A DEMONSTRATION OF RICHES
LANDSCAPE NARRATIVES AT CHATSWORTH

BY

LAUREL AMBER PHILLIPPE

THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Landscape Architecture in Landscape Architecture with a minor in Heritage Studies in the Graduate College of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2011

Urbana, Illinois

Master’s Committee:

Professor Dianne Harris, Chair
Professor D. Fairchild Ruggles
Professor Helaine Silverman
Abstract

This thesis looks at the current landscape narratives at Chatsworth; England’s most visited country house, and proposes new narratives that are more socially inclusive and that cover a broader swath of history. It also proposes a new mode of information dissemination based on the increased use of smartphones and other PDA’s.

In exploring this subject, this thesis looks at the history of tourism and heritage within an English context and then looks at the history of tourism at Chatsworth in particular. As one of the most thoroughly documented country houses, Chatsworth is uniquely poised to lead the way in new and diverse forms of landscape heritage interpretation.
# Table of Contents

Chapter 1  INTRODUCTION............................................................................1  
Chapter 2  CHATSWORTH AND THE DUKES OF DEVONSHIRE..............7  
Chapter 3  VISITING CHATSWORTH TODAY.................................11  
Chapter 4  HERITAGE AND TOURISM IN ENGLAND......................21  
Chapter 5  A NEW NARRATIVE.........................................................53  
Chapter 6  CONCLUSION.....................................................................72  
Appendix A  MARK FRANCIS CASE STUDY INFORMATION SHEET.....73  
Appendix B  GRADED FEATURES IN THE CHATSWORTH LANDSCAPE..76  
Endnotes.........................................................................................77  
Image Credits................................................................................82  
Reference List...............................................................................84
Chapter 1
INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines the ways in which tourist narratives of English country estates have been fabricated for visitors. In doing so, it seeks to understand the role of such narratives --now and in the past-- in the substantiation of English national identity and in the creation of heritage tourism in the United Kingdom. In order to examine these questions effectively, the thesis uses Chatsworth as a case study. (Figure 1.1) It first examines theories of tourism and heritage studies and the history of heritage tourism in the United Kingdom before delineating the history of Chatsworth as a tourist site. Finally, I propose two alternative narratives that might be created for tourists at Chatsworth that would supply visitors with alternative and more inclusive histories of the landscape’s past.

Figure 1.1
The Chatsworth estate viewed from the south-west.
Much of the focus for this study derived from a question I asked of an assembled group of Chatsworth staff while participating in the Attingham Summer School in 2010;¹ "I know that you have a large-scale master plan for the house, but do you have a master plan for the landscape?" The answer, much to my surprise, was ‘no’. However, they do have an ongoing maintenance plan. Based on a survey Chatsworth conducted among their visitors, they have found that 80% of their visitors come to Chatsworth specifically to visit the landscape.² Our focus in the Attingham Summer School was on the country house and its contents, so the landscape did not receive much attention in our educational talks. However, we were given a wonderfully insightful landscape tour by one of their former curators, Simon Seligman. It was not until I returned to Chatsworth to conduct my research that I became aware of the interpretative material available to the general public regarding the landscape and the 80% statistic took on new significance.

As I explored Chatsworth on my own, as a tourist, I was struck first by the incredible amount I learned and saw while touring the house. There is a very detailed and engaging audio tour available. However, once the visitor exits the house and is expelled into the adjacent landscape, little information exists to guide one’s movements. An array of pamphlets, some free and others for purchase, provide a basic layout and give information on where the restrooms and gift shops are located. Other, briefly worded guides provide more information on the house and grounds, but overall they supply only the briefest information and do not provide a cohesive narrative. Because of this, my analysis of Chatsworth includes a comparison of the House audio-visual and guidebook materials to the available landscape maps and brochures.

However, while guide books and pamphlets have their uses, I believe they mostly serve as a souvenir rather than as a genuine guide. Having knowledge about a place before you actually visit it or as you are visiting it makes for a much richer experience. Ideally, the landscape needs real-time interpretation, much like that of the house where a hand-held audio guide system has been implemented. I am not suggesting that more signage be added to the landscape. The managers of Chatsworth have nicely minimized the visual impact of wayfinding markers at
Chatsworth, though a few of them are more amusingly worded than actually informative, such as the sign for the “squirting willow tree”. (Figure 1.2)

Instead, I am suggesting is that audio tours be made available for the landscape that tell a compelling and informative story. But, I would go one step further and suggest that audio guides be used as an opportunity to tell the stories of those who are often disregarded. The landscape at Chatsworth has been developed under the guiding hands of twelve Dukes, three Earls and Bess of Hardwick. It is a landscape that has been touched by thousands of laborers, hundreds of engineers, dozens of sculptors and a handful of landscape designers and architects. It has also been touched by diarists, tourists and servants. The current interpretive program privileges men, the rich and the powerful and ignores the people whose labor created the landscape we see today. It neglects the stories of almost everyone who has ever experienced Chatsworth and focuses on just a few members of the family whose contributions are largely monetary.

Unlike a conventional guide book, audio guides can tell multiple stories within a short frame of time. They allow for the easy toggling back and forth between people, places and different forms of narrative, a feat not easily accomplished in print format. It also accommodates the introduction of different voices and music or other sounds that may help to enrich the

Figure 1.2
A typical sign at Chatsworth; low to the ground and in “Devonshire Blue” a color initially conceived and used by the first builder of Chatsworth: Bess of Hardwick, in the 16th century.
experience of learning about the past.

Other, larger, heritage organizations, such as English Heritage and the National Trust, are hobbled somewhat from exploring this mode of interpretation by a lack of complete records. Many of the houses and estates under their management have come to them after the sale of their contents. Chatsworth, however, is uniquely poised to lead the way in new forms of landscape interpretation. It is one of the most written about country houses in the United Kingdom, and it has been continually occupied by the same family for over 450 years. Because of this, Chatsworth has a large archive and a variety of collections in which to extract new stories that include a wider breadth of people and cover a larger span of time than is traditionally presented today. There are dozens of other stories to tell at Chatsworth, such as: women’s roles in the landscape, the mark landscape architects have left, the impact of war on country house landscapes, early hydraulic engineering, Victorian Horticulture, the stories of early traveling diarists or of Joseph Paxton, who spent most of his life working at Chatsworth. There are so many stories to tell in a landscape that has been continually worked for over five hundred years; each story demonstrates a facet of creativity, wealth and labor that combine to form a textured landscape like Chatsworth.

In order to answer the complex questions I had about landscape interpretation at Chatsworth I had to spend as much time as I could experiencing Chatsworth for myself. I spent two days there with the Attingham Trust Summer School where we received private tours from their top curators as well as the opportunity to meet with their marketing team. We also had a private lunch with the current Duke and Duchess of Devonshire. In addition I spent another five days at Chatsworth as an ordinary tourist. I went on all of the tours I could complete, including the suggested walking routes. I took the house audio tour multiple times; I read all of the information available from Chatsworth’s shops and website; I ate in their restaurants; I visited their gift shops and I observed other tourists in various parts of the garden, watching the way they engaged with the landscape. I utilized the case study principles laid out by Mark Francis in his book, *A Case Study Method for Landscape Architecture* while making my site visits.³
I continued to seek answers to my questions about women and other, lesser represented peoples in the landscape at Chatsworth, through research in books and articles once I returned to the United States. Through this research I learned a great deal about the people who helped create Chatsworth throughout the centuries. I also explored the wider context of Chatsworth within England and within tourism studies.

For the purposes of this thesis I have focused on the landscaped area immediately around the house. (Figure 1.3) This area is mostly enclosed by a system of walls and ha-has, isolating it from the landscape park, which only briefly enters into the content of this thesis.

As Englishman and heritage scholar Robert Hewison has said, “the country house is the most familiar symbol of our national heritage.” As such country houses are very much connected to the identity of the English people. As one scholar described it, country houses, “are the quintessence of Englishness: they epitomize the English love of domesticity, of the countryside, of hierarchy, continuity and tradition. They are a regular feature on the landscape. In a country of only 50,346 square

Figure 1.3
This map shows the layout of the enclosed landscaped grounds immediately adjacent to the house.
miles there are over 3,000 country houses, most of them privately owned. Country houses have served as tourist attractions since the beginning and have served as a focus of domestic tourism for centuries. They are also a prominent feature in the development of the concept of heritage as it arose in England in the nineteenth century. This thesis explores the various roles country houses, and especially their landscapes, have taken in the development of tourism and heritage in England.

Finally, I propose two new narratives. One centering on contributions made to Chatsworth’s landscape by the Duchesses of Devonshire and another focusing on Joseph Paxton. These new narratives remain character driven and rely on fixed points within the landscape, but they also encourage the exploration of broader context and demonstrate the breadth of learning possible within an audio-oriented interpretation scheme.
The Dukes of Devonshire and Chatsworth originate from the famous Bess of Hardwick and her second husband, William Cavendish. Bess and William Cavendish married in August of 1547. From this marriage three sons and two daughters were born. Through her three sons, the Dukes of Devonshire, Dukes of Portland, Dukes of Newcastle, Barons Ogle and Barons Waterpark were all founded. Bess is frequently cited as being a keen dynast as well as an avid builder; there is a lot of truth to these assertions. Throughout her life, as she continually rose in wealth and importance, largely through advantageous marriages, Bess continued to buy up land and estates for her family. By 1590, “next to Queen Elizabeth herself, Bess was now the richest – and therefore the second most powerful – woman in England.” (Figure 2.1 & 2.2)

 Aside from founding dynastic lines, Bess is also cited as the instigator of the purchase of Chatsworth. Chatsworth had been the home of the Leche family for a hundred years until Francis

---

**Figure 2.1**

Portrait of Bess of Hardwick by an unknown artist in about 1560. This is the earliest known portrait of Bess and is from the period just after William Cavendish’s death. The portrait hangs today at Hardwick Hall; Bess’s other great building project.

---

**Figure 2.2**

Portrait of Sir William Cavendish. Bess of Hardwick’s second husband, Sir William was a high-ranking official of the treasury under King Henry VIII, Edward VI, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth.
Leche discovered that his wife had been unfaithful to him. Outraged, disgusted and desiring that the estate not fall into the hands of any of his wife’s offspring, Leche impulsively sold the estate to his friend Thomas Agarde for £700. Soon after, realizing the folly of the sale, Leche told Agarde that he had changed his mind and wanted to rescind the sale; Agarde refused. Eventually the case was taken to the Lord Protector for litigation. After hearing the circumstances the Lord Protector sided with the Leche family and issued a statement to the effect that, while Agarde rightly own the property, it did not protect him from future claims on the property or interrupt the succession of the Leche family. During this time Leche died and his son and heir, knowing the Lord Protector’s final judgment on the matter, was eager to sell Chatsworth back to any member of the Leche family. As it happened, Bess of Hardwick’s step-father was a Leche and once Bess heard that the property was for sale, she and William readily bought it from the desperate Thomas Agarde for the bargain price of only £600. Since Bess was related to the Leche family, it is likely that she had visited Chatsworth many times before. If nothing else, she would certainly have been aware of Chatsworth’s existence, having been born and raised less than twenty miles away at Hardwick.

At the time of the sale, December 31, 1549, the estate included the manors of Chatsworth and Cromford, houses and land in Calton, Edensor, Pilsley, Birchills, Bakewell, Baslow, Totley, Tideswell, Litton, Dore, Wheston, Abney, Chesterfield, Beeley, Matlock, Bonsall and Repton. Though the Cavendish family hailed originally from Suffolk, through this purchase, the Cavendish family established a dynastic seat that has continued to thrive for over 450 years.

