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Performing Jurisdictional Politics in the Bailiwick of Guernsey: A Study of Anthems and Stamps

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ABSTRACT

The Bailiwick of Guernsey is a British jurisdiction in the Channel Islands comprising several islands and forming a binary with the neighbouring Bailiwick of Jersey. The Bailiwick is an archipelago of administrative similitude and island-based jurisdictional difference. It is a dependency of the British Crown with a sense of independence and with identity and jurisdiction constructed within, between and across several island spheres. This is a setting of anomalous/autonomous territories, with the Bailiwick having a distinct geography of overlapping political jurisdictions that exhibit an administrative dialectics of place with islandness and archipelago-ness at the core of identity making. This article asks: How do the islands within the Bailiwick of Guernsey perform jurisdictional politics as territorial units? As well as discussing the islands' top-down administrative structures, distinct emblems of politicised island identity in the form of anthems and postage stamps are considered regarding the ways they contribute to island performativity and identity construction within their territorial setting.

KEYWORDS

anthems; emblems; Guernsey; politics; postage stamps

The Bailiwick of Guernsey (hereafter the Bailiwick) is a British jurisdiction in the Channel Islands comprising several islands and forming a binary with the neighbouring Bailiwick of Jersey (Fig. 1). In this article, the definition of what comprises a jurisdiction is intentionally broad due to the Bailiwick having several spheres of overlapping island entities, including leased islands, island microstates, and the archipelagic Bailiwick. While Jersey includes a populated island and several unpopulated (or formerly populated) reefs and islets, the Bailiwick of Guernsey consists of an archipelago of administrative similitude and island-based jurisdictional difference. In its entirety, the Bailiwick is a self-governing possession of the British Crown and comprises the main islands of Guernsey, Alderney, Sark, Herm, Brecqhou, Jethou, and Lihou (of these, Lihou no longer has a permanent population – Tables 1 and 2). Within the archipelago, a further sense of territory and island identity is constructed with three main political jurisdictions (Guernsey, Alderney and Sark), and, within these entities, several islands are leased (Herm, Jethou and Brecqhou) or administered from the Guernsey mainland (Lihou).

Fig. 1 Bailiwick of Guernsey (approximate scale). Edited version of Channel_Islands_location_map.svg: Xfigpower (pssst), <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=9499617>. Accessed 3 November 2020.



Table 1. Size

Island	Size (km ²)*
Guernsey	62
Alderney	8
Sark	5
Herm	2
Brecqhou	0.3
Jethou	0.2
Lihou	0.15

*Approximate. [1]

[1] Further data on island size can be found at Cataroche; States of Guernsey; and States of Alderney.

[[2] Snapshot of the population as at 31 December 2019.

Courtesy of the Data and Analysis team at the States of Guernsey.

a. Guernsey island.

b. Estimate of Sark island.

Within Sark's jurisdiction, Brecqhou's population is unknown, but the island is a residence of the Barclay family and a small number of island employees.

c. Herm's population fluctuates between the summer and winter months (Watt and Swinford). Jethou, lying just off Herm, has one family residence on the island.

[3] Islanders refer to the Queen as the Duke of Normandy (The Royal Family).

[4] The Crown Dependencies had a special relationship with the EU with Protocol 3 as part of the UK's Treaty of Accession in 1973. This is currently under negotiation.

Table 2. Population [2]

Island	Population
Guernsey	62,954 ^a
Alderney	2036
Sark	501 ^b
Herm & Jethou	67 ^c
Lihou	0

The Channel Islands were already part of the Duchy of Normandy when William the Conqueror invaded England in 1066, and, following the loss of mainland Normandy in 1204 to the French, islanders remained loyal to the English Monarch as the successor to their Norman Duke. [3] As Crown Dependencies, the two Bailiwicks, along with the Isle of Man in the Irish Sea, are self-governing outside of the United Kingdom and European Union, and have different types of administration with their own legal and fiscal authority. [4] The Crown appoints a Lieutenant Governor to each Crown Dependency, who, in the Channel Islands, forms the main conduit between the Crown and the island governments. The Queen in Council (Privy Council) approves all primary legislation (The Royal Family).

The islands within the Bailiwick of Guernsey offer a sense of islandness in various ways. One only has to consider destination branding within the tourist sector to gain an understanding of some of these factors (Rowley and Hanna). For example, VisitGuernsey, which is an organisation of the States of Guernsey (i.e., the government) that promotes tourism for the islands of Guernsey, puts forward several tropes pertaining to islandness that help brand the Bailiwick. These include emphasising the location as an archipelago (i.e., the Islands of Guernsey) and its location close to mainland France and the Normandy coast and reinforcing the Bailiwick as an archipelagic location with expressions such as "that island feeling," which includes the social media hashtag "#ThatIslandFeeling." Emphasis is given to the islands' natural environment, local cuisine and dark tourism regarding military history and German occupation during World War Two, each as enticing factors for potential tourists. There are, of course, many other markers of commodified and authentic identity (Johnson, "Genuine Jersey"), including linguistic heritage, local beverages, traditional cuisine, and customary law, each of which contributes to the promotion of tourism tropes (AlSayyad) and the making of Guernsey as a cultural place.

