"What Does the Guidebook Say?"

(Changing) Historical Memory at Selected British Palaces

by

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ABSTRACT

The constructing of visitor expectations and memory of historic sites is an important aspect of the heritage industry. This study examines the creation and change of dominant historical memories at four British palaces and ancestral homes. Through the close analysis of a variety of guidebooks beginning in the eighteenth century as well as other promotional materials such as websites and films, this study looks at which historical memories are emphasized for visitors and the reasons for these dominant memories. Place theorists such as Yi-Fu Tuan and Michel de Certeau as well as memory theorists such as Maurice Halbwachs, Pierre Nora, and Eric Hobsbawm have influenced the analysis of the project's sources. This inquiry focuses on four palaces: Hampton Court Palace outside London; Edinburgh Castle in the heart of Edinburgh, Scotland; Cardiff Castle in Cardiff, Wales; and Chatsworth House in Devonshire, England. The Victorians have played a large role in determining dominant memories at these sites through their interest in and focus on both the medieval period and objects in the home. Dominant memories discussed focus on the Tudors, medieval military importance, the myth and imagining of the Victorian medieval, the Regency period of Jane Austen, and elite family-home relationships. This study argues that the emphases on certain subjects allow us glimpses into the national spirit (past and present) of the peoples of Britain.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The tourism industry is a major part of local, regional, and national economies; museums, historical and heritage locations are crucial to of tourism. Heritage and historical sites and museums walk a fine line between appealing to tourists and simply becoming tourist attractions, such as theme and amusement parks that are enjoyable but have no real educational purpose.[1] Much money, time, and energy are spent in sustaining heritage sites that bring in revenue and keep the public interested in the past. Heritage organizations have been created to help several sites join together in order to have more resources to accomplish these aforementioned goals. What memory of a site is kept alive by such organizations depends, of course, on the site’s history and what will appeal to the public—generally wealth, drama, and bloodshed. Studying the creation of memory at such sites enables public history practitioners to see what aspects appeal to tourists, thus seeing how to encourage visitation without diluting the site of its history to become solely a tourist trap. Linking the visitor back to history and the past allows memory to speak through the site. Understanding the creation, discovery, and absorption of historical memory enables the heritage industry to retain visitors’ interests in the past and its physical sites.

The type of ownership of each site plays a part in constructing the historical memory. Historic Royal Palaces, the independent charity organization responsible for several royal palaces, has a narrative for each of their five palaces around London, including Hampton Court; the government agency Historic Scotland keeps Scottish heritage alive at several sites, such as Edinburgh Castle. The Marquesses of Bute gifted Cardiff Castle to the town of Cardiff, Wales in the mid-twentieth century, and the family and a house trust keeps Chatsworth House. The previous type of ownership also influences the story and narrative at the sites: royal, military, and noble.

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[1] For relevant works, see: Richard Prentice, *Tourism and Heritage Attractions* (London: Routledge, 1993); John Arnold, Kate Davies, and Simon Ditchfield, ed. *History and Heritage: Consuming the Past in Contemporary Culture* (Dorset, UK: Donhead Publishing Ltd, 1998); Robert Hewison, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline* (London: Methuen London, 1987).

Through four case studies, this work will examine a variety of British palaces and castles: three in major cities, one in the country; one in three of the four United Kingdom states (England, Scotland, and Wales); two castles, and two palaces and country estates. Two sites were primarily royal residences while the others were homes for members of the nobility. These sites were narrowed down from a long list of castles, palaces, and manor houses open to the public that had not been turned into hotels. These four sites were chosen to present a picture of various regions of Great Britain whose web descriptions were interesting to me, had a current guidebook available for comparison, and were easily traveled to during and directly after an internship through the Open Palace Programme in the summer of 2014.[2] These four sites allow us to compare the ways in which selected memories are used to create appealing and interesting sites for tourists.

Sources, Theorists, and Methodologies

This study will look at a variety of guidebooks, travel literature, and promotional materials (including websites, apps, photographs, postcards, and films) from the eighteenth century to the present day. These sources will be examined through close analytical reading and comparison to see how text is phrased, what is said or unsaid, and what is emphasized. Visual sources like photographs and films will be examined in a similar manner but will concentrate on the image instead of the text regarding the subject of the image, and the perspective of the viewer and creator. Looking at these sources through time will enable us to see what continues to be important and emphasized for visitors to the site, and what has changed in importance and emphasis.

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[2] Other potential castles and palaces had been Tintagel (Cornwall), Glamis Castle (Scotland), Hatfield House (England), and Blenheim Palace (England).

Place and memory theorists Michel de Certeau, Yi-Fu Tuan, Maurice Halbwachs, Eric Hobsbawm, and Pierre Nora[3] will be utilized since it is the coming together of place and memory for visitors with which this study is concerned. De Certeau's focus on itineraries and created paths will be utilized to examine how visitors both create and follow routes at these sites. Tuan's discussion on architecture and place as pause will also be applied to the sites and each's created memory, as a focus of national identity and memory. Halbwachs discusses the locality of memory and narrative as rooting memory locally authenticates and creates a network for the memory to remain relevant. Hobsbawm examines the intersection of tradition and memory along with the influences of authority and authenticity, an important notion in historic sites seeking to present themselves as showing an 'authentic' past. Nora discusses the overlap between history (facts and interpretation) and memory (remembrance, from a variety of sources);

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[3] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. by Steven F. Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977); Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. by Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Maurice Halbwachs, "Historical Memory and Collective Memory," in *The Collective Memory* (New York: Harper & Row Colophon Books, 1980); Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, ed., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); and Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire," *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989).

relevance is key for him and will also be key in this work when examining what significance to today is seen in the presented memories.

Historiography

Most place memory work has been done in connection with memorials, monuments, and religious buildings. Places, especially buildings, have a propensity to change over time as their function changes and as they do, the memory of those buildings can change.[4] Memory, even of buildings, is a matter of perspective—first person as opposed to something more 'objective.'[5] Yet in the case of buildings that are tourist attractions, curators and visitors influence what is remembered and what is forgotten. But on the opposite spectrum, most works on palaces and castles have focused on their past uses, owners, and the architecture, design, and interiors. The physical aspects and history of palaces have been explored but little on the memory and visitor presentation of such sites has been done. Heritage and tourism scholars focus on what tourists do or how to get tourists, not the changes in what is emphasized and presented to visitors.

Lucy Worsley provides an excellent example of tracing memory at an historical palace in her article on Bolsover Castle; through four centuries, she examines the creation of the castle's memory by its family and curators.[6] Each century featured different values held at the castle as the creation of a specific time and society, and early twenty-first century presentation worked hard to showcase each approach to current visitors.[7] "'Authenticity' in each case appears to represent the unobtainable—the medieval past, a family's former greatness, a time of idyllic social unity, or the unmediated experience of original historic fabric."[8] We see something similar in examining the created memory at the four palaces in this study. Experience and meaning are highly influential in shaping place for visitors. When a building's memory is created is also an important aspect of discussions because, as Kent Savage shows in his work on the National Mall in Washington, D. C., creation of a monumental space and its identity and memory reflects the values and goals of the creators even more than what is being remembered.[9] This work will take the next step to connect memory to palaces, the official presentation of these sites, and the marketing and promotion to encourage visitation to them. Although the United States does not have castles or palaces of the nobility and royalty, such sites constitute a large aspect of tourism in many European countries, including Britain. Understanding how such historical and heritage sites encourage visitors enables professionals to keep visitors coming without losing the site's historical importance.

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[4] Michael Guggenheim, "Building memory: Architecture, networks and users" *Memory Studies* (2009 2:39-53).

[5] Ross Poole, "Memory, history and the claims of the past" *Memory Studies* (2008 1: 149-166), 159.

[6] Lucy Worsley, "Changing Notions of Authenticity: Presenting a Castle Over Four Centuries," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 10:2 (2004).

Changing views and interest in castles and such buildings are also important to this study because without an interest in these sites, they would not have been preserved for visitors to physically experience history. How castles have passed through history to be seen by visitors, whether as 'romantic' ruin or restored fortress and home, is the topic for Richard Fawcett and Allan Rutherford's discussion; their work provides a context for the attitudes toward castles historically and then as tourism grew— including conservation and restoration. This thesis focuses on the product of this creation of attitudes and interest towards historic sites, represented by the four castles and palaces examined here. Additional remarks by chief inspectors of historic buildings in Scotland add the hands-on view of the practitioner on how historical castles are approached by the heritage industry. Various authors address in-depth the history of Scottish castle development, conservation, and restoration with case studies on specific sites in the edited volume by Audrey Dakin, Miles Glendinning, and Aonghus MacKechnie. The authors discuss the castle in its historical context and how the supporters and conservators viewed the castles, but not generally through the framework of visitor creation. Together, these several works[10] focus on the physical buildings and purposes. This thesis builds on the presented interpretive narratives of castles and visitor perceptions of the sites to look at the memory created – the intellectual concept instead of the physical presence.

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[7] Worsley, "Changing Notions of Authenticity," 145.

[8] Worsley, "Changing Notions of Authenticity," 145 – 146.

[9] Kirk Savage, *Monument Wars: Washington, D.C., the National Mall, and the Transformation of the Memorial Landscape* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2009).

As many sites opened more fully to visitors and tourists around the Victorian Age, an examination of the Victorian lifestyle and identity/mentality has been necessary. Something about the Victorian Age promoted both an interest in historic places and in the past, especially the medieval period—which some scholars have fittingly linked to a nostalgia of a simpler past in the midst of a rapidly industrializing world.[11] Country houses and palaces were filled with 'high art' and furnishings, very different from the industrial, mass-produced goods becoming more common in many households of the time; interest in antiques and historic reproduction styles (as seen in palaces, castles, and country houses—no matter whether original or reconstructed) was a subtle form of protest against standardization that could be enjoyed by family and visitors alike.[12] A cultivated taste was proclaimed in the acquisition and arrangement that could be shown off to visitors.[13] Members of the middle class could aspire to furnishings they saw in historic homes—furnishings that could be imitated at an affordable price for a client.[14] Later in the century, labor laws gave the working classes vacation time that could be used to visit physical manifestations of the nation's past.

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[10] John Dunbar, *Scottish Royal Palaces: The Architecture of the Royal Residences during the Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Periods* (East Lothian, Scotland: Tuckwell Press Ltd, 1999); Richard Fawcett and Allan Rutherford, *Renewed Life for Scottish Castles* (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2011); Audrey Dakin, Miles Glendinning, and Aonghus MacKechnie, ed. *Scotland's Castle Culture* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd, 2011).

Over a period of approximately 130 years after the creation of the United Kingdom in 1707, Britain "acquired sufficient cohesiveness for a series of insurrections to fail…for successive dangerous invasion attempts from abroad to falter and be resisted, and for a string of evermore demanding and geographically ambitious wars to be embarked upon and—with one exception—won."[15] Britain could be seen as an umbrella where one's identity as Scots, Welsh, or English could be maintained under a 'British' identity and pride.[16] Waves of nationalism affected Europe as a whole during the nineteenth century. This seems to be one part of its expression in Great Britain as the citizens of the island came together to combat Napoleon. Historic homes and castles played an important role in creating a sense of national pride and cohesiveness, as visitors touring the palaces were encouraged to see them as part of their own history and identity.

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[11] Deborah Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and Their Possessions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 146-155.

[12] Cohen, *Household Gods*, 128 and 182.

[13] Cohen, *Household Gods*, 65 and 155.

[14] William C Ketchum Jr, *Furniture 2 Neoclassic to the Present*, *The Smithsonian Illustrated Library of Antiques* series (Smithsonian Institute and Cooper-Hewitt Museum, 1981), 39.

[15] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707 – 1837*, (London: Pimlico, 2003), xi.

Because this study focuses on guidebooks and other travel literature, examining the castle in the context of tourism and travel writing is also important. Katherine Grenier discusses travel and tourism in 'romantic' and 'rustic' nineteenth-century Scotland; Grenier's work is "an exploration of what that gaze reveals about the tourists and their worldview."[17] Grenier's work is specific to Scotland but because it also focuses on the ritual nature of tourism, including how and by what means visitors' experiences are shaped,[18] it can be expanded to the other sites of the study. Grenier discusses both heritage and tourism to illustrate the shaping of visitor experience during and directly after Britain's social and cultural integration. This shaping of visitor experience is revealed in each of the castles and palaces in this study through the examination of various guidebooks.

Part of both the ritual and power of shaping tourism experiences comes from guidebooks, a primary focus in this study. Guidebooks can dictate what to see at a site and the order in which to see them, as well as provide a souvenir to revisit and show off at home. Guidebooks began to be printed and published in the eighteenth century. At this time, country houses (and castles and palaces) started to be seen as attractions to tourists and visitors, and "country-house owners began to formalize the terms under which their estates were open to the public. As part of this process, houses were metaphorically 'remade' in order to function as tourist attractions as well as private residences."[19]

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[16] Colley, *Britons,* xi – xii.

[17] Katherine Haldane Grenier, *Tourism and Identity in Scotland, 1770 – 1914: Creating Caledonia* (Hants, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005), 3.

[18] Grenier, *Tourism*, 4.

Guidebooks are primarily souvenir publications to engage tourists and so tend to only touch the surface of the subject while providing enough educational context so the site is distinguished from a theme park. However, the stories told in guidebooks are important and can engage visitors at different levels, often being used in conjunction with other materials, such as modern apps and audio guides. Most modern guidebooks have an average shelf life of five to ten years before a complete revision and rebranding is necessary. The tone and focus change based on author, organization, and the time period; an early focus on architecture and furnishings has given way to a storied-focus approach as collection displays change (unless there is a prominent feature). There is some overlap but not much room for both approaches in publications that tend to be short (leaving the more detailed guides to delve further into features in large, glossy, illustrated histories). Depending on the organization producing the guidebooks, there is the possibility of producing even more tightly-focused guidebooks on specific collections for the highly-interested visitor.[20] Guidebooks thus engage the site and its history on different levels, depending on the intended audience.