Soon after purchasing Chatsworth, Bess and William began building a new manor house and laying out new grounds with pleasure gardens, orchards, terraces, fish pools, fountains and a grand entrance lodge. At this time, Bess and William had made the conscious decision to make Chatsworth their primary residence outside of London. Not only did they begin building the new manor house in 1553, but William, “gave all his properties and lands, except those in Derbyshire to the King. In exchange he received a massive tranche of lands, houses and cottages, mines and quarries, the bulk of which were situated in Derbyshire.”
As the epicenter of the Cavendish’s dynastic aspirations and power, Chatsworth has always been about display, both in the house and landscape. From the very beginning it has been lavish and extreme, often rivaling the palaces of royalty. As early as 1690 visitors were, “overwhelmed by the scale of what they saw.”\textsuperscript{15} The famous diarist, Celia Fiennes, wrote at length about the, “severall ffine Gardens one without another.”\textsuperscript{16} Because of the ever rising aspirations of the Devonshires as well as the increasing latitude their growing fortunes allowed them construction continued at Chatsworth for centuries, especially under the first, fourth and sixth Dukes. For example, in 1722, Daniel DeFoe described how the Duke, “removed and perfectly carried away a great mountain that stood in the way and interrupted the prospect.”\textsuperscript{17}

While the Devonshire’s have owned many properties, with and without houses built upon them, it is only at Chatsworth that they have invested so much money so consistently. Their other properties received, for the most part, only maintenance-level attention. Clearly Chatsworth has served as a fixed point within the epigraphy of the Devonshire family. (Figure 2.3)

Within the national narrative Chatsworth features prominently as well. It is the most visited country house in England and receives over 700,000 visitors each year.\textsuperscript{18} It has, with the exception of the war years of the early 20th century, always been open for visitors. Tourism at Chatsworth has evolved considerably through the years. In the beginning it was only other wealthy people who visited in small groups. Gradually, as the middle class rose in prominence, visitor numbers increased significantly. In the summer of 1850, 80,000 visitors trooped through Chatsworth.\textsuperscript{19} In 1906, after a summer season in which 72,729 people visited Chatsworth, the eighth Duke remarked, “I dare say they will bring down the floors some day, but I don’t see how we can keep them out.”\textsuperscript{20}
Figure 2.3
This map of country estates was compiled as research was done for this thesis, and as such, it is in no way a complete listing of Devonshire property ownership throughout history. It is intended merely to demonstrate the breadth of landscapes onto which the Devonshire family has had influence.
Chapter 3
VISITING CHATSWORTH TODAY

Getting to, and Finding One’s Way around Chatsworth

Chatsworth is located in the Midlands of England, in the county of Derbyshire. (Figure 3.1) It is near the cities of Sheffield and Chesterfield, but is decidedly rural, though the small villages of Pilsley and Edensor are just a few miles away. The majority of people arrive at Chatsworth via car or tour bus thereby giving the estate an aura of insularity. It is easy to view Chatsworth as an island, disconnected from everything around it in time and place. As you approach the turn off to Chatsworth from the road, the house suddenly dominates the landscape; there is something very fixed and solid about the grand, Baroque façade with the Emperor Fountain’s spray just visible over the treetops, and the wooded hillside beyond.

Figure 3.1
Map locating Chatsworth within the United Kingdom.
Further along the road, visitors pass over the ornate James Paine bridge and then proceed onward to the pay booth. There visitor’s pay £2 to park and are given a parking stub and a free pamphlet containing a very basic map that focuses on the overall layout of the estate. (Figure 3.2) Tour times and operating hours appear on a separate flier. Visitors are then directed to the parking lot, located along the hillside adjacent to the Paine stable block. If it is very busy, a staff member directs visitors to a parking space. Even in the parking lot of Chatsworth there are things to see; an old game larder, views across the river and the park, and free admission into the Paine stable block, recently renovated to include two restaurants and two gift shops.

![Figure 3.2](image)

*Figure 3.2*

*One side of the free map given when you pay for parking.*

In order to access the landscaped grounds there are two options: entering at the garden gate, or entering the house which eventually will lead out into the gardens. While the park is free to anyone to explore, the landscaped grounds immediately around the house are walled off or blocked by a ha-ha. A fee of £8.25 ($13.20)\(^{21}\) is charged for adult admission.
If one chooses to enter the grounds through the garden gate, one arrives at a collection of greenhouses. To one side is one of the few remaining Joseph Paxton greenhouses, in another direction is a 1970s external frame greenhouse, and in another direction is the Conservative Wall, also built by Joseph Paxton. While some basic wayfinding signs exist, discreetly posted on flat panels, positioned well below the line of sight of most people, it is easy to overlook them and thus greatly limits their effectiveness. The result is that, without good maps, visitors are left to wander. (Figure 3.3)

Most people tend to flock to the major water features; the Cascade and the Emperor Fountain and Canal, whose locations, because of their massive scale, are easy to find. Beyond that people tend to stroll about the gardens at a leisurely pace, happening upon landscape features as they go.

Guides & Pamphlets

Aside from the two pamphlets received when parking, there is one other free pamphlet that contains a map. It is a child-oriented house and landscape safari which actually provides a better map than the one initially given to visitors, as it shows pathways in a bit more detail. (Figure 3.4)

For £1.50 ($2.44) one can buy the Chatsworth Mini-guide which, despite its sub-heading, “Full of maps, ideas and inspiration for your visit” still does not provide good quality maps.

Figure 3.3
Typical Chatsworth wayfinding signage.
(Figure 3.5) Of the eighteen page booklet, only six pages are devoted to the landscape. The other pages are devoted to the house, the Farmyard and Adventure Playground, and the location of various shops and eating places.

The map of the park is designed to be used by those wishing to explore the greater landscape of Chatsworth. Two parking lots are clearly marked and then numbered squares point out places of interest on the map. (Figure 3.6) Distances are not indicated, and considering that the park encompasses around 1,105 acres, distances would be useful. The primary failing of this map, however, lies in its lack of any sort of interpretation. For instance, Paine’s Bridge is marked as number 6 on the map. Nothing more is said about Paine, why the bridge is a “highlight”, when the bridge was built, who built it, why it was built, and so on. There is an opportunity here to use an architectural structure within the landscape to tell a story, without interpretation, there is no understanding.
Both the Stand Wood and Garden maps also lack interpretation. “Highlights” are pointed out with no explanation. The path laid out for the Stand Wood is divided into two options: an Easy Going Trail and an Explorer’s Walk. Each trail is delineated on the map using different colors. (Figure 3.7) In theory the map is very clear, however, the trail is not well marked at all. Without a map it would be very easy to get lost as there are many roads, and because the area is forested, there are no visible reference points to help orient the visitor.

Similarly, the garden map has a plethora of little paths diverging off in all directions, and yet they are not labeled in any meaningful way. The paths curve about within a wooded area without any sense of going somewhere. In the same manner as the Stand Wood map, two
The larger guide book, simply called *Your Guide to Chatsworth* devotes thirty, largely illustrated, pages to the landscape. (Figure 3.9) A highlight of this section is a two page spread that briefly shows the hydrological system that keeps the waterworks working. There are also short, paragraph-length descriptions of other “highlights” of the gardens. These short paragraphs are filled with interesting information, but they are not presented in a way that connects them to anything else, no itinerary is suggested and there is no sense of a broader picture. Gardens are a reflection of their time, changing with fashions and tastes, but visitors do not get a sense of that at all in this guide book.

The guide book largely focuses on the house and follows a duke-oriented narrative. For the house, this is a good guide. It gives a thorough outline of the house and its contents throughout its history. It points out various bits and pieces of furniture and art that are stylistically important or that are unique to Chatsworth. The only shortcoming of the book is that it lacks the engaging narrative of the house’s hand-held audio guide. The audio-guide, for an additional fee, is a great value. It provides a comprehensive and engaging narrative.
that is frequently supplemented by pieces from the sixth Duke’s self-published *Handbook to Chatsworth and Hardwick*, visitor’s comments throughout history and even recordings of the current Duke and Duchess talking about what it is like to live in such surroundings. Because the audio guide can communicate information to the listener in a short space of time, it is a valuable tool for interpreting historic places.

**Exploring Chatsworth**

If one chooses to take the long route to the landscaped grounds, one must first go through the house. The house tour (£12.65 or $20.57), depending on whether or not one purchases the audio-tour, takes a tour with a docent, or wander through on one’s own, takes at least an hour to complete. The last room, cleverly built in as part of the tour, was once an orangery that has been converted into a gift shop. A food stand sits to one side of the exit and seating to the other both visual cues to stop and take a rest. Also located here is a low sign with arrows pointing in the direction of various attractions.
From observation, most people do stop here for a rest or an ice cream before continuing on to the Cascade or the Canal. Chatsworth has long been known for its waterworks, the earliest fountain having been installed in Bess of Hardwick’s time (c. 1550). The estate’s situation makes it uniquely amenable to water display. The house sits just above the River Derwent’s flood plain and behind it the ground gradually rises up the hillside to a headland covered in moors, thus providing Chatsworth with an abundant water supply and a plethora of hydraulic possibilities.24

Other than the popular Cascade and Canal, the Chatsworth grounds offer many other attractions: Paxton’s Rockery, the Ring Pond, the Hedge Maze located within the foundations of Paxton’s now destroyed Great Stove, a Rose Garden, a Sensory Garden, a Kitchen Garden, a

Figure 3.9

Your Guide to Chatsworth cover.
Pinetum, a Serpentine Hedge, a Grotto and Pond, and many other smaller gardens and landscape features. Unfortunately, these features are presented in a dull list as if one were checking off boxes next to each item, so that each feature loses its larger identity. The Pinetum, for instance, is not just a collection of pine trees; it was borne out of a love for Victorian horticulture. The Pinetum was one of the first projects Joseph Paxton embarked upon once arriving at Chatsworth. Seeds of each type of conifer available for cultivation were brought up from London, or obtained from plant collectors, carefully planted according to their botanical classification and labeled. The Pinetum at Chatsworth is one of the earliest such collections in England, and it was a collection—not a garden in the usual sense; it was meant to stand as a testament to the ornamentality of trees, to be shown to friends and visitors as a mark of prestige and taste, and to provide specimens for botanical study. The sixth Duke commented in the 1830’s that, “no two of a party take the same view of it; one extols the scenery, another is in raptures at the old oaks, and a third wonders and asks, why I plant the fir trees so thin.”

Anecdotes, character sketches, and especially contextual information can make something as mystifying as a pinetum engaging and alive. There is an opportunity to add depth and understanding to an otherwise outmoded and little understood landscape feature. Within the history of Chatsworth the Pinetum is emblematic of the education and class distinctions inherent in a stratified society. Paxton was able to create the Pinetum because he had the financial backing of a highly educated and intellectually curious aristocrat. Plants were collected by the wealthy

**Figure 3.10**
*The mown pathway through the Pinetum.*
of the time like books or art, having, “their own insidious fascination.” Botanical explorers followed closely on the heels of the empire builders and sent to England, “exotic blooms of unimagined shape and size.”

The Pinetum is part of the greater English history for much the same reasons. As the British Empire grew, men were dispatched to all corners of the new empire to bring back “artifacts” and “specimens” and were encouraged to exploit the newly conquered lands by any means necessary. Botanical explorers, sponsored by both private and public funds, made numerous collecting trips into these new territories and sent back as much as possible. The Victorian Era was a dynamic period in England’s horticultural history. Fortunes were made but many lives were lost, as more than a few expeditions ended badly, including a botanical collecting team dispatched to North America by the Duke in 1838.
Chapter 4

HERITAGE AND TOURISM IN ENGLAND

Heritage and tourism are collaborative industries, heritage converting locations into destinations and tourism making them economically viable as exhibits of themselves...Once sites, buildings, objects, technologies, or ways of life can no longer sustain themselves as they formerly did, they “survive”—they are made economically viable—as representations of themselves.

-Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett

In England 374,081 buildings and landscapes are now listed as having historic or national significance. Many of those buildings and landscapes are listed on the basis of “heritage,” a word that invokes romantic imagery of a bygone era, but conveys very little specific meaning. While this thesis focuses on a privately owned estate it is important to understand the various ways in which heritage is presented to the tourist at large. Generally it is agreed that “heritage” is a poorly defined word, prompting the former Chairman of the British National Heritage Memorial Fund to say that it can mean “anything you want,” it is a word that is bandied about by various interest groups to serve their needs.

There is one component of heritage’s contested definition that is more or less accepted: it is different from history. Historian and geographer, David Lowenthal has pioneered the distancing of history from heritage and argues that while these words are often used interchangeably by the lay person, they are not the same. Lowenthal defines history as being characterized by fixed points in time, documentation, physical remains and scholarship while attempting to remain as unbiased as possible. Heritage is more akin to a national narrative that changes as the needs of the nation change. Heritage is by nature biased, it samples from all of history picking up desirable bits and pieces along the way, and it easily forgets or conveniently obscures what is not in its best interest.

Heritage refers to a common and usually imagined past from which a group’s shared narrative derives. These constructs of heritage are usually based on history and individual memory; they are not necessarily demonstrable, nor are they bound to a specific time. “Heritage
“time” is compressed; it is all time that has passed. A site that has been designated as having “heritage” is one that speaks of an idealized time in the nation’s memory. It is, “filtered through ongoing and iterative social relations, allowing the present imagination to conceptualize the past and the future, in all of the vagaries to which it refers.”

This is most especially taken advantage of in the tourist industry and is used as a means of upholding the identity of England. The common representation of the British landscape seen in paintings and disseminated through popular media is that of a picturesque expanse of wooded parkland with a huge manor house in the distance. There may be a few sheep tranquilly eating grass in the mid-ground, perhaps a monastic ruin may be just visible in the distance. Though there are certainly actual landscapes in England that look like this (Chatsworth is one of them) they are all highly thought-out constructions designed to invoke a longing for a simpler and more civilized time that never really existed. This longing for a more civilized and specifically, chivalric past, is pointed to as the origins of domestic tourism in Victorian England by the historian Peter Mandler. He charts the social evolution of tourism through the lens of country house visiting, beginning in the early nineteenth century when the nation began showing an interest in particular houses, “as symbols of national history and identity.”