Building on such branding of local identity within a framework where politics is a recognised theme concerning place branding (Hanna, Rowley, and Keegan), and in this case autonomous and anomalous island territories, focus in this discussion is given to the dynamics of jurisdictional politics (within, between and across the space of islands), where each island has constructed a sense of place by utilising symbols associated with nation building, such as anthems, flags, crests, currency, and postage stamps. Focusing on two of these markers, in this case anthems and postage stamps, which are representative examples of politicised sonic and visual emblems of island identity respectively, the discussion shows how islands play out a sense of identity vis-à-vis other islands within the archipelago, and in contradistinction to the nearby hegemonic influences of the UK, France and EU. Drawing from

research in the field of Island Studies, and particularly the idea of performing islandness (Burholt, Scharf and Walsh; Ronström), the research question underpinning this article asks: How do the islands within the Bailiwick of Guernsey perform jurisdictional politics as territorial units? As well as considering top-down administrative structures, distinct emblems of island identity are discussed regarding the ways they contribute to island performativity and identity construction within their territorial setting, whether by an island authority or by islanders themselves.

Relating to ideas in Island Studies regarding heritage production (e.g., Grydehøj “Uninherited Heritage”; Hayward and Kuwahara) and island branding (Baldacchino “Island Brands” and “On the Branding”; Grydehøj “Branding from Above”; Johnson “Genuine Jersey” and “A Tale of Two Guernseys”), this study focuses on the construction of island identity within and across the jurisdictional spheres that comprise the Bailiwick. Its island and archipelagic jurisdictions have frequently constructed distinct identity markers that are given political prominence. These are important in island identity building, and “collective symbols such as the flag, anthem or national holiday ... are particularly important in the rites and ceremonies of public culture, which help to create and sustain communal bonds” (Smith 25). Contributing to an island’s “creative political economy” (Baldacchino, *Island Enclaves* 6), anthems and stamps are given consideration in this article in terms of how they help represent one or more spheres of island identity or jurisdictional status. With regard to island anthems, two earlier articles showed how the neighbouring Bailiwick of Jersey went through an anthem branding exercise that was highly contested within not only its competition setting but also in the public sphere of where anthems are played on or off the island (Johnson, “Anthem for Jersey”). Further, island anthems have been shown as important signifiers of island identity, not only in an island state or microstate location, but also between islands such as the British Islands where each might seek its own anthem (Johnson, “Island Anthems”). Postage stamps, too, can be considered in a similar way.

The discussion is informed by data collected from a number of sources. Much information has been produced by the island authorities under study, which is often openly available through internet and archival resources. The study of these sources for media and content analysis through a materialist semiotic lens can reveal much about jurisdictional politics in the Bailiwick. Likewise, a semantic and syntactic analysis of the symbols themselves offers a deeper level of meaning concerning how islandness and archipelago-ness are constructed and how jurisdiction is performed.

The connections between subnational island jurisdictions (SIJs) and nation states have featured much in scholarship in Island Studies, particularly when SIJs are attempting to achieve economic and political independence (Baldacchino, *Island Enclaves*; Baldacchino and Hepburn; Grydehøj, “Unravelling Economic Dependence”). In this discussion, I assert that the Bailiwick’s interconnected spheres of jurisdictional politics (SIJs, microstates and other entities) help create a heightened sense of island identity that is expressed/performed through emblems of space and place, which are commemorated and consolidated as a result of the cultural dynamics of island

self-determination within a type of “paradox of economic dependence/independence” (Grydehøj, “Unravelling Economic Dependence” 92–93). Such emblems are at the juncture of cultural and political discourse on islands, and especially ones that have a type of subnational status. In this context, the study of sonic and visual symbols offers a distinct way of comprehending the dynamics of jurisdictional politics (Guy; Johnson, “Island Anthems,” “Anthem for Jersey,” Vézina; see also Cerulo). Anthems are expressed at important occasions that represent the islands, while stamps are issued by the island authority as a marker of place. The former has lyrics and music as the core form of expression, and the latter has symbolic visual representation within an economic framework. A similar rationale may be applied to other symbols that represent an island.

Depending on the context of interpretation, each symbol will have different meaning or levels of importance for the island communities they represent. For example, as an object of human agency, an anthem will have “different associations for different members of the society” (Guy 96), regardless of the imagined community (Anderson) that such an object is intended to represent. But such symbols have a performative theatricality of identity at their core. Anthems are literally performed, but both anthems and stamps are objects that perform islandness in terms of standing for an island. As with all national emblems, “leaders will use both anthems and flags (as well as other national symbols) to create bonds among their citizens, to motivate action, to legitimate their own authority, or reinforce loyalty among the citizenry” (Cerulo 266). This is what Billig refers to as “banal nationalism,” which includes the affirmation that symbols do much to bring people together as part of the real or imagined communities in which they live.