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[19] Jocelyn Anderson, "Remaking the Space: the Plan and the Route in Country-House Guidebooks from 1770 to 1880," *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice* 18:3 (2013), 195.

[20] This paragraph is based on notes from separate conversations with former Arizona State University Scholarly Publishing Professor, Dr. Christine Szuter (April 18, 2014), and the Historic Royal Palaces

Because of the highly visible military function of castles, the topic of military museums will also enter into the study, particularly as the two castles studied both serve as military museums. Smithsonian curators produced an edited volume reviewing military museums, artifacts, and practices, including a chapter on European institutions. Looking at how the artifacts are complemented by documentary evidence allows a broader context of military remembrance and importance to emerge from the guidebooks; we also see the difference between military and war museums and how to ensure visitors recognize the importance of this distinction. Value judgments can creep in if curators are not careful in their presentation of artifacts; "as soon as you change your institution into a war museum – or a 'peace museum' for that matter – the arms shown will inevitably be saddled with a psychological load…which inhibits their being presented in terms of their design and technical characteristics, their changes and tactics."[21] Produced through Leister University's Museum Studies department, Peter Thwaites' work on British military history (and museums) specifically enables us to see and appreciate the history of these types of museums and their contexts.[22]

This study presents a tour through the presentation of four historic castles and palaces of British royalty and nobility. Here, we explore: the story's change from art and architecture to residents at Hampton Court Palace; the creation of the militaristic and national memory of Edinburgh Castle as a symbol of Scotland's strong spirit; the Welsh

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guidebook and publishing team based at Hampton Court Palace, Clare Murphy and Sara Kilby (July 17, 2014).

[21] Bernard Finn and Barton Hacker, ed., *Materializing the Military* (London: Science Museum, 2005), 160.

[22] Peter Thwaites, *Presenting Arms: Museum Representation of British Military History, 1660 – 1900* (London: Leicester University Press, 1996).

martial spirit at Cardiff Castle through the Victorian reconstruction of the castle and its focus on ancient and medieval history; and the presentation of Chatsworth as a welcoming, family home providing a personal, intimate experience to visitors. Each site has changed over the centuries to continue to appeal to and attract visitors while preserving its historical accuracy and authenticity.

CHAPTER 2

HAMPTON COURT PALACE: POPULAR IMAGINATION AND THE MAKING OF TUDOR MEMORY

> "The most visit worthy parts of Hampton Court are Tudor. There are better examples of Wren's [baroque] work to be seen but, while many Tudor manors survive, Hampton Court represents the pinnacle of Tudor grandeur and in that sense is unique."[1]

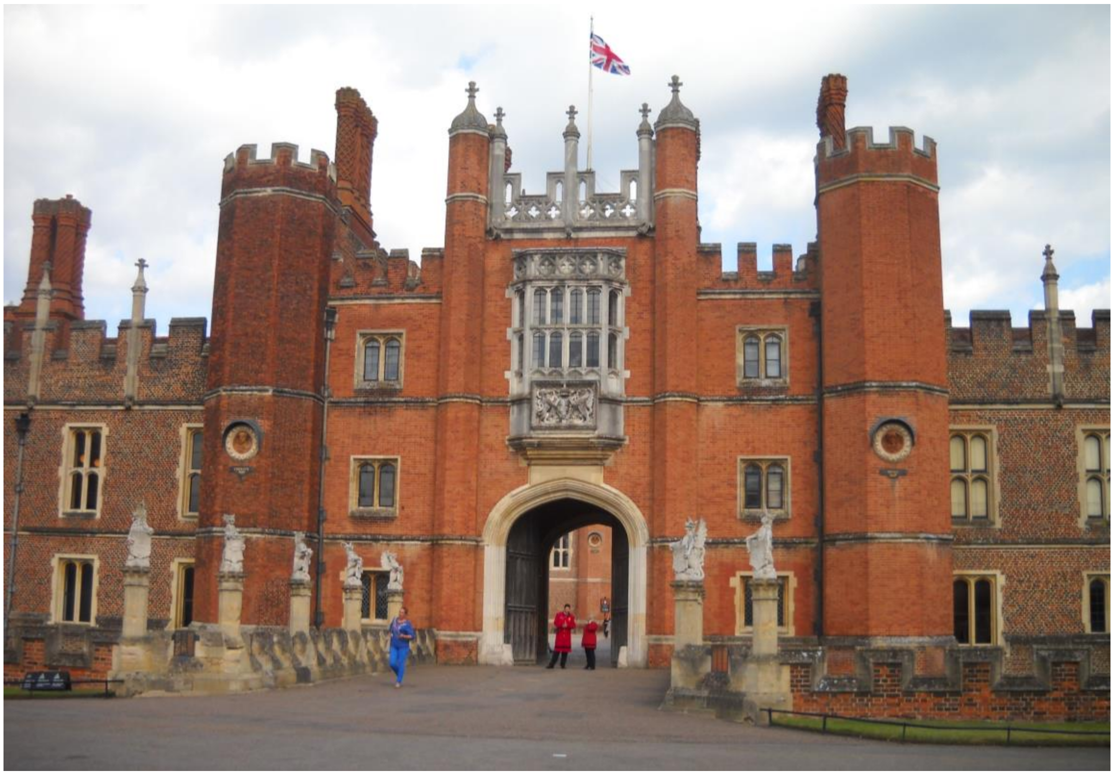

Figure 1 Entrance to Hampton Court (2014)

Looking up at Hampton Court Palace's Tudor brick façade outside of London, visitors seldom realize that a second, more continental-style palace exists behind it. The Tudors of sixteenth century England captured the popular imagination at the palace since its public opening in the mid-nineteenth century, and the dominant memory of the palace's guidebooks shows this popular memory. Hampton Court is one of the historic palaces that brings to mind a specific era in history, even if that palace changed and evolved since that era. Widely known for being a remarkable presentation of Tudor palaces (the very name connotes Henry VIII and his six wives), Hampton Court is less known popularly as two palaces, with another palace adjacent to the Tudor part built and lived in by subsequent royalty: William and Mary, Anne, and the early Hanoverians. Even travel hosts like Rick Steves who delight in going to both popular and less-popular locations focus on the palace's Tudor section in their guidebooks: "The Tudor portions of the castle… are most interesting; the Georgian rooms are pretty dull."[2] This is not strictly the case, but the fact that such guidebooks (both implicitly and explicitly) can give this impression invites us to pose questions on memory, palaces, and promotion. The memory of Hampton Court Palace in the guidebooks changed its focus from elite art to the story of the palace and its residents, especially the Tudors, to appeal to the wider range of ordinary visitors that appeared with the opening of the palace under Queen Victoria, when interest grew in the medieval period.

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[1] J.A. Jerome, ed., *Turn Back the Clock at Hampton Court: The Romance and History of the Palace told in a series of Stories for Young and Old* (Molesay-on-Thames, UK: Hampton Court Books, c1950s), 4.

The first manor house on the site of Hampton Court was built for the Knights Hospitallers of St. John before 1338 and is now buried under the present palace; in 1494, one of Henry VII's courtiers leased it and the earliest parts of the palace are from this period.[3] Cardinal Thomas Wolsey acquired the manor in 1514 and he worked to turn it into a magnificent location to entertain the king in addition to receiving foreign dignitaries. Wolsey presented the palace to Henry VIII in 1525 as a work-in-progress while he continued to develop it to its full potential; during Wolsey's fall from power only a few years later, Henry took possession of it and removed Wolsey from the palace. After the change in ownership, Henry and his queen-to-be Anne Boleyn renovated and redecorated the palace.

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[2] Rick Steves, *Rick Steves' Great Britain 2012* (Berkeley, CA: Avalon Travel, 2012), 143.

[3] Sarah Kilby and Clare Murphy, ed., *Explore Hampton Court Palace Souvenir Guidebook* (Surrey: Historic Royal Palaces, 2012), 7.

All the Tudor monarchs following Henry frequented this palace, which was also used by the Stuarts; Oliver Cromwell even lived at the palace during his reign as Lord Protector. William and Mary demolished half of the Tudor palace and replaced it with a new baroque palace designed by Sir Christopher Wren during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; fortunately, the two ran out of funds and interest before the entire Tudor palace could be torn down. The first two Hanoverian kings, George I and II, both resided at Hampton Court, but George III preferred other residences so the palace was subdivided into various accommodations to become grace-and-favour apartments awarded by the monarch for great service to either the monarch or the country.

Queen Victoria opened the palace to visitors in 1839 and the palace was gradually restored during the Victorian era. A fire in 1986 damaged some of the apartments but it was expertly salvaged and conserved. In 2009, for the 500th anniversary of Henry VIII's accession to the throne, Hampton Court was re-interpreted by a team of curators and its parent organization, the Historic Royal Palaces; while the early Victorian presenters veered towards grandiose imaginings of the medieval period in their restoration, the re-interpreters offered a more historically accurate presentation of the Tudor palace. The curators today have worked to achieve a balance between historical accuracy and imbuing the palace with a sense of history for visitors rather than catering almost exclusively to designed conceptions of the medieval period.

Historiography

Simon Thurley has done the most writing in the last fifty years on historic royal palaces, Hampton Court among them. He studied multiple royal palaces during the Tudor period in addition to tracing individual palaces' histories. He has also done work on aspects of specific palaces, such as Henry VIII's additions to what he inherited at Hampton Court from Cardinal Wolsey. As a former palace inspector, he is well placed to have extensive knowledge, and his works are well researched and include wonderful illustrations and photos. The various works by Thurley are important for their social, political, and architectural history, as well as their archaeological evidence. He also addresses the importance and influence of the palace for recent historic preservation and conservation attitudes. Thurley documents the history of the palace buildings, land, and people, but does not look at the way in which the palace has been used to create a specific memory of Britain's past, as this chapter seeks to do.

Other writers, including June Osborne, Roy Nash, and Lucy Worsley,[4] have discussed Hampton Court and other royal palaces in the context of their work for the palaces or as they appeared during a specific era, such as the Tudor period. Most of these works were published in the 1970s and 1980s, before issues of memory became of interest. A more recent work is an article on the process of re-interpreting Hampton Court by one of the curators, Suzannah Lipscomb. Lipscomb's article discusses how Victorians decorated the palace in "Tudor style" and how the process of re-interpretation then occurred. The Victorian refurbishment by Edward Jesse is often written off largely as 'a product of an overactive imagination' but despite the rather far-fetched re-creation, Lipscomb shows that the interpretation was based on primary sources, even if some liberties were taken. The article focuses on how historical authenticity was balanced by the stories and visitors' needs; ways of tourist learning and participation were used because the focus was on re-interpretation and not memory. Again, few if any of these writers deal with cultural and historical memory at the palaces.

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[4] June Osborne, *Hampton Court Palace* (Kingswood, Surrey: Kaye & Ward, 1984); Roy Nash, *Hampton Court: The Palace and the People* (London: Macdonald, 1983); Lucy Worsley and David Souden, *Hampton Court Palace: The Official Illustrated History* (London: Merrell in association with Historic Royal Palaces, 2005).

The Victorians and the Palace Opening

Palace guidebooks and pamphlets of the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries frequently featured several palaces together in one document. Such guidebooks, published during the reign of the Georgians and featuring Hampton Court among other palaces, spent most of the segment on Hampton Court discussing the works of art and decoration in the new section of the palace. One is lucky to get a line or two about Cardinal Wolsey and Henry VIII; many of the Tudor works, such as the *History of Abraham* tapestries, that would have been in existence had been moved to the new palace so the Tudor section of the palace was not of much interest to discuss. Early guidebooks, like many other travel materials from this time, focused on "worthy" subjects like paintings and decorative arts—chandeliers, lavish beds, chairs of state, balustrades—not the history and activities of the palace and its people. Even the lofty titles of most of these early works betray their focus on art and decorations by drawing attention to the beauties of the royal palaces, or the curiosities of royal palaces.[5] This focus on "worthy" subjects instead of history and events changed as Victoria opened the palace up to more visitors, due in part to the growing general Victorian interest in the medieval and Tudor periods.

Little time was spent on the Tudors in Georgian guidebooks, since before the nineteenth century, there was little interest in the medieval and the Tudors. Daniel Lysons, a topographer and parish curate, is the exception, and his account of the palace (actually titled as an account, not a description of curiosities) published in the early 1800s spends more time on the Tudors than works published even just a few years earlier. This author mentions several of Henry VIII's six wives as well as why Wolsey had to give the palace to Henry, but he is very selective on what he says. Lysons skips over second wife Anne Boleyn (like Henry did after her beheading) to the birth of Prince Edward and the death of third wife Jane Seymour; he discusses fifth wife Catherine Howard's presentation at Hampton Court but then skips to sixth wife Catherine Parr's marriage and ascension to the throne with no mention of Catherine Howard's death or ghost. This account thus is one of the few to dedicate pages to the Tudor royal family, mentioning more than just Henry taking the palace from Wolsey. However, it also tries to avoid as many of the unpleasant episodes as possible, such as the executions of Anne Boleyn and

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[5] Titles of these early guidebooks include: *Deliciæ Britannicæ; or, the curiosities of Kensington, Hampton Court, and Windsor Castle* (1742 and 1755); *A Companion to Every Place of Curiosity and Entertainment in and about London and Westminster, Containing an Historical Description of …Kensington, Kew, and Hampton-court Palaces and Gardens* (1772); *A Peep into the principal Seats and gardens in and about Twickenham (the residence of the muses), With a Suitable Companion for those who wish to visit Windsor or Hampton Court* (1775); *The Windsor Guide, Containing a Description of the Town & Castle, And of St George's Chapel, With Foundation of the Royal College of St George…to which is added an appendix…including Richmond, Kew, and Hampton Court* (1783); *Les delices des chateaux royaux: or, a Pocket Companion to the Royal Palaces of Windsor, Kensington, Kew, and Hampton Court* (1785); *The Beauties of the Royal Palaces; or, a Pocket Companion to Windsor, Kensington, Kew, and Hampton Court* (1796 and 1798); and *Account of Hampton Court Palace* (1800).