This new interest in stately homes, Mandler believes, largely derives from the work of the writer Sir Walter Scott. His poems and novels pulled directly from early English narrative traditions and incorporated idealized themes of chivalry and courtly love, suffusing them with vivid descriptions of local landscapes that were readily recognizable to his readers. The mass-culture industry, motivated by increasing commerce, soon seized upon this stylistic current and sought to place the past into a more relatable context into which a contemporary audience could draw parallels—that of the country house. Popular antiquarians of the time took pains to draw comparisons between the past and the present, to make the idea of the past more familiar and thus the beginnings of the concept of heritage were born—“a past that belonged to the present.” This new idea of a shared heritage instigated an increase in country house visiting. Trips to the countryside were no longer confined to the upper reaches of society; in fact they were now the
ones being viewed by the middle classes of Victorian England. Country houses that embodied the romantic and picturesque ideals of the movement were especially popular with early tourists: Knole, Haddon Hall and Hardwick Hall, all notable for their lack of modernization and visible medieval origins. (Figure 4.1)

![Figure 4.1](image)

*A drawing by Thomas Allom, published in Baronial Halls of England (1845-6), showing a tourist party at Haddon Hall.*

Other houses with long histories of visitors, such as Chatsworth, fell out of favor and were commonly cited in popular media, such as the *Penny Magazine*, as being overly aristocratic and far too modern. Still, because of the liberal year-round access allowed by the Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth remained the most visited country house in the nineteenth century, despite its modernizations. Visitors, as well as writers, took great pains to honor the few visible Elizabethan remnants at Chatsworth, making a great deal out the Hunting Tower and the Bower. The Bower, now commonly referred to as “Queen Mary’s Bower” began its association with Mary Queen of Scots at this time. While it is true that Mary Queen of Scots was held prisoner
at Chatsworth five times throughout the sixteenth century and that the Bower was constructed at that time, there is no proof that she ever used it or had access to it. However, the romantic association given to the Bower, rooted in history and yet completely unsubstantiated is an excellent example of how the concept of heritage began to take hold during the Victorian Era. Intentional or not, Britons began to externalize their history and identity and to place it into the material things around them. As such, the attraction that country houses held at this time is clear. Visiting country houses was not about going to see the rich and aristocratic; now country house visiting was about seeing the estates and landscapes that were part of a common heritage shared by all Britons.43

*It is perhaps surprising that the earliest concepts of heritage still support modern attempts at defining it. Some wax poetic when confronted with the impossibility of providing a definition: When I am asked to define our heritage I do not think in dictionary terms, but instead reflect on certain sights and sounds. I think of a morning mist on the Tweed at Dryburgh where the magic of Turner and the romance of Scott both come fleetingly to life; of a celebration of Eucharist in a quiet Norfolk church, with the medieval glass filtering with colors, and the early noise of the harvesting coming through the open doors; or of standing at any time before the Wilton Diptych. Each scene recalls aspects of an indivisible heritage and is part of the fabric and expression of our civilization.*44

Heritage scholar Robert Hewison suggests that the definition of heritage is immaterial, but what does matter is our relationship to the past and how we act upon it.45

**Heritage Organizations in the UK**

According to a 2000 MORI poll, over 90% of British people think that heritage is important.46 This support is borne out in membership numbers as well as the sheer quantity of heritage organizations in the United Kingdom today. Of these, English Heritage and the National Trust are the two principle heritage organizations in the United Kingdom.

*English Heritage*

English Heritage is the informal name of The Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England and was founded on April 1, 1984 through the National Heritage Act of 1983. English Heritage is administered through the Department for Culture, Media and Sport.
Through this department, up to seventeen commissioners are appointed to oversee English Heritage.47

It is the duty of English Heritage to advise the government on the historic environment and to promote understanding of the historic environment. They also take a leadership role in guiding and consulting local authorities across England. They consult on planning and strategic plans, policy statements and other aspects of public initiatives. English Heritage also provides training and education through their Historic Environment-Local Management organization.48 English Heritage serves as chair for the Historic Environment Review Executive Committee (HEREC) which aims to identify activities that could benefit from a coordinated approach from the major heritage organizations.49

English Heritage manages over four hundred properties across England that includes: industrial monuments, castles, stately homes, abbeys, forts, stone circles and World Heritage Sites. English Heritage does not own all of them however; most of them are in the guardianship of the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport with the freeholding retained by the owner.50 All of the land and buildings under the jurisdiction of English Heritage have been assessed and classified as either pure heritage (non-operational), operational heritage or operational (non-heritage).51

In reality, every building within the United Kingdom is assessed, ostensibly for tax purposes, but also for grading per the guidelines laid out in the 1944 Town and Country Planning Act.52 Grade I buildings are considered to be especially interesting (only 2.5% qualify), sometimes even having international importance. Grade II* buildings (5.5% qualify) are “particularly important buildings of more than special interest” and Grade II are nationally important (92%) and have some special interest.53

The Chatsworth estate has a number of listed buildings and landscapes. The house is a Grade I listed building and many of the garden features are listed as well, most are Grade II’s while there are a few Grade I listings such as Flora’s Temple.54 (See Appendix II for entire list)
The National Trust

The other major heritage organization in England is the National Trust. This public charity was founded in 1895 by three philanthropists, Octavia Hill, Sir Robert Hunter and Canon Hardwicke Rawnsley, “to promote the permanent preservation for the benefit of the nation of lands and tenements (including buildings) of beauty and historic interest.” It has grown into Europe’s largest conservation organization. While initially run in a more informal manner, it has become increasingly bureaucratic through the years and now is run through a complex system of committees and councils. There is a president, director-general, board of trustees, county and regional committees, advisory panels, committee of the board of trustees, committees of the council and governance posts. Many top officials within the National Trust serve on several different boards and councils.

While the National Trust is independent from the government, they do have a mutually supportive relationship. The National Trust has developed as it has done through the help of the government, especially through various acts and laws that have been passed throughout the last century. One of the most beneficial was the National Trust Act of 1907 whereby the National Trust was given the power to declare its lands inalienable, which means that its lands cannot be sold, mortgaged or taken away from them except through an act of Parliament. Also, in 1953 the Historic Buildings and Monuments Act was passed which established the Historic Buildings and Monuments Council for England, Scotland and Wales. It allowed government funds to be granted to private owners for the repair of their historic buildings with the National Trust being a huge beneficiary.

The government also helped the National Trust by passing the National Trust Act of 1937 which enabled the National Trust to accept country houses as gifts when accompanied by a maintenance endowment. This allowed the former owners to continue to live in their homes for the rest of their lives while at the same time exempting them from property taxes. This option, much criticized at the time for its elitist overtones, became a viable option for many country house owners who were faced with high repair bills from having had their homes requisitioned in
the war, increasing taxes and the impact of death duties.\textsuperscript{62}

The most tangible evidence of the close relationship between the National Trust and the government is best seen through numerous buildings that have been given to the National Trust by the government to look after, over 160 in all.\textsuperscript{63} This has been especially common since the government began, in 1946, to accept property in lieu of taxes or death duties.\textsuperscript{64} An example of this is Hardwick Hall, given to the government in 1959 by the Duke of Devonshire in lieu of death duties and summarily handed over to the National Trust, which still manages it today.\textsuperscript{65}

The National Trust owns or manages 709 miles of coastline, 627,000 acres of land and more than 350 country houses, gardens, monuments and parks.\textsuperscript{66} It is the largest private land owner in the United Kingdom.\textsuperscript{67} Since it is a charity the National Trust relies heavily on grants, donations, membership fees and profits from its shops and properties. In 2009 it received £23,149,000 in grants and contributions, £121,987,000 in membership fees and £95,753,000 in property income.\textsuperscript{68}

While the National Trust is known primarily for their country houses, it does manage large tracts of coastline, parks and woodland. It also has a large collection of smaller properties that include: moorland and fell, bridges, canals, lakes and waterfalls, forts, barns, mills, dovecotes, farms, cottages, workhouses, barrows, huts, field systems and over 40,000 archeological sites.\textsuperscript{69}

Today the National Trust’s acquisitions include fewer large gifts of property and mostly focus on small purchases with the aim of bringing lost or sold objects back to their original home. In 2008-2009, for instance, the National Trust made several purchases from auctions and sales, such as, “A set of twelve George II silver-gilt dessert plates from the Kedleston Service, with marks of William Cripps, London, 1758, purchased at auction at Christie’s, London.”\textsuperscript{70}

The National Trust is also well known for its particular branding, both in material objects as well as in experience. In 1970 the National Trust began opening souvenir shops at their properties and later added tea rooms.\textsuperscript{71} The National Trust also operates a network of converted, historic holiday cottages that have become increasingly popular through the years.\textsuperscript{72}
**English Heritage Criticisms**

One of the primary criticisms of English Heritage regards its mode of advertising. Social Scientist Emma Whaterton has criticized the agency for its persistent treatment of its visitors as “empty vessels or passive consumers of the heritage message.”73 She cites the systematic absence of people within English Heritage advertisements. These visual images are used to attract visitors to English Heritage sites but they serve to reinforce the “conserve as found” ethos of English Heritage whereby heritage sites are merely looked upon as they are propelled unchanged, into the future.74 Whaterton also cites the immaculately maintained settings of English Heritage properties, whether they are ruins or estates, since they are highly, almost ostentatiously manicured. She sees this as further proof of English Heritage’s aim of allowing, “the monuments… to tell their own story without the intrusion of modern architectural design.”75

Another common criticism English Heritage receives is that it is only telling one story that is relevant only to a particular population and is not inclusive of all English people. This assertion is somewhat backed up by findings from an MORI poll that was commissioned by English Heritage in an effort to understand the public’s attitudes toward heritage.76 The poll found that many Black and Asian British people saw little in the current heritage narrative that applied to them.77 As the population of Britain continues to diversify over the coming years, differing perceptions of national heritage will continue to come to the fore. English Heritage has taken steps to engage with the public by trying to initiate greater community participation but it has met with middling success.78

**The National Trust Criticisms**

The National Trust commonly receives two criticisms in particular. The first is based on their organizational structure, the second on the kinds of properties they own and how they came into their possession.

The National Trust has always been ruled by a committee, and from its very founding it has been an oligarchy. They have been criticized for this because of its elitist overtones, the
idea that “the few know what is best for the many,” has never sat well with people. This has not been helped by the fact that many of the top officials within the National Trust have been from the aristocracy, beginning with the founders. Today the Director-General of the National Trust is Dame Fiona Reynolds. The National Trust has made efforts in the past to include a broader swath of the population, though members are still from the educated elite if not from the hereditary elite. Many members of its council are from other agencies, both public and private, which have a stake in the national heritage such as: VisitBritain, Society of Antiquaries of London, National Federation of Women’s Institutes, Ramblers’ Association, the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, Countryside Council for Wales, Confederation of British Industry, Wildlife Trusts and the Council for British Archaeology.

In a similar vein, their absorption of so many country houses—the symbol of the elite landed classes—through convenient parliamentary acts has also not sat well. For many country house owners of the middle-twentieth century, the National Trust essentially functioned as a tax shelter. Outrage has been aimed at both the government and the National Trust for making efforts to save so many country houses, not necessarily because people objected to their rescue, but because the owners were allowed to continue to live in them. It was subsidized housing on an extraordinarily grand scale. At the height of the animosity toward the aristocracy they were called “barbarians” and their stately homes, “fortresses of barbarism.” Now there are fewer families occupying homes that have been turned over to the National Trust and where they are still on site, it is never advertised.

Another major criticism that the National Trust has started to receive in the past several years is that it is becoming over-commercialized. This criticism stems from the 1970s when the National Trust first started selling souvenirs at its properties. Since that time its merchandizing has exploded. The National Trust now offers an array of privately published National Trust books, children’s books, branded gardening implements, jewelry, nick-knacks, candies and the ubiquitous tea towel. It has also opened plant shops and tea rooms. The tea rooms in particular have been popular and it is not uncommon for people to visit a property because of
the atmospheric tea rooms it contains. Critics attack this mass commercialism and claim that it detracts from the heritage message, from the ambiance of the place and from the experience as a whole.84 Howard Newby suggests that, “it could be argued that in certain respects the Trust’s activities stand in the way of providing a proper understanding… it is all too possible, for example, for many visitors to the Trust’s country properties to come away with a quite false impression of the reality of the English country estate and the countryside beyond.”85

(Figure 4.2)

Privately Owned Heritage Sites

Heritage sites that are in private hands (this includes private trusts, such as Chatsworth’s Chatsworth Settlement Trustees) are extremely varied in the ways in which they engage with the public. Some organizations devote themselves and their assets to education and scholarship and

Figure 4.2

Polesden Lacey Tea Shop, run by the National Trust.
have a genuine interest in preserving the land for everyone both now and in the future. Other organizations are interested in preserving their landscapes for capital gains and have damaged the historicism of their sites by engaging in non-sustainable and theme-park-like practices that, over time, have damaged the historic character of the site.

