then, in the contradictory way of sisters, I admired what she had done with it. She had ordered it to be shortened and re-cut in the French way and she looked stylish. ⁴³⁷

As can be understood from this short excerpt, the sisters are written to mirror and oppose each other. They individually define themselves through their sexuality and dress with Mary positioned as the sweet 'English Rose' and Anne as the sensuous French mistress, as Anne explains to Mary on her return to England from the French court: "Exactly," she said. "I shall be dark and French and fashionable and difficult and you shall be sweet and open and English and fair. What a pair we shall be. What man could resist us?" ⁴³⁸ Gregory plays out their competitive nature and continuous rivalry through use of the intimate feminine space; their shared bedchamber, and the masculine; the State Bed of England. This works to highlight the female rivalry between them via the theme of dress and undress.

Placing Tudor fashion used in *The Other Boleyn Girl* into historical context, Henry VIII established Sumptuary Laws or 'Statutes of Apparel' in 1510. This law ensured that courtiers dressed according to their rank with penalties imposed if not adhered to. It formed an integral part of Tudor court life, dictating what colour, fabric and garment could be worn to identify privilege. Clothing in this period was central to personal presentation and perception where, as

⁴³⁷ Gregory, pp. 83-84.

⁴³⁸ Ibid, p. 7.

Maria Hayward explains, ‘material possessions were used to claim, confirm and assert social identity’.⁴³⁹ These laws were hierarchical in structure and displayed social status through the quality of cloth, where fashion worked as a material signifier. The act was intended to control the consumption of cloth in social groups with an emphasis on masculinity and patriarchy, where a woman’s status in such laws was linked to their father and then husband. As Suzanne Hull writes: ‘legally, a maiden or a wife was a *femme couverte*, that is, a woman “covered” under the jurisdiction of a father, guardian or husband’.⁴⁴⁰ Clothes, Hayward explains ‘are highly gendered items and as such are highly influential in the formation of gender’.⁴⁴¹ Male clothing, such as the codpiece, emphasised specific masculine elements of the body in terms of power. Female dress was intended to shape and conceal the body working to foreground the dominant versus subservient sexuality in the Tudor period. The only women mentioned in the Acts were the Queen and other members of the Royal Family and, as Hayward states, ‘the law clearly defined what they were expected to wear in order to stress their superior status’, while still dominated over by the Henrican patriarchal society.⁴⁴² The standardised dress code for court ladies involved undergarments of stockings and a chemise. A Farthingale, consisting of whalebone hoops attached to a linen petticoat, was constructed to be worn underneath the gown to create a triangular silhouette. A ‘rowle’, or roll, of linen compacted with wadding was tied around the waist to support the weight of the skirts and assist the shape created by the Farthingale. A ‘kirtle’, an underskirt, of plain fabric was placed over this and included a highly decorated and luxurious ‘forepart’ which was revealed in the parting of the overskirt. Finally, the overskirt of fabric inclusive of colour and embellishment according to rank would be worn along with a bodice. Stitched together and attached to the kirtle, they were arranged into ample

⁴³⁹ Maria Hayward *Rich Apparel: Clothing and the Law in Henry VIII’s England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009) p. 1.

⁴⁴⁰ Suzanne Hull *Women according to Men: The World of Tudor-Stuart Women* (California, London: AltaMira Press, 1996) p. 18.

⁴⁴¹ Hayward, p. 45.

⁴⁴² *Ibid*, p. 167.

and attractive folds to form a train behind the dress. Sleeves were attached separately and tied or pinned to the bodice which ladies would interchange between dresses.

Prior to Chadwick's more famous Hollywood adaptation, the BBC produced a ninety-minute television drama also titled *The Other Boleyn Girl* (2003) based on Gregory's novel. Its producer, Ruth Caleb, explains that she chose to adapt the novel because: 'I thought it was a cracking story, because I work in drama - not documentary - so I'm just interested in what I think is going to make a really strong drama accessible for an audience', and it was produced on a budget of £750,000.⁴⁴³ This adaptation was not released on DVD until after the distribution of Chadwick's version in 2008. Certified a '15' on release of the DVD, this television drama is more sexually explicit and focuses on the adult themes represented in the original novel, as can be understood by the rather crude tagline: "Sex, Passion and Royal Intrigue". This is contradictory to Chadwick's Hollywood, teenage-friendly tagline: "The Only Thing That Could Come Between These Sisters... Is A Kingdom". Caleb explains that the BBC 'wanted to make it immediate and do a good love story - a romance - so that was what the focus was'.⁴⁴⁴ Namely this involves a more devious Mary (Natascha McElhone) characterised as Henry's (Jared Harris) previous mistress. It is more explicit when approaching Anne's (Jodhi May) incestuous relations with her brother George (Steven Mackintosh), which in this adaptation results in the birth of a stillborn and deformed male foetus as with the novel.

The influence of Andrew Davies as script consultant for this adaptation is clear, whose previous writing credits include *Vanity Fair* (BBC, 1998) and *Tipping the Velvet* (BBC, 2002). According to Gregory writing for *The Guardian*, she provides a possibly apocryphal story whereby when she sought Davies' opinion of her novel, she was informed by her agent: 'What

⁴⁴³ Ruth Caleb, Personal Interview, 2008.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid

he always thinks... It needs more sex'.⁴⁴⁵ On questioning his need for 'even more sex' further, as: 'This was the story of Mary Boleyn, who was mistress to Henry VIII before her sister Anne Boleyn seduced him into marriage. There was already, it seemed to me, plenty of sex', Gregory received the reply: 'He always says more sex'.⁴⁴⁶ This earlier version is presented as an improvised chamber piece, and it was filmed on a small scale at Berkley Castle inclusive of devices such as confessional scenes between the performers and the camera. This is an economic way to condense history and direct soliloquy is used effectively to drive the narrative while allowing the performers to display ownership of their characters. The direction of this version adopts the style of a documentary including disjointed and skewered camera angles, close-up shots, night vision and time-lapse cinematography. Through its supposed realism it creates parallels between history and contemporary culture. More fast-paced and less composed than its source text, it foregrounds human emotion. The subjective sexual focus of the narrative means a loss of wider political dimension and it is subsequently presented as a melodrama. As with the little-known *Mary Boleyn*, this screen version of *The Other Boleyn Girl* received little attention from the critics.

***The Other Boleyn Girl* (Justin Chadwick, 2008)**

As a later adaptation of the source novel, Chadwick's version was constructed in a similar vein to that of *The Tudors* as a royal soap opera and had a reported production budget of \$35 million.

⁴⁴⁷ This version of Tudor history is glossed with Hollywood stars including the two female leads – Natalie Portman and Scarlett Johansson – and the intention to appeal to a younger, more

⁴⁴⁵ Philippa Gregory 'Dying to be queen' *The Guardian*, 1 March 2008.

<<http://www.theguardian.com/books/2008/mar/01/featuresreviews.guardianreview24>> [22 February 2016]

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁷ Figures obtained from *Box Office Mojo*.

<<http://www.boxofficemojo.com/movies/?page=main&id=otherboleyngirl.htm>> [22 February 2016]

feminine Anglo-American audience. Critical reception at the time of this film's release referred to the casting choices as the 'Paris and Nicky Hilton of the Tudor Court'.⁴⁴⁸ Henry VIII (Eric Bana) is secondary here to a common motif in popular Tudor drama: the competitiveness and rivalry of women.⁴⁴⁹ This is achieved by a wily Anne (Portman) kicking her simpering sister Mary (Johansson) out of the sumptuous and fur-lined royal bed. As with the novel, it is not intended to be a history lesson for pubescent girls, but a prettily constructed Tudor bodice rife for the ripping, and conforms to Pam Cook's belief that 'costume romances mobilise history as a site of sexual fantasy rather than a record of great deeds or celebration of national heritage' where she determines that what they achieve is the 'feminisation' of history itself.⁴⁵⁰ Costume film, Cook argues, is therefore concerned with decorative excess encompassing the feminised world and by predominant spectacle which captivates the viewer's eye moving us away from narrative and dialogue.⁴⁵¹

The narrative focus in the film is on love versus ambition and this is encompassed in the ways Portman and Johansson manoeuvre around the *mise-en-scène* in their vast Tudor gowns. It questions whether Anne is completely driven by her own ambition to her death, or whether she is merely a puppet to the machinations of greater men: her father, Sir Thomas Boleyn (Mark Rylance) and uncle, the Duke of Norfolk (David Morrissey). Both Mary and Anne are paraded throughout the film as the embodiment of sumptuous femininity to ensnare Henry. Sandy Powell chose to replicate Tudor dress in order to play a crucial role in visualising the development of Anne and Mary's characters. The viewer witnesses Anne's transcendence through the Sumptuary Laws or "Statutes of Apparel". Powell uses the theme of reflection

⁴⁴⁸ Manohla Dargis 'Rival Sisters Duke It Out for the Passion of a King' *New York Times* 29 February 2008. <http://movies.nytimes.com/2008/02/29/movies/29bole.html?_r=0> [19 July 2012]

⁴⁴⁹ David Jays 'Ruffs and Fumbles' *Sight and Sound* 18:3 March 2008, p. 39.

⁴⁵⁰ Pam Cook *Fashioning the Nation: Costume and Identity in British Cinema* (London BFI Publishing, 1996) p. 76.

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid*, p. 77.

through the sisters' costumes to encourage comparison between them. Their colour schemes differ, conforming to their character. Mary's warmth and femininity is encapsulated by warm red, burnt orange and gold with little differentiation throughout the film. Interestingly, this reflects her obedience towards her father and uncle in terms of Sumptuary Law. As a maid of honour to Katherine and the daughter of Thomas Boleyn, she would be entitled to wear velvets, tinselled satin and silk embroidered with gold. Anne, however, is dressed in green and blue hues, a reflection of her colder, more ambitious nature and one prone to jealousy and greed. Beginning in blue she represents the token colour in the Tudor period representing virginity. She slowly shifts towards greens and yellows as she replaces her sister in the King's affections and becomes the 'jewel' of the Tudor court. Finally, we see her transgress once again into blue hues reflective of her surroundings as she prepares for her death in the Tower of London. This culmination of colour works to evoke the memory of Holbein's portraiture where he uses vivid, bright and vibrant colours to capture the personalities of Tudor courtiers. Powell explains:

The nature of the period made it quite hard to make drastic differences in their looks. I suppose I tried to make Mary's character softer and Anne's a bit more graphic, with stronger tones and lines. I was determined to be quite close to the period with the shape and detail, which is a strange one to replicate.⁴⁵²

The scene entitled "Caring for the King" displays this differentiation between the sister's personalities through costume. It begins with Henry and his court visiting the Boleyn family at Hever Castle. Both sisters mirror each other in their gowns' construction, although Mary is dressed in warm, golden tones as opposed to Anne in cold, maidenly blue. They wear a French hood with velvet veil inclusive of a pearl trim. Powell explains that the hoods that

⁴⁵² Sandy Powell interviewed by Anna Wyckoff 'Spotlight – Sandy Powell'. *The Costume Designers Guild*: 1 February 2010 <<http://costumedesignersguild.com/articles-videos/articles-archive/spotlight-sandypowell/>> [7 June 2012]

appear in the film are important. They anchor the costumes in historical context, but like Holbein's colours she adopts, they frame the 'portrait' of their faces for the audience to focus on.

I wanted to convince the cynics who thought that the period gable headdresses wouldn't alienate a contemporary audience, but fascinate it. I think the headdresses (the ones worn at court) are actually flattering, as they frame the face and draw attention to it, forcing the viewer to concentrate on what the actors are saying.⁴⁵³

Panelled and 'slashed' epaulettes are included in the straight sleeves of satin damask fabric that match the embroidered stomacher and forepart of the kirtle. Their low, square necked overskirts are made of velvet and both have a white chiffon partlet, or chemise, to cover their modesty in their dress.