Catherine Howard, focusing instead on pleasant episodes and the glorious legacy of the Tudors.

The guidebooks printed in the decades following the palace opening gradually highlight the Tudors' history, including the darker sides—although even these early Victorian works try to diminish or gloss over events that could be seen as negative. It is thus in the Victorian era that Anne Boleyn is first interpreted as an innocent victim and a damsel-in-distress figure in literature and paintings instead of as a woman actively involved in politics or a seductress. And when areas of the palace began to be restored for visitors under Victoria, the restorers drew on this interest in medieval and Tudor-life to make the rooms ornately medieval—to the point that when a century and a half later the palace was re-interpreted and re-curated, the ornate was pulled back to focus on authenticity not opulent design.[6] Edward Jesse, the man in charge of refurbishing the newly opened palace, is described as having interpreted his decorative scheme so that the Tudor palace:

> was designed to conjure up a sense of the magnificence of the Tudor court in a way that met the needs and expectations of this public. In the early nineteenth century, there was an appetite for the medieval and chivalric….The comforting idea of 'Merrie Olde Englande'…provided a reassuring counterbalance to the political and social upheavals of the time. The chivalric motifs installed by Jesse were therefore precisely *what his audience would have expected to see in a Tudor palace*.[7]

The first Tudor renovation for visitors was thus aimed (with some guiding historical research) at the idea of the Tudors and not necessarily what the Tudor rooms would actually have looked like.

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[6] Suzannah Lipscomb, "Historical Authenticity and Interpretative Strategy at Hampton Court Palace." *The Public Historian* 32, no 3 (Summer 2010), 105-107.

[7] Lipscomb, "Historical Authenticity," 104. Italics added.

It was in the early Victorian era (specifically 1838–9) that the common people were able to begin visiting Hampton Court; the palace had been open to the wealthy and well-connected elite[8] but now "I doubt if any misery short of them [actual rags and dirt] would be excluded."[9] When the palace was first opened to visitors, they were primarily middle- and lower-class English men and women with few (obvious) foreign visitors.[10] W. D. Howells, an American author and visitor, gave a description of the common folk who were almost more interested in watching the other visitors than in touring the palace in the very early twentieth-century. He felt that "it is the common people [instead of the elite] who get the best of it when some lordly pleasure-house for which they have paid comes back to them, as palaces are not unapt finally to do; and it is not unimaginable that collectively they bring as much brilliancy and beauty to its free enjoyment as the kings and courtiers did in their mutually hampered pleasures."[11] An English nineteenth century author observed in his 1843 *The Stranger's Guide to Hampton Court Palace and Gardens* that "The antiquity of a part of the building, and the splendour of the whole, render it worthy of a visit from all strangers."[12] Some of the elite may have been 'strangers' but the ordinary visitors would have been much more so.

Allowing a wider segment of society than the elites entrance to palaces and great houses enables the memory of these sites and their history to become part of the collective memory. Theorist Pierre Nora studied the relationship between history and memory. History, he posited, is concerned with the facts and the interpretation of them, but memory (especially collective memory) is about how people remember, based on their own experience as well as what they have read and absorbed elsewhere on the topic. History is primarily reconstruction and representation, but memory is recollection that often responds to factors such as life experiences, heritage, and beliefs; the two can co-exist however, as seen in countries like the US with plural memories and diverse traditions where multiple historical constructions and narratives are possible.[13] This historic palace allows us to see the intersection of history and memory to see how both can affect narratives. Nora views the historian (and through extension curators and interpreters) as "one who prevents history from becoming *merely* history."[14] In the same way, historic houses and museums also work to keep history relevant. How memory is incorporated into this active history of sites and events, and how memory determines what history is presented, is an important part of curating and interpreting these sites.

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[8] Kilby and Murphy, ed., *Souvenir Guidebook*, 11.

[9] W.D. Howells, *London Films* (New York: London, Harper & Brothers, 1905), 147.

[10] Howells, *London*, 147.

[11] Howells, *London*, 146.

[12] John Grundy, *The Stranger's Guide to Hampton Court Palace and Gardens* (London: Printed and Published by G.B. Mason, 1843), 1.

Because more sites and sources pertaining to these places are connected with society's elite, their interests are often the perspective that is presented. The elite tend to focus on art, but the common people are far less likely to study such works. Visitors without an education in art would more likely be interested in imagining what life would have been like for those living in the palace, not with the art to which they cannot connect. The American author Howells claims there is "no veil of uncertainty" between the visitor and the historical (Tudor) events at Hampton Court—indeed the ghost of Catherine Howard can be both seen and heard.[15] Howells goes even further to claim that "If you [the visitor] come prepared with the facts, you are hampered by them and hindered in the enjoyment of the moment's chances. You are obliged to verify them" but if the facts are learned there, they can be arranged in memories of the scene "where you have wandered vaguely about in a liberal and expansive sense of unlimited historical possibilities."[16]

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[13] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire," *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 8 and 10.

[14] Nora, "Memory and History," 18.

Through Howells' use of the word 'possibilities,' we return again to the imagination of the visitor. While the visitors could not often bring "cultivated taste" to their enjoyment of the palace, it was not a requirement and could even be a hindrance. When not limited by their knowledge and experiences, these visitors were at least saved by preoccupation with one another—watching the courting couples.[17] The time of Howells' accounts at the turn of the twentieth century follows the beginning of holidays for the middle and lower classes and "With that passion and pride in their own which sends them holidaying over the island to every point of historic or legendary interest, and every scene famous for its beauty, they strayed about … through the halls, and revered the couches and thrones of the dead kings and queens in their bed-chambers and council-chambers."[18] Curators of the site have since incorporated more education into the presentation, understanding that most visitors can and are eager to learn more about the site.

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[15] Howells, *London*, 141 – 2.

[16] Howells, *London*, 142.

[17] Howells, *London*, 147.

[18] Howells, *London*, 147.

Deborah Cohen has argued that the Victorians closely identified with their belongings, intertwining the self and material possessions. As mass-produced manufactured goods became more widely available, interest in antiques and well-crafted reproductions of older styles was a form of protest against standardization.[19] Even more than that, it also proclaimed a taste that required cultivation beyond the means of the vast majority of the population.[20] Artistic taste could be seen in the home in addition to the museum, and the selection and arrangement of possessions in the home was just as important as in the galleries.[21] 'At home' newspaper features were popular for Victorians because of the increasing interest in celebrity gossip, which was part of the conviction that the domestic interior expressed an inhabitant's inner self.[22] The Tudor section of Hampton Court fit both the fascination with nostalgia and Elizabethan reproduction styles, as well as a model of the self's identity; this décor was easier to relate to than the hallowed arts contained in the state apartments of William and Mary. For visitors without a familiarity in art history, lists of paintings and painters in each room are of less interest and significance than stories of recognizable names.

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[19] Deborah Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and Their Possessions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), xi, 128, and 182.

[20] Cohen, *Household Gods*, 155.

[21] Cohen, *Household Gods*, 65.

[22] Cohen, *Household Gods*, 123.

The Tudor Popularity and Memory

Hampton Court today uses the popularity of the famous English monarchs, the Tudors, as its primary focus because it connects visitors to England's rise to prominence in the world. Henry VIII's break with Rome is an important part of English and British history that still helps define being British—no Catholic may yet inherit the throne. Henry was a very authoritative figure, focused on maintaining his dynasty which led to new traditions and institutions, like the Church of England; his were not the actions of a weak sovereign or a figurehead. Henry VIII is showcased in the 2013 palace guidebook as the most famous English king—and the number of Tudor-based novels, movies, and the Showtime television series would seem to support that claim. The number of wives Henry had seems to be a large part of his claim to fame; this number is unlikely to be surpassed (or neared) by any other monogamous monarch. The historian David Starkey, in the 2013 guidebook's brief biography of Henry, describes this tale as Prince Charming becoming Bluebeard, a fairy tale character who murders curious, disobedient wives.[23] But even more than that, the story is more far-fetched than some soap operas, with sex, violence, love, and political motives with characters to match "and much of the drama was played out at Hampton Court" because of Henry's enjoyment of this pleasure palace.[24] This can be seen through various reenactment interactions with the public showcasing court life as well as the audio guide and guidebook. Drama makes for good stories, which appeals to and interests visitors while also making history easier for the general public to visualize.

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[23] Kilby and Murphy, ed., *Souvenir Guide*, 13.

[24] Kilby and Murphy, ed., *Souvenir Guide*, 13.

All of Henry's six queens can be connected with and have left their mark on Hampton Court in some way.[25] First wife Catherine of Aragon visited the palace when it was still Wolsey's and is presented in an exhibit focusing on the young King Henry. Anne Boleyn spent a honeymoon here and assisted Henry with design changes; a couple of her badges survive and her name is still attached to one of the gateways. Jane Seymour's badges decorate the Great Watching Chamber, where she gave birth, died, and lay in state.[26] Fourth wife Anne of Cleves was sent here to wait for the final announcement of the divorce. Catherine Howard spent her honeymoon and might also have been married here; additionally, she was confined here when Henry learned of her alleged adultery before she was sent to the Tower of London. "Although his short-lived queens [Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard] have left the most abiding memorials, it was King Henry's sixth and last wife, Catherine Parr, who enjoyed the sunniest associations with Hampton Court."[27] The two married at the palace and spent their honeymoon here, as well as many quiet hours with Henry's three children.

Because of the women's relevance to this Tudor pleasure palace, each of the six wives has an informational plaque detailing information on the women and their relationship to the palace. These plaques are placed in locations that highlight the wife's significance. For example, Anne Boleyn's plaque is below her overlooked badge in the Great Hall while Jane Seymour's plaque is in the Great Watching Chamber, which Henry built for her;[28] Catherine Howard's plaque is in the Haunting Gallery, which her ghost is said to haunt. These plaques are mostly in order, with Catherine of Aragon's first and Catherine Parr last, but Anne of Cleves' location is farther down the normal path than her successor, Catherine Howard, because that location is more logical for Anne. In addition to her small blurb, each wife's plaque has a small portrait as well as either her badge or a relevant document. This arrangement connects the memory of each wife to an important part of the Tudor apartments to help visitors recollect them.

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[25] *Secrets of Henry VIII's Palace*, directed by Sam Taplin (2013, PBS DVD).

[26] Olwen Hedley, *Hampton Court Palace* (London: Pitkin Pictorials, 1971), 10.

[27] Hedley, *Hampton Court*, 14.

Another monumental Tudor moment occurred here at Hampton Court, which continues to affect Britain today: the break with the Roman Catholic Church. It was here that Henry (along with his advisors and councilors) decided to break with Rome since the Pope would not give him his divorce, creating the Church of England; the monarch to this day holds the title of the Supreme Governor of the Church of England. The current palace continues to immortalize this moment using technology, pamphlets, and re-enactors. The Council Chamber uses screens to show councilors debating the break, pamphlets of the dialogue, and relevant materials laid around for visitors to peruse. One of the re-enactments is Henry giving Anne Boleyn a gift and then announcing to the assembled (tourists and other re-enactors) that he is breaking with Rome. Other reenactments are of debates about Henry's marriages and legacy, including one about divorcing Anne of Cleves to marry Henry's crush, teenage Catherine Howard. Although Georgian re-enactors are onsite, these several Tudor re-enactments keep Henry foremost in the mind of the visitor; the daily program used in this study advertises all Tudor events and includes the opportunity to borrow velvet, Tudor cloaks to wear during the visit for a more ‘authentic’ feel. Georgian events and costumes are available as well, but are not as numerous.

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[28] Taplin, *Secrets of Henry VIII's Palace*.

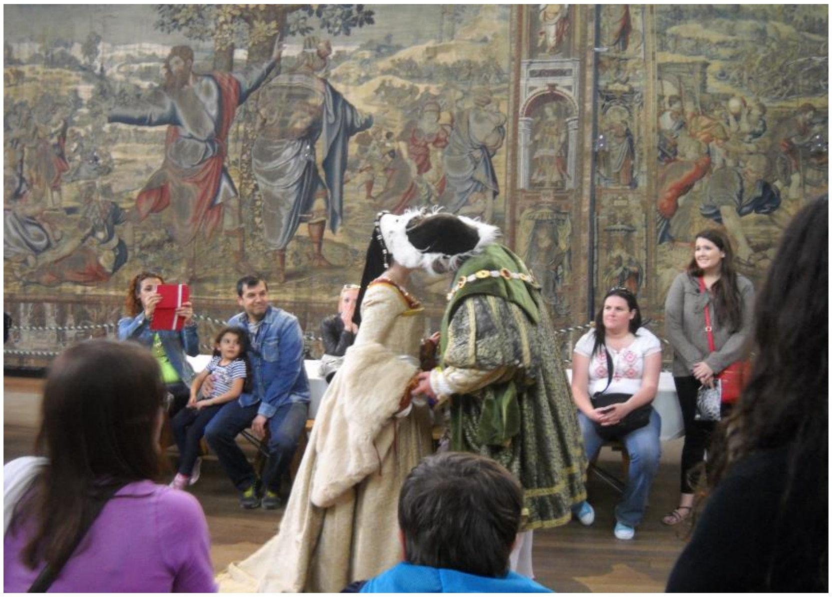

Figure 2 Tudor re-enactors in the Great Hall (2014)

Over the years, the tone when discussing Henry changed in the guidebooks. Part of this is authorship: a work on “seeing” London written by the American Howells possesses a highly critical tone but the British guidebook authors are less concerned with how much of a tyrant Henry was. Howells, however, brings a view forward about the royal families that can be useful and impacts part of the interest in state events to the family: “We [Americans] are quite as domestic as the English, but with us the family is of the personal life, while with them it is of the general life….how entirely English life, public as well as private, is an affair of the family.”[29] The royal family is a center point for this but not because it is the *royal* family, but rather “it is dear and sacred to the vaster British public because it is the royal *family*. A bachelor king could hardly dominate the

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[29] Howells, *London*, 22.