Massey’s concept of “power geometry” is helpful when considering phenomena on, within and between islands in the Bailiwick. That is, “different social groups and different individuals are placed in very distinct ways in relation to these flows and interconnections” (Massey 62). In this regard, the power relationships on, within and between islands concern the creation of symbols of island identity that are used in prominent settings to express a sense of place. The concepts of “reactionary nationalisms” and “competitive localisms” (Massey 65) in the Bailiwick are useful when considering the different expressions of island identity that have emerged. While any island has multiple identities based on those who live there, prominent symbols of those islands are constructed in political discourse in a process of island power relationships. This is what Massey refers to as a “constellation of relations,” (67), which can be compared to the cultural and political dynamics within and between the Bailiwick’s islands and territories.

The anthems and stamps discussed in this article engender island identity and signify islandness. Their meanings, as emblems of “emotional geography” (e.g., Stratford), help project a sense of local identity. Similar themes were considered by the government of Guernsey in an earlier business plan, which noted that the government should “recognise that the Guernsey flag and crest, the distinctive local bank notes and stamps and local songs or anthems help project Guernsey’s identity” (Billet d’État 37). These symbols are the product of island dynamics in the negotiation of place, which might be contested, either

regarding an authoritative politics characterised by top-down imposition or confronted with alternative symbols representing other spheres of island culture. These become signifiers of intra- and extra-island identity, and, in the Bailiwick, are also icons of difference.

My position within this study is to offer critical commentary on island discourses that have featured in related areas of my other research. While not from the Bailiwick, I approach the study as an islander from the Bailiwick of Jersey, with close connections through family and research to many of the islands within the Bailiwick of Guernsey. While my level of engagement with the day-to-day discourses on the islands is nowadays as an outsider observer, the objects of study and the debates that are often connected to them are very much in the public sphere, particularly through governmental dialogue and media communication.

Islands and Archipelagos

The term “Channel Islands” is a geopolitical label used to describe the British part of an archipelago in the Gulf of St Malo that comprises the Bailiwicks of Jersey and Guernsey. There are nearby islands that belong to France (e.g., Îles Chausey), but the term “Channel Islands” is usually used only for the islands within the two British Bailiwicks. [5] The islands within the Bailiwick of Guernsey, however, form part of a complex sphere of island/archipelagic jurisdictions and relationships.

[5] On details of the political status of each of the Bailiwick’s jurisdictions see the States of Guernsey (www.gov.gg), States of Alderney (www.alderney.gov.gg), and the Chief Pleas of Sark (www.gov.sark.gg).

With different levels of jurisdiction, some of the Bailiwick’s islands function as microstates or SIJs (Le Rendu, “Positive Management of Dependency,” *Jersey*), where island authority is exercised and consolidated through the production of identity emblems as a type of territorial branding. These micro-jurisdictions range from the Bailiwick as a whole to leased islands, with geopolitical identity foregrounded within the small island and archipelagic setting. While not micronations (Hayward, “Oecusse and the Sultanate”), the performative practices of constructing a sense of island identity in some of these island jurisdictions is akin to a declaration of micronation status (Hayward, “Secessionism”), although never realised in practice.

The three parliaments within the Bailiwick are the States of Guernsey, States of Alderney and Chief Pleas of Sark. As well as having several Crown appointments as a Bailiwick (e.g., Lieutenant Governor and Bailiff), each parliament includes democratically elected members and functions as a microstate. Within Guernsey’s legislature, known as the States of Deliberation, two voting members from Alderney attend to represent that island because of the close economic and political ties between the two jurisdictions. While some legislature within the States of Deliberation may pertain by mutual agreement to Alderney and Sark, the latter being a Royal Fief, these two island entities have their own independent legislative assemblies and, through the Lieutenant Governor of the Bailiwick, have their own relationship to the Crown and the United Kingdom. However, unlike Alderney, Sark does not send representatives to the States of Deliberation. While Herm, Jethou and Lihou are leased from the States of Guernsey, ranging from the entire island to single

properties and grounds, they are usually considered part of Guernsey for administrative purposes (Herm and Lihou maintain some public access).

Guernsey is the largest of the islands within the Bailiwick, with which it shares its name, and it has a symbiotic political relationship with each of the other islands. The name Guernsey can have several meanings and can be ambiguous: the Bailiwick, the island of Guernsey, and the island of Guernsey and its offshore islands that it administers. Of these offshore islands, Lihou is the smallest (there are several smaller islets, reefs and rocks). Lihou, is a tidal island just off Guernsey's west coast and part of a Ramsar (wetland conservation) site. It is reached along a 570 m causeway at low tide ("Lihou Information and Causeway Opening Times"). The island has had different private owners in the past, and since 1995 it has been owned by the States of Guernsey ("Lihou Island"). In connection with human settlement, Lihou was the location of a 12th-century priory, which now lies in ruins. Nowadays, however, the island is unpopulated, but short-term visitors are able to stay in a house on the island, which is maintained by the Lihou Charitable Trust. Two other leased islands are Herm, which is required to remain open to the public between sunrise and sunset, and Jethou, which is currently not open to the public. Jethou has two small unpopulated tidal islets close to it: Fauconnière and Crevichon (Coysh 59–63).