Each type of preservationist body has its own agenda and concerns with the result that the approaches to touristic place-making vary widely. Private owners are interested in providing an environment to which the public wishes to come and spend money. In order to facilitate this, some private estates have instituted a seemingly careless policy of what could be called, “whatever brings them in.” These sites include such things as safari parks, mini-train rides, children’s play castles, jousting tournaments, Dr. Who exhibits, and petting zoos. Some private owners indulge in only a few of these entertainments, while others install as many as possible. While it is somewhat understandable that these private owners, many of whose families have owned the property for centuries, want to keep their estates, it is often to the detriment of both the landscape and the reputation of the site as an historic national resource.

**Country House Heritage Industry**

The country house heritage industry effectively begins in 1949 with the opening of Longleat. In 1946 the sixth Marquess of Bath inherited Longlet, a 1580s Elizabethan Prodigy House built by the famous architect Robert Smythson. At the time the Marquess inherited, Longleat had long since fallen into a state of decay and needed major structural repairs. Unfortunately, the Marquess had also been assessed a £700,000 death duty bill upon his father’s passing away. “I realised I could never live at Longleat unless I did something about it. I had to pay the death duties when my father died, and then I had the brainwave—why not open it like Cheddar Caves to the public . . . ?”

In April 1949 Longleat became the first country house to open its doors for the express purpose of generating a profit, in this case, in order to repair the house. In the first year 138,000 people came to visit, far exceeding the 50,000 the Marquess was hoping for. In 1964, he partnered with a circus owner named Jimmy Chipperfield and together
they created a drive-through safari park called “The Lions of Longleat” that quickly became much more popular than the house.\textsuperscript{88} (Figure 4.3)

Other country house owners followed suit: In 1952 Lord Montague opened Beaulieu and in 1953 the Duke of Bedford opened Woburn Abbey to the public. Soon after, as at Longleat, attractions followed. At Beaulieu the first motor museum since the war was opened and a medieval banqueting tradition was begun. At Woburn Abbey paddle boats were put into one of the lakes, a stable block was renovated to accommodate a tea shop, a children’s playground and petting zoo were installed, a nudist camp created and annual scooter rallies and a jazz festival were held on the grounds.\textsuperscript{89} These early tourist attractions marked the beginning of a long line of country house owners who began to exploit their historical and artistic possessions for economic gain and as public-relation gimmicks.\textsuperscript{90}

Another practice common among privately owned country houses is the attempt to make the estate seem like a lived-in home, whether the family actually inhabits the estate or not. This practice was also pioneered by the Marquess of Bath but perfected by the Duke of Bedford. The practice of putting up large quantities of family photographs and in some cases, staging a room to look as though someone has just left it, has differing levels of success. The idea behind it is sound however. The Duke of Bedford intended to “set out to tell the history of my family in the
rooms where a great proportion of it was made.”

He was aiming at a particular kind of tourist, a tourist that Historian Daniel Boorstin would recognize as one who wishes to be shown a “pseudo-event.”

The Duke of Bedford, as were many who followed his lead, was aiming at a type of tourist who wished to sightsee rather than to actually come away with any sort of historical understanding. This attitude has resulted in the estate itself being “often ignored” as one writer put it, “in favour of baboons and hippos.” It is hard to consider places like Longleat and Woburn Abbey as English heritage. The damage they have done to their landscapes is considerable and their focus remains on gimmicks and attractions that just happen to be staged in a historic backdrop. (Figure 4.4)

![Figure 4.4](image)

**Figure 4.4**

*Longleat’s attractions: A gift shop on the left, the Adventure Castle in the middle, and the Longleat Railway platform to the right.*

And yet, an early bit of market research done at Beaulieu in 1966 showed that visitors “came as much for the leisure attractions – the motor museum, the shopping, the walks—as for the house.” The owners of these early heritage attractions were on to something: they had discovered that not only did visitors wish to spend a nice day drinking tea and buying souvenirs but they also wanted to be “charmed, impressed and entertained without being stultified by art
The human touch did add to the draw of country houses, it still does. But there is a tendency among privately owned homes, which are much more at the whims of market forces than English Heritage and the National Trust, to go overboard with the result that the architectural historian John Summerson called these kinds of country houses, “a Tussaudesque twilight peopled solely by bad King John, Nell Gwynne, Henry VIII and his wives.” Even today, one of the first things one encounters upon entering Longleat is King Charles I’s waistcoat from his execution, encased behind glass, the blood stains still visible.

Marketing is undeniably a driving force behind most privately owned country houses; all estates now have tea rooms, gift shops and usually some sort of child-oriented attraction such as a playground or petting zoo, largely because tourists expect that these amenities and entertainments will be provided.

Tourism

Theory

Modern theoretical approaches to tourism do not flatter the tourist. One of the most commonly held theories about tourism in the United States, is that tourists are incapable of handling an encounter with the unfamiliar and because of this they must be shielded at every step of their journey. Historian Daniel Boorstin was one of the first to postulate that tourists thrive on what he calls the “pseudo-event,” meaning that tourists, especially Americans, have to be shown contrived fantasies of a place because they willfully choose to disregard reality. Tourism Ministries and Boards all over the world have used this model when advertising to foreign countries, especially to the United States. By capitalizing on cultural stereotypes Americans have seen in films and other media, foreign tourist boards are able to tailor their cultural assets toward a particular experience. The tourist then uses these anticipated experiences to choose where to travel.

Sociologist Dean MacCannell, over a decade later, in 1976, refuted Boorstin’s claims
that tourists were actively looking for the inauthentic. MacCannell claimed that Boorstin’s arguments stemmed from an upper-class viewpoint wherein only those who could afford to be so selective of their experience could be included within his type of theory. MacCannell argued instead that tourists want an authentic experience; he calls the modern tourist a “contemporary pilgrim” who searches for authenticity in another time and another place from their own.100 He also addresses the tourist industry’s role in this kind of travel, and he believes that to find the authentic one must immerse oneself into a culture. However, this is often too intrusive. In order to facilitate tourist’s desire to find the authentic, tourist entities construct “tourist spaces” and organize what MacCannell calls “staged authenticity.”101 MacCannell believes that it is this “staged authenticity” that tourists agree to from social necessity, not from a desire to experience the inauthentic.102

Others have furthered MacCannell’s notions of authenticity, most notably Crick, who asserts that most cultures are “staged” and therefore by degrees, inauthentic.103 He points out that cultures are frequently remade and reorganized, and so one cannot really draw a discernable line between inauthentic staging and the natural progression of the cultural narrative.

John Urry developed further the notion of “the tourist gaze” from these theories. Urry believes that tourists have a socially organized and systematized gaze that is constructed through difference. Everyone has an individual tourist gaze, though some similarities will exist across time and cultures or even geographic region.104 This gaze is derived from everything that an individual has ever read, heard or seen about other places. There are many different ways in which this gaze may manifest itself. There may be a desire to see a unique object such as the Eiffel Tower, the Grand Canyon or the Empire State Building: places that are famous for being famous.105 People may wish to see what Urry calls, ‘a specific sign.’ Generally this means a desire to see typical things: a French café, a German beer garden, an English estate. People may want to find the familiarity in the unfamiliar, perhaps visiting a site in another country, foreign in language and culture, and then seeing that the way of life may be similar.106

Urry also discusses the many assumptions that we can make about tourism generally:
that tourism is a leisurely activity, there is a necessary movement through space over a period of time, the sites visited are outside of the normal scope of daily activity, the places gazed upon are distinctly different from those gazed upon daily; most people in modern societies perform as a tourist at some point, places are chosen especially for some anticipated reaction perhaps of fantasy or intense pleasure. The desire to gaze at landscapes and townscapes is willfully directed to be ‘other’, there is a system of expectations for each ‘type’ or culture chosen to gaze upon (a couple kissing in Paris may reinforce the image a tourist has of Paris as a romantic city), and that now there is an ever growing group of tourism professionals who will seek to create new objects for the tourist to gaze upon.107

This desire to create more objects for tourists to gaze upon is becoming a regular phenomenon in today’s world. A study done by the Cabinet Office in England during the early 1980s revealed that of all the tourist sites in the realm, a full half had opened in the past twenty-five years; in 1960 there were 800 tourist sites in England and by 1983 there were 2,300.108 In 2000, according to the Department of Culture, Media and Sport, there were 6,100.109

*History of Tourism at Chatsworth*

When one applies these tourist theories to places like Chatsworth, it is easy to see many of them in action, especially the expectation of and catering to Urry’s “tourist gaze.” At Chatsworth, for instance, one is invited to sample authentic Derbyshire ice cream while strolling the grounds. In the gift shops tables are arranged with goods purporting to be handpicked by the Duke, Duchess, and Dowager Duchess. These tables are full of goods such as wool plaid scarves, mugs printed with the favorite English phrase “Keep calm and carry on,” and pillows embroidered with an image of the Duchess’s dog, Quince. (Figure 4.5) These goods allow you, the consumer, to share in the appreciation of good English taste and to take home an affordable souvenir that reflects the values and taste of the aristocracy.

Today’s tourists enjoy visiting country estates. A common pastime of the aged especially is to “do the statelies,” visiting the gardens and enjoying the atmospheric tea rooms that have
become as ubiquitous as the souvenir tea towel at country houses. Tourism at country houses has existed nearly as long as there have been country houses. However, the meaning of the country house within the national consciousness has changed dramatically over the centuries. Chatsworth, while consistently being one of the most popular country houses, is not especially unique for its collections or the landscape elements contained within it. As fashion has dictated over the years, all of the best and most in-demand artists, landscape architects, sculptors and engineers have worked at Chatsworth, as at other country houses. What sets Chatsworth apart is scale. Few other country house landscapes are as vast, and those that are, are primarily owned by the royal family such as Hampton Court or Sandringham House.

Chatsworth, beginning with Bess of Hardwick, has always been about showcasing the importance and wealth of the family. In Bess of Hardwick’s time Chatsworth house was situated in the middle of a vast network of fish ponds, orchards, dovecotes, rabbit warrens and park land.
Situating the house in the center of such rich and productive land was a demonstration of wealth that would not have been lost on those passing by or visiting. (Figure 4.6) In the Elizabethan period visitors to Chatsworth would have been friends and family as well as other wealthy members of the aristocracy.

In the Baroque period, as fashions changed to reflect the continental styles brought over after the Glorious Revolution, country house owners scrambled to modernize their houses and landscapes. It was no longer stylish to showcase an agriculturally productive landscape and so the fish ponds were filled in, orchards were moved further away from the house and out of sight. They were replaced with long canals, allées of trees, bosquets, and elaborate waterworks laid out along rigid central axes.¹¹⁰

As landowners modernized, other aristocrats made the journey to see the improvements. Often visits were made in order to compare building notes, to gather ideas for one’s own great house, or to seek advice on the best craftsmen. Others, such as the diarist Celia Fiennes, were simply curious and had the money, idle time and societal connections to set forth to see England. It is important to note that Fiennes did not know all of the families whose estates she visited. In her time the medieval traditions

Figure 4.6
One of a volume of sixty-five maps, this map by William Senior, produced in 1617, shows the relationship between Chatsworth house and the surrounding countryside.
of hospitality still ruled social convention and so, because Fiennes was of gentle birth, she was welcomed in the homes of her social equals.¹¹¹ It is also worth noting that travel at this time was difficult. Fiennes accomplished most of her travels on horseback as it was by far the fastest mode of transport available. The lack of good roads, as well as the very real possibility of being assailed by highwaymen made travel among all classes an action best avoided.¹¹²

Tourism, if it can be called that at this period, was still confined to the wealthy and aristocratic. The relationship between visitor and owner was one of guest and host.¹¹³ By the eighteenth century this relationship had changed somewhat. As the number of visitors grew the former ideals of guest and host began to dissolve. A formal standard of etiquette still pervaded however. The duty of guiding visitors through the house fell to the housekeeper and tours of the landscape were given by the groundskeeper, both for a fee.

An excellent example of country house visiting at this time can be found in Jane Austen’s *Pride and Prejudice,* first published in 1813. Those familiar with the novel will remember the scene in which Elizabeth Bennet visits Pemberley, the country estate of the dashing but proud Mr. Darcy, with her aunt and uncle. Upon arriving at the house they are greeted by the housekeeper and taken on a tour of the house. During this tour Elizabeth finds herself impressed with Mr. Darcy’s taste and person as she listens to the housekeeper’s description of the family. Elizabeth ultimately concludes that she is able to feel “admiration of his taste” and begins to think that perhaps he is not as proud as she once believed.

This is an excellent, though admittedly fictional, example of how people visited country houses in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Elizabeth Bennet and her family were of gentle birth, but as famously pointed out in the book by the pretentious Lady Catherine de Bourgh, not of equal wealth or connection. Many country house visitors at this time were ladies and gentlemen, but were not of the highest classes. One must keep in mind the high level of stratification within the social structure of England. While a discussion of English social history does not fall within the scope of this study, it is important to note that estates like Chatsworth were the creations of the absolute highest levels of society.
As the wealthiest and most prestigious members of society, they led the way in taste. Taste was an important component of early country house visiting. Visitors readily accepted country houses as demonstrations of power and wealth, but what set one house apart from the others were their collections. In the age of the Grand Tour many aristocrats used their country houses, rather than their London houses, as repositories for all of the souvenirs and art they brought back from the continent. Guide books from this period are full of catalogues of painting and sculpture from the continent, listed by estate; in many ways country houses served as museums, allowing visitors to see works of art before the advent of public galleries or color illustrations. (Figure 4.7)

Standards of taste changed in the landscape as well. The rigid formality of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was being replaced with the new picturesque style, most often associated with the most famous landscape designer of the day, “Capability” Brown. The picturesque style, which required enormous tracts of land, created a further breach amongst the higher levels of society because it was a style that only the wealthiest could afford to implement.