English imagination like a royal husband and father."[30] Until Victoria, many of the royal family after the Tudors were either childless or dysfunctional but due to the gracious "mother-hearted sovereign," family life returned and the queen opened the palace.[31] Although being married to Henry could often be dangerous, he did spend much of his life attempting to find a wife to create a family complete with a son. He strove to have a type of relationship with all of his children. Some current Tudor historians, such as David Starkey, promote Henry's search for a wife as searching for happiness (and a son), which fits better into Howells's ideas of the royal family than the feuding generations of the Hanovers. Henry brings to mind divorce and a search for happiness, which visitors are more able to relate to because they have experience with such things. The curators strive to give a more realistic picture of the Tudor life, focusing on the positive contributions to Hampton Court and British history while not neglecting less pleasant aspects—like the fates of the wives (lucky and unlucky). Even with his search for happiness with multiple wives that did not always make for a congenial home life, his children still enjoyed residing at the palace as they came into their own as rulers.

Space, Place and Pleasure

Royal families are connected with place because each family is claimed by (or claims) a country. Yi-Fu Tuan examines the connections between space and how spaces become place. His chapter on architectural space is particularly helpful for this study as it examines hierarchy in buildings and the related importance of building materials, since the elite are privileged to have more choice in where materials come from. As a palace of monarchs which is now open to the public, hierarchy has been very important to Hampton Court because the emphasis is on the sovereign (and royal family). Tuan states that "the built environment clarifies social roles and relations. People know better who they are and how they ought to behave when the arena is humanly designed rather than nature's raw stage."[32] One of his illustrations for this point is the medieval period in Europe because of the importance of hierarchy in the society, as evidenced by the castles and cathedrals. Spaces of restricted meanings illustrate the social order because of who was allowed limited or unlimited access to various areas of the palace.

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[30] Howells, *London*, 22.

[31] Howells, *London*, 146 – 7.

A royal residence contains plenty of restricted spaces within its grounds and the type of royal residence helps to dictate which spaces are restricted. In one of the earliest souvenir-type guidebooks with a large number of images, author E. M. Keate views the palace as one of the first royal houses in its own right, separate and distinct from predominantly defensive castles and fortresses.[33] A 2013 PBS film on Hampton Court entitled *Secrets of Henry VIII's Palace* (even though it also discusses the Georgian apartments, albeit briefly) extends this description to designate it as one of the greatest surviving medieval palaces in the world.[34] Keate also focuses on the Tudor presence because of what appeals to imagination, since palaces (especially Hampton Court) provide a more romanticized view than a strictly military castle.

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[32] Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 102.

[33] E.M. Keate, *Hampton Court Palace: A Short Popular Guide to the Palace and Gardens* (London: H.M. Stationery Off., 1932), 1.

[34] Taplin, *Secrets of Henry VIII's Palace*.

The palace's heraldry and decorations have been recorded in both histories and guidebooks. Ernest Law was the historian of the palace until Thurley wrote his history, and his reasoning for the altered emphasis on the importance of Henry was the pageantry and magnificence of his court. Queen Caroline, wife of George II, arranged for a stage to be built in the Tudor Great Hall for plays to be performed there twice each week; only seven were ever performed, but Henry often had dancing, masques, masquerades, and banquets, as did his daughter Elizabeth. Before Henry, Wolsey also imbued the palace with magnificence when a visitor had to "traverse" eight rooms to reach just his audience chamber![35] This example is itself an illustration of how magnificent the Tudor court was and how much pageantry surrounded it. Once Henry took over the palace, he hired workers to affix tokens of royal ownership throughout the palace (sometimes desecrating Wolsey's in the process), many of which remain today to show his importance as the sovereign;[36] even more than this, "the rapid succession of Henry's wives caused some perplexity to the workmen and decorators. For scarcely had they carved or painted…than the badge and monogram were out of date," which led inadvertently to one of Anne Boleyn's initials and badge being overlooked and left intact.[37] Some of this pageantry remains in the re-enactors, costumed cloaks, and audience participation that is encouraged during events, and even in the descriptions of what occurred in each room (such as waiting in the great Watching Chamber to make requests to the king).

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[35] Hedley, *Hampton Court*, 7.

[36] Hedley, *Hampton Court*, 7.

[37] Ernest Law, *A Short History of Hampton Court in Tudor and Stuart Times to the Death of Charles I* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1924), 121.

This pageantry also led Hampton Court to develop a reputation as a Tudor pleasure palace. It is often considered the heart of royal life and scandal as well as the pinnacle of Tudor fashion and style.[38] Henry took three of his wives here on well-known honeymoons and at least one, possibly two, were married in the palace chapel. One of the current audio interpretations describes the Tudor apartments' tour by guiding the visitor through the palace on the day of Henry's wedding to his last wife, Catherine Parr. Passion and excess dominate the way in which the palace was understood and how it is presented to visitors today.[39]

This excess also extends to the decorations and magnificence of the palace. Hampton Court does have a moat (believed to be one of the last constructed in England),[40] but it is mostly decorative. It is not a good palace for defense; Edward VI's protector, his uncle the Duke of Somerset, learned that during the boy king's reign and quickly removed to Windsor Castle, which was much more easily defensible.[41] Palaces and castles like the Tower of London and Windsor Castle were good for, and partly built for, defense, power, and control; the layout, design, and interior show clearly that Hampton Court is for pleasure, prestige, and image. As a further example, the staircases at Hampton Court are composed of wide, smooth, and evenly-spaced stairs with painted ceilings and walls while those at the Tower of London are narrow and uneven to prove a challenge to invaders.

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[38] Taplin, *Secrets of Henry VIII's Palace*.

[39] Taplin, *Secrets of Henry VIII's Palace*.

[40] Keate, *Short Popular Guide*, 9.

[41] Law, *Hampton Court*, 150 – 152.

Descriptions of the palace emphasize its role as a center of pleasure and pageantry. Early twentieth century historian and guidebook author Ernest Law believed that “No other of the King’s houses, indeed, was so well adapted for the pursuit both of outdoor and indoor amusements.”[42] Dancing and pageantry took place here as well as a variety of entertainments and games like music and cards. The marriage of Anne Boleyn was accompanied by raucous merriment and led to festivities that made Hampton Court the place for Tudor women to be seen in their finery: everything was about display.[43] Henry led these festivities and revelries, which made it a place of great fun—the ultimate royal playground.[44]

Throughout Henry’s residence here, he “devoted much of his time to those sports and athletic exercises in which he was so great an adept, and to which he was always much attached.”[45] Henry built the tiltyards (since changed into a garden by later monarchs) to enjoy one of his favorite sports—jousting; the participants wore elaborate suits of armor decorated, engraved, embossed and covered with jewels.[46] He also built an enclosed tennis court, which is one of the oldest sporting venues currently in existence.[47]

In the Tudor sections, we see religious life, politics, life in the kitchens, and courtly pageantry; in contrast, the Georgian apartments focus mainly on presentation and display of the public monarch. More than just the important and pleasurable rooms remain from the Tudor palace; besides the Great Hall and the Great Watching Chamber, "major domestic memorials of the king survive."[48] The pages' chamber and council room allow the visitor to experience the running of a country from the councilors' view and from the perspective of the pages. The chapel, although improved by Queen Anne in the eighteenth century, speaks to the religious life of the time, with slight modification from the Commonwealth and then the Restoration periods. Because the Tudor apartments themselves no longer survive, the visitor can experience more aspects of life in the sixteenth century and not just the public monarch. In the William and Mary and Hanoverian rooms, the visitor experiences the state apartments and the public rooms—the presentation of the self as monarch. When the palace was in use, the further one was conducted into these new state apartments showed how far the intimacy of the guest to the royal couple extended.

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[42] Law, *Hampton Court*, 89.

[43] Taplin, *Secrets of Henry VIII’s Palace*.

[44] Taplin, *Secrets of Henry VIII’s Palace*.

[45] Law, *Hampton Court*, 87 – 8.

[46] Taplin, *Secrets of Henry VIII’s Palace*.

[47] Taplin, *Secrets of Henry VIII’s Palace*.

Other aspects of life at court from servants' perspectives are also visible in the Tudor section. The extensive Tudor kitchens, enlarged by Henry, remain quite well preserved and the twenty-first century interpreters have taken full advantage of that fact to open these facilities to tourists. The wine cellar, the great kitchen, the fish court: all are open to visitors and the current guidebook even features a tour specifically of the kitchens. The great kitchens illustrate the grandeur and profusion of Tudor hospitality as well as giving an idea of the vast number of people habitually residing with the monarch at his expense.[49]

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[48] Hedley, *Hampton Court*, 11.

[49] Law, *Hampton Court*, 104 and 96.

The palace was constructed with the knowledge that it would be host to a large number of people so its size was important in the design. Tuan argues that the size of a structure is another way to demonstrate power, writing "[s]ize was another area that allowed a certain latitude. A building might serve a traditional purpose and yet permit the architect to exercise hubris, that is, a yearning to excel, to depart from precedence if only in size and in decorative conceits. Wealthy patrons might share the megalomania of their architects."[50] Both Wolsey and Henry added to the palace and seemed to view it as an extension of their image as well as a place for pleasure. Forms and materials require selection, and variances within these material sites call for thinking, adjusting, and innovation;[51] forms and materials also dictate the function of a building. Because of architecture's direct appeal to and impact on the senses and feelings, it reveals and instructs; buildings that people live in the shadow of increase in power and the people's consciousness.[52] Although Wolsey built the palace, it was Henry and his appropriation of Hampton Court that showed off his extravagances and prestige to his court, foreign dignitaries, and subjects.

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[50] Tuan, *Space and Place*, 105.

[51] Tuan, *Space and Place*, 103-4.

[52] Tuan, *Space and Place*, 114-6 and 108.

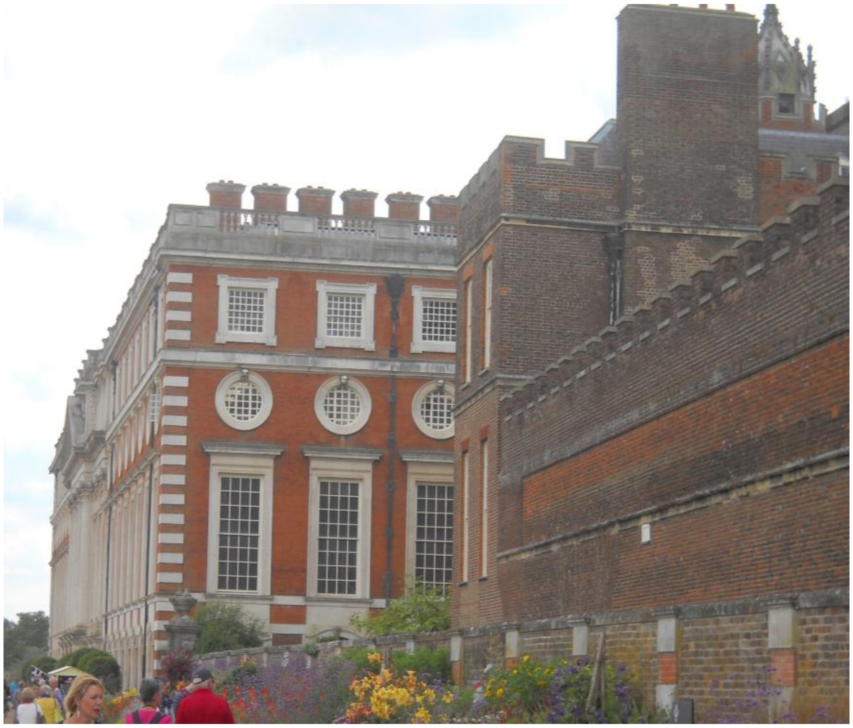

Figure 3 The William and Mary section side by side with the Tudor section (2014)

There is thus also an opportunity to study the building's materials in connection with the London environs. All the bricks are laid in the old English bond pattern,[53] which keeps the English styles in the visitor's consciousness as opposed to the more continental styles of the new palace of William and Mary. These styles also show the orientation of the inhabitants since Wolsey and Henry focused on promoting English styles to dignitaries whereas William and Mary took from the continental styles they were familiar with to situate England within that architectural dialogue.

Physical Structure and Movement

The locality of Hampton Court can also be seen in its physical orientation to the current village it adjoins. Thus part of the Tudor imagery and memory to and in the public eye could be simply a matter of construction: the Tudor section of the palace faces the visitor entrance.[54] The newer sections of the palace are oriented more towards the gardens and the river Thames. Many of the monarchs traveled on barges so it was much more convenient for the newer sections to be closer to the barges' landing; by land, however, the entrance went through the barracks and officers' households into the Tudor gateways and courts, which the early guidebooks acknowledge as they detail the route.[55] Even after William and Mary's architects knocked down two stories, the imposing Tudor façade dominates the eye upon the visitor's approach. Most visitors enter from the street, arriving through the village by train and car (although there is an option during the summer for riverboat tour arrivals and private boats).

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[53] Keate, *Short Popular Guide*, 11.

The impressive brickwork and Tudor aura appear to impress the current visitor much more than they did earlier visitors, due perhaps to a contemporary audience's appreciation for how previous societies built works of such size and beauty without modern technology. In addition, in the eighteenth century, tastes turned to the neoclassical. Older buildings were considered in bad taste, unless they were in ruins, in which case they were seen as picturesque. Early guidebooks describe decorative features but not the overall brickwork, which later guidebooks discuss. For example, a pocket guide from 1796 laid out the route into the palace very succinctly before gravitating to and detailing the objects of the William and Mary additions: the entrance with the four large brick piers is followed by a long court. The first portal with Wolsey's decorations of Roman emperor heads precedes two quadrangles with the second having the famous astronomical clock.[56] Next, the visitor comes to the great hall on one side while on the other are adorned columns and then the great staircase and the other palace's apartments with all the lavish objects that are the focus of the work.[57]

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[54] Kilby and Murphy, ed., *Souvenir Guidebook*, 16.