Figure 32: The mirroring and opposition of Anne and Mary as they prepare to greet Henry in
The Other Boleyn Girl (2008)

⁴⁵³ Ibid.

The scene continues with Anne in the foreground, paraded as the only daughter, as the family greets Henry at Hever. Mary is eclipsed in the background and her costume blends in with the location thus reflecting her status and her desire for a simple life in the country with her husband William Carey (Benedict Cumberbatch). Over the banquet held in Henry's honour, Anne is seated next to him and reflects his costume in fabric and colour:



Figure 33: Anne and Henry at the banquet in *The Other Boleyn Girl* (2008)

In a similar pattern to her previous dress, it reflects their shared natures of jealousy, possessiveness and a desire for something better: in Anne's case to further her class and position in life, in Henry's to obtain a son and heir through annulling his marriage to Katherine (Ana Torrent). Both of their desires in this scene connect them to one another, and Henry requests that she ride with him the following day. Her riding habit reflects the King's once again where she is positioned as a powerful female character. Riding alone without a male companion, she answers Henry's question to how she intends to stay on her horse: "As you do your Grace, with my thighs". This erotic statement is challenging; it implies that only he, the King, could possibly tame her wild and unfeminine ambition and spirit.

The passing of time is conveyed by time-lapse cinematography as the courtiers await the hunting party's return. This scene reconstructs the traditional association of the King as a hunter; it is Anne that he is to chase in his increasing desperation for a son and heir. Ironically this characterisation is ambiguous as Anne is portrayed as both the hunted and the huntress. On their return to Hever it is revealed that Anne's chances of ensnaring Henry have been destroyed through her reckless challenge of capturing and killing a stag, where Henry followed her into a ravine. The scene alludes to Thomas Wyatt's (c. 1503-1542) poem "Whoso List to Hunt", where Henry ironically replaces Thomas Wyatt in his – perceived – unrequited passion towards Anne: 'Draw from the deer, but as she fleeth afore Fainting I follow. I leave off therefore'. Intertextual references to this poem emphasise nature as the dictator of sexual desire. Anne's characterisation in this scene embodies Wyatt's contemporary description of her: '*Noli me tangere*', translated as 'do not touch me' where he continues 'for Caesar's I am, And wild to hold though I seem tame'. On their return, it is Mary who tends to Henry's injuries, whilst Anne is eclipsed and disgraced.



Figure 34: Mary tends to Henry's injuries in *The Other Boleyn Girl* (2008)

Mary becomes positioned as the feminine counterpart of her sister, where she talks of her desire to start a family with her husband and avoid the political intrigues and gossip integral to court life. When Henry questions her on what her husband desires, Mary responds that as his wife she would do as she was bid, thus conforming to the Tudor feminine ideal. The purpose of this scene is to foreground femininity versus feminism as conjectured throughout the film.

Natalie Portman has discussed her belief that Anne is a proactive character in *The Other Boleyn Girl*, as opposed to the reactive female typically portrayed in film.⁴⁵⁴ Portman believes that her portrayal of Anne appears liberated and enjoys her sexuality, which she uses to manipulate and hold power over men whilst continuously pursuing her 'ideal' man, Henry VIII, and stated in interview:

I felt that Anne was a role I hadn't played before... She's strong, yet she can be vulnerable and she's ambitious and calculating and will step on people, but also feels remorse for it. There's all these different sides to her. She's a very proactive character and she makes a lot of decisions throughout the film, and so often female characters in movies are sort of reactive characters. They react to what men do to them, or they're spurring a man along through his choices and his changes. So I just felt her to be a very rare character.⁴⁵⁵

The film's narrative attempts to transform the traditional notions of sex, and explores Anne's feelings in regards to her sexuality. Latterly the film takes a darker turn beyond mere flirtation with the men of the Tudor court. This includes Anne being raped by Henry which causes the conception of their daughter Elizabeth, and her consideration of committing incest with her brother, George (Jim Sturgess), when she is not able to become pregnant again with Henry's

⁴⁵⁴ Natalie Portman interviewed by Gaynor Flynn 'Natalie Portman, The Other Boleyn Girl Interview' *Girl.com.au* 6 July 2008 <<http://www.girl.com.au/natalie-portman-the-other-boleyn-girl-interview.htm>> [7 June 2012]

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid.

child. As Rosalind Gill explains elsewhere, the film provides us with an ‘entanglement of both feminist and anti-feminist themes’.⁴⁵⁶ Femininity in *The Other Boleyn Girl* is perceived as a bodily property, where sex is promoted as the source of identity and therefore a source of power. In the film, Anne’s mother Elizabeth (Kristen Scott Thomas) enacts the role of a conscious. She continually questions our views regarding the ownership of the female body and whether we should empathise with or ostracise Anne, stating: “Tell me, when did people stop thinking of ambition as a sin and started thinking of it as a virtue?” Anne is the ‘commoner’ who became Queen of England through perseverance, guile and ambition in this film’s narrative, attributes which are arguably supported by society today. By comparison, her sister Mary is more problematic. This is due to the character promoting regressive gender politics where she conforms to the conventions of her time and is positioned as an object of desire for the male gaze. In contrast to the BBC adaptation where the manipulative Mary is Henry’s bitter, ex-mistress, Johansson’s Mary is an overlooked second sister who Henry can empathise with. Rather than sharing her sibling’s plight of beheading, she is ‘saved’ by Henry due to her embodiment of virtue and compassion. There is an irony in Johansson’s casting for her demureness barely manages to hide her underlying sensuality that strains at the seams of her bodice. The questioning of different feminine ideals is attempted through the opposing female positions embodied by Anne and Mary, and how they are promoted as different objects of desire.

In terms of the film’s critical reception in the UK, *Empire*’s Will Lawrence describes the film as ‘a rather titillating take on a racy historical novel, this is perhaps too ambitious in intent’, suggesting that the film should have just focussed on the one Boleyn girl (Anne) which

⁴⁵⁶ Rosalind Gill ‘Postfeminist Media Culture: Elements of a Sensibility’ *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 10:2 (2007) p. 150.

would have produced a more ‘richer and enjoyable film’.⁴⁵⁷ Peter Bradshaw writing for the *Guardian* believes the Boleyn sisters as being ‘involved with steamy sexual intrigue and apparently favouring the kind of bodice that, like a stripper’s policewoman costume, has velcro seams for ease of ripping’.⁴⁵⁸ Referring to the film as a ‘flashy, silly, undeniably entertaining romp’, he explains that it is ‘absurd, yet enjoyable, and playing fast and loose with English history is a refreshing alternative to slow and tight solemnity’.⁴⁵⁹ He is likely the most favourable critic reviewing this film, where he reviews it for what it is: ‘It is ridiculous, but imagined with humour and gusto: a very diverting gallop through the heritage landscape’.⁴⁶⁰ Unlike Bradshaw, who enjoyed the humour of the film, Sukhdev Sandu reviewing the film for the *Daily Telegraph* was less impressed, believing the film to be ‘for people who prefer their costume dramas to gallop along at a merry old pace rather than get bogged down in historical detail’.⁴⁶¹ As stated by Sandu

the film features the busy, restless camerawork that is one of the characteristics of contemporary TV drama in this country. While the camera lingers on Johansson's arms, and the back of Portman's neck, it eschews the gauzy, cakey textures of Sofia Coppola's *Marie Antoinette*, and won't be inspiring many catwalk collections in the months to come.⁴⁶²

Ultimately, Sandu believes that: ‘In the end, *The Other Boleyn Girl* is more anodyne than it has any right to be... It promises an erotic charge that it never carries off, inducing dismissive laughs from the audience for its soft-focus love scenes soundtracked by swooning violins. It is tasteful,

⁴⁵⁷ Will Lawrence ‘The Other Boleyn Girl Review’ *Empire*, 2 March 2002.

<<http://www.empireonline.com/movies/boleyn-girl/review/>> [24 February 2016]

⁴⁵⁸ Peter Bradshaw ‘The Other Boleyn Girl’ *Guardian* 7 March 2002.

<<http://www.theguardian.com/film/2008/mar/07/drama.romance>> [24 February 2016]

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁶¹ Sukhdev Sandu ‘Film Reviews: The Other Boleyn Girl and Garage’ *Daily Telegraph* 7 March 2002.

<<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/film/filmreviews/3671648/Film-reviews-The-Other-Boleyn-Girl-and-Garage.html>>[24 February 2016]

⁴⁶² Ibid.

but unappetising'.⁴⁶³ Paul Arendt reviewing the film for the BBC describes it as 'an entertaining bodice ripper lightly disguised as historical fiction', and wittily writes: 'The king and his courtiers spend so much time bed-hopping it's a wonder they have time to run the country'.⁴⁶⁴ As with Bradshaw, Arendt provides a favourable review of *The Other Boleyn Girl*:

[Chadwick] shoots in the ravishing style of an M & S commercial, lingering delightfully on food and flesh alike, while the soundtrack lays on the heavy portentous chords to remind us that – hey - someone's going to get their head chopped off eventually. It might sound tacky, but in truth *The Other Boleyn Girl* is shamelessly good fun, a chocolate truffle of a movie designed to appeal to the overseas heritage cinema market. Morgan's adaptation strikes a perfect balance between seriousness and melodrama, and Portman really throws herself into the complex character of Anne.⁴⁶⁵

Interestingly, the majority of British reviews for this film make a comparison between its script and that of *The Queen* (Stephen Frears, 2006), due to them both being written by Peter Morgan. Lawrence believes that: 'In bringing the book to the screen, debut feature director Justin Chadwick was faced with a difficult choice: how much of Gregory's speculative narrative to incorporate. And with a running time of just under two hours, he may have kept too much'.⁴⁶⁶ Drawing upon the script, he believes that Morgan's alterations dispense with the more minor characters in Gregory's novel, who serve 'as more than moderately interesting players required to advance the plot'.⁴⁶⁷ Sandu is also somewhat sceptical of Morgan's script, believing that he is 'mining relatively familiar material here, and dramatising highly dubious scenarios, he [Peter

⁴⁶³ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁴ Paul Arendt 'The Other Boleyn Girl' *BBC* 07 March 2008.

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/films/2008/03/03/the_other_boleyn_girl_2008_review.shtml> [24 February 2016]

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁶ Lawrence.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid.

Morgan] is unable to make the set-pieces seem revelatory or tart'.⁴⁶⁸ Arendt believes that: 'Peter Morgan's screenplay, based on a florid novel by Philippa Gregory, portrays the Tudor court as an ermine-lined hotbed of flirting. Henry, resplendent in his inflatable shoulder pads, is a velvet-voiced Seducer in Chief'.⁴⁶⁹ Bradshaw and Arendt are two of the few to praise Morgan's script, with Bradshaw describing it as being 'deadpan' in relation to his relatively positive review of the film.

In the United States, Manohla Dargis for the *New York Times* reviewed *The Other Boleyn Girl* as being 'more slog than romp', and an 'oddly plotted and frantically paced pastiche'.⁴⁷⁰ Dargis cites the issues with this film:

It's a marvel that something that feels so inert should have so much frenetic action. Shot in high-definition video with a murky brown palette (perhaps to suggest tea-stained porcelain and teeth), the film is both underwritten and overedited. Many of the scenes seem to have been whittled down to the nub, which at times turns it into a succession of wordless gestures and poses.⁴⁷¹

Similarly, Jim Emerson reviews *The Other Boleyn Girl* as being 'a sullen genre picture, hardly as vivacious as Meyer's uncategorizable sexploitation films, and not as edifying, either. It's built on sturdy old generic conventions, as familiar as those in any slasher film or naughty-nurses potboiler'.⁴⁷² He reviews the actors as 'Johansson and Bana are enjoyable; Portman slightly less so because, even though she's got the juiciest role, she doesn't quite have the presence to fill it. All three actors are far more attractive than period portraiture suggests'.⁴⁷³

⁴⁶⁸ Sandu.