In the mid-nineteenth century tourism changed once again as the middle class began to rise in quantity and spending power. The railroad also played a vital role in allowing greater access to remote areas, such as Derbyshire, once called a “houling wilderness” by novelist Daniel Defoe. Now it was possible to make short weekend trips or even day trips to see country houses, largely though the establishment of branch lines which made the journey to remote country houses much easier.

Figure 4.7
less arduous. Chatsworth was serviced by a branch line, three miles from the house, in Rowsley beginning in 1849.\textsuperscript{118} Many tourists who made the journey came with tour groups, the most popular and famous tour guide was Thomas Cook and Sons. In the 1840s and 50s Cook began organizing trips to the grandest country houses, Chatsworth among them. His groups, usually about 300 at a time, were dropped off at the Rowsley station and then driven to Chatsworth where they were greeted and given a tour of the house, sometimes cricket games, archery tournaments or picnics were also included in the day out.\textsuperscript{119} (Figure 4.8)

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure48.png}
\caption{A railway timetable advertising omnibuses to and from Chatsworth in 1852.}
\end{figure}

By allowing the ‘public’ access to their estates aristocrats were conforming to modified notions of hospitality now referred to as \textit{noblesse oblige}.\textsuperscript{120} However, in the Victorian period country house owners began to become wary of the large numbers of decidedly working class people trooping through their homes.\textsuperscript{121} The social changes embodied in this shift of power were significant and cannot be overstated. From the Victorian period until the war years, beginning in the 1940s, tourism continued to grow in all but the poorest classes.\textsuperscript{122}
The next great technological innovation that transformed the tourist landscape of England was the automobile. From the turn of the century up until the 1950s the automobile was the essential middle and upper-middle class form of transport. One might well wonder why a mobile society would want to spend their leisure time exploring country houses; it is a worthwhile question. Much of it had to do with the romanticism associated with the English landscape, as discussed earlier. The landscape during the Victorian period and onwards was associated with an all-inclusive English past. As England became more and more industrialized it became more disconnected from the ‘traditional’ values that were perceived to have been part of England’s heritage. “Stability, tranquility, continuity and tradition were placed in clear opposition to what was seen as the moral and spiritual sterility of industrial England.”

At this time there were also a plethora of automobile touring guides available as well. The Autocar Road Guide of 1910 promised to give “condensed information for the cultured tourist, to whom the scenery and the historical and literary associations of places make a strong appeal.” This was followed in 1925 by the Dunlop Guide to Great Britain which was printed on special paper for the motorist promising that it would “not be affected by damp.” Another commonly available guide were the Shell Guides published by the Shell Oil Company in 1934, and these particularly promoted country house visiting.

(Figure 4.9)

Another reason so many people visited country houses in the middle decades of the twentieth century is because so many were now open. Partially this was due to the activities of the National Trust, who, in 1940 acquired its first major property, Blickling Hall in Norfolk, as part of the National Trust’s new Country Houses Scheme. The new
scheme saw the addition of dozens of country house properties. Not only did the National Trust serve as a tax shelter for country house owners, but it was also able to help repair many houses that had been severely damaged during war requisitioning. The National Trust acquired thousands of acres of land that had fallen into neglect during the war years and turned them into nature preserves at this time as well.\textsuperscript{128}

The war years in England took a heavy toll on country house estates; many were all but destroyed while occupied by soldiers or used for training. Chatsworth managed to escape requisitioning through the forethought of the tenth Duke who invited Penrhos College, a girls’ school from Colwyn Bay, Wales to evacuate to Chatsworth during the war. (Figure 4.10) 300 girls lived at Chatsworth for six years, using the entirety of the house and grounds while they were there.

In the 1950s a new kind of country house tourism began, country houses with attractions. As discussed previously, the Marquess of Bath at Longleat pioneered this movement as a means of financially supporting his estate. His innovation of focusing on the family also remains a common feature of privately owned estates to this day.\textsuperscript{129} Most commonly this takes the form of an official photograph of the current Lord and Lady of the manor posing in the interior. This is no less true at Chatsworth where the current Duke and Duchess grace most of the various guides and pamphlets. (Figure 4.11) At some houses this is taken to more extreme lengths, such as at Longleat where the Marquess of Bath is seemingly everywhere you turn. (Figure 4.12)

Chatsworth opened as a tourist site in 1955. Much of the early days after reopening were devoted to making repairs from the war. Also, in the past fifty years there have been many additions to the landscape, many of them for the express purpose of drawing in

\textbf{Figure 4.10}

\textit{Penrhos College girls skating on the iced over Chatsworth canal.}
more tourists. These include: The Snake Terrace, the “Serpentine Hedges,” the maze planted in the foundations of the Great Stove, the Cottage Garden, the “Human Sundial” and the Sensory Garden.\textsuperscript{130}

There have also been numerous additions explicitly to cater to tourist’s needs. Chatsworth currently operates three gift stores: The Orangery Shop, the Carriage House Interiors Shop and the Garden Gift Shop. Each of these shops sells a wide variety of luxury goods that range from “pocket money toys” for children to high end hand painted silk scarves.\textsuperscript{131}

There are also a variety of dining options at Chatsworth from a seasonal ‘coffee buggy’ to the mid-priced Carriage House Restaurant, to the expensive Cavendish Rooms. Also located nearby are the Farm Shop Restaurant and Farm Shop. The Farm Shop sells a dizzying array of high quality produce, meats and dairy goods, 60\% of which come from the Chatsworth estate.

In addition to the shops there are also several Chatsworth branded goods such as
Chatsworth dairy ice cream, produced from the estate’s Cowhouse dairy, estate raised and butchered lamb, venison and pheasant, as well as Chatsworth branded jams, marmalades, nuts and seeds. They also have Chatsworth Ready Meals which are gourmet pre-packaged meals that favor traditional and homey pub foods such as cottage pie, fish pie, and pork and mushroom casserole in Sheppy cider.

Chatsworth has even dipped a toe into the garden ornament business recently, introducing their Chatsworth Carpenters range of trellises, benches and seats. Also, no strangers to the real estate business, the Devonshire’s own a variety of luxury rental properties nearby including the Elizabethan Hunting Tower on the escarpment above Chatsworth.

It is clear through all of these various retail outlets that the Devonshire’s have tried their best to associate their name, as well as that of Chatsworth with the highest quality goods. When products are not provided by the estate itself, they are carefully culled from either local sources, as in the case of the Farm Shop produce, or sourced from quality designers and established companies.

**Tourist Expectations**

As noted earlier, tourists had various things in mind that they wished to see when visiting country houses, nearly from the onset. Early tourists, like Celia Fiennes, had nothing specific in mind when touring, just a wish to explore their own country and to witness the budding modernization of the landscape. Later tourists wished to see important works of art, particular garden features such as the Cascade at Chatsworth, or to experience the sheer scale of what was possible with extreme wealth. Victorian tourists, armed with guide books and other forms of mass media including novels, magazines and organized tour packages, had more specific things in mind that they wished to see.

Chatsworth, as one of the premier country houses, was not to be missed for a myriad of reasons. The waterworks especially have always been hugely popular and the sixth Duke, “expressly ordered the waterworks be played for everyone without exception.”

132
One such waterwork was known as the “squirting tree” and was a perennial favorite. The Willow Tree Fountain, as it is formally known, was first ordered by the 1st Duke in 1690. (Figure 4.13) The sculptor Josiah Ibeck was commissioned to create “an Artificial Tree of brass for a fountain.” Celia Fiennes commented on the fountain when she visited Chatsworth in 1697, saying:

There is another green walke and about the middle of it by the Grove stands a fine Willow tree, the leaves barke and all looks very naturall, the roote is full of rubbish or great stones to appearance, and all on a sudden by turning a sluice it raines from each leafe and from the branches like a shower, it being made of brass and pipes to each leafe but in appearance is exactly like any Willow . . .

A later tourist in 1742 called the fountain “a merry conceit;” still later, in 1793 another tourist dismissed it, saying, “There is also a tin tree, which when you approach it, the leaves spit out water.” In the 1840s the Willow Tree Fountain was replaced with a replica as the old one was in a state of disrepair. The new tree was visited shortly after its installation by a thirteen year old, not-yet-queen, Victoria who called it a “squirting tree”, a name which seems to have stuck.

The contributions of Joseph Paxton to the Chatsworth Landscape were also popular with visitors. Many people flocked to Chatsworth to see the Great Stove, an enormous steel and glass hot house, once the largest glass house in the country. (Figure 4.14) Others came to see the famous botanical specimens grown by Paxton and the sixth Duke and widely published in a variety of horticultural magazines such as The Magazine of Botany, Horticultural Register and Gardener’s Magazine. Charles Darwin was
among a group that visited in 1845 and wrote in his journal, “Finally visited Chatsworth, with which I was, like a child, transported with delight.”

Contemporary visitors to Chatsworth also have certain things in mind that they wish to see. Unlike the primarily written media that tourists referenced in the past, today’s visitor has mostly been exposed to visual media, especially film, and this conditions what they expect to see at Chatsworth.

Chatsworth has been used as a filming location several times in the past few decades, but most significantly within the past six years. In 2005, Chatsworth became Pemberley; the estate of the dashing Mr. Darcy, in the re-make of Jane Austen’s *Pride and Prejudice*. Since then, people have flocked to Chatsworth to view the sculpture gallery and to see the marble bust of Mr. Darcy featured in the film. The sculpture gallery walls, before production began on the film, were covered in a deep red cloth, intended to set off the stark white of the marble sculptures. Once the production company began work they requested that the cloth be removed for the duration of filming, promising to reinstall the cloth when filming had concluded. The Chatsworth managers agreed and it was removed. However, soon after, it was decided that the gallery looked better without the cloth and so it was left down; restoring it to the way in which it was intended to be seen by the sixth Duke. He had originally conceived of the gallery as being largely
Figure 4.15
Sculpture Gallery in 2004. Note the wall hangings and tapestries.

Figure 4.16
Sculpture Gallery in 2006 after the 2005 filming of Pride and Prejudice. Note the bare walls.
monochromatic with pops of color provided by colored panels and rare mineral plinths.140 (Figure 4.15 & 4.16)

It is easy to imagine, however, that leaving the gallery in a state similar to that seen in the film was also desirable. While the sculptures that the sixth Duke had originally put into the gallery were restored to their places, other sculptures, especially Raffaelle Monti’s *Veiled Vestal Virgin*, featured in the film, were given more prominent placement within the house tour. Also, in the film a great deal of attention is paid to a marble bust of Mr. Darcy, the owner of Pemberley, played by Matthew Macfayden. Once production of the film had wrapped, Chatsworth purchased the marble bust of Matthew Macfayden from the production company because so many tourists had requested to see it, it is now displayed prominently. (Figure 4.17)

Another movie that made an impact on Chatsworth was the 2008 film *The Duchess*. The

![Figure 4.17](image)

*Figure 4.17*

*Bust of actor Matthew Macfayden, as Mr. Darcy. Once used in the film, now it has been relegated to the Orangery Shop.*
film was based on the life of the fifth Duchess of Devonshire, Georgiana Spencer, known for her good looks, high fashion and out of control behavior. The movie and history make it clear that the fifth Duke and Duchess of Devonshire had a somewhat unusual living arrangement whereby the fifth Duke’s mistress, Elizabeth Foster, was also the fifth Duchess’ best friend. The three of them lived and traveled together. Elizabeth Foster even bore some of the fifth Duke’s children. Once the film came out, interest in Georgiana naturally grew and Chatsworth responded by creating tourist attractions specifically designed to bring in fans of the film. First they created an exhibit about Georgiana (August –October 2008), then they hosted a *The Duchess* Costume exhibit (March 2009), and finally they installed a permanent exhibit of her portraits and mineral collections into the south sketch gallery. She was also given a more prominent role in the audio tour. The gift shop sells the biography upon which the film was based and the small contribution she made to the landscape is now called to the attention of visitors. While Chatsworth does attend to the interests of the public in regard to Georgiana’s public life, little is done to satisfy the curiosity instigated by the film about Georgiana’s private life. It is this aspect of private ownership which can often frustrate the informed visitor, the need to perpetuate a certain dynastic image.

However, capitalizing on films is not exclusive to Chatsworth. Many estates do this, and even the National Trust has catered to newfound interest in its sites because of movies. Kedleston Hall, for instance, was also used as a filming location for the movie *The Duchess*. In the fall of 2009 the National Trust featured an exhibit of costumes used in the film.