[55] George Bickham, *Deliciæ Britannicæ; or, the curiosities of Kensington, Hampton Court, and Windsor Castle* (London: printed by T. Cooper and George Bickham, 1742), 17.

William and Mary's apartments created an altered focus at the palace as well as new traditions and a different memory. As Eric Hobsbawm has shown, invented traditions connect to memory and ideas of the past in order to give authority and thus authenticity to new orders; thus invented traditions seek to create continuity with the past.[58] The creation of the Tudor memory at Hampton Court connects the monarch and people to the glorified past and the rise of England on the world stage. The process of creating traditions and distributing the feel of that tradition throughout the palace keeps the people in touch with this remembered past in a physical space.

Because people moved through the palace, the physical movement and location of stories and memories is important. Theorist Michel de Certeau emphasizes the location and movement of stories in the physical landscape. For him, narrative structure is an important part of the historical memory because memory is in buildings as well as in books and people's memories. "It is through the opportunity they [cities, or in this study, buildings] offer to store up rich silences and wordless stories, or rather through their capacity to create cellars and garrets everywhere, that local legends (*legenda*: what is *to*

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[56] Anonymous, *The Beauties of the Royal Palaces; or, a Pocket Companion to Windsor, Kensington, Kew, and Hampton Court* (Windsor: Printed and Sold by C. Knight, 1796, Eighteenth Century Collections Online), 138.

[57] Anonymous, *The Beauties* (1796), 138.

[58] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, ed., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.

be read, but also what *can be read*) permit exits…and thus habitable spaces."[59] Stories are linked through order and movement, which can especially be seen in tours within museums and historical buildings.[60] They are often created by the organizers, but there are opportunities for the visitor to create these connected stories themselves.

For example, there is not a set route through the palace in the current age, but there are suggested routes and the same order does tend to be followed because of the physical space and order. The descriptive, accompanying text panels move through space in an order; in the palace companion guidebooks of the eighteenth century, the order is explicitly stated and follows a path through the new palace from public to more private rooms before heading for the garden. This ordering of tours is implicit rather than explicit in the current guidebooks, but generally, visitors follow the same path and order once embarking on a tour. Fascination with the grander and more recognized aspects of the palace lead to the Tudor rooms (and not the Tudor kitchens) being the initial tour listed, and thus the one most visitors will take first. This emphasizes identification of the palace with the Tudors and the excesses of the Tudor court.

Some paths flow together better and are more frequently utilized, but (with a couple possible exceptions) order is not enforced by guides and docents. Indeed, the 1968 guidebook describes how visitors "may linger as long as they please (within the stipulated hours) and retrace their steps at will," which is still true—there is no timing or restrictions upon once having seen a room.[61] However, the new palace's architectural design forces the visitor through an order more thoroughly than most docents could do since the new section only has rooms connected through successive doorways; on the other hand, the Tudor rooms are congregated through a series of hallways. Stories about the rooms are then presented as visitors move through the rooms. Audio guides, and to a certain extent guidebooks, are organized according to this physical movement through space.

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[59] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven F. Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 106.

[60] De Certeau, *Practice*, 115.

Maurice Halbwachs shows how collective memory is connected to place. He argues that beliefs or values are stronger when they are associated with specific locations, and that they seem more authentic when rooted in place, even if they are not factually true. As he says, "A purely abstract truth is not a recollection; a recollection refers us to the past,"[62] and it is this aspect of truth and recollection that enables the memory and the history of the palace to be interpreted in overlapping and contradicting ways. Halbwachs' example of early Christianity's emphasis on place and path is helpful for this study because the route of the palace tour is an important and changing part of the promotional works of Hampton Court Palace. Because of the successive monarchs who lived there and generations of visitors, the layers of memory are very easy to see at the palace; in particular, the legends of ghosts (similar to the ghosts of de Certeau) show the several progressive layers of accumulated memory. Accumulated memory contributes to authenticity because memories occur at an established site;[63] monarchs using the palace after Henry were able to build on the legacy of authority he had created at the palace, even if he and Wolsey were absent from earlier narratives.

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[61] Marguerite D. Peacocke, *The Pictorial History of Hampton Court Palace* (London: Pitkin Pictorials, 1968), 18.

[62] Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 200.

The Uses and Legends of Palace Ghosts

According to de Certeau, memory is not always localizable; displacements of memories are just as important, if not more so, as the interwoven memories and layers, especially the invisible.[64] Stories are continuously held in reserve in places because the memories of those who have left are not always able to come through; [65] it is thus notable how much of the 'invisible' history of the palace like spirits and ghosts comes through the narrative at Hampton Court.

Hampton Court is notable for its ghosts, most of whom come from the Tudor era. One is the nurse of Henry's son Edward, Mistress Penn. Jane Seymour's ghost has also been seen, although only two works mention her; the 1924 history by Law describes her wandering in white with a taper in hand from the queen's old apartments while the 1971 guidebook merely mentions that her ghost traditionally haunts the palace.[66] The most famous ghost, however, is actually one of Henry's other wives: number five, Catherine Howard.

Catherine, much younger than Henry, engaged in extra-marital affairs before and allegedly during her marriage to Henry; when these accusations were brought to his attention, Catherine was arrested and placed under house arrest at the palace. According to the legends, Catherine escaped from her guards and ran screaming down what is now referred to as the 'Haunted Gallery' towards the Royal Chapel, where Henry was purported to be hearing devotions; before she could open the door and ask the king for mercy, her guards caught her and escorted her back to her chambers. Visitors and employees still claim to hear her screams. Although these Tudor ghosts are the most recognized, there are other supernatural elements that have been reported by various individuals.

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[63] Halbwachs, *Collective Memory*, 219 – 220.

[64] De Certeau, *Practice*, 108.

[65] De Certeau, *Practice*, 108.

[66] Law, *Hampton Court*, 131; Hedley, *Hampton Court*, 10.

Because of the supernatural connotations, it is easy for visitors to see or feel the presence of the spirits of previous occupants. Meaning grows from these previous inhabitants and creates legends; the tale of the scared young woman resonates because fear is an understandable emotion that people react to and have experienced. The Victorians were preoccupied with the supernatural through activities such as séances; it was at this time that the legends of supernatural inhabitants began to solidify. For example, a Victorian postcard in the 2013 guidebook presents apparitions in the Great Hall![67] This guidebook also highlighted a research study of visitors who experienced (or sensed) a supernatural presence—and both believers and non-believers in the supernatural admitted to feeling something.[68] Ghost stories allow visitors to imagine the previous occupants walking the halls in daily life. The palace highlights this experience by advertising ghost tours during select days and months because of the supernatural's popular appeal, connecting with shows like Ghostbusters.

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[67] Kilby and Murphy, ed., *Souvenir Guide*, 60.

[68] Kilby and Murphy, ed., *Souvenir Guide*, 61.

Ghosts and legends thus become collected memories spread through their reiterations, repetitions, and promotions. Halbwachs shows that collective memory frameworks represent "currents of thought and experience within which we recover our past only because we have lived it."[69] He continues on to say "History is neither the whole nor even all that remains of the past."[70] These ideas are easily seen in historical sites and buildings, such as Hampton Court, where the past is visual, written, and even living. Shared experiences in some cases can help bridge the gap between past and present to reconcile general history (from books and schools) with the memory and remembrances of events.[71] History, after all, may be represented as "the universal memory of the human species" but because there is no one universal memory, collective memories of different groups in space and time fill in to make up a collective narrative;[72] this narrative, however, must still be reconciled within frameworks and more specialized organization. While the overall facts are concrete, the nuances framing these historical details are remembered differently by individuals, even as the larger memory remains the same, regardless of the order in which it is presented at these sites.

Conclusion

Today, "Hampton Court is chiefly a memorial of its founder, Cardinal Wolsey, and the three sovereigns whose taste it most conspicuously displays, Henry VIII and

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[69] Maurice Halbwachs, "Historical Memory and Collective Memory," in *The Collective Memory* (New York: Harper & Row Colophon Books, 1980), 64.

[70] Halbwachs, "Historical Memory," 64.

[71] Halbwachs, "Historical Memory," 78 – 9.

[72] Halbwachs, "Historical Memory," 84.

William and Mary."[73] Because of the changing visitor circumstances since Victoria opened the palace to the public in the mid-nineteenth century, the Tudor section regained its importance and predominance in the mind of the visitor through the official (and semi-official) guidebooks. The Tudor memory still predominates, but curators have been working to balance the stories visitors hear about both the Tudor palace and the baroque palace to encourage equal attention between the two.

Hampton Court's Tudor palace has survived like none other from that period and so it is a gateway to the past, where imagination walks the halls, sometimes literally.[74] "One of the greatest charms of Hampton Court is that so much of this ancient home of kings and queens has not merely survived but is there to be seen by the casual visitor. Those who know at least something of the story of the palace can trace the marks of many reigns from the moment that they enter"[75] and all visitors can feel they are occupying the space between the past and the present, between the old pageantry of the monarchy and the memory of today.

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[73] Hedley, *Hampton Court*, 3.

[74] Taplin, *Secrets of Henry VIII's Palace*.

[75] Peacocke, *Pictorial History*, 17.

CHAPTER 3

EDINBURGH CASTLE: A SYMBOL OF SCOTLAND PAST AND SCOTLAND PRESENT

> "Edinburgh Castle has played many roles over many centuries. It has been a residence for Scotland's monarchs, a prison for her enemies, a repository for her treasures—but it has always been a military stronghold. To this day, the Army has a military and ceremonial presence here."[1]

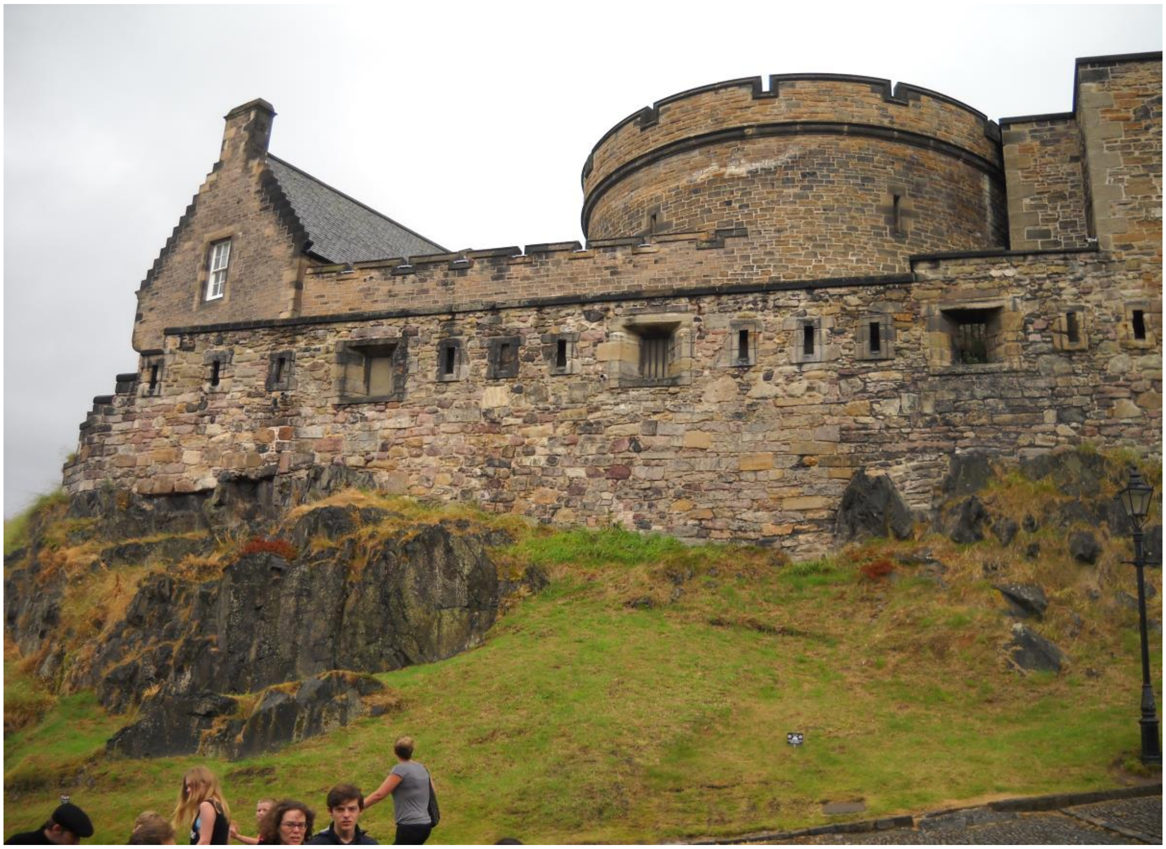

Figure 4 View of part of Edinburgh Castle (2014)

Edinburgh Castle began life as a defensive structure and spent much time being used as both a royal residence and a defensive holding that was the focus of military campaigns. The royal aspect carried over into the site for the Honours of Scotland while the military continue to use it as a barracks, along with being a memorial and museum to

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[1] Chris Tabraham, *Edinburgh Castle: The Official Souvenir Guide* (Historic Scotland, 2008), 5.

Scotland's heroes. Today, Historic Scotland[2] oversees Edinburgh Castle and welcomes visitors "to a castle at the very heart of Scotland's history and identity."[3] This chapter seeks to understand the creation of the militaristic and national memory of Edinburgh Castle as a symbol of Scotland's strong spirit.

Before the castle was built in Edinburgh, the Castle Rock where it now sits was home to a tribe that traded with the Romans and the site was later settled by Angles in the seventh century. The united Scots under Malcolm II later recaptured it circa 1018. The castle was built on the summit and Malcolm III's wife, St Margaret of Scotland, was in residence when she received word of her husband's death in 1093 and subsequently passed away; she gave her name to the small chapel that was built by her son at the top of the hilly complex. During the war with England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the English recaptured and held it until a daring night raid freed it from English control; after being razed and then rebuilt, it was recaptured before being definitively held by the Scottish in 1341.