⁴⁶⁹ Arendt.

⁴⁷⁰ Manohla Dargis 'Rival Sisters Duke It Out for the Passion of a King' *New York Times* 29 February 2008. <<http://www.nytimes.com/2008/02/29/movies/29bole.html>> [24 February 2016].

⁴⁷¹ Ibid.

⁴⁷² Jim Emerson 'The Other Boleyn Girl' *Roger Ebert.com* 28 February 2008.

<<http://www.rogerebert.com/reviews/the-other-boleyn-girl-2008>> [24 February 2016].

⁴⁷³ Ibid.

As with *The Tudors*, the reviews for *The Other Boleyn Girl* are relatively mixed. However, what is interesting is that unlike *The Tudors*, which received a lot of criticism from viewers and academics in the UK about its highly sexualised narrative and its presentation of Tudor history as a ‘royal soap opera’, *The Other Boleyn Girl* appears to have been largely ignored by historians. In the event, *The Other Boleyn Girl* grossed \$8,203,061 in its opening weekend in the USA and an overall worldwide gross of \$77,713,866.⁴⁷⁴ In terms of opening weekends in the USA, *The Other Boleyn Girl* came forth, below *Semi-Pro* (Kent Alterman, 2008), *Vantage Point* (Pete Travis, 2008) and *The Spiderwick Chronicles* (Mark S. Waters, 2008).

The Other Boleyn Girl Costume Exhibition (2008)

HRP’s Marketing Department was approached by Universal Studios to display an exhibition of the costumes with the intention of using the site’s iconographic status to publicise the film’s release on DVD on 30 June 2008. By approaching a dominant UK heritage charity, Universal’s distribution intentions were clear: the exhibition allows for the film to become more clearly associated with history than its source text. The film’s costumes can be placed within an actual historical setting and justify the film’s romantic narrative which is based on Gregory’s novel and is arguably a historical romance with a bibliography. The Tower of London, also maintained by HRP, is arguably more associated with Anne Boleyn than Hampton Court, where her body rests in the chapel of St Peter ad Vincula. The Tower is incorporated in strategic scenes of the film, although this is an illusion of spectacle, as Dover Castle was used as a replica for the Tower. Hampton Court’s historical association with Anne Boleyn is tenuous at best, as she has less definitive links with the site compared with three of Henry’s other wives who have

⁴⁷⁴ Figures obtained from *Box Office Mojo*.

<<http://www.boxofficemojo.com/movies/?page=main&id=otherboleyngirl.htm>> [24 February 2016].

more distinct historical associations: Jane Seymour, Catherine Howard and Kateryn Parr.⁴⁷⁵ HRP chose to display the exhibition at Hampton Court due to its marketing of the Palace as ‘Henry’s home’ and its possession of more ‘feminine spaces’ such as Queen Mary’s State Apartments and Queen Caroline’s Private Apartments in the Georgian route. Its key audience is also the family and the female visitor, whereas the Tower is marketed at an overtly masculine audience and therefore it was felt that visitors would engage more with the display of *The Other Boleyn Girl* costumes at Hampton Court.

The exhibition could therefore act as a bridge between the film and site, which breaks down the distinction between art and commerce. Perceived as the more ‘glamorous’ of Henry VIII’s wives, Hampton Court were willing to overlook their limited association with Anne due to the potential visitor volume that could be generated by such a commercial enterprise, where the organisation is aware that many people acquire historical knowledge through the reading of historical novels and their viewing of historical drama. Conveniently, *The Other Boleyn Girl* could also assist in furthering the narrative promoted in *Young Henry* where they attempt to break with the conventions of Holbein’s Henry. By utilising the marketing strategy of Universal Studios, HRP could progress this narrative where Horenbout’s Henry slowly descends into Holbein’s through a temporary exhibition running from June until August 2008. It enabled Hampton Court to connect *Young Henry* with the narrative of Henry VIII’s State Apartments in readiness for the 2009 crescendo and celebrations of the 500-year anniversary of Henry’s accession to the throne. Costume is used to cross the boundaries between the film and exhibition to place them into historical context. Conveniently, this continues Henry’s narrative from the feminised perspective of Katherine’s in *Young Henry* to Anne’s in *The Other Boleyn Girl Exhibition*. By displaying the costumes at Hampton Court, this allows for the

⁴⁷⁵ HRP uses the spelling ‘Kateryn’ to distinguish between Parr and Henry VIII’s previous queen, Katherine of Aragon.

visitor to view the film's costumes in a suitably authentic historical site where they are displayed as an attractively packaged consumer item.

Displayed in Queen Mary II's Guard Chamber (c.1690), the choice to exhibit the costumes foregrounds theme over chronology. The film and its costumes incorporate a further dimension to the modes of interpretation the visitor engages with and how they perceive historic persons. The costumes were statically displayed on mannequins alluding to traditional curatorial methods combined with contemporary use of video where film clips were shown from the DVD around the space:



Figure 35: *The Other Boleyn Girl Costume Exhibition* space (2008)

Alexander Palmer expresses the view that our involvement in an exhibition such as this includes the 'sight and *remembered* experience of the pleasure of touching and wearing what is on view', and through use of costumes that have actually been *worn* by real people that we

wish to associate with; celebrities of contemporary society *not* famous historical figures.⁴⁷⁶ Kara McKechnie believes that this use of celebrity allows audiences to detect parallels with the present where they possess a preference for image over the written word.⁴⁷⁷ Past Pleasures, the company who perform live interpretation at Hampton Court, worked to highlight the historical context of the costumes by discussing the difference between costume designed for film and historical Tudor dress. This is so that this film exhibition remains within HRP's interpretation remit of presenting the historical context to visitors. The costumes on display are iconic: a spectacular counterpart that is complimented by the live interpretation in the exhibition space which works to provide the history of Tudor dress apparent in *The Other Boleyn Girl*. They work together to combine historical context with visual props to justify the exhibition's placement at Hampton Court and situate the film's value in a historic setting.

As a companion exhibition which adds a further dimension to the film, the combined marketing campaign included leaflets and posters reaffirming the brands of Hampton Court and *The Other Boleyn Girl*:

⁴⁷⁶ Alexandra Palmer 'Untouchable: Creating Desire and Knowledge in Museum Costume and Textile Exhibitions' *Fashion Theory* 9:1 (2008) p. 34.

⁴⁷⁷ Kara McKechnie 'Taking Liberties with the Monarch: The Royal Bio-Pic in the 1990's' in: Claire Monk and Amy Sargent (eds.) *British Historical Cinema: The history, heritage and costume film* (London, New York: Routledge, 2002) pp. 221.

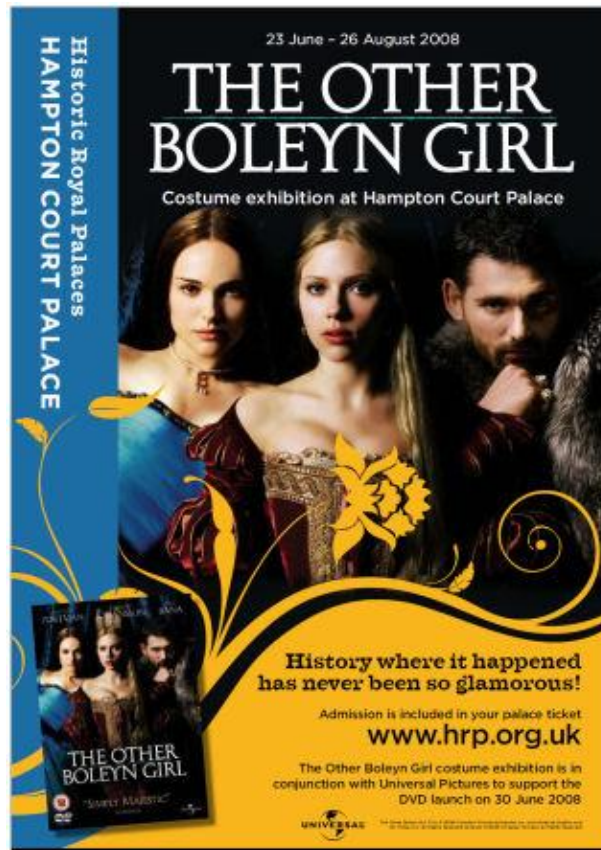


Figure 36: *The Other Boleyn Girl Costume Exhibition* poster (2008)

The romantic focus is more on Anne than Mary with the exhibition being described evocatively as “glamorous, engrossing and sensual”. This supports the erotic allusions of the film’s emotive narrative. It invites the viewer to visit “Henry’s favourite home”, where visitors transgress between social groups. We are visiting Henry’s private home, *not* his public palace, as with the marketing strategy for *Young Henry* and *The Tudors*. This works to break down the boundaries between the front and backstage of monarchs’ lives, where the poster for the exhibition uses the publicity still of *The Other Boleyn Girl* to reinforce the combined promotional strategy of Universal Studios and Hampton Court. Enforcing our connection between ourselves and the main characters; we are to know them personally and intimately. The historical context becomes accessible on a variety of levels to engage all ages of visitor type. The themes of dress are the commercial campaign as Valerie Steele explains ‘people need to be seduced into really

seeing and identifying with fashion before they can begin to learn about it'.⁴⁷⁸ Anne is positioned to connect history with contemporary society through the hooks and eyes of costume, where the exhibition completes *The Other Boleyn Girl* spatially. It highlights the re-appropriation of the film's signature themes of betrayal, passion and anger to re-brand Hampton Court.

A visitor survey for this exhibition was conducted by the Marketing Department on 7 July 2008 to ascertain its success. Forty visitors were interviewed in the space, and the survey asked three simple questions: why the visitors had come to Hampton Court, what had made them enter the space, whether they were aware that the exhibition was on display and finally what visitors' overall opinion of the exhibition was.⁴⁷⁹ When compared with surveys undertaken on behalf of the Interpretation Department, such as Tom Williams' evaluation based on the *Young Henry* exhibition, this particular survey is somewhat lacking in terms of context, qualitative questions and the amount of visitors interviewed for the survey, as well as a comprehensive report which does not fully analyse the data obtained; and therefore does not allow for a comprehensive review and understanding of how visitors engaged with and responded to the exhibition. Nevertheless, the results are worth including in this chapter as firstly the visitor responses that were collated allow for a form of understanding of what they felt about *The Other Boleyn Girl Exhibition*, as well as how well a specific film exhibition contributes to the narrative presented elsewhere in Hampton Court in regards to Tudor history.

The largest number of respondents for the survey were female (65 per cent) with the largest age-range interviewed being 18-25 year olds, followed by 40-45 year olds. The consistent reason cited for visiting Hampton Court was that visitors were 'interested' in the site and its history (40 per cent) followed by that they had come with family and friends (23 per

⁴⁷⁸ Valerie Steele 'Museum Quality: The Rise of Fashion Exhibition', *Fashion Theory* (12:1 2008) p. 14.