Alderney is a self-governing island jurisdiction within the Bailiwick. It has an offshore island, Burhou (with the tiny islet of Little Burhou), which is unpopulated, as well as several nearby reefs. As part of the Bailiwick, with which it has a complex relationship, and, due to its dependence on Guernsey for some revenue and shared services, two States of Alderney (parliament) representatives are also members of Guernsey's States of Deliberation and have full voting rights.

Sark is a self-governing island jurisdiction within the Bailiwick. Sark's modern territorial history dates from 1565 when it became a Fief granted to Helier De Carteret, who was from Jersey. Sark is self-governing with its own parliament (Chief Pleas). It can pass its own laws with Royal Sanction and maintains a close connection with the States of Deliberation of Guernsey, which can legislate for Sark with Chief Pleas' consent (Pullum and Titterington). The term Sark is used for the island of Sark, but the jurisdiction also includes the tenement island of Brecqhou, which has been contested in recent years (Johnson, "Sark and Brecqhou"). At one point in the 1990s, one commentator suggested that Brecqhou was "effectively declaring UDI" (Blackhurst). Moreover, even the island of Sark is bifurcated with regard to two important locations: Big Sark and Little Sark. A short isthmus called La Coupée divides the two. Interestingly, some cartographers and writers have mistakenly divided these locations into two separate islands (e.g., Turner 1286), perhaps based on the names of the parts of the island. Sark's government refers to Sark as the "Island of Sark," as in its official crest. While Brecqhou is recognised as being a part of Sark's jurisdiction (Ministry of Justice 1), the contestation between the government of Sark and Brecqhou is made more problematic by island naming. Sark is, perhaps, better understood as a micro-archipelago, as with Guernsey (with Lihou, Herm and Jethou) and Alderney (with Burhou).

Antheming Islands

In his study of music and European nationalism, Bohlman (150) uses the terms “quasi-national anthems” and “unofficial national anthems” to refer to anthems that function in a similar way to national anthems, “but they do not have the top-down sanction to represent the nation beyond its borders.” As a Crown Dependency, the official national anthem of the Bailiwick is “God Save the Queen.” But while this is the anthem that would be heard on suitable occasions, and reinforcing the Bailiwick’s allegiance to the Crown, there are other anthems that have been used on the islands that serve the purpose of reinforcing a distinct island identity (Johnson, “Island Anthems”). In other words, and relating to research on islandness and a sense of place, such anthems, official and unofficial, help show “the practices and politics of islanders’ connections and disconnections” (Vannini and Taggart 228).

For the Bailiwick, the song “Sarnia Cherie” (Guernsey Dear), which was written in 1911, has become a favourite amongst islanders and is often referred to as a Guernsey anthem (VisitGuernsey, “Celebrate Liberation Day”). Its performance acts as a geopolitical sonic text that references the islands of Guernsey in several ways. With words and music by George Deighton (1869–1935) and Domencio Santangelo (1882–1970) respectively, the title of the song refers to Guernsey’s Latin name for the island. The triple-time song, which is sung in English or in the island’s severely endangered language, Guernésiais (also written as Dgèrnésiais), has many island references that help reinforce a sense of islandness within the Bailiwick, including sea, island, shore, rock, and bays (Johnson, “The Group from the West”):

Sarnia; dear Homeland, Gem of the sea.
 Island of beauty, my heart longs for thee.
 Thy voice calls me ever, in waking, or sleep,
 Till my soul cries with anguish, my eyes ache to weep.
 In fancy I see thee, again as of yore,
 Thy verdure clad hills and thy wave beaten shore.
 Thy rock sheltered bays, ah; of all thou art best,
 I’m returning to greet thee, dear island of rest.

CHORUS

Sarnia Cherie. Gem of the sea.
 Home of my childhood, my heart longs for thee.
 Thy voice calls me ever, forget thee I’ll never,
 Island of beauty. Sarnia Cherie.

I left thee in anger, I knew not thy worth.
 Journeyed afar, to the ends of the earth.
 Was told of far countries, the heav’n of the bold,
 Where the soil gave up diamonds, silver and gold.
 The sun always shone, and “race” took no part,
 But thy cry always reached me, its pain wrenched my heart.
 So I’m coming home, thou of all art the best.
 Returning to greet thee, dear island of rest.

CHORUS

(Source: “Sarnia Chérie”)

The Guernésiais version is as follows:

Sarnia, chière patrie, bijou d’la maïr,
 Ile plloinne dé biautai, dans d’iaoue si cllaire
 Ta vouaix m’appeule terjous, mon tcheur plloin d’envie,
 Et mon âme té crie en poïne, mes iars voudraient t’veis.
 Quaend j’saonge, j’té vaie derchier, mesme comme t’étais d’vânt,
 Tes côtis si vaerts et ton sabllaon si bllànc,
 Tes bànques et tes rotchets. Ah! Dé toutes la pus belle.
 Mon réfuge et mon r’pos, chière île qu’est si belle.