It was after this that the castle became the primary royal residence of the Scottish monarchy. It also held the Honours of Scotland (crown, scepter, and sword of state), state archives, royal artillery, and prison accommodations.[4] Mary Queen of Scots gave birth to her son James VI of Scotland (James I of England) here in 1566. The castle was besieged from the late 1560s to the early 1570s, when it held for Mary against the supporters of her small son; with heavy guns supplied by the English, Edinburgh Castle finally fell to those under the banner of young James. During the English Civil War, the English under Cromwell captured the citadel again. From here on, it became more of a garrison fortress than a royal residence, even when the monarchy was restored. The castle remained a military symbol, even while functioning as a garrison, and it was almost retaken twice by the Jacobite rebels against William and Mary and the Hanoverians.[5]

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[2] Historic Scotland has had several names and functions over the years, but the current Historic Scotland was organized in 1991. It is an agency within the Scottish government directly responsible to Scottish ministers for safeguarding the historic environment and promoting its understanding and enjoyment. More information is available at www.historic-scotland.gov.uk. (Accessed November 20, 2014.)

[3] Tabraham, *Edinburgh Castle*, 5.

[4] Tabraham, *Edinburgh Castle*, 52.

The Crown Room with the Honours was sealed following the Treaty of Union between Scotland and England in 1707. The room was reopened in 1818 and ushered in the castle's next purpose: visitor attraction. Other areas of the castle were gradually restored or rebuilt to encourage visitors over the course of the nineteenth century until its new role "as ancient monument and visitor attraction was confirmed in 1905 when responsibility was transferred from the War Office to the Office of Works (now Historic Scotland)."[6] Housed in Edinburgh Castle today are the royal palace and Scotland's Honours, St Margaret's Chapel, famous prisons and cannons, the Scottish National War Memorial, the National War Museum, and two regimental museums whose offices are also still on the premises. Edinburgh Castle is thus a symbol of Scotland's historic military presence and strong spirit.

Historiography

Because Edinburgh Castle has ceased to be the primary royal Scottish residence for the British monarchy (that honor now belongs to Holyrood Palace), less has been written on the castle's history. One of the most in-depth studies of the castle is by Iain

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[5] Tabraham, *Edinburgh Castle*, 56 – 59.

[6] Tabraham, *Edinburgh Castle*, 61.

MacIvor in the early 1990s. He traces not only its history but also reflects on the modern Edinburgh Castle as "not only the most visible and tangible talisman of Edinburgh but also symbolic of so many aspects of Scotland itself: of Scotland past and Scotland present, of Scotland changing and Scotland still."[7] In this view, the castle is a balance between the past and the present, where history is and continues to be; it symbolizes Scotland's place as a separate but integral part of the United Kingdom.

Because of its military and royal importance, Edinburgh Castle is regularly discussed in the larger context of Scottish castles and royal residences. John Dunbar discusses the castle as one of several royal palaces in Scotland—although it is stuck in a chapter with other "lesser residences." His work also includes specifics on the architectural structure and reasons for rooms and the residences, which gives us a larger picture of the traditional functions of a royal castle, as opposed to castles that serve only as sites of history and memory. Sources from the nineteenth century placed the castle within the setting of the city itself while later sources often focus specifically on the castle or, if part of a larger work, dwell on it as an important tourist site (the "number one visitor attraction" in Scotland, according to tour companies).[8]

In the nineteenth century, when Edinburgh Castle was being opened to visitors, Scotland was regarded as less industrialized and less modern than England, which meant the country had a "stronger" link with history for the visitor.[9] Linking the visitor back to history allows memory to come through, which is a primary reason for studying the predominant historical memory at Edinburgh Castle. Katherine Grenier focused on this in her work on tourism in Scotland, discussed in the introduction of this work. Early tourism promotion was not as concerned with accurate representations as today's public history practitioners are, as illustrated in how guidebooks (and other tourism materials and promotion) have changed, producing an ongoing memory creation.

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[7] Iain MacIvor, *Edinburgh Castle* (Bath, England: B. T. Batsford Ltd/Historic Scotland, 1993), 11.

[8] "Sandemans New Edinburgh Castle Tour," (N.p.: n.d.), n.p. Promotional brochure.

[9] Katherine Grenier, *Tourism and Identity in Scotland, 1770 – 1914: Creating Caledonia* (Hants, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005), 10.

Power and Purpose at the Castle

The castle "stands as an environment capable of affecting the people who live in it" through both its functions and purposes.[10] The purpose of such a built environment "clarifies social roles and relations. People know better who they are and how they ought to behave when the area is humanly designed rather than nature's raw stage."[11] As the Scottish kings consolidated their power, the built castle in Edinburgh would have functioned as a symbol of their power, militarily and royally, since they built a defensive structure at the top of one of the tallest hills in the city.

The castle is a fortified, defensive structure that utilized the rocks and cliffs to its advantage; most of the cliffs are extremely difficult to ascend, although not impossible, as attested to by some of the castle's conquests. Unlike a palace, a castle is built for defense and so outside ornamentation and fancy colors are seldom utilized; the castle is uniformly build of a tan-grey stone. More secure areas, like the military prison and prisoners of war barracks, are located behind turns and curves in the path to limit opportunities for escape and keep them hidden from early visitors. We thus see that the military history of this part of the site is important but it is not as prominent as the 'high,' elite areas (the memorial, palace, chapel, important regimental museums, Argyle Tower) are. This is partly because these buildings functioned as sites for the Scottish (and sometimes English) elite but also due to their prominence at the top of the complex. The spatial arrangement of various components of the castle thus reflect a functional hierarchy that also determined what early visitors saw.

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[10] Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 102.

[11] Tuan, *Space and Place*, 102.

As a castle and garrison built for defensive purposes, the site features two famous large guns (cannons) important to Scotland's, or at least Edinburgh's, identity: Mons Meg and the One o'clock Gun. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Scottish monarchs participated in the "arms race" in Western Europe; their royal artillery was considerable with the "pride of place going to a giant siege gun, or bombard, called 'Mons' (or Mons Meg as she came to be known), gifted in 1457 by the king's uncle-by-marriage, Duke Phillip of Burgundy."[12] Mons Meg ("[t]he most remarkable of all medieval guns, a symbol of Scotland's proud military past") was on the leading edge of artillery technology in the fifteenth century, but was cumbersome when taking the fight to the enemy, so it became a saluting gun.[13] The end of Jacobite risings in 1746 led to the passage of the Disarming Act, and the demilitarization of Scotland. In the 1750s, Mons Meg was taken to the Tower of London and later restored to Edinburgh Castle in March 1829.[14] The One o'clock gun features as a time gun; it is fired every day (except Sundays,

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[12] Tabraham, *Scotland's Castles*, 76.

[13] Tabraham, *Edinburgh Castle*, 20 – 21.

[14] Tabraham, *Edinburgh Castle*, 21.

Good Friday, and Christmas) at 1300 hours (1 pm), coinciding with a time-ball dropped at Nelson Monument over at Calton Hill as a visible symbol for ships.[15] It began firing in June 1861 and since then, citizens have consistently been able to set their clocks by it; the firing has only been interrupted during the two World Wars.[16]

Although battle is movement and action, sieges are more like Yi-Fu Tuan's pause that create place by imbuing it with meaning. Sieges contributed to creating the meaning of Edinburgh Castle, highlighting its symbolic and functional value: If the castle had not been important, it would not have been the target of a siege or defended during a siege. It was defended as the site of royal power and residency since kings and queens stayed here. In military museums, sieges are less likely to be discussed because they do not capture the imagination as large, successful battles do, but being on the site of the sieges makes these events easy for the visitor to picture and an important part of the story. This is particularly true at the castle since the Scots both defend and recapture this national symbol.

Military museum historian Peter Thwaite argues that military museums seldom focus on sieges, blockades, and unsuccessful battles (preferring large successful battles that give their names to streets and stations) so the fact that Edinburgh Castle acknowledges its defeats and surrenders is impressive. However, most of these surrenders either lead to renewed use of the castle or a retaking of the castle, which might support Thwaite's remark that "Military defeats and blunders are not likely to appear either, unless as a way of highlighting the courage of the men involved."[17] These sieges and recaptures are a bit unique when one considers that the main participants on each side would find themselves belonging to a single United Kingdom, rather than a divided England and Scotland when the castle became a tourist attraction and memory was highlighted. However, this emphasis does create a shared memory for both the English and the Scots by acknowledging an important event linking the two together, even if they happened to have opposing goals at the time.

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[15] Tabraham, *Edinburgh Castle*, 9.

[16] Tabraham, *Edinburgh Castle*, 9.

Pre-Nineteenth Century Visitor Accounts

The descriptions of the castle before the nineteenth century by non-Scotsmen generally focus on the military functions, and sometimes the Honours or the birth of James VI of Scotland (I of England); an occasional comment is also made about the Pictish kings keeping their daughters on the site, pointing to the emphasis on a different and distinct national origin.[18] The main comment about the military function is the castle's (near) impregnability (depending on the date of the source and knowledge of the author); an occasional comment is also made about the Mons Meg gun since it was a state-of-the art technology, even if rather bulky.[19]

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[17] Peter Thwaites, *Presenting Arms: Museum Representation of British Military History, 1600 – 1900* (London: Leicester University Press, 1996), 72.

[18] Fynes Moryson, "Fynes Moryson's Itinerary (Part i book iii chap 5)" (1598), in P. Hume Brown, ed., *Early Travellers in Scotland* (New York: Lenox Hill Pub. & Dist. Co., 1891 (reprint 1970)), 83; Henri, duc de Rohan, "Voyage du Duc de Rohan, Faict en l'an 1600" (1600), in Brown, *Early Travellers,* 93; Sir William Brereton, "Travels of Sir William Brereton" (1636), in Brown, *Early Travellers,* 139; Richard Franck, "Franck's Memoirs" (1656), in Brown, *Early Travellers,* 215 – 216; and Thomas Morer, "A Short Account of Scotland. By Thomas Morer" (1689), in Brown, *Early Travellers,* 281 – 282.

[19] Duc de Rohan, "Voyage," in Brown, *Early Travellers,* 93; Taylor the Water-Poet, "The Pennyless Pilgrimage, or the Moneylesse Perambulation of John Taylor, Alias, The King's Majesties Water-Poet: How he travailed on foot from London to Edenborough in Scotland, not carrying any Money to or fro, neither Begging, Borrowing, or asking Meate, Drinke, or Lodging" (1618), in Brown, *Early Travellers,* 109 – 110; Brereton, "Travels," in Brown, *Early Travellers*, 139; Franck, "Memoirs," in Brown, *Early*

A 1598 traveller account describes it as “a very Strong Castle, which the Scots held unexpugnable.”[20] Just a couple years later, an account describes Edinburgh as the capital of Scotland and the ordinary residence of the king with the castle itself “a strong castle surnamed The Maidens (Les Pucelles), and so inaccessible on every side, that it’s natural position renders it more impregnable then if strengthened by all the arts of modern engineers.”[21] Nearly two decades later, a description of the castle features a small thesaurus of ‘unconquerable’ synonyms, comparing it to fortresses in Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, and England so that all fall before this “unconquered castle” due to “strength and situation”: “The castle on the loftie rocke is so strongly grounded, bounded, and founded, that by force of man it can never be confounded; the foundation and walls are unpenetrable, the rampiers impregnanble, the bulwarkes invincible, no way but one to it is or can be possible to be made passable.”[22] This comparison allows Scotland (and specifically Edinburgh Castle) to feature as an equal to other royal powers in sixteenth and seventeenth century Europe. Although the castle was again conquered in the English Civil War by Cromwell, the writer reminds his audience that it was only taken through treachery.[23]

Besides the impregnability of the castle itself, Mons Meg is another favored topic. An account from 1618 called it a “great peece of ordnance of iron; it is not for batterie,

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Travellers, 215 – 216; John Ray, “Select Remains of the Learned John Ray” (1662), in Brown, *Early Travellers*, 234; and Morer, “A Short Account,” in Brown, *Early Travellers*, 281.

[20] Moryson, “Itinerary,” in Brown, *Early Travellers,* 83.

[21] Duc de Rohan, “Voyage,” in Brown, *Early Travellers,* 92 – 93.

[22] Taylor the Water-Poet, “Pennyless Pilgrimage,” in Brown, *Early Travellers,* 110 and 109.

[23] Franck, “Memoirs,” in Brown, *Early Travellers,* 216.

but it will serve to defend a breach"; large enough to fit in, it was regarded by Scots as a national possession and by excited visitors in astonishment.[24] A traveler visiting in the 1660s described the old great iron gun in the castle yard as reputed to be the oldest piece of ordnance in Europe with the exception of one in Lisbon (although he was not as impressed as others had been).[25]

The Castle as Early Tourist Site

Early to mid-nineteenth century sources discuss Edinburgh Castle in conjunction with the city itself, especially the historic Old Town (the New Town was built in the eighteenth century).[26] It is after the 'rediscovery' of the Scottish Honours that guidebooks begin to discuss the castle as a site to visit and not just a notable landmark. Indeed, it seems that the Honours are the primary reason to visit the castle since otherwise, it still functions (primarily) as a military garrison at this point. One guidebook from 1825 actually discusses the castle's current use: "There are numerous cannon on the walls, and an armoury which can contain 30,000 stand of arms. About 2000 men can be accommodated. Barracks have recently been built; but by an injudicious style of architecture, they greatly impair the imposing aspect of the fortress."[27]

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[24] Taylor the Water-Poet, "Pennyless Pilgrimage," in Brown, *Early Travellers,* 110.

[25] Ray, "Select Remains," in Brown, *Early Travellers*, 234.

[26] John Britton, *Modern Athens, displayed in a series of views; or, Edinburgh in the nineteenth century. Illustrated by a series of views from original drawings by Thomas H. Shepherd, with historical, topographical & critical illus. by John Britton* (Bronx, NY: Benjamin Blom, Inc., 1861 (reissued 1969)); iv. *The Edinburgh Gazetteer, or Geographical Dictionary* Volume Fourth (Edinburgh: Printed for Archibald Constable and Co., 1822); Robert Chambers, *Walks in Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: James Auchie, 1825).