⁴⁷⁹ Historic Royal Palaces *The Other Boleyn Girl Exhibition Visitor Survey Results* 2008. In author's possession.

cent). On being asked why they had entered the Queen's State Apartments and whether they knew that the exhibition was being displayed here, 70 per cent of interviewees were unaware that *The Other Boleyn Girl Exhibition* was on display, with 26 respondents 'just wandering in' as opposed to wanting to specifically view the exhibition. Only four visitors specifically stated that they had come to see it. This is interesting as this is an exhibition installed at Hampton Court by the Marketing Department: therefore, this department, somewhat ironically, clearly did not advertise this exhibition particularly well.

Regardless of the lack of marketing, this exhibition was nonetheless well received by the visitors who were interviewed, with 87 per cent providing positive responses when questioned how successful they deemed it to be. Understandably, most comments were directed at the display of the costumes, where visitors were quoted as saying: 'The costumes are beautiful. I'm thankful I wasn't born in that generation'; 'I thought there would be more costumes and it makes you think how small people were, the costumes are very tiny'; 'it's extremely nice to see the clothes as its presumably very authentic, like the ones the Tudors used'; 'Interesting as I've seen the film and [it's] nice to see the clothing close up'; as well as one male visitor amusingly explaining that it was 'the only place I can see something that Scarlett Johansson has worn!' ⁴⁸⁰ What these responses about the film's costumes reveal is that there appears to be some confusion between visitors as to whether they are authentically representative of Tudor costume, as well as whether they were costumes designed for the film or whether they were 'real', as in 'from the period'. This suggests that perhaps the live interpretation provided within the exhibition space in order to offer comparisons between the film costumes and what people wore in the Tudor period may not have been entirely successful, although due to the lack of information provided in the evaluation report, and that the survey was only conducted over one day (7 July), there is no way of definitively understanding

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid.

whether this was indeed the case. In terms of how the film was represented within the exhibition space through costume, some visitors believed that the exhibition was ‘brilliant, relevant to present, but at the same time letting you engage with the past. It’s more impressive than the dresses of Diana at Kensington [Palace]’, and: ‘It’s good, I liked the fact you can see the movie or clips of it. I made him [visitor’s companion] watch the movie before we came so that he could know who Henry VIII was’.⁴⁸¹ This last comment reveals, in part, that visitors engage with film and television in order to learn about historical periods, and may be influenced to visit a site based on what they view in film and television.

The Other Boleyn Girl Costume Exhibition versus Henry’s Women (2009)

To place into context how *The Other Boleyn Girl Costume Exhibition* was a marketing-led exhibition in comparison to a curatorial/interpretation designed one, the following year a temporary exhibition entitled *Henry’s Women* was placed in the Council Chamber over the summer of 2009. It formed part of the *Henry Heads and Hearts* celebrations which was borne out of the original plans for *Magnificent Henry*. This exhibition was designed by the Curatorial and Interpretation Departments, and its intention was to go beyond the conventional stylistics of displaying Tudor portraiture through the foregrounding of private moments as opposed to the royal public image through paintings. Brett Dolman, curator for *Henry’s Women*, explains that from the Curatorial Department’s perspective, it was an opportunity to provide a better way to exhibit Tudor paintings and trigger a higher research output.⁴⁸² He wanted to evoke an emotional response from visitors by presenting the narrative of *Henry: Heads and Hearts* through paintings accompanied with artefacts that were owned by Henry VIII and his wives. It

⁴⁸¹ Ibid. This last comment may be the same visitor whose husband responded to the survey question as to why he came to Hampton Court as being ‘dragged by the wife’.

⁴⁸² Dolman.

was designed this way to encourage visitors to emotionally engage the story of the women associated with Henry. This provides an example of the different remits between the departments: on the one hand, Marketing want to persuade tourists to visit Hampton Court, on the other, Curatorial want to present their research and Interpretation want to tell a good story to visitors. It is also important to the Curatorial Department to explain when they are unable to confirm particular facts, for example the statement ‘a degree of interpretation is therefore involved, but we have been careful not to compromise historical accuracy’ was included the introductory graphic panel in *Henry’s Women*.⁴⁸³ This is unlike *The Other Boleyn Girl Costume Exhibition*, as while the Marketing Department employed live interpreters to explain Tudor costume to visitors, they were not particularly concerned as to whether visitors understood the difference between costumes which survived from the Tudor period and costumes designed for film.

There were, however, some similarities between the two different exhibitions, where the press release for *Henry’s Women* uses emotive and sensational language to promote the theatricality of this exhibition, including that it ‘will complete the scene of this somewhat unconventional Tudor family’. As with *The Other Boleyn Girl Exhibition Costume Exhibition*, Anne Boleyn is the focus for the press release. It discusses her destroying of Katherine of Aragon through the inclusion of the image of her artefact displayed in *Henry’s Women* where her falcon badge consumes Katherine’s pomegranate one. This aims to highlight the female rivalry between them by exhibiting exclusive, ‘never seen before’ artefacts. Anne’s artefact, a commemorative medal, is the only surviving contemporary image of her which was created for the birth of her unborn son who she subsequently miscarried.⁴⁸⁴ This is used to evoke an

⁴⁸³ Exhibition Panel, *Henry’s Women*, 2009, Hampton Court Palace, London: UK.

⁴⁸⁴ Starkey, p. 533.

emotional connection in the visitor, attempting to create temptation to visit and engage with the exhibition.

The portrait of Anne Boleyn (16th Century) used in *Henry's Women* is the only agreed contemporary image of her to have survived. Previously dismissed as a later copy, where it was mistakenly identified as a copy of Holbein's portrait of Jane Seymour, it was displayed to visitors in *Henry's Women* for the first time since the 1940s. By displaying this painting of Anne, it allowed the Curatorial Department to continue research into this painting's history. Conservation work was also required on the painting, meaning that this offered a further opportunity for technical analysis to provide further proof that it was Anne. Anne in this exhibition is presented as possessing a progressive attitude towards gender. She is described in the graphic panels as an 'ambitious younger woman', possessing 'glamour' and being 'tempestuous and ultimately destructive'.⁴⁸⁵ Use of such evocative language is not dissimilar to what *The Other Boleyn Girl* film attempted to question in terms of whether Anne is the 'ambitious commoner', or whether she is manipulated by men to become a queen consort.

Henry's Women was clearly positioned to focus on love *not* sex, unlike television serials such as *The Tudors* and films like *The Other Boleyn Girl*. Its narrative intention was to focus on six personalised stories of love and loss, tragedy and survival, with a distinctly feminine perspective. This is likely due to the very different audience that would be visiting the exhibition: families, not 'pre-pubescent girls' as with viewers of *The Other Boleyn Girl*. Using modern language, the written interpretation begins by dramatically placing Henry VIII into context through use of evocative language and irony: 'He was ill, overweight and mentally scarred... Henry had torn up the spiritual fabric of England by splitting with the Roman Catholic Church. He had ordered the execution two of his previous wives. Not an ideal husband'.⁴⁸⁶ It

⁴⁸⁵ Exhibition Panel, *Henry's Women*, 2009, Hampton Court Palace, London: UK.

⁴⁸⁶ Exhibition Panel, *Henry's Women*, 2009, Hampton Court Palace, London: UK.

invites judgement from the visitor by questioning the justification of Henry's actions regarding his wives. It is also similar to the use of modern language that the Henry Project Board used to describe their ideas for *Magnificent Henry*, and therefore overlays present terminology on to the past, an effect used to get visitors to relate to a different period of time.

In a similar way to *The Other Boleyn Girl Costume Exhibition*, the foregrounding of Henry's wives and daughters in *Henry's Women* presents a version of Tudor history to visitors where women are to become absorbed into the material world of which fabrics are a potent reminder of this. Ultimately, it is materials such as tapestries, art, fashion and buildings that survive from the past, whereas people do not. Ann Jones and Peter Stallybrass argue on the image of fashion within contemporary painting that 'clothing is a ghost that, even when discarded, still has the power to haunt'.⁴⁸⁷ They propose that historical characters are little more than ghostly reflections through time as we follow the garments of memory. Paintings and artefacts in this exhibition are used to highlight a dazzling display of surfaces where the visualisation of dress functions as material representation where 'the clothes, that is, provide a specificity that the faces do not'.⁴⁸⁸ Suzanne Hull explains: 'In the Tudor-Stuart era English women were hidden in the shadow of the male world. Men dealt with the public arena, women with the more obscure private sector'.⁴⁸⁹ Where paintings are used to remind visitors that they are the only survivors to represent people 'from another time', the fashions of the Tudor period work to highlight the past to the visitor. Jones and Stallybrass argue that 'clothes, unlike the working of the spirit, leave a "print of character" upon observer and wearer alike'.⁴⁹⁰ They continue: 'Such paintings often functioned as material representations of the more fleeting but

⁴⁸⁷ Ann Jones and Peter Stallybrass *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) p. 4.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 38.

⁴⁸⁹ Suzanne Hull *Women according to Men: The World of Tudor-Stuart Women* (California, London: AltaMira Press, 1996) p. 191.

⁴⁹⁰ Jones and Stallybrass, p. 4.

more costly props that had transformed a monarch into an icon. These portraits, then, are as much the portraits of clothes and jewels as of people'.⁴⁹¹ In a comparable way, it can be argued that while the costumes displayed in *The Other Boleyn Girl Exhibition* were designed for the actors to wear in the film, they work to evoke a sense of the past. This can be understood in relation to the responses from visitors on viewing the film's costumes in the survey.

Conclusion

As far as can be ascertained, *The Other Boleyn Costume Exhibition* was the first concerted effort made by a department at HRP to display an exhibition which specifically relates to a screen portrayal of Tudor history and this alone is important. Whilst the *Young Henry* exhibition, designed by the Interpretation Department, was superior in its presentation and narrative treatment to *The Other Boleyn Girl Costume Exhibition*, *Young Henry* uses film and television references surreptitiously, and only after its opening through the form of post-production marketing. *Henry's Women*, designed by the Curatorial Department a year after *The Other Boleyn Girl Costume Exhibition*, contained no film references at all, however there were similarities between the focus of the two exhibitions. We can understand the differences of the department's approach towards exhibitions, and their use of film and television, from the perspectives of the individual departments involved. Perhaps the main reason as to why *The Other Boleyn Girl Costume Exhibition* was rather low-key, where most visitors merely wandered through it due to being unaware of its existence, was due this exhibition being solely designed by Marketing Department, without the involvement of the Curatorial or Interpretation Departments. In terms of the main argument of this thesis: that dependent upon where an organisation places itself within a hierarchy of heritage sites, this will influence the amount

⁴⁹¹ Ibid, pp. 34-35.

that they engage with film and television in their strategy, we can understand two main points in relation to the perspective of the Marketing Department in using film and television in their strategy.

First, this department clearly demonstrates that they are aware of the potential revenue which can be generated through creating associations between film, television and heritage sites. The example of *The Other Boleyn Girl Costume Exhibition* demonstrates this, particularly as the links between the film and Hampton Court were forged after the release of the film on DVD – Hampton Court was used as a post-production marketing strategy by Universal Studios and something which the Marketing Department were clearly willing to capitalise upon. Secondly, analysis of the exhibition reveals the way in which the Marketing Department design exhibitions compared to the approaches of the Curatorial and Interpretation Departments, and how they may engage with film and television. The Marketing Department appear much more proactive in their use of these media, and this is likely due to the fact that their remit is to entice visitors to come to Hampton Court, and to attempt to encourage repeat visitation. Therefore, they understand that if viewers of particular films and television – ones which present a history reflective of a particular site – can be persuaded to visit Hampton Court this can have the potential to generate greater revenue for HRP. Alongside this, the Marketing Department are particularly keen to offer a range of different events over the course of a year to encourage repeat visitation and membership of HRP, hence *The Other Boleyn Girl Costume Exhibition*. Therefore, based upon the Marketing Department's willingness to engage with film and television as can be understood from the example of *The Other Boleyn Girl Costume Exhibition*, and seemingly more than that of the Curatorial and Interpretation Departments, which have different approaches and specifications, I would argue that the Marketing Department are constrained and limited in using film and television in their strategy due to HRP placing themselves highly within the hierarchy of heritage sites. This in turn means that

HRP as an organisation do not feel the need to rely on associations with film and television due to their placement within the hierarchy, and therefore the Marketing Department do not actively encourage or seek associations with film and television. In the example used in this chapter, we can understand that it was Universal Studios who approached this Department, rather than Marketing actively seeking the association to promote visitation to Hampton Court.