The power of films and TV cannot be underestimated, as one scholar has said, “the line between the real and the virtual has fundamentally eroded.” The “quintessential” images of England that people have, full of cozy tea shops with buttered scones and picturesque hillsides of sheep, come from somewhere. Movies, in particular, influence the way in which we construct images of the world and influence how we operate within it. It is no accident that Chatsworth decided to capitalize on the success of *Pride and Prejudice*, *The Duchess*, *The Wolfman*, and the upcoming *Jane Eyre*. These films teach people what to expect when they are in a space, they
mediate the space for them, and help the heritage industry to design a more fulfilling visitor experience.

Chatsworth in many ways embodies the typical English country house that we have come to expect through a lifetime of movies and photographs. The landscape is vast, vibrantly green but also it is productive and orderly. A herd of sheep may regularly be seen munching on the grass and all of the leaves of the trees are leveled off at the base from grazing deer in the park. Trees dot the hillside in the orderly and yet paradoxically random-looking mode of “Capability” Brown. The house appears solid, old and yet dignified in its prominent setting above the river. The formal gardens are filled with all of the expected classical sculpture and have been worked on by all of the appropriate professionals over time: a touch of London and Wise, a smattering of “Capability” Brown, a healthy dose of Joseph Paxton.

In the case of Chatsworth, certain views have become typical, even iconic: Chatsworth viewed from across the Paine Bridge, the Emperor Fountain with the south front in the background and the west front. These images show up repeatedly in photographs and especially

![Figure 4.18](image)

*Film still from The Duchess with Chatsworth’s west and south fronts visible.*
movies. (Figure 4.18 & 4.19) These images have always been powerful symbols of the Devonshire family and are still used in promotional materials and even in the Chatsworth Logo. These iconic images of Chatsworth are emblematic of what Chatsworth has become.

As the years have passed, particularly in the latter part of the twentieth century, country houses have increasingly lost their intended meaning. While one may argue that stately homes still impress wealth and power upon their viewers, the social implications of that wealth and power have less significance to a contemporary audience. The current Duke of Devonshire has even gone so far as to say that, “The aristocracy is not dying. It’s dead.”

Figure 4.19
Chatsworth’s south front dressed for the film, The Wolfman.
Chapter 5
A NEW NARRATIVE

An interest in how country house life has affected those other than just the aristocracy is evident in popular media today. Beginning as early as the 1971-1975 TV series *Upstairs, Downstairs* the public has been fascinated with the relationship between differing classes. Other similar films include *Gosford Park* in 2001, *Downton Abbey* in 2010 and a new sequel to *Upstairs, Downstairs* also in 2010.

Using an historic place like Chatsworth to explore English social history is only the beginning of what could be possible. An easy way to capitalize on what is possible would be to create multiple narratives for the Chatsworth landscape, each focusing on a different facet of its creation: historical figures who worked, visited or lived there, artisans, horticultural trends, the history of English garden design, the influence of the expansion of the British Empire on the landscape, the ramifications of war on the landscape, women’s influences in the garden, changing uses of the garden, the use of the landscape in children’s educations, engineering in the garden, maintenance in the garden, laborer’s lives and duties in the landscape, the history of garden ornament, hydrological systems development, the influence of the Enlightenment in the landscape, Italian sculpture, medieval look-outs, connections to other landscapes evident in the garden, financing the pleasure garden, food production, the development of country house tourism, the importance of waterworks and their relationship to status, taste in the landscape, the royal tradition of tree planting, or any of dozens of other topics. The more one examines the past of such a rich landscape, the more connections can be made and then exploited for their educational and entertainment value.

**What Landscape Narratives at Chatsworth Could Be**

As explained earlier, the current landscape interpretation program at Chatsworth lacks content and narrative. It focuses on various features that are within the garden and gives
very little information as to why those particular features are important or why they may be interesting. An alternative could be to apply a more explanatory narrative to the garden that is clearly presented, well researched and engaging. A great resource may be found in the Chatsworth audio guide to the house. The audio guide is full of pertinent anecdotes, interesting bits of trivia, quotes from past visitors and past occupants and it draws visitors through the house, building a story as it goes. These same devices could easily be applied in the landscape.

Dealing with a vast landscape that spans over 450 years of continuous ownership by a single family, presents many challenges. Because the house tour follows a controlled flow, it is easier to establish a single narrative that incorporates a wide variety of features while also giving an overall impression of the contents of the collection and an abbreviated understanding of the Devonshire family. In the landscape this is much more difficult to accomplish. While the entry points to the grounds are controlled, from that point people may go wherever they wish, greatly diminishing their understanding of the landscape. The best solution to this is to provide multiple landscape narratives that are easily available and inexpensive.

The current system of guide books and pamphlets are not especially useful while one is actually in a landscape. Few people would prefer to have their nose buried in a book rather than looking at and soaking in the atmosphere of a beautiful landscape. The best option is real time interpretation through either a hand set or through some sort of personal device such as a smartphone or I Pod. This kind of technology is growing rapidly. From January 2010 to November 2010, smartphone use increased from 13% to 22% in Great Britain. Not taking advantage of this form of information dissemination would be short-sighted.144

The National Trust has already begun to experiment with this kind of guided delivery. The audio tour narrative is available as a free mp3 download on their Fountains Abbey and Studley Royal website. Not only does this allow a visitor to listen to the information ahead of time if they choose, it also allows them to choose their method of delivery. A visitor could listen to it in their car on the way to visit the site or just as easily wait until they are there and listen on their I Pod as they walk around.
Since Chatsworth is a decidedly for-profit venture, these mp3 audio tours could be available for purchase online much in the same manner as Apple I Tunes operates. (Figure 5.1) In fact, a great way to broaden the narrative of the Dukes of Devonshire would be to provide similar tours for their other properties in Ireland and Yorkshire, creating the possibility of a much greater understanding of the impact of the Devonshire family upon the history of England. To go even further with the concept, English Heritage, the National Trust and other private owners could contribute their narratives to create an online heritage database, full of landscape narratives of varying scales and scopes. The database could be searchable, if, for instance, one wished to visit

Figure 5.1
What an English Heritage Online Audio Tour Store could look like; based on Apple I Tunes.
properties where Monsieur Grillet worked in the eighteenth century; other properties could easily and quickly be identified within a matter of seconds.

It must be pointed out though, that suggesting such a database creates issues of intellectual property and proprietary rights that would need to be addressed by those who deal with such issues. However, an alternative to a permanent download is a download rental; yet another idea taken from Apple I Tunes. A user could pay a small fee and download an mp3 for a set period of time, thirty days for instance. After thirty days the rental would expire and be automatically deleted from the personal device, just as with an I Tunes movie rental.

**Some Suggested Landscape Narratives**

The creation of multiple landscape narratives would require an enormous amount of research in the Chatsworth archives as well as in other document collections in England. It would also require a great deal of time. Because of these particular constraints, I offer some suggestions of potential landscape narratives that are more easily researched from afar but are no less relevant to the history of Chatsworth’s landscape.

Below are two suggested landscape narrative tours. The natural place to start a new narrative program that has formerly been based on male narratives seems to be to do the opposite and to shift focus to female narratives. The first narrative focuses on the contributions of the Duchesses of Devonshire and explains the features they have introduced and why they introduced them.

The second narrative tour follows the additions to the landscape made by Joseph Paxton. Chatsworth is the ideal place to study Paxton as he spent the majority of his adult life working there. With the Duke’s support, both financially and intellectually, Paxton added a great deal to the landscape of Chatsworth that is still visible today.

Both of these narratives remain character driven and rely on moving from one landscape feature to the next. Where they deviate from the current interpretation is within the narratives. Each of the two tours discusses the broader social and cultural contexts that the landscape has
been modified within. They are also themed, which contributes to a fuller understanding of the landscape.

These narratives are offered as a sketch of what could be possible. They are in no way complete and could be further enriched by more research, especially through the addition of quotes or pertinent anecdotes. As they are, they provide a narrative armature that may be expanded on in the future, or used to build new narratives.

**Suggested Tour 1: The Duchesses of Chatsworth**

*Figure 5.2*

Proposed landscape features to discuss in a tour designed to highlight the extant contributions of the Duchesses of Devonshire.
The first woman to impact Chatsworth was actually not a duchess, but as the matriarch of the Devonshire line, Bess of Hardwick must be included in any discussion of Chatsworth’s history. The story of how she and her second husband, William Cavendish, came to purchase Chatsworth and to set it up as their dynastic seat has already been discussed. However, the other contributions she made to the landscape have not yet been elaborated on. (Figure 5.2)

**Bess of Hardwick 1527-1608**

The present location of Chatsworth house dates from Bess’s time, but by the 1680s Bess’s manor house was a little over one hundred years old and had begun to show its age; rooms were drafty, the walls were declared “decaying and weake” by the first Duke’s Clerk of the Works. In 1686 the Duke hired the relatively unknown architect, William Talman to begin work rebuilding the south and east fronts of Chatsworth. The layout of the house remained the same.

The retaining wall located to the west of the house, now a strictly private area, also dates from Bess’s time and was built to create a level area for formal gardens. It still separates the south lawn from the west terrace, located below it.

One of the most famous Elizabethan garden elements is what, in the eighteenth century became known as ‘Queen Mary’s Bower’. (Figure 5.3) Originally it was situated in the center of a system of fish ponds. It was probably built as a multi-functional structure; it would have been used as a fishing platform, as a ‘stand’ for looking out across the countryside and possibly as a banqueting house for entertaining. In 1580 it was referred to as the, “taris on the fishpond wall.”

The most prominent Elizabethan addition to the Chatsworth landscape that is still visible today is the Stand, or Hunting Tower, located on the hilltop above Chatsworth. (Figure 5.4) The Stand was commissioned by Bess of Hardwick probably sometime around 1570 and was designed by Robert Smythson. The Stand, as in the case of the Bower, probably served a myriad of functions; it could be used as a banqueting house, as a summer house for escaping the formality of life in the main house, as a vantage point to watch the hunt or simply a place to enjoy views out to the surrounding countryside.
The ability to view, both out across the landscape, and to be viewed from afar, were important components of the design of Elizabethan Chatsworth.

5th Duchess 1757-1806

Georgiana Spencer, the fifth Duchess of Devonshire, was well known in the upper levels of society. Though not a great intellectual herself, she mingled in the society of men who were. In particular she was fascinated by geology and was friends with the geologist White Watson who was known in natural history circles for his knowledge of fossils and minerals. In 1798 Georgiana commissioned him to build a grotto in the grounds of Chatsworth to house her own collection of fossils, minerals and rocks. White was paid £66 “for his time and trouble in designing and superintending the making of the Grotto and for fossils.”¹⁵⁰ (Figure 5.5)

However, the grotto that exists today does not reflect Watson’s work. The sixth Duke expanded the grotto by excavating the hillside behind it; he is also responsible for the bandstand built on top of it. At some point in time Georgiana’s fossil and mineral collection, as well as the large mahogany shelves that held them, were removed.

9th Duchess 1870-1960

The ninth Duchess, Evelyn, worked in conjunction with Chatsworth’s head gardener in 1933, J.G. Weston, to create the Azalea Dell and the Ravine Garden. Both of these gardens
were very much in the “woodland garden” style that was fashionable at the time. Deep, sinewy troughs were dug into the hillside and the whole area was planted thickly in azaleas and rhododendrons. (Figure 5.6)

The garden almost immediately fell into ruin at the onset of World War II but was later restored in the 1980s; many of the original plantings still survive, including the highly invasive *Rhododendron ponticum*.152

**10th Duchess 1895-1988**

In 1939, Mary, the 10th Duchess, converted what had been known as the “French Garden” into a rose garden. Located directly in front of the first Duke’s greenhouse, the rose garden was filled with hybrid tea roses and enclosed in by a three foot yew hedge.153

This garden is much as it was when Mary initially planted it. Some under plantings of pansies and mallows have been added but overall it is a mature version of the garden originally planted in the 30s.

**11th Duchess 1920-**

Deborah, or Debo as she is commonly referred to, has had a substantial impact on the
landscape of Chatsworth. It was she and her husband who decided to return to Chatsworth after the war and try to turn it into a tourist site. After Chatsworth’s use as a girl’s school during the war, the landscape was suffering from neglect. Deborah and Andrew spent years supervising the restoration of the landscape as well as instigating new attractions and adding tourist amenities. The additions listed here can directly be attributed to Deborah.