CHORUS

Sarnia Chérie, ma chière patrie,
 D’l’île dé ma nèissance, mon tcheur a envie
 Ta vouaix m’appeule terjous,
 Et j’pense à té chaque jour.
 Ile plloinne dé biautai, Sarnia Chérie.

Sàns saver ta valeur, j’m’en fus en colère,
 Je v’yagis si llian, à l’aute but dé la terre.
 I m’dirent dé biaux pays, et j’m’en fus brâment
 Oueque la terre baillait à haut d’l’or et dé l’argent.
 Nous ‘tait tous amis et i fit bal chaque jeur,
 Mais ta vouaix m’applait terjous, a m’déteurait l’tcheur.
 Ch’est pourtchi qué j’m’en vians. Ah! té veis, la millaeure.
 Ma chière île dé répos, dé chenna j’sis saeure.

CHORUS

(Source: “Sarnia Chérie”)

But there are also occasions when the island of Guernsey and other island jurisdictions within the Bailiwick need to differentiate their identity with the singing of an anthem, such as at the Island Games or the Commonwealth Games. In such settings, island nationhood is performed to express solidarity and difference. At the Island Games, for example, Alderney and Sark use “God Save the Queen,” which does little to differentiate the jurisdictions, but consolidates their connection with the Crown, while Guernsey uses “Sarnia Cherie” as a distinctive sonic statement of island identity. The use of such an unofficial anthem for Guernsey adds a sense of island patriotism beyond its Crown setting, and when sung in Guernésiais it contributes a sense of geopolitical cultural difference vis-à-vis English as the now dominant language of the Bailiwick. Such difference helps brand the island of Guernsey within the Bailiwick and other British Islands by foregrounding linguistic heritage within a patriotic island soundscape.

Within the International Island Games Association (IIGA), there are 24 member islands (one member is Gibraltar, which is not an island). Of these, a large number are from the UK, British Isles or British Territories: Alderney, Bermuda, Cayman Islands, Falkland Islands, Gibraltar, Guernsey, Isle of Man, Isle of Wight, Jersey, Orkney, Sark, Shetland Islands, St. Helena, Western Isles, and Ynys Môn (Anglesey). The official national anthem of each is “God Save the Queen,” so the IIGA allows each member to either use this anthem or use their own “victory anthem” (International Island Games Association 18).

“Sarnia Cherie” has a strong association with Guernsey’s war-time experience during its occupation by German forces during World War Two between 1940 and 1945. At that time, and during the annual commemorations each year on Liberation Day (9 May), the song is sung with pride and offers a sense of island loyalism, yet at the same time remembers the island’s liberation by British Forces (the song was sung by islanders when the British troops arrived – BBC Guernsey).

Some of the islands in the Bailiwick celebrate liberation on different days: Sark on 10 May; and Alderney on 19 May. However, because most of Alderney’s population had been evacuated, the island celebrates “homecoming” on 15 December when most islanders started to return in 1945.

In Alderney, a slightly different approach to Liberation is taken. More recently, an anthem has been written that helps represent Alderney and its own circumstances following the end of the occupation. The “Alderney Anthem,” with words and music by Alderney evacuee, Rev. Arthur Mignot (d. 2019), includes lyrics that celebrate Alderney as an island while remembering its dark past. The anthem was performed at the Guernsey Eisteddfod in 2015 when the Alderney Community Choir competed (the anthem was written for them), and winning their class (Pugh, “How Can I Keep from Singing?” “These are a Few of my Favourite Things”). In the anthem’s chorus, the island’s name is mentioned four times; the word “island” is stated with reference to its shoreline, thus stressing the sea and islandness; Alderney is referred to as a “jewel,” in a similar way to Guernsey being called a “gem” in “Sarnia Cherie;” and, most poignantly, mention is made of “coming back” to the island, which stands for the returnees following the German surrender of the island in 1945 and is now known as “Homecoming Day” (15 December):

Alderney, Alderney, you’re precious to me
I love to walk on your island shore
Alderney, Alderney, the jewel in the sea
I’m coming back to be with you once more. (By Arthur Mignot)

Alderney’s “Homecoming Day” is a commemoration of place. Often referred to as the island’s “unofficial anthem” (Guernsey Press), the island is at the core. At the 69th event, for example, a service was held at the harbour that included several pieces of music (“Alderney Holds 69th Homecoming Day”). As well as a rendition of “No Place Like Home” on cornet, which was played during the homecoming in 1945 (“Alderney Holds 69th Homecoming Day”), the song performed at the Salvation Army Hall was the “Alderney Anthem.” In a poignant speech at the event, Mignot said: “Joy turned to tears as they

[the returnees] saw the state of our homeland” (“Alderney Holds 69th Homecoming Day”). The plaintive words were expressed as a result of seeing the destruction of island homes, which was in a context of the atrocities of the Nazi concentration camps that had been established on the island – on British soil – the remains of which contribute to dark heritage tourism on the island in the present day (Carr). At the 70th anniversary event, which was held in May (a first for the occasion), one evacuee noted that many memories were brought back on hearing the anthem:

We children didn’t really know what was happening. We knew the war had reached Cherbourg and had come very close and our parents thought it was safer to get us off the island before the Germans came. It didn’t sink in. (Beda Thompson, in “Islanders Remember”)

Alderney’s “unofficial anthem,” therefore, exists alongside the island’s official anthem, but is used on some occasions that are specific to the island’s liberation and the homecoming of islanders. While not used at sporting events, unlike “Sarnia Cherie” for Guernsey, as a jurisdiction within the Bailiwick, the “Alderney Anthem” offers Alderney a sonic emblem of island identity that has performance at its core: performed by islanders, a song about Alderney’s history, and an anthem standing for the island. Both “Sarnia Cherie” and the “Alderney Anthem” were popularised from the ground up, and with subsequent top-down intervention utilising their widespread appeal at times of island connectedness and commemoration. After all, as noted in connection with place branding, “the voluntary rise of practices is a significant indicator of ownership” (Aitken and Campelo 926).

Stamping Islands

Within the Bailiwick, many stamp issues have helped reinforce jurisdictional identities, with some smaller islands offering distinct issues to help express their own island identity. These stamps become commodified objects with geopolitical cultural meaning that signifies islandness and island territory. Such administrative or top-down declarations of island character help show how islands, or at least island authorities or individuals, make bold statements that can be interpreted as reinforcing a degree of island status from a political perspective.

As a whole, the Bailiwick has issued stamps since 1969 when Guernsey Post took over from the Royal Mail, but several islands within the Bailiwick made significant issues before and up to 1969 (with some carriage labels still being issued), and, since 1983, Guernsey Post has issued stamps for Alderney, which are also valid throughout the Bailiwick. While a discussion of all aspects of Bailiwick philately is beyond the scope of this article, several island issues are discussed as case studies that help illustrate the dynamics of islandness concerning the anomalous/autonomous island jurisdictions that make up the Bailiwick. Just as islands are branded as destinations with logos connected with product marketing (Whitten Henry), so too have many stamps in the Bailiwick been designed for not only self-labeling local identity, but also for reinforcing

jurisdictional or territorial island space and place both within and beyond the Bailiwick.

[6] Wootton later owned Herring Island and Thomas Island (joined by a sand bar) in Prince Edward Island, Canada.

Lihou is the smallest island under discussion in this section. One of its former tenants, Lt Col Patrick Wootton (1919–2000), from 1961 to 1983, issued five stamps with different values in 1966 to help raise funds for his youth project on the island (Graham Land Stamps). [6] The issue was a statement of island identity and of Wootton’s authority as the lease holder of the small island, which reflected the issuing of stamps by nation states as a marker of nationhood.

As a way of stressing Lihou’s island location and identity, the stamps depicted a strong island connection. The 2d stamp showed a map of most of the island, part of the island of Guernsey, and the low-tide causeway between the two. Such political mapping of Lihou, and other islands as outlined below, helps emphasise physical islandness, which is itself a distinct reason “why islands are powerful brands unto themselves” (Baldacchino, “On the Branding”). The main feature on the map of Lihou is a point marking the location of the twelfth-century Benedictine Priory of St Mary as it might be imaged before falling into ruin, which is foregrounded with a large Christian cross, each of which helps signify both the island’s ancient religious history and Wootton’s contemporary Christian values. For visitors to the island, a stamp with a map on it helped reinforce its location, size, spatiality, and some prominent island history. More specifically, the 4d stamp showed the ruins of the priory in the foreground and with Mont Saint-Michel (on an island just off the French mainland) shown in the background. There were historical connections between the monasteries, with the latter over 100 km away and certainly not visible from Lihou. With an imagined visual relationship, such an image helps stress the religious connections between Lihou and France and implies, through imagery, that Mont Saint-Michel is closer than it actually is, thereby adding a further level of meaning to the artwork. The 6d stamp continues this theme with a faint image of Mont Saint-Michel in the background, and with two youths walking with pick and shovel to reflect a work ethic as part of Wootton’s youth objective for the island. The one shilling stamp depicts Lihou in the background and with two boats in the foreground, which are bringing stone to the island from Caen in France to build the priory (Grose Educational Media). Lastly, the two shilling stamp shows the Armorial Ensign of Lihou, which itself is a signifier of island authority and the island’s natural environment.

With the Bailiwick gaining postal independence in 1969, its islands could no longer issue their own stamps. In protest to this move, Lihou issued a “last-day cover” postcard with the caption “Big Brother Takes Over!” (there were also several other postcards bidding farewell to Her Majesty’s GPO) (fig. 2). The accompanying cartoon humorously depicts various UK and Bailiwick island relationships. Part of the UK is shown as the “Mother Country,” and the island of Guernsey is given the largest representation, and with “Little Lihou” in a child-like pose. Herm is smiling as it holds “Little Jethou” in one hand and “Little Brecqhou” in the other, while Sark is left grimacing, perhaps, as shown in the cartoon, at the loss to Herm of its own offshore island, Brecqhou.