It should be noted that since *The Other Boleyn Girl Exhibition*, HRP have become more accommodating towards allowing more production companies to use Hampton Court to film at, as well as becoming more associated with the presentation of film and television more generally. For example, in 2015 when HRP celebrated the 500-year anniversary of Hampton Court they collaborated with the BBC to make a documentary for BBC 2 entitled *Britain's Tudor Treasure: A Night at Hampton Court* (2015) presented by Lucy Worsley, Chief Curator at Hampton Court, and David Starkey, which explores 'one of the most famous nights in Hampton Court's history: the christening of Henry VIII's much longed for son Edward VI, and features palace staff, in full Tudor costume, re-creating the baby prince's christening procession'.⁴⁹² Following this, HRP ran a competition in February to 'recruit' 5000 young people and families to contribute to 'a very special new animated film, retelling 500 years of history in 5 minutes. A year of movie-making activities and workshops at the Palace will culminate in the creation of a film by Aardman Productions, which will premiere at the Palace in October'.⁴⁹³ This film theme continues, where over the 2015 Easter weekend: 'a state of the art 3D film projection onto the Palace's south façade, will take a kaleidoscopic journey through the building's history, re-modelling and life of the palace in four 'movements''.⁴⁹⁴ Finally, in recent years Hampton Court has played host to The Luna Cinema, who specialise in screening

⁴⁹² <<http://www.hrp.org.uk/news-and-media/press-resources/hampton-court-palace-press-releases-and-archives/hampton-court-palace-celebrates-its-500th-anniversary-in-2015/>> [31 March 2015]

⁴⁹³ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid.

feature films at a variety of different heritage sites and parks throughout the UK between May and October. In 2015, *Romeo + Juliet* (Baz Luhrmann, 1996) on 21 August, *Top Gun* (Tony Scott, 1986) on 22 August, *The Theory of Everything* (James Marsh, 2014) on 18 September and *Ghostbusters* (Ivan Reitman, 1984) on 19 September were screened on the East Front Gardens. These recent film and television-orientated activities therefore display the changing of opinion by HRP in regard to Hampton Court becoming more associated with popular culture, therefore allowing the Marketing Department to make more use of film and television within their strategy. However, HRP have yet to install a large-scale or permanent exhibition which relates directly to film and television, which have either been partly produced at this site, as with the National Trust and Antony House, or the representation of this site as portrayed by film and television, and therefore *The Other Boleyn Girl Exhibition* remains the only concerted effort to date to engage with these media in this way.

Conclusion

Today, it is widely recognised that allowing the production of film and television at historic sites is the clearest way in which heritage organisations can connect with these media. A number of reasons can be identified. Firstly, this type of engagement with film and television has the potential to generate revenue for the maintenance of a site. Secondly, by connecting with film and television, this means that a site can generate post-production marketing to entice visitors to come and engage with a site further, either in the form of a cinematic ‘tourist trail’, or by hosting specific film-based events, for example an exhibition or visitor activities. Finally, heritage organisations can make use of film and television media in their interpretation strategies, i.e. use of short films, audio-visual screens, ‘voice-overs’, projection and interactive touch-screens, to present a site’s history to visitors. This thesis has examined the relationship between the heritage industry on the one hand, and the film and television industries on the other, with a sustained focus on Hampton Court Palace. When I worked as a State Apartment Warder at Hampton Court from 2009 until 2012, I observed that while HRP were willing to allow film and television production companies access to the site, there appeared to be little attempt by the organisation to engage with film and television further, for example through the exhibiting of film and television which had taken place at the site, nor in terms of post-production marketing; particularly when compared with other sites maintained by different heritage organisations. Therefore, I wished to examine this subject further. The main question this thesis has asked is: ‘How does Hampton Court Palace engage with film and television in terms of a) filming on site, b) exhibiting history and c) promotion’, in order to understand this relationship.

Interventions toward Current Academic Scholarship and Methodology

This thesis' main question was formed based upon a review of the key literature within the fields of heritage studies, film and television. Much of the existing scholarship which focuses on the connection between the heritage and entertainment industries mainly researches either the ways in which tourists are enticed to visit a site based on the promotion of film and television on the one hand, or the position of the heritage industry within social, political and cultural contexts on the other. For the former, much work has been conducted on film-based tourist trails or exhibitions at heritage sites which promote the use of a site in film and television. Amy Sargeant's work is an example of this. In terms of the latter, the current scholarship works to understand how the British heritage industry can be understood to have been used by the government as a form of marketing strategy in order to promote 'Britain' and 'Britishness' in a wider context to appeal to potential overseas tourists to visit the UK. The early research in this area conducted by Patrick Wright, Robert Hewison and Raphael Samuel has provided a platform for this thesis to work from, in terms of understanding how the heritage industry is a projection of political, cultural and social values reflective of a particular time. Furthermore, Andrew Higson's later research supported this position, but from the perspective of the film and television industries. Higson recognises that the heritage industry does have a relationship with film and television, with a particular focus on how sites are used in projections of England on screen.

From reviewing this literature, it became evident that there was a gap in current scholarship, firstly in that there was little research conducted into how the heritage industry perceives its relationship with film and television from understanding how an organisation has allowed production companies access to its site. Secondly, while the literature outlined in the

review bases arguments within the context of the period – in Wright, Hewison and Samuel’s case, the 1980s, Sargeant in the 1990’s and Higson’s in the 1990’s to the present – there appeared to be little understanding as to how a site may choose to engage with film and television to produce exhibitions for visitors from a heritage industry perspective. Alongside this, it became evident that there has been little sustained focus on individual sites in order to understand their relationship with film and television, although Sargeant’s work does offer a focus specifically on the National Trust and the television series *Pride and Prejudice* (BBC, 1995), and this is something that this thesis aimed to address through a focus on Hampton Court. Therefore, the research conducted by Suzannah Lipscomb provided a useful way to approach research for this thesis, as Lipscomb worked as a curator at Hampton Court during 2009 until 2011, and has published a small amount of material in relation to Historic Royal Palaces approach toward designing and installing exhibitions at this site over this period. Lipscomb’s research, understandably, aims to offer the reader with a perspective from the Curatorial Department as to how it approaches displaying Hampton Court to visitors. This thesis therefore wanted to build upon Lipscomb’s research by offering a focus on the two other departments which are instrumental in exhibiting this site: the Interpretation and Marketing Departments.

In terms of the interventions in the current literature that are made by this thesis, it offers the first sustained focus on the influence of film and television in displaying exhibitions at Hampton Court Palace, and therefore contributes to current scholarship in understanding the relationship between the two different industries, where hitherto much focus has been on other organisations. The main argument which has been developed over the course of this thesis is that heritage organisations work within a national hierarchy of heritage sites: the higher an organisation perceives itself to be placed, the less dependent a site which it maintains will rely on film and television. In this thesis, I have proceeded to test the existence of such a hierarchy

against particular case studies pertaining to Hampton Court in order to analyse this. This offers an intervention in these fields as this hierarchy can be used to test other organisations against HRP in order to understand different sites relationships with film and television in the future.

As to the methodology I have applied to research this thesis, that being empirically based cultural history, namely the approach adopted from the work conducted by Jeffrey Richards and Anthony Aldgate, and later developed by James Chapman, Mark Glancy and Sue Harper, this thesis has built upon this in order to broaden out its scope to research the heritage industry alongside film and television. This can also be understood as an intervention within the field of heritage studies as much of the research currently produced within this area is based upon theory and approaches adapted from sociology and politics. Both of these are fruitful methods which can be used to understand the heritage industry in terms of tourism, and how visitors relate to exhibitions in heritage sites. However, by using empirically based cultural history methods, this allows for further understanding in how the relationship between heritage organisations and the film and television industries has developed over time from the perspective of a heritage organisation. This also allows for research to be conducted into how organisations understand this relationship which can be compared alongside current scholarship that seeks to understand the connection between film, television and the heritage industry from a visitor perspective, and how visitors choose to connect the two.

Case Studies

Based upon the case-studies in the chapters of this thesis, I argue that the influence of film and television is apparent at Hampton Court in four ways. Firstly, the most obvious way that Hampton Court engages with film and television is by allowing production companies access to the site. To understand this, I have analysed the history of film productions which have been

allowed access to Hampton Court in order to understand how the film policy in place at this site has changed over time in chapters 1 and 2. When the government maintained this site between 1851 until 1989, their policy towards allowing filmmakers access to this site was summarised by A. A. Creamer, Lord Chamberlain's Office, in a memorandum to A. S. Burton, Ministry of Works:

The general policy seems to have been to allow filming in Parks, Palaces and Ancient Monuments provided that there was no play acting. Sometimes, however, historical and legendary scenes have been filmed at Palaces and Ancient Monuments, despite the Secretary's ruling in 1911, "This sort of sham is to be deprecated". The inviolable rules have been: no acting in the Parks; no films at all inside the Tower [of London]; and nothing at Stonehenge to suggest that the Department "should appear to countenance any vulgar beliefs about Stonehenge by allowing pictures to be taken of a ridiculous procession of Druids there."⁴⁹⁵

Furthermore, filmmakers were restricted at Hampton Court as to where they were allowed to film – mainly in the courtyards and gardens of the site – what they were allowed to film, and when they were allowed to film, which was prior to 9.30 a.m. and after 6 p.m., outside of visiting hours. These restrictions were put in place so as not to disturb the visitors or residents living at Hampton Court.

The government's film policy in relation to this site was also strict in terms of what could be filmed at Hampton Court, and who was allowed to film there. R. J. Hill, Lord Chamberlain's Office, writing to G. J. Spence, Ministry of Works, explained:

⁴⁹⁵ TNA WORK 19/1169: Memorandum from A. A. Creamer to A. S. Burton (n.d.)

On this subject of filming in the Royal Palaces as a whole... The Palaces form cheap and tempting backgrounds for all manner of historical films, and we get an average of ten applications a year at the moment, when it is known that few requests are granted. The number would materially increase if rules were relaxed. Our general policy is therefore never to allow filming in the interior of any of the Royal Palaces, and to allow exterior shots only of a very simple kind, where the view is essential to the story, and where great expense would be entailed if permission were refused.⁴⁹⁶

In order to be of support to the British film industry, the government also decided that a restriction would be placed on overseas film productions, in particular on American companies. When this site became maintained by HRP, an Executive Agency of Government from 1989, previous government policy impacted on the way that this organisation approached allowing access for film and television companies, which as evidenced in chapter 2 we can understand they initially kept the same. As the organisation grew, and became more distanced from the government, especially from 1998 when HRP attained charitable status and did not receive government funding to assist the maintenance of its sites, it became more accommodating towards who was allowed permission to film at Hampton Court, and the type of filming which could take place.