One of the first additions was the installation of two rows of pleached red-twigged lime trees along either side of the south lawn. This plan was instigated by Deborah who wanted a strong frame for the house when viewed at a distance. The lime trees took years to mature and grow together. Now it takes two gardeners two weeks to trim them every July.\textsuperscript{154}

Another addition was the instillation of the ‘crickle-crackle’ wall or the Serpentine Hedge, as it is now known. Deborah was inspired by a garden wall she had seen at Hopton Hall in Wirksworth. Not wishing to put in a wall; it was decided to build the form with hedges.\textsuperscript{155} Over 1,500 beeches were planted to create the hedge. The beech was selected because it retains its leaves all year—green in the spring and summer—brown in the winter and fall, therefore maintaining its shape and providing a view corridor. (Figure 5.7)

On the private west terrace in 1960 the ground plan of the great Palladian villa at Chiswick was picked out in 3,300 golden boxwoods.\textsuperscript{156} When Deborah and Andrew inherited Chatsworth the terrace was filled with scrubby evergreens and very rundown. Deborah got the idea of using the Chiswick plan while she was examining a copy of Chiswick’s architectural

\textbf{Figure 5.7} \hfill \textbf{Figure 5.8}
\textit{The Serpentine Hedge.} \hfill \textit{The Chiswick boxwood terrace.}
plans. The boxwood design is visible from the upper windows of the house. (Figure 5.8)

In 1962 a maze was planted within the foundation walls of Paxton’s Great Stove. The maze is planted in yew hedges and is six feet, six inches tall, so that even the tallest person cannot see over the tops. The path was originally laid out in turf grass but after a rainfall it turned muddy. It also had the disadvantage of, after a time, showing a well worn path to the center of the maze. Eventually it was paved over in gravel. In the center is a weeping pear.

Finally around 1990 a human sundial was installed at the north end of the lawn. Deborah had seen one in a women’s magazine and decided that “we would have one.”

Figure 5.9
Proposed landscape features to discuss in a tour designed to highlight the contributions Joseph Paxton made to the landscape.
Suggested Tour 2: Joseph Paxton & Chatsworth

Paxton is most well known in England as the designer of The Crystal Palace for the 1851 Great Exhibition in London. The Crystal Palace was a massive cast iron and glass building that measured 1,848 feet long, 456 feet wide and 108 feet tall and was the marvel of the Exhibition. What is less well known about the Crystal Palace is that the major feat of engineering and construction introduced by Paxton was only made possible because of his years of experimentation at Chatsworth. (Figure 5.9)

Paxton was discovered by the sixth Duke at Chiswick House. The Duke had, some years earlier, leased the land around the house to the Horticultural Society so that they could use it to cultivate fruit trees, culinary vegetables and ornamental hothouse plants. Rather than just a garden it was used for experimental plots where each plant was “subjected to various modes of treatment in order to ascertain that by which they can be made most effectively useful and productive.” It was here, amongst botanists, horticulturists and busy gardeners that Paxton got his start as an undergardener. In 1826, after a chance encounter in the experimental gardens at Chiswick, the sixth Duke offered Paxton the position as head gardener at Chatsworth. It was no doubt an impulsive move on the Duke’s part, Paxton was very young and his skill was unproven, especially to take on the responsibility of a landscape the size of Chatsworth. Paxton’s arrival at Chatsworth is best described in his own words:

I left London by the Comet Coach for Chesterfield, and arrived at Chatsworth at half past four o’clock in the morning of the ninth of May 1826. As no person was to be seen at that early hour, I got over the greenhouse gate by the old covered way, explored the pleasure grounds, and looked round the outside of the house. Then I went down to the kitchen gardens, scaled the outside wall and saw the whole place, set the men to work there at six o’clock; then returned to Chatsworth and got Thomas Weldon to play me the water works, and afterward went to breakfast with poor dear Mrs. Gregory and her niece. The latter fell in love with me, and I with her; and thus completed my first morning’s work at Chatsworth before nine o’clock.

This passage is typical of Paxton’s enthusiasm, pragmatism and confidence, the Duke was immediately taken with him and their relationship grew over the years to one of mutual respect and admiration. The Duke came to trust Paxton implicitly and allowed him great latitude within the gardens and hothouses of Chatsworth. The Duke funneled enormous amounts of money into
Paxton’s experiments with cultivating plants, purchasing new specimens and experimenting with new hothouse technologies.

One of the first projects Paxton undertook was the removal, transport and replanting of a forty year old weeping ash that the Duke had purchased from a nursery in Derby. The tree was thirty-seven feet tall, the roots were twenty-eight feet in diameter and it weighed eight tons. In order to move the tree twenty-eight miles, Paxton invented a machine that, with the help of forty workers, would allow them to transport the tree with relative ease. It took Paxton and the workers four days to transport the tree to Chatsworth, the gates of Chatsworth had to be removed, as well as part of a wall, but they finally managed to get it to the house. It then required 450 men to maneuver the tree into the pre-prepared hole in the ground. Miraculously, the tree still survives and can be seen as one goes into the house from the north entrance. Today moving a mature tree is more or less commonplace; in 1830 it was all but unheard of, especially to a distance of twenty-eight miles. It is a testament to the Duke’s appreciation of horticulture.
that he was willing to spend so much money on a weeping ash.

Another major project Paxton undertook early in his career with the Duke was to create the Pinetum in the south east portion of the pleasure grounds. The Pinetum was designed as a collection of evergreens; even now you can see that each tree is carefully labeled by its taxonomic name and grouped according to family. (Figure 5.11) This grouping of trees demonstrates not only wealth and taste; it also demonstrates an intellectual interest in the world that, following the Enlightenment of the mid-eighteenth century, still pervaded the upper classes. While the Enlightenment also had a focus on natural history, by the mid-nineteenth century horticulture was especially popular, much of it due to the mania for scientific plant-hunting expeditions that were on the rise during this time. People like the Duke, with many resources available to them, took to collecting plants the same way others collected fine china.

Paxton developed a range of different hothouses to store and nurture the hundreds of new plants that arrived on a regular basis. Of the grouping of hothouses once located in the grounds only the ‘Vinery’ still exists, the others were sold off. The ‘Vinery’ was once Paxton’s “East...
India Orchid House” which housed a collection of orchids brought back from a plant-hunting expedition sponsored by the Duke. At the time it was the most expensive plant expedition even undertaken but the intrinsic value of the plants, many of which bloomed for the first time in England at Chatsworth, ensured Paxton and the sixth Duke’s place in horticultural history.162 (Figure 5.12)

Another hothouse developed by Paxton was the Conservative Wall. Still a major landscape feature in the gardens it climbs 300 feet up the hillside along the garden wall. Yet another of Paxton’s cast iron and glass creations, it was designed to be heated through a system of fires and flues in the back, along the garden wall which would bring the air temperature up high enough to support half-hearty plants during the winter.163 (Figure 5.13)

By far the most famous glasshouse that Paxton built at Chatsworth was the Great Stove. Unfortunately it no longer exists in its entirety. (Figure 5.14) Construction on the Great Stove began in 1836 and continued for at least four years. Again, constructed out of cast iron and glass, the Stove was 276 feet long, 123 feet wide and 63 feet high.164 It was situated up on the hillside, to the south and east of the house. It would have been visible from the house, but was

Figure 5.14

*Historic photograph of the Great Stove.*
placed in its location so as not to compete with it. For many years the Great Stove was the largest
glasshouse in England. This was made all the more remarkable considering that Paxton was not
a trained engineer or architect. Once the Stove was complete it was filled with full-sized tropical
trees and other exotic tropical plants, all kept alive through a sophisticated system of steam
boilers which required vast amounts of coal to fuel them. Part of the engineering of the Stove
included a coal hole, tunnel and smokestack, all still visible in the garden today.

The Stove fell into disrepair after the sixth Duke’s death and was demolished through a
series of controlled explosions in 1920. Interestingly, during one of the explosions a piece of iron
broke off and flew through the library window of the house, imbedding itself in a book there. The
foundations of the Great Stove remain today and have been planted with a maze garden and filled
in with flower beds.

Paxton’s considerable skills also included hydrological engineering. In the late 1830s he
installed a ‘Ruined Aqueduct’, complete with running water, in the Stand Wood, on the hillside in the eastern side of the pleasure grounds. The Duke had seen a similar one at Wilhemshoehe and decided he wanted one for Chatsworth as part of a scheme to ornamentalise and replant the Stand Wood. The aqueduct is placed true to the Cascade and surrounded by woodland and therefore difficult to pick out from below. (Figure 5.15) The Duke, after it was installed, said, “Had I to build it again, it should not be true, as now, to the cascade, but, by taking a slanting direction, should show its arches to the West: for nothing can be more beautiful than the icicles formed by the dripping from those arches in fantastical shapes during the winter.” This passage makes it clear how much the Duke loved the Chatsworth landscape.

Another iconic Chatsworth element that is the work of Paxton is the Emperor Fountain. There was already a fountain in place at the site of the current Emperor Fountain but it only went to a height of about 95 feet. The Duke was anticipating a visit from his good friend, Tsar Nicholas of Russia and wanted a jet of water that would rival the one at the Peterhof Palace in St. Petersburg. Paxton set to work, drawing up plans and supervising a small army of workers as they dug out the old pipes to the fountain, began work enlarging an existing retention pond and began excavating a new retention pond, now known as Emperor Lake. Some 10,000 cubic yards of earth were excavated for the new lake. A new aqueduct was also cut across the moors above the Stand Wood, now called the Emperor Stream. In the end Paxton was able to engineer enough pressure to create a jet 276 feet high; though, unfortunately Tsar Nicholas never paid a visit to Chatsworth. The fountain remains one of Paxton’s greatest achievements. Today the fountain jet is kept at a lower height in order to conserve water and so as not to soak unsuspecting visitors with the considerable spray. (Figure 5.16)

The Rockery is another example of Paxton’s breadth as a designer. In the early 1840s rockeries began to become popular, great houses like Blenheim Palace and Syon House had them and they were extremely fashionable, naturally the Duke had to have one. Construction of the Rockery took several years and required a close study of topography, horticulture, engineering, construction and hydrology. Paxton began by taking a naturally occurring rock formation from
elsewhere on the property, had it cut into pieces and then reassembled them in the pleasure grounds. Other carefully placed rocks were added to the formation, all-in-all the Rockery takes up six acres and comprises dozens of huge stones and several cantilevered rocks. Specifically chosen plant materials were inserted into cracks and crevices in the rocks. (Figure 5.17) The siting of the Rockery was also very important to Paxton. He wanted it to be theatrical, something that visitors would stumble upon and be amazed by. As it is now, after heavy restoration in the 1980s, it looks very much as it was intended. Visitors round a small bend in the pathway and come suddenly upon it. The largest single rock, the 45 foot tall ‘Wellington Rock’, has a swift steam of water falling over it, helping to feed the Strid below it.

The Strid is modeled after a naturally occurring, fast moving watercourse at Bolton Abby, one of the Devonshire’s other properties. It is planted with specimens gathered from Fountains Abby in Yorkshire and includes wild currants and bilberries. In the calmer parts of the Strid aquatic plants grow.

Figure 5.17

The Rockery and the Strid from the viewpoint at the top of the rock garden.
For the most part Paxton served as principle on all of the new additions to the landscape of Chatsworth. However, he did serve as a collaborator with the architect Jeffry Wyatville on two occasions. The first was as consultant for the planting bed layouts in the west terrace, now really only visible from the upstairs windows of the house. The second project was for the Orangery which was being added to the house as part of the new north wing. Paxton had only been working at Chatsworth for about a year when the Duke asked him to work with Wyatville in planning the new Orangery. Wyatville already had plans drawn up when Paxton went to speak with him on the matter. Whatever the plans were, it is clear that “Paxton was instrumental, with the Duke, in changing Wyatville’s plans for what is now the Orangery.”

**Experiencing the Landscape**

Although exploring the landscape in chronological order would add a layer of understanding to the narratives, it is not necessary and would disrupt the natural instinct to explore. These narratives are more important for the themes and cohesiveness they provide than for any strict adherence to a rigid order.

As the diagram illustrates, there have been many changes at Chatsworth over the centuries. (Figure 5.18) As one examines the various additions and demolitions of landscape features through time, connections appear and the opportunity to tease out multitudes of narratives becomes clear. Each time a person visits the Chatsworth landscape it could be a new experience. Each visit could draw out a new facet of the landscape or educate the public about both Chatsworth and its place in English history and heritage. The current mode of interpretation is inward looking but, given the connections that the Devonshire family alone has with other landscapes in England, it makes sense to think about creating a broader narrative that includes more history, more people and creates a broader sweep of the past than is traditionally expected at English country houses. With all of the available resources today, and with the reality of a demographically changing English population, making a landscape like Chatsworth relevant will be vital to its long-term survival.
Figure 5.18

Still extant landscape additions instigated by the Dukes and Duchesses of Devonshire.
The Value of Multiple Narratives

As globalization takes hold and our conceptions of the world shrink, things become generalizable. Our ‘tourist gaze’ develops well before we actually set foot in a new place and so it is important that the country houses of England retain their individuality. The National Trust has already developed a ‘National Trust style’ that is just as much criticized as it is celebrated. Private owners have the luxury of individualizing the experiences they create for tourists and in that is a great deal of power.