[27] Unknown, *A New Guide to Edinburgh* (Glasgow: John Lindsay & Co., 1825), 40.

In describing the castle's importance to the city the author has to explain the significance of the Honours, since they had been out of mind and even thought to have disappeared: "Here also is the crown room, where the regalia of Scotland were deposited, with great formality, on 26th March, 1707. As they had never been seen since, it was supposed they had been privately carried to London. The Prince Regent, in consequence, appointed commissioners to inspect the room: and on the 4th February, 1818, they found the entire regalia deposited in a large chest."[28] Once a brief history of the Honours is established, the author describes the atmosphere of the room where they are displayed, allowing the visitor to harken back to 'ancient' days. "The Crown-room is fitted up for the exhibition of these relics of Scottish royalty, and the crown is placed on the original square cushion of crimson velvet found along with it. The room is lighted by four lamps, and hung with crimson. Two persons in the dress of the wardens of the Tower attend to show the Regalia."[29] By using the original display furnishings and period guard attire, visitors are better able to picture the historical setting. "The whole is lighted by four lamps, which cast a 'dim religious light,' much preferable to that of day, over these venerable memorials of Scottish independence."[30] In this way, Scotland is able to be raised as an equal and a partner to England, not a conquered colony. In viewing the Honours in a period atmosphere with the former independence of Scotland displayed, visitors are able to viscerally experience this relationship between the two countries.

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[28] Unknown, *A New Guide to Edinburgh*, 41.

[29] Unknown, *A New Guide to Edinburgh*, 41 – 42.

[30] Chambers, *Walks in Edinburgh*, 47.

An 1825 guide to walks in Edinburgh describes where to buy tickets to view these impressive Regalia of Scotland artefacts (No. 2 Bank Street); it goes on to describe the castle as an "'old grey fortress.'"[31] Most of this guide discusses the crown, scepter, and sword, but physical features of the castle like the Half-Moon Battery, James VI's birth room, well, Barracks, and Governor's House also earn a place before the focus turns to Mons Meg.[32] Ironically, the almost five pages spent on the famous gun were written when Mons Meg was still in the Tower of London and had not yet returned to her home in Edinburgh Castle (which occurred four years later).[33] Yet it is clearly important to this author that his visitors imagine the gun while they are at the castle. This guide gives treasurer's accounts of the details necessary to move this great gun anywhere, even just to and from the castle to the Abbey of Holyrood.[34]

Mons Meg, having been used against the English, is beloved by the Scots, but not particularly well liked by the English of the time, which makes it interesting that it can hold such a distinguished place at a site both regional (Scottish) and national (British). In his guide to walks in Edinburgh, Chambers displays the English animosity toward the gun:

> These traditions, however agreeable to our national prejudices, and in harmony with the popular respect which Mons appears to have always commanded, are unhappily falsified by the official documents respecting the surrender of Edinburgh Castle in December 1650, published by order of the Parliament of England. Among these is a list of the ordnance taken in the Castle on the 24th of December 1650, in which a conspicuous place

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[31] Chambers, *Walks in Edinburgh*, 44 – 45.

[32] Chambers, *Walks in Edinburgh*, 46 – 58.

[33] Chambers, *Walks in Edinburgh*, 58 – 62; Tabraham, *Edinburgh Castle*, 21.

[34] Chambers, *Walks in Edinburgh*, 58 – 59.

> is given to ‘the great iron murderer Muckle Meg.’ In another list she is denominated ‘the Great Mag.’[35]

On the other hand, the castle can be easily viewed as both Scottish and British, since it was the birthplace of James VI of Scotland and I of England: “it was here that the unfortunate Mary was delivered, on the 19th June, 1556, of James VI in whose person the crowns of two kingdoms were afterwards united.”[36]

Figure 5 Mons Meg gun at Edinburgh Castle (2014)

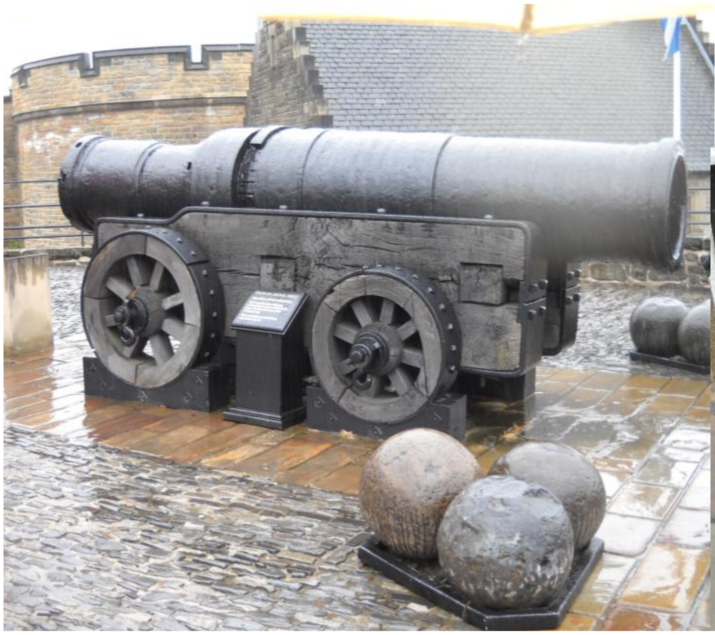
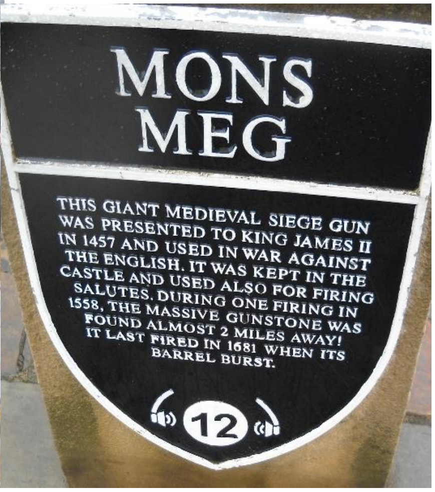


Figure 6 Mons Meg signage at Edinburgh Castle (2014)


MONS MEG
THIS GIANT MEDIEVAL SIEGE GUN WAS PRESENTED TO KING JAMES II IN 1457 AND USED IN WAR AGAINST THE ENGLISH. IT WAS KEPT IN THE CASTLE AND USED ALSO FOR FIRING SALUTES. DURING ONE FIRING IN 1558, THE MASSIVE GUNSTONE WAS FOUND ALMOST 2 MILES AWAY! IT LAST FIRED IN 1681 WHEN ITS BARREL BURST.
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Museums, Memorials, and National Memory

The museums on site are important to the history of Scotland and its military, but the buildings at the highest points of the castle are actual symbols of the past, an acknowledgement of their importance to Scottish pride and even independence. To be sure, the layout of Edinburgh Castle has been changed over time; having been razed and rebuilt more than once, it is hardly likely to be reconstructed exactly. Buildings have also been remodeled to fit changing uses, like the Great Hall—which was used as a hospital for soldiers until the mid-nineteenth century, when private donors pushed (and paid for) its return to a more ‘authentic’ purpose.[37] Before the Honours were “rediscovered” and the castle opened to more visitors, it would have been experienced differently by those who resided in the castle while a functioning residence and garrison. This experience changed again after the devastating First World War and the determination to remember and honor the dead, resulting in the reconstruction and remodeling of several buildings to convert into the National War Memorial and the National War Museum.

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[35] Chambers, *Walks in Edinburgh*, 60 – 61.

[36] Unknown, *A New Guide to Edinburgh*, 40 – 41. The correct date for James’ birth is actually 1566.

The National War Museum opened in 1933 as the Scottish Naval and Military Museum following the opening of the Scottish National War Memorial to honor the sacrifices of World War I (one in five Scots who enlisted never returned home).[38] Today, the National War Memorial honors all deceased military personnel from the twentieth century, while the renamed National War Museum illustrates Scottish military history since the first standing army in the seventeenth century. The War Memorial focuses on the personal experiences of war and military service, highlighting the impact of war on ordinary people,[39] important since the Scots are a very independent and proud people. This can be seen throughout history when they continually fought the English conquerors, fought in Jacobite revolts on both sides because of loyalty to a crown, continually attempted to regain independence, and provided service in military conflicts. Edinburgh Castle serves as an ideal home for the military museum and memorial because of its importance to Scotland and its people as a site of national military history.

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[37] Robert Morris, “The capitalist, the professor, and the soldier: the re-making of Edinburgh Castle, 1850 – 1900” *Planning Perspectives* 22:1 (2007), 55-78.

[38] Tabraham, *Edinburgh Castle*, 12.

[39] Tabraham, *Edinburgh Castle*, 13.

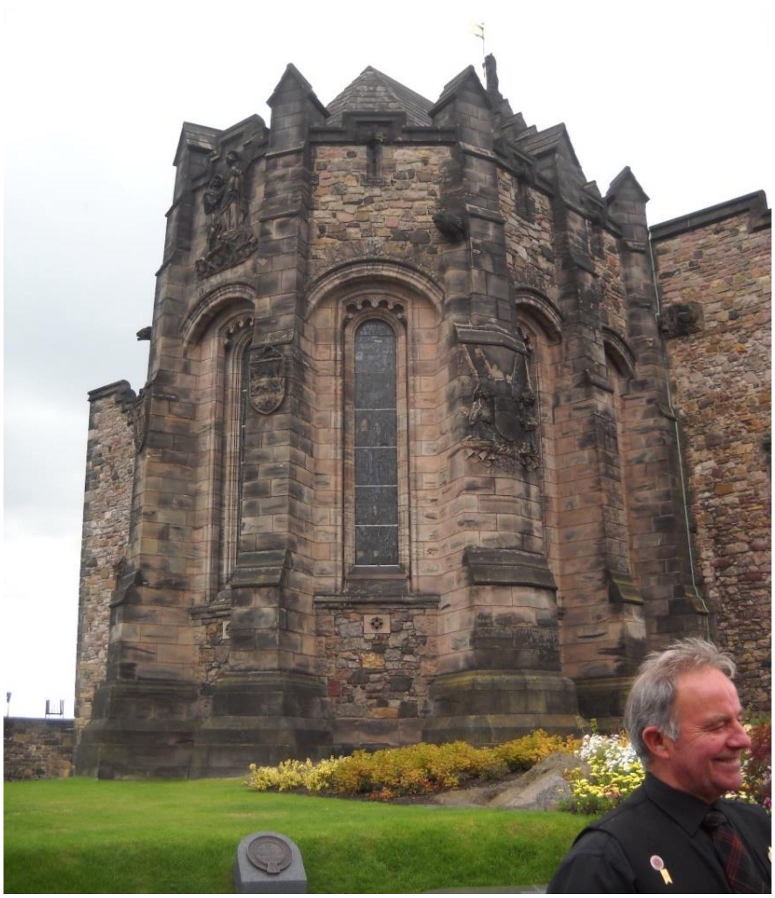

Figure 7 Back of Scottish National War Memorial, Edinburgh Castle (2014)

The stone vaults under the Queen Anne Building (across the courtyard from the palace) were used for many purposes “[b]ut their use as prisons of war captures our imagination most.”[40] Prisoners (mainly sailors) were captured in the Seven Years War and the War of American Independence (including émigré Scots), with prisoner numbers peaking during the Napoleonic Wars.[41] Across the courtyard from the entrance to the war prisons is the Victorian military prison for disciplining lax soldiers. The regimental museums tell the stories of two of the oldest Scottish regiments: the Royal Scots Dragoon Guards (a cavalry unit whose origins are in the seventeenth century) and the Royal Scots (the oldest infantry regiment in the British Army, officially raised in 1633); these proud regiments served in action as diverse as Waterloo, the Peninsular War, India, the Crimea, South Africa, both World Wars, the first Gulf War and Iraq.[42]

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[40] Tabraham, *Edinburgh Castle*, 37.

[41] Tabraham, *Edinburgh Castle*, 37.

The highest levels of the castle complex function as memorial, monumental, and even sacred (religious) space: the courtyard connecting the palace and war memorial, and the separate courtyard for St Margaret's Chapel. Both the palace and memorial allow visitors glimpses of national space and memory. The National War Memorial elevates the importance of the sacrifice of servicemen and women in conflict since World War I; one seems to be entering a church or cathedral when stepping inside due to the quiet, contemplative atmosphere and the restriction on photography and loud voices. The Great Hall, Royal Palace, and Honours of Scotland remind the visitor of Scotland's past importance as a royal player on the world stage; considering that Edinburgh Castle is the birthplace of James VI of Scotland (who became James I of England), the castle and palace remind visitors that the British monarchy would look significantly different without the Scottish Stuarts. With all of the English attempts to conquer Scotland, it must be a point of pride that the Scottish kings came down to take the English throne peacefully. The nearby chapel's story is similarly a point of Scottish pride, being the oldest building in Edinburgh and named after one of Scotland's queens and patron saints.

The castle is also the site of captured prisoners with little to do and less ability to move and leave. Enemy prisoners of war are seldom discussed in military museums but Edinburgh Castle makes sure to include this as its own exhibit within the complex. This could be to appeal to visitors from other nations, especially Americans and French whose countries had prisoners kept there in the prison’s heyday. But even more, it speaks to the castle’s important functions: it may have ceased being the royal residence but the castle (and the city and nation) remained an important player in British history.

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[42] Tabraham, *Edinburgh Castle*, 16-17.

On the whole, the museums function to remind Scots of their position: an independent, proud people that are also a part of the strong United Kingdom. The regimental museums speak of the pride in their fighting heritage—of a people who were never ‘conquered,’ but integrated into a kingdom. The National War Museum speaks to the human experience of war and reasons why soldiers fight; the National War Memorial recalls the sacrifice of war—and the bravery of those who make such a sacrifice for their country and people.