Fig. 2 Lihou stamps. Hipstamp, <https://www.hipstamp.com/listing/lihou-1969-81-covers-cards-pieces-stamps-19-items-ov6256/12885577>. Accessed 3 November 2020. Courtesy of Krakow Stamps.



Drawn by Guernsey artist and photographer, Charles Coker (1918-2000), who designed many Bailiwick stamps, Lihou's last-day cover makes a statement not only about Lihou's island identity within the Bailiwick, but also about other island relationships. The idea that Big Brother had taken over has a double meaning. One is that of the Bailiwick, which had now become the authority for all postage activities under its jurisdiction, and the other is that of the island of Guernsey, which, as Lihou's mainland, has a dominant presence within the Bailiwick. In the sketch, the island of Guernsey has a grasp of Lihou's hand and is beckoning the other islands so it can take control of them too.

In a further act of protest, Wootton and the tenant of nearby Brecqhou, Leonard Matchan (1911-1987), staged a dramatic response to the Guernsey Post takeover of Bailiwick postal services. On the last day of the previous service (30 September 1969):

Lihou/Brecqhou and Brecqhou/Lihou postal covers were issued and carried from both islands by Mr. Matchan's helicopter to the Southampton post office. A crowd gathered on the tiny island of Lihou to witness what was probably the first ever landing of an aircraft on the island. (Brecqhou Development; see further British Movietone)

The contestation by Lihou and Brecqhou relates not only to the Bailiwick gaining postal authority across the Bailiwick, but also to the sometimes ambiguous relationship between the islands within the Bailiwick. After all, the name Guernsey Post itself could imply either the island of Guernsey or the Bailiwick.

Another very small island in the Bailiwick, Jethou, has also issued stamps in a similar way to Lihou, and also with the input of Charles Coker for stamp design. Its first issue was in 1960. The set of five stamps depicted symbols of island identity, and were released soon after Group Captain William Hedley Cliff (1912–1969) and his American wife had taken over the island's lease from the Crown in 1958. Jethou's crest – a symbol of the island in its own right (with lion and an imaginary castle-like tower) – was shown on the 1½d stamp, along

with the word “Jethou” in capital letters. The 4d stamp was a map of the island, also with the island’s name, which included its two tidal islets. These islets were the feature of the 6d and 9d stamps, with the names Fauconnière and Crevichon shown respectively in capital letters (the name Jethou was not included on these particular stamps). The 18d stamp, while also bearing the island’s name, was slightly different in design. This stamp showed an island scene with a Neolithic standing stone in the centre in recognition of the island’s ancient history.

Five Jethou stamps issued in 1961 showed a different local bird on each, with “Isle of Jethou” in capital letters and the island shield included, the latter signifying a further iconographical aspect of island jurisdiction. In 1963, the island and Fauconnière are depicted in the background on a two-set issue, along with a razorbill in the foreground. On this issue, the island is referred to as “Isle of Jethou,” as with some other issues. With Susan Faed taking over the remaining lease in 1964, and living there with her family, in 1966 the island celebrated 900 years since the Battle of Hastings with four stamps designed by Charles Coker depicting Norman ships, battle armor and the island. This event is important in Channel Island history because they were controlled by the Normans at this time. On this issue, the island’s name is shown as “Jethou,” and the island and Fauconnière are shown on just one of the stamps (in a similar way to the 1963 issue).

Such postage stamp issues make a statement about the island’s jurisdictional identity within the Bailiwick, as well as the interconnected island dynamics with other Bailiwick islands that also issued stamps. The naming of the island (or its two offshore islets) on each offers a written signifier of place and a powerful marker of island identity, which, together with the maps and local emblems, shows the importance of illustrating local features as a celebration and recognition of an island location. These emblems are political in terms of relating to Jethou’s island detachment within the Bailiwick and the marking of islandness with symbols akin to typical emblems of nationhood. It is with its distinct island authority that Jethou could devise and display such symbols, each of which exists as a geopolitical island statement and in contradistinction to those of other islands within the Bailiwick.

In Sark, while the jurisdiction issued carriage labels (with no postal value) in 1965 to mark 400 years of settlement as a fief of the Crown, its smaller island of Brecqhou has issued a number of carriage labels since 1969. [7] A set of six carriage labels were issued on the last day before Guernsey Post took over the postal service, thereby making the first-day cover also a last-day cover. This was a clear statement of island identity, with Brecqhou being the only island-wide tenement within Sark’s jurisdiction, and one of several island’s in the Bailiwick that had issued stamps or carriage labels. With this issue, the island’s name is given using another spelling, Brechou, and the images depicted various island scenes, each of which had a clear intention of evoking island characteristics. The 1d, 2d and 3d stamps featured a bird in flight, signifying pigeon post from the island; the 6d and 1 shilling stamps displayed the Brecqhou shield, thereby offering a further display of island identity and authority; and the 2 shilling stamp offered a contemporary scene with an image of Leonard Matchan’s helicopter, which he used to travel to and from

[7] A Dame of Sark issue was made by Guernsey in 1984, which comprised five stamps portraying significant moments in her life.