In terms of how Hampton Court as a film location can be understood within the hierarchy of heritage sites, this thesis argues that based upon who maintains the site, in the case of Hampton Court, firstly by the government and latterly by HRP, formed as an Executive Agency of Government, this impacts on who is allowed to access this site to produce film and television. Due to the government's overriding perception of the film industry, this has dictated

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid: R. J. Hill to G. J. Spence, 28 April 1954.

the film policy attached to Hampton Court. Furthermore, HRP continued in this vein after they came to maintain this site. While its policy in relation to film is similar technically to that of the government's previous policy, we can understand from the examples which this thesis has focussed upon that HRP is much more willing to allow production companies to access the site which do not necessarily conform to its policy. For example, it allows a variety of production companies access to the site, including American films and television. It also allows for filmmakers to use the site during visiting hours, particularly large-scale productions. Finally, it will allow for productions that do not necessarily represent the site or its history, nor HRP's 'core values', to film at Hampton Court. This, however, is not particularly obvious. I argue that due to HRP positioning themselves towards the top of the hierarchy, this means that the organisation does not rely as heavily on the perception that it engages with film and television, and therefore can be more selective about what films and television it allows to be produced at Hampton Court. A further reason that they do not appear to mind who films at Hampton Court is that because they place themselves highly within the hierarchy, HRP does not need to associate with the post-production marketing of a film or television programme in the same way that sites and organisations placed lower down the hierarchy do. Therefore, it can be argued that regardless of what type of film is produced at Hampton Court, HRP feel that it will not impact on the 'brand' of this site as they do not need to advertise the films and television produced at this site with which to draw in visitors.

Secondly, it can be understood that film and television can influence the interpretation strategy in place at this site in terms of designing exhibitions. Therefore, I have focussed on the three key departments which are instrumental in exhibiting Hampton Court to visitors: the Curatorial Department (chapter 3), the Interpretation Department (chapter 4) and the Marketing Department (chapter 5). As can be understood from the first Corporate Report published by

HRP in 1990, visitor experience of the sites that it maintains are of importance to the organisation:

Market research has shown that some visitors feel that parts of the Palaces are too empty and lifeless ... Better interpretation could help visitors... but there are presentational implications as well. There is a lack of animation in the presentation of some parts of the Palaces, to the point that it is sometimes difficult to believe that they were actually occupied in the past, and very difficult to work out what went on in them.⁴⁹⁷

In terms of how this has directly impacted on the interpretation strategy adopted by HRP, the report explains: 'Interpretation encompasses all the various means of elucidating and illuminating what the visitor experiences and sees whilst visiting a Palace. Market research undertaken at the Palaces in 1989 revealed that over 75 per cent of visitors wanted more help to understand and appreciate what they were seeing.'⁴⁹⁸ Furthermore, HRP recognised that: 'It is important that the highest standards of graphic design be maintained in all forms of interpretation and communication with visitors'.

This is of particular importance as to where HRP currently place themselves within the hierarchy of heritage sites, as this early document provides the foundation which demonstrates that HRP wished to distance itself from the approach of other organisations who maintain heritage sites, namely English Heritage and the National Trust, and that they wanted to be pioneering in the ways that visitors experience the sites that they maintain through a site's individual interpretation. The Corporate Report also explains what HRP perceive the role of the Curatorial Department and Marketing Department to be in the interpretation of the sites which they maintain: 'The Marketing Director's Section to ensure that the visitor gets the

⁴⁹⁷ TNA KV 1/2: Historic Royal Palaces Corporate Report, 1990 [typescript].

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid.

maximum assistance with understanding and illuminating what he or she sees and experiences. The Curator's Section will provide the skills to ensure that all interpretation is done in an historically authoritative way.'⁴⁹⁹

As to how we can understand the ways that the hierarchy of heritage sites impacts upon these specific case-studies, the Curatorial Department's remit is to research the history of Hampton Court in order to provide relevant information to present to visitors in exhibitions. From the examples used in chapter 3, it can be seen from the process of attempting to install *Magnificent Henry* that this department is aware of and acknowledges the existence of the impact that film and television can have on drawing visitors to sites, and how visitors will normally relate to film and television when visiting exhibitions. However, due to this department's remit, where most curators employed are established historians, they appear to eschew references to film and television in their approach toward designing exhibitions. They will, however, make use similar media employed by film and television in exhibitions, where, for example, they made use of audio-visual screens in the Council Chamber which was opened to the public in 2009.

For the Interpretation Department, its role is to employ different strategies for the visitor to engage with the historical stories associated with Hampton Court. This differs from the Curatorial Department in that its remit is to entice visitors to engage with history in 'interesting' and 'evocative' ways, as can be understood from the case study provided in chapter 4: the *Young Henry* exhibition which opened to the public in 2008. The analysis of this exhibition revealed that not only do the Interpretation Department make use of media to present a particular story relating to Hampton Court, or explain an artefact or painting to visitors, but it will also make reference to film and television within these methods. It can also be understood

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid.

in relation to *Young Henry* that the Interpretation Department will forge links between film and television where necessary to promote an exhibition which it has designed, for example in its connection with *The Tudors* (HBO, 2007-2010) television series. The links that the Interpretation Department connects between the display of its exhibitions and film and television are, however, often surreptitious, and it is usually dependent on the visitor to draw connections between the two.

Finally, the Marketing Department possesses the clearest relationship with film and television. This is because its remit is to entice visitors to come to Hampton Court, and encourage them to become members of HRP in order to keep visiting the site. This department, more than the others, is arguably keener to associate with film and television. Chapter 5 outlined how this department directly engaged with film and television when it exhibited the temporary *The Other Boleyn Girl Costume Exhibition* in 2008. To date, this is the only film-related exhibition which has been displayed at Hampton Court. It exhibited the costumes of the film, *The Other Boleyn Girl* (Justin Chadwick, 2008), alongside film clips. In the event, this exhibition proved unsuccessful in being a major draw for visitors to the site, and arguably this was because this exhibition was designed solely by the Marketing Department without the involvement of the Curatorial or Interpretation departments. Nonetheless, it highlights how the different remits between the departments who are instrumental in designing and displaying exhibitions at Hampton Court have very different remits from one another, which in turn dictates how each will choose to engage with film and television.

Based on the case studies this thesis has analysed, we can understand that Hampton Court does engage with film and television, both in terms of allowing filmmakers access to the site, as well as using them within their interpretation strategy. However, the use of film and television, particularly within exhibitions, is somewhat concealed from visitors. In a similar vein, while it is evident to visitors on entering Hampton Court when a large-scale film

production is being undertaken at the site, there is little connection between this site and the post-production marketing of a film or television production. Rarely do HRP as an organisation promote the film or television productions which have made use of Hampton Court. For example, HRP's website (www.hrp.org.uk) does not contain a specific page advertising the films and television productions produced at the sites it maintains, and while the organisation's 'Media and Press' section does provide information as to how to enquire about using its sites for film projects, this is somewhat hidden at the bottom of the site page. Nor does HRP often design an exhibition to highlight the films or television productions which have been shot at Hampton Court. The one exception to this, of course, was *The Other Boleyn Girl Costume Exhibition*. In recent years, Hampton Court has held film-themed events, for example hosting the Luna Cinema over the summer in the East Front Gardens, and the 'Time Explorers: Movie Maker Mission' in association with Aardman Animations aimed at children to create a film. It is evident that HRP chooses to engage with television when wanting to advertise Hampton Court. For example, Lucy Worsley, Chief Curator at Hampton Court, co-presented *Britain's Tudor Treasure: A Night at Hampton Court* with David Starkey. Worsley has been particularly prominent in promoting Hampton Court on television, where her credits include *Tales from the Royal Bedchamber* which aired on BBC in 2013 as a tie-in to the *Secrets of the Royal Bedchamber* exhibition which was held at the site, and *Tales from the Royal Wardrobe with Lucy Worsley* aired on BBC 4 in 2014, which was used to highlight the moving of the Royal Ceremonial Dress Collection from Kensington Palace to Hampton Court. However, the site has not, to date, held a themed event based on the films and television productions which have made use of the site. This thesis, then, has questioned the reasons as to why Hampton Court's apparently 'covert' association with film and television appears to be the case.

Wider Implications

In the case of Hampton Court, it can be understood that HRP places this site, as well as the others that it maintains, highly within the hierarchy of heritage sites, as evidenced by the early documents pertaining to the formation of this organisation. This is evidenced by early documents available in the National Archives, the organisation's Corporate Report, first Annual Report and its Financial Statement written in 1990 shortly after HRP was formed. In the Corporate Report, it states: 'Her Majesty's Palaces should be the best preserved, presented and interpreted historic properties in the country'.⁵⁰⁰ To achieve this, Historic Royal Palaces stressed that:

- The Palaces, their contents and gardens, have been preserved and maintained to a standard that many other major historic property owners and museums can only aspire to. The house a significant part of one of the most important art collections in the world;
- Together [the Tower of London, Hampton Court, Kensington Palace, Kew Palace and the Banqueting House] they attract over four times more visitors than any other historic building and more than any national museum;
- Income from visitors is several times higher than any other museum or historic building and almost twice the total visitor income achieved by English Heritage from all its properties;
- If the cost of fire damage restoration at Hampton Court [1989] is excluded, income from visitors already covers over three quarters of total expenditure. This is a much higher ratio than the National Trust or any other major heritage or museum organisation achieves.⁵⁰¹

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.

What can be understood from this excerpt is that when first formed, HRP already perceived itself to be placed above most other heritage organisations and museums, including English Heritage and National Trust, who compared to HRP are much bigger organisations and which maintain more sites. I would argue, based on the research conducted throughout this thesis and in relation to the above quotation, that this perception comes in part from the *type* of sites which HRP maintain compared with those maintained by other organisations.

The key difference is that HRP maintain former royal palaces which are held ‘in Right of Crown’. This is important to HRP, where it states on its website: ‘Our aim is to help everyone explore the story of how monarchs and people have shaped society, in some of the greatest palaces ever built’.⁵⁰² It can be understood that due to its association with royalty, it deems itself higher than other organisations whose sites do not possess such associations. This is evident in HRP’s Annual Report 1990-1991, where in its introduction, Michael Beeton, HRP’s Chief Executive, outlines the ‘Key Principles’ of HRP:

We are all committed to maintaining and promoting the excellence of the Palaces which have been placed in our care, and to ensure that we hold our position at the very top of the market for visitor attractions ... We are very proud of the confidence which has been placed in us to maintain the status and dignity of the Palaces which are our prime asset, and in no circumstances will that be compromised ... The Palaces epitomise our national identity. Nothing should be done which would prejudice their status and dignity as Royal Palaces [sic]. Her Majesty’s Palaces should be the best preserved, presented and interpreted historic properties in the country.⁵⁰³

⁵⁰² <<https://www.hrp.org.uk/about-us/who-we-are/#gs.qB4qvBM>> [Accessed: 25 July 2017].

⁵⁰³ TNA KX 1/2: Historic Royal Palaces Annual Report 1990-1991, pp. 4-5.