In the future the adaptability of heritage sites will become increasingly important. Already a MORI poll shows that many people, especially young ethnic minority groups, see very little in the current heritage industry that is relevant to them. As the poll emphasizes, “They want more to be done to make England’s historic environment accessible to them through information, more inclusive interpretation and education.”171

Thousands of lives have been affected by Chatsworth in the 450 years since Bess of Hardwick purchased and built the estate. For the past half century the story of Chatsworth has focused on a few wealthy men and denied the voices of countless other individuals. This is by no means unique to Chatsworth. However, Chatsworth is one of the best documented and most written about country houses in England, it is uniquely poised to lead the way into a more inclusive and far more sustainable mode of addressing English heritage that demonstrates the richly textured layers of an historic landscape.
Full Case Study:

Project Name - Chatsworth

Location - Derbyshire, England

Date Designed/Planned - ongoing since 1550

Construction Completed - No, ongoing

Cost - ongoing

Size - 1,181 acres


Client - Cavendish Family; Earls and then Dukes of Devonshire

Managed by - the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees, leased to the Chatsworth House Trust for £1 per annum.

Context - Historic English Country Estate, Heritage Tourism

Site Analysis - Analysis consisted of spending seven days at the site watching how people interacted with the landscape. It also consisted of immersion in the place; taking all of the tours and walking all of the suggested routes. Comparisons were made between the quality and quantity of information available to the public while on site in both the landscape and in the house.

Project Background and History - This landscape has been under constant development for centuries. From the 1549 purchase of the estate onward, there has been continual development of the pleasure grounds and parkland. Chatsworth’s landscape history is best read about in the book, Chatsworth: A Landscape History by John Barnatt and Tom Williamson.

Genesis of Project - Bess of Hardwick and William Cavendish’s desire to create a dynastic seat
Design, Development and Decision Making Process- haphazard over the years, each duke adding his own stamp to the design. Three major phases: Bess of Hardwick, 1st Duke, 6th Duke

Role of Landscape Architects/Designers- major, as well as those of engineers, builders and laborers. Many landscape designers worked here and drastically changed the natural topography of the landscape.

Program Elements- gardens, children areas, vending (food and souvenirs), pathways

Maintenance and Management- there is a long-term landscape management plan, but no master plan for the estate as a whole, just the house. The grounds are well maintained and obviously taken care of frequently, though I never saw anyone working on them while I was visiting the site.

User/Use Analysis- broadly speaking people use the Chatsworth landscape as a park. People bring games to play and take picnic lunches. There were a lot of families with young children. Most people go through the house and are then spit back out into the landscape. Many engage with the waterworks, most especially the Cascade. Others wander around the grounds but you see progressively fewer people the further you stray from the house and the landscape immediately around it.

Criticism- the landscape is aesthetically beautiful and is a popular tourist place, why is there not better interpretation of the landscape? The house is so well interpreted and placed into a context, why has the same not been done to the landscape? At such a well documented house, it is sad that they have not taken the initiative to interpret such a well-known landscape.

Significance and Uniqueness of Project- Many other properties are now working to brand themselves, to set themselves apart from other houses. So many of these properties are similar that it is becoming important to the managers of these places to set themselves apart, interpreting a beautiful and historic landscape, a variety of different ways in order to cater to a variety of tastes, as well as to enable an opportunity for repeat visitorship just makes sense.

Limitations- I am clearly limited by being an American and not English. There may be traditions or subtleties that I am not aware of woven into the interpretation that is present. Also, there are not a lot of landscapes that are well interpreted in England. Great gardens like Stowe and Stourhead are well interpreted, but they are also more or less static. They have not been changed so frequently as the landscape at Chatsworth. So this is sort of experimental at this stage and has not passed the rigorous examination of scholars and those well versed in the field of heritage/historic interpretation.
Generalizable Features and Lessons- Chatsworth is not an especially unique landscape, but it is popular and it maintains a media presence in films and thus the popular consciousness. It is an ideal candidate for exploring the possibilities of landscape interpretation. From Chatsworth other great houses with large, intact landscapes could easily begin to do their own interpretation, at a variety of levels. From this comes a uniqueness to each place. Rather than being a one-dimensional landscape that gives the impression of being conceived at once, depth can be demonstrated. Britain’s historic landscapes are complex and were built over many centuries; it is an injustice to interpret them as if they were anything else. Also, by telling the stories of the landscape a larger narrative will begin to appear; one of dynastic families, of rockstar-like landscape architects, of garden specific architectural developments and of a country that has always been in love with their landscape.

## Appendix B

### GRADED FEATURES IN THE CHATSWORTH LANDSCAPE

List of buildings of special architectural and historic interest

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Terrace with Statues to west front of Chatsworth House</td>
<td>Grade II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group of Statues and vases on lawn south of Chatsworth House</td>
<td>Grade II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Emperor Fountain</td>
<td>Grade II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Seahorse Fountain</td>
<td>Grade II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ice House</td>
<td>Grade II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row of eleven statues along the Broadwalk</td>
<td>Grade II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temple of Flora</td>
<td>Grade I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urn to Blanche</td>
<td>Grade II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flight of steps with urns and statues east of Orangery</td>
<td>Grade II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Conservative Wall</td>
<td>Grade II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The first Duke’s greenhouse</td>
<td>Grade II*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group of 18 columns enclosing the Rose Garden</td>
<td>Grade II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egyptian statue behind the Duke’s greenhouse 9 meters from the corner</td>
<td>Grade I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egyptian statue behind the Duke’s greenhouse 3 meters from the corner</td>
<td>Grade I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giallo Sarcophagus circa 60 meters north of the Duke’s greenhouse</td>
<td>Grade II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summerhouse</td>
<td>Grade II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conduit house cascade and adjoining statues</td>
<td>Grade I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Willow Tree Fountain</td>
<td>Grade II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Series of herms and altars laid out in a ‘Y’ to the east of the ring pond</td>
<td>Grade I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statue terminating the vista to the east of the ring pond</td>
<td>Grade II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doric column and the bust of the sixth Duke</td>
<td>Grade II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foundation walls of Paxton’s Great Conservatory (the Great Stove)</td>
<td>Grade II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retaining walls and steps surround the site of the Great Conservatory</td>
<td>Grade II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grotto in the Arboretum</td>
<td>Grade II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridge on main approach to Chatsworth House</td>
<td>Grade I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queen Mary’s Bower</td>
<td>Grade II*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chatsworth House</td>
<td>Grade I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former stables at Chatsworth House</td>
<td>Grade I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former game larder</td>
<td>Grade II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ice House</td>
<td>Grade II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hunting Tower</td>
<td>Grade II*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aqueduct</td>
<td>Grade II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swiss Cottage</td>
<td>Grade II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Lodge</td>
<td>Grade II</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

The Attingham Trust is an educational organization that focuses on the study of English country houses and their contents. Each year they organize three residential summer school programs in England. The Attingham Summer School is a three week program of travel and study at over twenty different properties in England. At each property, tours are given by the property’s curator or manager and, depending on the particular collections, intensive study sessions are held on various topics relating to the country house. The program is designed for history, cultural resources managers or decorative arts professionals and is made up of around forty participants, half American and half from the rest of the world.


Ibid.

Ibid. 72.

Ibid. 68.

Ibid. 72.


Ibid. 133.

Ibid.

Ibid. 34.


Ibid. 121-122.

36. Ibid.
37. Ibid. 91.
38. Ibid. 93.
40. Ibid. 24.
41. Ibid. 36.
42. Ibid. 51.
43. Ibid. 88.
45. Ibid. 43.
48. Ibid.
51. Ibid. 72.
62. Death duties are a form of inheritance or transfer tax levied against an inheritor for a percentage of the value of the inheritance. They began in 1894 and the rate has varied from 8-80 % over the past century. Many of the sales of country houses or their contents within the past century have been a direct result of these taxes. Since the 1940s, various forms of tax relief or avoidance have been introduced, the most popular being the establishment of charitable trusts, such as the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees. In 1950, Andrew Cavendish, the 11th Duke of Devonshire, was assessed a double tax bill, inheritance and property tax, that amounted to £12 million ($33.6 million). It took him 17 years to settle the bill, during which time he handed Hardwick Hall over to the National Trust and sold 64,000 acres of land, nine major works of art and several rare books. In 1981, after the taxes were settled, the duke established the Chatsworth Settlement Trust, a charitable organization that is largely exempt from taxes and provides for the upkeep of Chatsworth. - Littlejohn, David. 1997. *The Fate of the English Country House*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 56, 109.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid.


74. Ibid.

75. Ibid.

76. Ibid. 37.

77. Ibid.

78. Ibid.


84. Ibid.

85. Ibid.

86. Littlejohn, David. 1997. *The Fate of the English Country House*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 80. Cheddar Caves is a nearby tourist attraction that had been opened by the 5th Marquess of Bath in the 1920s. By the 1940s, Cheddar Caves was attracting over 500,000 visitors a year.


96. Ibid.

97. Ibid. 383.


99. Ibid. 5.


103. Ibid. 9-10.

104. Ibid. 1-2.

105. Ibid. 12.

106. Ibid. 12-13.

107. Ibid. 14.

108. Ibid. 6.

109. Ibid.

15. Ibid. 56.
23. Ibid. 153.
24. Ibid. 158.
26. Ibid.154.
28. Ibid. 62.
All of the concessions on the estate are run by Chatsworth. It is unclear as to who exactly owns them though, the Duke, the Chatsworth Settlement Trust or the Chatsworth House Trust. Both trusts are privately funded, the Chatsworth House Trust focuses on “anything affecting the public” according the a member of the Chatsworth team who talked about the overall structure of Chatsworth to an assembled group of Attingham scholars in the summer of 2010.
39. Chatsworth has frequently been cited as Jane Austen’s inspiration for Pemberley. However, this is unlikely. For one, Chatsworth is mentioned, by name in Pride and Prejudice, lessening the chances that it is an inspiration. Also, Mr. Darcy, rich as he was, was not a titled man; as such it is unlikely that his home would have been as opulent as Chatsworth. Lyme Park, used in the 1995 film version of Pride and Prejudice, is more on par with the size one would expect to find of a man of Darcy’s wealth and stature. – Smith, Muriel. “Jane Austen, Pemberley, and Chatsworth”. *Notes and Queries* (N&Q) 2005; 52 (250) (4): 451.
42. Ibid. 1.


152. Ibid.


154. Ibid. 115.

155. Ibid. 122.

156. Ibid. 52.

157. Ibid. 103.


159. Ibid. 16.

160. Ibid. 25.

161. Ibid. 37.

162. Ibid. 73.


164. Ibid. 140.

165. Ibid. 143.

166. Ibid.

167. Ibid. 145.

168. Ibid. 146.


Image Credits

Chapter 1
Figure 1.1  The Dowager Duchess of Devonshire. *Round About Chatsworth*. London: Frances Lincoln Ltd., 2005. 11.
Figure 1.2  Flickr, Stephanie Hambling
Figure 1.3  Devonshire, Deborah. *Chatsworth: The House*. London: Frances Lincoln Ltd., 2002, p.6

Chapter 2
Figure 2.1  Google Images
Figure 2.2  Google Images
Figure 2.3  Author’s

Chapter 3
Figure 3.1  Author’s
Figure 3.2  Scan of visitor pamphlet
Figure 3.3  Google Images
Figure 3.4  Scan of Chatsworth Art Safari
Figure 3.5  Scan of cover of Chatsworth mini-guide
Figure 3.6  Scan of pages 14-15 of the Chatsworth mini-guide
Figure 3.7  Author’s
Figure 3.8  Scan of pages 16-17 of the Chatsworth mini-guide
Figure 3.9  Scan of Your Guide to Chatsworth
Figure 3.10  Author’s

Chapter 4
Figure 4.2  Google Images
Figure 4.4  Author’s
Figure 4.5  Google Images, Dan Mills and Margaret Fordyce
Figure 4.6  Barnatt, John and Tom Williamson. *Chatsworth: A Landscape History*. Bollington, Cheshire: Windgather Press Ltd. 2005. 27.
Figure 4.8  Google Images
Figure 4.9  Google Images
Figure 4.10  Fowler, Claire. *Your Guide to Chatsworth*. Great Britain: Chatsworth House Trust, 2010. 87.
Figure 4.11  Scan of cover of pamphlet
Figure 4.12  Author’s
Figure 4.13  Author’s
Figure 4.14  Google Images
Figure 4.15  Google Images, 2004
Figure 4.16  Google Images, 2006
Figure 4.17  Google Images
Figure 4.19  Google Images

Chapter 5
Figure 5.1  Author’s
Figure 5.2  Author’s
Figure 5.3  Author’s
Figure 5.4  Author’s
Figure 5.5  Barnatt, John and Tom Williamson. *Chatsworth: A Landscape History*. Bollington, Cheshire: Windgather Press Ltd. 2005. 130.
Figure 5.6  Google Images
Figure 5.8  Devonshire, Deborah. *Chatsworth: The House*. London: Frances Lincoln Ltd., 2002. 162.
Figure 5.9  Author’s
Figure 5.10  Author’s
Figure 5.11  Author’s
Figure 5.12  Author’s
Figure 5.13  Author’s
Figure 5.14  Google Images
Figure 5.15  Author’s
Figure 5.16  Author’s
Figure 5.17  Author’s
Figure 5.18  Author’s