Brecqhou. It was only in 1999 that further labels were issued, now by new tenants, Sir David and Sir Frederick Barclay. At first, the labels were not perforated, but from 2003 they were, which made them look more like postage stamps. Each includes the island's name (now using the Brecqhou spelling), with a range of themes with many depicting Brecqhou scenes. Of note are the labels that depict an aerial view of the island, thus portraying the main geographical features of the location and emphasising its islandness (a familiar image on many stamps in the Bailiwick).

Another leased island within the Bailiwick is Herm. As with the islands already discussed, Herm has periodically issued stamps/labels that help consolidate its island location and identity within the Bailiwick. One of the island's tenants, Alfred Jefferies (1893–1949), issued postage labels in 1949 (he was tenant from 1946 to 1949). Jefferies wanted a post office to be reopened on the island, but when his attempts failed he opened his own and issued stamps (British stamps had to be included) (Jochim). Because Herm did not have a phone link until late 1949, Jefferies issued stamps to be used for a pigeon post service to Guernsey (Jochim).

Herm's issues often featured signifiers of the island, and in particular the island's location. For example, in 1957, and for new island tenants, the Wood and Heyworth families (from 1949 to 2008), Charles Coker designed four stamps in different denominations and colours showing a map of the island, along with nearby Jethou. In 1962, noted British stamp designer, Michael Goaman (1921–2009), designed further Herm stamps also with an aerial map and sea scene, but with this issue a mythical "Wind over Herm," a mermaid and King Neptune were included, one on each of three denominations (fig. 3). A similar theme was with the 1963 Herm Island stamp, which depicted Herm in the context of the Channel Islands and France, along with the island's launch, "Arrowhead," given central prominence and illustrating the essential mode of transport to and from the island. The use of maps to show Herm's geographic location, albeit not within a broader setting, is a signifier of place and helps portray the location as an island entity, which in Herm's case is as a leased island, at first belonging to the Crown and now to the States of Guernsey.



Fig. 3. Courtesy of Graham Land Stamps,
<https://www.grahamlandstamps.co.uk/>.

Since 1983, the States of Alderney has issued stamps and coins, which has been in association with Guernsey Post and the Commonwealth Mint respectively. The stamps are usually labelled “Alderney,” and sometimes with the additional wording “Bailiwick of Guernsey.” There are annual and decennial issues. As with the other stamps discussed above, Alderney’s stamps are characteristically representative of island scenes, including nature, history and culture, with important occasions and people also celebrated. With such focus, the stamps, which are valid throughout the Bailiwick, help to represent islandness and imply that they are distinct to one island, yet at the same time they are produced by Guernsey Post.

The first issue comprised a series of 12 stamps. The images were of scenes from around the island, along with two showing a map. One of the maps showed an outline of the island (without any of its offshore islets or reefs), and the other was a map of the Bailiwick in proximity to the Cotentin peninsular (excluding Jersey’s unpopulated offshore reefs, Alderney is the closest of the populated Channel Islands to mainland France). On each of the stamps, the name “Alderney” was given with “Bailiwick of Guernsey” written below, all in capital letters, along with the face of the Queen as a marker of nationality. In 1989, the theme of cartography was again featured with six maps dating from 1724 to 1988. Such images emphasise the island, at least from a vertical gaze, while also reinforcing its island ontology and geopolitical setting. Connecting to the “Alderney Anthem,” discussed earlier, one of Alderney’s issues marked the 70th anniversary of Homecoming, when a stamp showing a boat returning to the island was illustrated.

Conclusion

This article has shown that the Bailiwick of Guernsey, when compared to some island nation states and SIJs, is an anomalous grouping of microstate island jurisdictions that exhibits both administrative similitude and island-based territorial difference. It manifests not only a sense of autonomy in itself, but also within each of the microstates and island territories from which it is comprised.

By exploring two key markers of politicised identity (anthems and stamps), the islands have been shown to perform jurisdictional difference in the form of distinct sonic and visual emblems that construct islandness and create bonds. Building on research that is dominated by the political economy of island destination branding and the commodification of island culture, this article has offered a further interpretation of island identity branding by exploring top-down and bottom-up emblems, and at the same time how such signifiers are constructed within layers of jurisdictional, territorial island and archipelagic units. Such emblems, whether established through jurisdictional authority or through social advocacy, help in branding the islands with objects that have become markers of island divergence. These symbols of banal nationalism offer everyday representations that have powerful meaning that signify the islands and their space and place within the Bailiwick. They reveal a Bailiwick cultural geography imbued with power relations. The singing of “Sarnia Cherie,” for example, illustrates the power of song, but it is a strength that is

part of Guernsey's identity and it signifies place and the emotional cultural elements associated with the island's war-time past. Likewise, the issuing of (postage) stamps is a strong statement of polity, and for the Bailiwick and its island jurisdictions, stamps become emblems of islandness and island identity.

For the field of Island Studies, these elements and others pertaining to the performance of jurisdictional island politics help illustrate some of the ways that islands provide spaces within which place is constructed, both as markers of distinctiveness and in contradistinction to other nearby islands, archipelagos and mainlands.

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