In terms of HRP's evidence to support their claim here that they attract 'over four times more visitors than any other historic building', they provide a chart to demonstrate the fluctuation of visitor numbers between the period of 1979 - 1989:

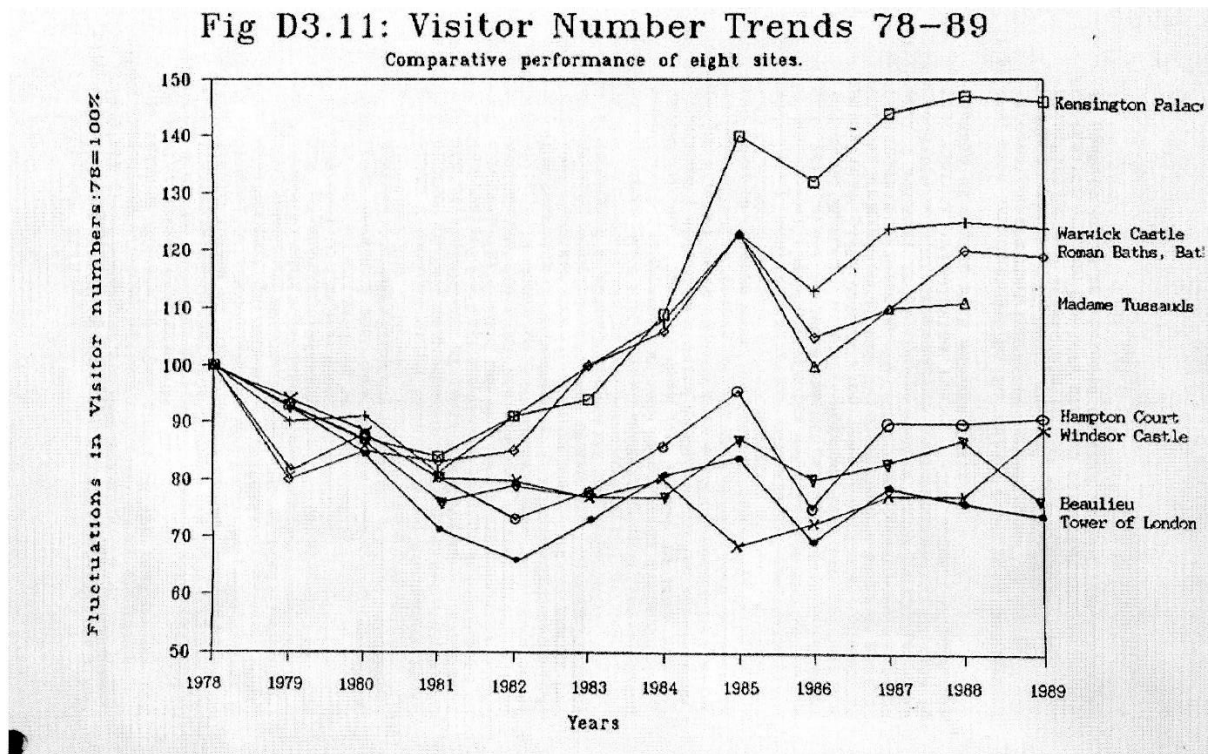


Figure 37: 'D3.11: Visitor Number Trends 1978-1979 – Comparative Performance of eight sights' ⁵⁰⁴

This chart reveals two things: first that HRP are being quite selective of which other organisations they have chosen to compare themselves with in terms of visitor fluctuation, and second, that while Kensington Palace has attracted fluctuated the most in terms visitor numbers to this site, both Hampton Court and the Tower of London have remained steadily consistent and are placed toward the lower half of the visitor trend apparent here. Therefore, this thesis argues that due to the above, HRP perceive themselves to be a leading heritage organisation in terms of how they interpret their sites for visitors.

⁵⁰⁴ TNA KV 1/2: Historic Royal Palaces Corporate Report, 1990 [typescript].

In the Annual Report, HRP were also keen to stress in terms of their interpretation strategy that:

It is crucial that the unique identities of the Palaces are retained but in complimentary ways. Unlike English Heritage and the National Trust, the Agency should not seek to develop an “umbrella” graphic identity in the eyes of its visitors. The Palaces have their own strong and unique identities. It should be the Agency’s aim to enhance and reinforce those separate identities rather than seek to subsume them into a new overall identity established by the Agency itself.⁵⁰⁵

Note, for example, how they directly compare their approach to that of English Heritage and National Trust, where they insist that their ‘brand’ should not overtake an individual site’s ‘identity’ which they accuse the other organisations of doing.

One can of course argue that most heritage organisations would perceive themselves to be placed at the top of the hierarchy of heritage sites, particularly larger heritage organisations such as English Heritage and the National Trust. It is likely, on the balance of probability, that these organisations have similar documents outlining how they are positioned above other organisations and are superior in their approach and interpretation strategies. However, we can understand that both organisations relate much more to film and television than HRP does. On a basic level, when reviewing the websites for both English Heritage and the National Trust, they appear to engage more with film and television. On the front page of the National Trust’s website (www.nationaltrust.org.uk), it advertises links with the BBC’s *Countryfile Live*, and Diane Keaton’s film *Hampstead* (2017), where it encourages potential visitors to: ‘Stay on a film set: Academy Award winner Diane Keaton tells us about shooting her new film at our

⁵⁰⁵ TNA KX 1/2: Historic Royal Palaces Annual Report 1990-1991, pp. 4-5.

very own Cliveden holiday cottage'.⁵⁰⁶ The National Trust's front page also advertises 'Outdoor spots for music, theatre and film', where they provide open-air film screenings similar to other heritage sites, including Hampton Court, although they are affiliated with the company Sundown Cinema with which to provide this.⁵⁰⁷ In a separate page on its website, titled 'For film and TV lovers', the National Trust also promotes its portfolio of associations with film and television.⁵⁰⁸ In this section, the organisation provides up-to-date interviews with filmmakers and blogs about which sites are being used as filming locations, as well as a comprehensive list of: 'Our places on the silver screen'.⁵⁰⁹

English Heritage is also more engaging with film and television on their website than that of HRP, where on its website's front page (www.english-heritage.org.uk) it currently includes a link advertising a temporary exhibition of the film costumes designed by Consolata Boyle used in *Victoria and Abdul* (Stephen Frears, 2017) at Osborne House on the Isle of Wight, which is where the film was mainly produced at. Michael Hunter, Curator at Osborne House explains: 'Osborne was Queen Victoria's private family home which means visitors can step straight into Queen Victoria's world when they get here. *Victoria & Abdul* is the first film to ever use the interiors of Osborne as a location and these costumes add an extra layer to the rich experience of a visit here'.⁵¹⁰ This demonstrates that English Heritage is willing to make use of a film association to appeal to potential visitors. Furthermore, as with National Trust, English Heritage also offer a further page relating to the numerous film and television productions which have made use of the sites which the organisation maintains.⁵¹¹ In this section they encourage filmmakers to get in touch with Filming Enquires about their possible

⁵⁰⁶ <<https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/>> [Accessed: 25 July 2017].

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁸ <<https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/for-film-and-tv-lovers>> [Accessed: 25 July 2017].

⁵⁰⁹ <<https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/lists/our-places-on-the-silver-screen>> [Accessed: 25 July 2017].

⁵¹⁰ <<http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/about-us/search-news/victoria-and-abdul-costume-exhibition-at-osborne>> [Accessed: 25 July 2017].

⁵¹¹ <<http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/about-us/film-and-tv-locations/>> [Accessed: 25 July 2017].

projects, and lists its ‘Top 10’ locations which previous production companies have used, including Dover Castle, Kenwood, Ranger’s House, Wrest Park, Tilbury Fort, Etham Palace, Stonehenge, Belsay Hall, Tintagel Castle and Carlisle Castle.

It can be argued that one of the reasons why English Heritage and the National Trust associate more with film and television at the sites they maintain is due to their status as heritage organisations. The National Trust is the earliest heritage charitable trust in the UK, and was founded in 1895. English Heritage was formed in 1882 by the Office of Works as a non-departmental public body of the government which was officially titled ‘the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England’. In 1983, the organisation became a semi-autonomous agency, named English Heritage under the terms of the National Heritage Act. It later became a charitable trust in 2015. Therefore, both organisations have worked more separately from the government for a longer period of time than HRP, where the sites it maintains remained directly under the control of the government until 1989. Another reason is the revenue that an organisation receives from its sites, and whether it needs to engage with film and television in order to generate further income. In terms of revenue, while National Trust received £460.8 million, HRP received £87 million compared with English Heritage, who received £95.4 million in 2016. This, of course has to be placed into context in terms of the amount of sites that these organisations run. The National Trust maintains over 350 locations; HRP, 6; and English Heritage over 400.

For organisations which are placed lower within the hierarchy of heritage sites, for example sites which are privately owned, or run by private organisations, for example Alnwick Castle, we can understand these types of site engage more readily with film and television, both to advertise this site to potential visitors, and to generate further income. In Appendix A, we can see that in terms of the visitor figures published by the Association of Leading Visitor Attractions in 2010, HRP feature highly, with the Tower of London positioned at eight and

receiving 2,414,541 visitors, and Hampton Court positioned at thirty-seven, receiving 550,225 visitors.⁵¹² It should be noted that the Tower of London is the highest placed site on the list which charges for admission – the sites placed above it are free of charge to visitors. The highest site comparable to Hampton Court ran by the National Trust is Stourhead, placed at fifty in the table and which received 361,730 visitors. The first English Heritage site similar to Hampton Court as a site is Dover Castle, which received 349,182 visitors, and is placed at fifty-three.⁵¹³ As demonstrated by the ALVA's table, the majority of National Trust and English Heritage-maintained properties fall within the centre, where as HRP's sites are towards the top. Privately owned sites in the table fall among the middle and the bottom of the table, with certain small exceptions, for example Chatsworth House is placed at twenty-nine, and Blenheim Palace at forty. This demonstrates, in part, that HRP do not need to engage with film and television as other organisations may be perceived to do, because they are able to attract a high level of visitors without the advertisement of filming which has taken place at a site or special film and television themed events. Instead, they can be more selective in how they choose to engage with film and television.

In terms of what organisations charge to production companies to allow them to film at its sites, HRP charge from around £350 (flat rate) to small-scale crews, for example BBC television documentaries; approximately £500 per hour for medium-scale productions, such as a television drama or series; and around £1000 per hour for feature-length film productions. By way of comparison, the National Trust charges around a flat rate of £200 for factual and documentary productions, and for large-scale feature length productions around £5,000 to £12,000 per day dependent on scale of filming and which property a production company

⁵¹² <<https://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2011/feb/23/british-tourist-attractions-visitor-figures#data>> [Accessed: 25 July 2017]. See Appendix A for the full breakdown of ALVA's figures.

⁵¹³ It should be noted that Stonehenge, maintained by English Heritage comes listed at twenty-five in this table, however it is a very different type of site to that of Hampton Court, which is a palace.

wishes to film at.⁵¹⁴ In relation to the hierarchy of heritage sites, these figures can be understood in relation to this, in that the higher an organisation perceives its sites to be placed, this in turn affects how much an organisation will charge to production companies applying to film at the sites it maintains. As HRP situates its sites highly in this hierarchy, it can be argued that they charge more to film at its sites as it perceives the worth of these sites to be more important.

In relation to the above, the theory that a hierarchy of heritage sites exists can be used to analyse the approach of other heritage organisations towards their connection with the film and television industries, in much closer detail than I have outlined above. The following list displays how to further understand the ways that different elements of a heritage organisation contribute to where one of its sites fits within this hierarchy:

- Organisation
- Type of site(s)
- Cultural/historical ‘significance’ of site(s)
- Revenue
- Media policy

There is further research and work which can be conducted into how individual sites fit within this hierarchy, which in turn will contribute towards understanding how this impacts upon a sites engagement with film and television. As the first piece of research to officially acknowledge the existence of the hierarchy of heritage sites, this thesis can provide a platform for scholars working within the areas of heritage studies, film and television, in order to understand the relationship between heritage sites and the film and television industries.

⁵¹⁴ The figures provided are minus VAT. At time of writing, I have been unable to ascertain how much English Heritage charge for production companies to film at its sites.

Appendix A: ALVA British Tourist Attraction Visitor Figures (2010)

| SITE | TOTAL VISITS | CHARGE/ FREE | % +/- |
|---|--------------|-----------------|---------|
| British Museum | 5,842,138 | F | 4.90% |
| Tate Modern | 5,061,172 | F | 7% |
| National Gallery | 4,954,914 | F | 3.70% |
| Natural History Museum | 4,647,613 | F | 13.20% |
| Science Museum (South Kensington) | 2,751,902 | F | -0.50% |
| V&A (South Kensington) | 2,629,065 | F | 16% |
| National Maritime Museum | 2,419,802 | F | 2.19% |
| Tower of London (HRP) | 2,414,541 | C | 1.04% |
| St Paul's Cathedral | 1,892,467 | F/C | 4% |
| National Portrait Gallery | 1,819,442 | F | -7% |
| Tate Britain | 1,665,291 | F | 11% |
| British Library | 1,454,612 | F | 5% |
| Westminster Abbey | 1,394,427 | F/C | -3.80% |
| National Galleries of Scotland (Edinburgh sites) | 1,281,465 | F/C | 10.18% |
| Old Royal Naval College Greenwich | 1,274,957 | F | 28% |
| Edinburgh Castle (Historic Scotland) | 1,210,248 | F/C | 1% |
| Chester Zoo | 1,154,285 | C | -6.80% |
| Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew | 1,141,973 | C | -12.19% |
| Kelvingrove Art Gallery & Museum (Glasgow) | 1,070,521 | F | -21.75% |
| Imperial War Museum (London) | 1,069,358 | F | 21% |
| Roman Baths & Pump Room, Bath | 1,054,621 | C | 2% |
| Canterbury Cathedral | 1,033,463 | F/C | 2% |
| Merseyside Maritime Museum | 1,027,475 | F | 9% |
| ZSL London Zoo | 1,011,257 | F/C | -4.95% |
| Stonehenge (EH) | 1,009,973 | C | 2% |
| Eden Project | 1,000,511 | C | -2.70% |
| Royal Horticultural Society, Wisley | 803,986 | F/C | -16.20% |
| World Museum Liverpool (National Museums Liverpool) | 748,065 | F | 23% |
| Chatsworth House Trust (THE) | 716,616 | C | 9.75% |
| Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh | 707,244 | F | 21.70% |
| Houses of Parliament | 703,255 | F/C | -27% |
| National Railway Museum | 624,145 | F | -16.00% |
| National Museum of Scotland (National Museums Scotland) | 619,254 | F | 5% |
| Tate Liverpool | 615,596 | F | 14% |

| | | | |
|---|---------|-----|---------|
| St Fagans: National History Museum (Wales) | 610,155 | F | -2.89% |
| Leeds Castle (THE) | 559,261 | C | -13% |
| Hampton Court Palace (HRP) | 550,225 | C | -9.80% |
| National War Museum (National Museums Scotland) | 528,776 | F | 7% |
| National Media Museum | 526,914 | F | -12.80% |
| Blenheim Palace (THE) | 524,593 | C | -2.30% |
| York Minster ** | 512,075 | F/C | -2.50% |
| Gallery of Modern Art (Glasgow Museums) | 490,872 | F | -8.58% |
| International Slavery Museum (National Museums Liverpool) | 458,569 | F | 28% |
| The Falkirk Wheel (British Waterways) | 439,072 | F/C | -8% |
| ZSL Whipsnade Zoo | 428,684 | F/C | -9.60% |
| V&A Museum of Childhood | 403,549 | F | 4% |
| Wakehurst Place (NT) | 402,180 | C | -12% |
| Imperial War Museum , Duxford | 399,262 | C | 3% |
| Stirling Castle (Historic Scotland) | 377,204 | F/C | -2% |
| Stourhead (NT) | 361,730 | F/C | 1% |
| National Museum Cardiff | 358,480 | F | -3.94% |
| Beaulieu (THE) | 354,048 | C | 0.60% |

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|---|---------|-----|--------|
| Dover Castle (EH) | 349,182 | C | 15% |
| Fountains Abbey & Studley Royal (NT) | 342,499 | F/C | -2% |
| Churchill War Rooms | 328,621 | C | 5% |
| Waddesdon Manor (NT) | 323,450 | F/C | -7% |
| Urquhart Castle (Historic Scotland) | 286,262 | F/C | 1% |
| Attingham Park (NT) | 277,428 | F/C | 7% |
| Royal Armouries Museum (Leeds) | 274,768 | F | 1.20% |
| Belton House (NT) | 264,239 | F/C | 6% |
| St Michael's Mount (NT) | 264,072 | F/C | 10% |
| National Waterfront Museum (Wales) | 263,484 | F | 2.17% |
| Kensington Palace (HRP) | 251,817 | C | -7.63% |
| Walker Art Gallery (National Museums Liverpool) | 251,543 | F | 17% |
| Harewood House (THE) | 247,745 | F/C | 2.78% |
| Imperial War Museum (North) | 247,600 | F | 5% |
| Calke Abbey (NT) | 247,207 | F/C | 3% |
| Royal Horticultural Society, Harlow Carr | 246,563 | F/C | -4.80% |
| Polesden Lacey (NT) | 246,537 | F/C | -6% |
| People's Palace (Glasgow Museums) | 245,770 | F | -8.50% |
| HMS Belfast | 240,769 | C | -8% |
| Larrybane (NT) | 237,420 | F/C | -2% |
| Cliveden (NT) | 233,913 | F/C | 13% |
| Osborne House (EH) | 232,276 | C | -3% |
| Anglesey Abbey (NT) | 231,289 | F/C | 5% |

| | | | |
|---|---------|-----|---------|
| Penrhyn Castle (NT) | 230,454 | F/C | 1% |
| Castle Howard (THE) | 216,566 | C | -7% |
| Nymans Garden (NT) | 211,036 | F/C | -5% |
| Lanhydrock (NT) | 210,362 | F/C | -2% |
| Tate St Ives | 207,254 | C | -3% |
| Kingston Lacy (NT) | 203,488 | F/C | 6% |
| Lady Lever Art Gallery (National Museums Liverpool) | 200,937 | F | 4% |
| Wallington Park (NT) | 199,024 | F/C | 1% |
| Sheffield Park (NT) | 197,202 | F/C | -6% |
| Dunham Massey (NT) | 196,219 | F/C | 27% |
| National Railway Museum “Locomotion” Shildon | 194,106 | F | 23.60% |
| Bodnant Garden (NT) | 191,069 | F/C | -3% |
| Tintagel Castle, Cornwall (EH) | 190,246 | C | -4% |
| Corfe Castle (NT) | 189,647 | F/C | -5% |
| Cragside Estate (NT) | 189,280 | F/C | -16% |
| Mottisfont (NT) | 189,072 | F/C | 17% |
| Chartwell (NT) | 188,705 | F/C | -3% |
| Burrell Collection (Glasgow Museums) | 187,756 | F | -7.58% |
| Bodiam Castle (NT) | 176,193 | F/C | -6% |
| Culzean Castle & Country Park (National Trust for Scotland) | 175,549 | F/C | 0.20% |
| Hardwick Hall (NT) | 165,150 | F/C | 1% |
| Killerton (NT) | 161,196 | F/C | 11% |
| Museum of Transport (Glasgow Museums) | 160,571 | F | -65.76% |
| Ickworth (NT) | 159,777 | F/C | -11% |
| Sudbury Hall (NT) | 159,178 | F/C | -4% |
| Claremont Landscape Garden (NT) | 157,270 | F/C | -2% |
| Pier Master’s House (National Museums Liverpool) | 157,054 | F | 15% |
| Big Pit: National Coal Museum (Wales) | 155,631 | F | -5% |
| Sissinghurst (NT) | 154,530 | F/C | -21% |
| Mount Stewart (NT) | 153,552 | F/C | 15% |
| Hidcote Manor Garden (NT) | 148,680 | F/C | -7% |

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|--|---------|-----|--------|
| St Mungo Museum of Religious Art (Glasgow Museums) | 143,017 | F | -0.93% |
| Royal Horticultural Society, Rosemoor | 140,831 | F/C | -1.10% |
| Erddig (NT) | 140,563 | F/C | 7% |
| 1066 Battle of Hastings:Abbey & Battlefield (EH) | 136,504 | C | 1% |
| Dyrham Park (NT) | 135,920 | F/C | -1% |
| Home Farm Wimpole (NT) | 132,477 | F/C | -5% |
| Royal Horticultural Society, Hyde Hall | 131,780 | F/C | -1.50% |
| Baddesley Clinton (NT) | 130,696 | F/C | 0% |

| | | | |
|---|---------|-----|---------|
| Brownsea Island (NT) | 130,114 | F/C | 2% |
| Cotehele (NT) | 129,486 | F/C | -2% |
| Kenwood House, London (EH) | 128,783 | F | 11% |
| Dunster (NT) | 128,242 | F/C | -5% |
| Castle Drago Estate (NT) | 127,123 | F/C | 1% |
| Trelissick (NT) | 126,705 | F/C | 4% |
| Tyntesfield (NT) | 123,440 | F/C | 18% |
| Montacute House (NT) | 125,008 | F/C | 12% |
| Clifford's Tower, York (EH) | 122,138 | C | 3% |
| Audley End House & Gardens, Essex (EH) | 120,102 | C | 21% |
| Carisbrooke Castle, Isle of Wight (EH) | 118,354 | C | -8% |
| Whitby Abbey, North Yorkshire (EH) | 117,289 | C | -11% |
| Anderton Boat Lift (British Waterways) | 116,922 | F/C | 3% |
| Natural History Museum at Tring | 113,859 | F | -3.50% |
| Provand's Lordship (Glasgow Museums) | 107,044 | F | -8.14% |
| National Conservation Centre (National Museums Liverpool) | 103,548 | F | -17% |
| Burghley House (THE) | 96,855 | C | -1.60% |
| Royal Armouries Museum (Fort Nelson, Portsmouth) | 70,540 | F | -8.05% |
| Woburn Abbey & Gardens (THE) | 68,930 | C | 4.54% |
| Sudley House (National Museums Liverpool) | 68,463 | F | 6% |
| St Peter's Church, Sandwich, Kent (CCT) | 66,366 | F | -3.20% |
| St Peter's Church, Sudbury, Suffolk (CCT) | 59,567 | F | 1% |
| St Mary's Church, Shrewsbury, Shropshire (CCT) | 49,690 | F | -16% |
| Scotland Street School Museum (Glasgow Museums) | 49,346 | F | -23.93% |
| Benmore Botanic Garden (Argyll) (RBGE) | 49,129 | C | -5.60% |
| Holy Trinity Church, North Yorkshire (CCT) | 48,515 | F | -6% |
| St John's Church, Chichester, West Sussex (CCT) | 42,754 | F | 5% |
| St Peter & St Paul Church, Albury, Surrey (CCT) | 41,743 | F | 27.70% |
| All Saints Church, Kedleston, Derbyshire (CCT) | 41,731 | F | -0.70% |
| St Mary Magdalene, Croome D'Abiot, Worcestershire (CCT) | 41,322 | F | 18% |
| All Saints, Harewood, West Yorkshire (CCT) | 37,563 | F | 2.60% |
| St Andrew's Church, Hove, East Sussex (CCT) | 36,669 | F | -23.80% |
| Dawyck Botanic Garden (Borders) (RBGE) | 30,158 | C | -16.50% |
| Holkham Hall (THE) | 29,459 | F/C | 12.30% |
| Logan Botanic Garden (Galloway) (RBGE) | 22,131 | C | -9.90% |
| Glasgow Museums Resource Centre | 9,059 | F | 39.43% |

CCT = The Churches Conservation Trust

EH = English Heritage

NT = National Trust

THE = Treasure Houses of England

RBGE = Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh

Data accessed from: <https://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2011/feb/23/british-tourist-attractions-visitor-figures#data> [15 January 2017]

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