Tourist Itineraries

Michel de Certeau advocates for people to create their own paths instead of just following the paths authority has planned out. This can be done at the castle. There are also options for visitors who want more of a prescribed path, but one can always deviate from the plan (or wander away from the guide). The guidebook presents sites in a certain order, but it does not specify the route to be taken; one site leads to another but that is not the only way to get there, which the guidebook acknowledges. The one place where visitors can only move forward would seem to be the room housing the Scottish Honours. Even here, however, there are two entrances: a fast-track entrance to see only the crown, sword and scepter, and a longer route learning the history of the monarchy (and its Honours) in Scotland.

Even with the suggested official routes, there are multiple options. On its website, Edinburgh Castle lists six different itineraries visitors can take through the palace;

options include time-oriented (an hour, morning, and afternoon) as well as themes (Family-Friendly, Military March, and the Royal Route).[43] The time-oriented itineraries actually have few overlaps in the sites suggested, but the military and royal routes seem to have more overlaps, likely because the buildings housing these themes had multiple purposes and uses over the centuries. The Family-Friendly itinerary actually has the fewest physical sites listed and points to more opportunities to engage children through quizzes, events, and gift shops.

Table 1 List of Itineraries and Sites at Edinburgh Castle

Key

Yellow=2	Panorama, Argyle Battery, Military Prisons, Royal Scots Museum, Royal Scots Dragoon Museum, New Barracks, Gov House, National War Museum, Forewall Battery, Half-Moon Battery, Royal Apartments, Birth Chamber, National War Memorial
Blue=3	St Margaret's Chapel, One o'clock gun, Argyle Tower, Dog Cemetery, David's Tower
Green=4	Portcullis Gate, Honours, Prisons
Purple=5	Lang Stairs, Mons Meg, Great Hall

Site	**Just an Hour Itinerary**	**Morning Itinerary**	**Afternoon Itinerary**	**Family-Friendly Itinerary**	**Military March Itinerary**	**Royal Route Itinerary**	
Portcullis Gate	X	X			X	X	W/ Argyle Tower in MM
Lang Stairs	X	X		X	X	X	
St Margaret's Chapel	X		X			X	
Mons Meg	X		X	X	X	X	
Panorama of Edinburgh	X		X				

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[43] PDFs of the itineraries are online at < http://www.edinburghcastle.gov.uk/plan/itineraries/just-an-hour.aspx> (a dropdown menu from this page links to all the itineraries). (Accessed 11/24/2014.)

Honours of Scotland & Stone of Destiny	X		X	X		X	
Great Hall	X		X	X	X	X	
Prisons of War Exhibition	X	X		X	X		
One o'clock Gun (&/or Exhibition)	X	X		X			
Argyle Battery		X			X		
Argyle Tower		X			X	X	
Military Prisons		X			X		
Royal Scots Museum		X			X		
Royal Scots Dragoon Guards Museum		X			X		
New Barracks		X			X		W/ Gov House in MM
Governor's House		X			X		
Western Battlements		X					
National War Museum		X			X		
Low Defenses		X					
Foogs Gate			X				
Dog Cemetery			X	X	X		
Forewall Battery			X		X		W/ H M

							Battery in MM
Half Moon Battery			X		X		
David's Tower			X		X	X	
Royal Apartments			X			X	
James VI Birth Chamber			X			X	
Scottish National War Memorial			X		X		
Castle Timeline						X	
Children's Quiz				X			
Keep the fun going (gift shop adventures)				X			
Bringing the castle to life				X			

No site is listed on all six itineraries and seven items are listed only on one. Of the thirty-one total items, only six appear on four or five itineraries: the Portcullis Gate, the Honours of Scotland and the Stone of Destiny, the Prisons of War Exhibition, the Lang Stairs, Mons Meg, and the Great Hall. When examining the description in the itineraries, most change at least slightly to focus its relevance to that itinerary. For example, the description of the Portcullis Gate changes by a few words in each of the four itineraries under which it is listed, but the descriptions of the Honours and Lang Stairs are different in only a couple of itineraries. In *Just an Hour*, the Portcullis Gate description reads, “Pass through a gateway built almost 450 years ago following the devastation wrought by the Lang Siege. Look up to see a spiked portcullis, raised today to let visitors inside."[44] The *Morning* itinerary adds one sentence: "The top floor was added in the 1880s" and the *Royal Route* itinerary adds on to that with another sentence, "Hunt for the carved lions, a symbol of royalty."[45] While the meaning of these sites does not change with the various descriptions, the focus of what to see (and thus what is important) can modify a visitor's experience and make them engage with it in a new and different way.

The Lang Stairs description is the same in *Just an Hour*, *Morning*, and *Royal Route*: "Take the direct route of the summit of the Castle Rock, up a great flight of steps that once constituted the original entrance—there is a gentler but longer available route around the cobbled hill."[46] The *Military March* adds a name and date before rephrasing the information about the alternative route (clarifying the reason—moving heavy guns); the *Family-Friendly* has a different take to cater to children's interests: "Can you count the steps in the famous Lang Stair? Most medieval visitors to the castle had to trudge up to the summit this way every day. It's not easy. But if you prefer you can take a gentler route to the summit along the cobbled hill."[47] The variety of possibilities in the itineraries gives visitors control of their excursion, even if they are using the suggestions of authority. These suggestions may not give the fully personal experience that creating one's own path does, but they do provide guidance for visitors who may not have had time to research the site beforehand.

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[44] Historic Scotland. "Itinerary: Just an Hour," http://www.edinburghcastle.gov.uk/plan/itineraries/just-an-hour.aspx. (Accessed October 3, 2014.)

[45] Historic Scotland. "Itinerary: Morning," http://www.edinburghcastle.gov.uk/plan/itineraries/morning.aspx. (Accessed October 3, 2014.); Historic Scotland, "Itinerary: Royal," http://www.edinburghcastle.gov.uk/plan/itineraries/the-royal-route.aspx>. (Accessed October 3, 2014.)

[46] Historic Scotland, "Just an Hour," "Morning," and "Royal."

[47] Historic Scotland, "Itinerary: Military March," http://www.edinburghcastle.gov.uk/plan/itineraries/military-march.aspx. (Accessed October 3, 2014.); Historic Scotland, "Itinerary: Family-Friendly," http://www.edinburghcastle.gov.uk/plan/itineraries/family-friendly.aspx>. (Accessed October 3, 2014.)

The castle itself directs the visitor through its paths and turns. Because castles are built for defense, the number of paths are limited, making the castle easier to defend against potential invaders. However, there are options on the paths visitors take and choices concerning what direction to take, but these options are not numerous. There are also restricted paths that visitors are unable to follow; the site still retains some military offices so visitor 'civilians' cannot be expected to have free reign. Narrow, cobblestone paths are set within the wider bricks dictating the paths; short walls, building walls, and cliff rocks mark the edges of these paths. Wider paths highlight the main visitor paths, as well as routes for the vehicles in use at the current military areas.

In the city and castles (or other museum and heritage sites), landmarks help in organizing routes, paths, and tours for the guidebooks, audio guides, and guided tours by focusing on what has been deemed 'important' to see at a location. Landmarks also help orient visitors because with their distinctiveness, it is easy to recognize where one is; at the castle, one can orient oneself by looking up at the buildings standing tall at the highest points. This orientation is especially important at sites such as Edinburgh Castle that have more visitors than staff because visitors and tourists are there for shortened periods of time; visible signs, junctions, and paths become just as important for visitor navigation, which is an important consideration for staff as these sites transition from the original purpose to one focused on tourism.

Conclusion

The castle is the setting of a conquering and conquest story—but not colonization. Scotland is not Ireland and has not been colonized by the English; the Scots have resisted English attempts to conquer the country and they ultimately managed to succeed where England had failed: to take the crown of the other country—and to do it peacefully. Thus even while James VI of Scotland and I of England was only in Edinburgh Castle a few times (for his birth and homecoming visit particularly), his memory at the castle is important as a reminder of the power and influence of Scotland on its own terms. Scotland continued to support the Stuart line in the national conflicts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but the revolts here on behalf of Stuart claimants did not lead to the similar treatment of the Scots and the Irish; nineteenth century monarchs even visited the country to help Scotland feel a part of the United Kingdom—which also helped boost tourism for the Scottish economy.

Edinburgh Castle is a symbol of Scotland in the same manner that the Tower of London is a symbol of London, of England, and of the British monarchy. Both castles were built for strategic purposes, as strongholds and fortresses, and were expanded over the centuries. There have been constant control struggles over both sites during the battle for national control and kingly power struggles. "Edinburgh Castle was remade as a symbol of Scotland as a religious and distinct nation, an equal partner in the union [of the British Isles], the true counterpoint to the remade Tower in London."[48] Unlike Ireland, Scotland was not conquered and colonized; it was integrated with England under a dual monarchy and then the union of the Parliaments in 1707. Similarities between the two castles (and the two capitals) are thus easy to see, especially as over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the castles became historical landmarks. People in both countries "recognised the symbolic value of the castle as a monument, representing a specific version of the nation. In London, the tourist had to compete with the utilitarian functions of the Tower as an armory, powder store and public record office, just as Edinburgh remained a working barracks."[49] As both castles became larger visitor and heritage sites (instead of just functioning sites), the two became instilled with more national identity and symbolism. "By 1900 the Tower was imbued with solidly English – or was it British? – virtues of duty and courage. In Edinburgh, the castle was an assertion of Scottish difference."[50]

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[48] Audrey Dakin, Miles Glendinning, and Aonghus MacKechnie, ed., *Scotland's Castle Culture* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd, 2011), 278.

Edinburgh Castle thus ensures it remains in the minds of both visitors and the citizens of Scotland and Great Britain. It does not deny or downplay its connection to the larger nation, but it also remembers its proud days as an independent, sovereign nation and monarchy. Both the military importance and the royal connection are included in the national memory at the castle. The buildings and guns serve as landmarks listed in guidebooks and on itineraries to help the visitor pinpoint the important sites within the complex. The whole of the Royal Mile actually serves as a reminder of this national identity as Old Town Edinburgh stretches from the royal and military Castle Rock down to the Palace of Holyrood, a royal residence that continues to be used today. "In a nation that continued to pride itself on the contribution it made to the grand imperial project that was Great Britain, the past was rendered fit for the purposes of supporting that pride and patriotism."[51]

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[49] Dakin, Glendinning, and MacKechnie*, Scotland's Castle Culture,* 276.

[50] Dakin, Glendinning, and MacKechnie*, Scotland's Castle Culture,* 276.

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[51] James J Coleman, *Remembering the Past in Nineteenth-Century Scotland: Commemoration, Nationality and Memory* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 187.

CHAPTER 4

CARDIFF CASTLE: THE MEDIEVAL REIMAGINED BY THE VICTORIANS

> Cardiff Castle at first sight looks like a purpose-built Hollywood recreation, a too-good-to-be-true version of a medieval fortress; which it almost is, for the present ornate structure is the work of that Victorian genius, architect William Burges, who reconstructed the castle for the 19th-century coal and shipping magnate, the Third Marquess of Bute. But first appearances can be deceptive. Cardiff is a site of great antiquity, with sufficient medieval and Roman associations to satisfy even the most dedicated historic purist.[1]

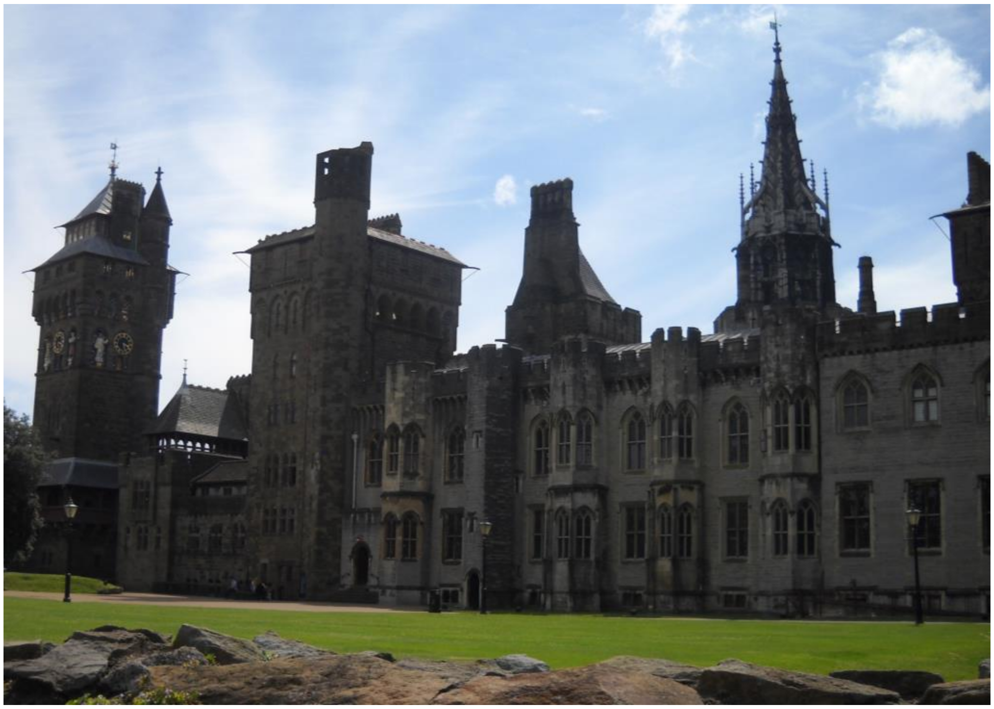

Figure 8 The house exterior at Cardiff Castle, taken from inside the castle grounds (2014)

Cardiff Castle as primarily a tourist attraction and historical site is a relatively new establishment in comparison to other castles and palaces; it was donated to the city by the fifth Marquess of Bute in 1947 but it was used as the home of the College of Music and Drama until 1974, when it became a tourist site. The condition of the gift was for the castle's use "for any local public purpose or for the benefit of the inhabitants of the city of Cardiff," under which of course, both the college and the heritage attraction fit.[2]

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[1] Roger Thomas, *Castles in Wales: History, Spectacle, Romance (with full colour atlas and touring information)* (London: Publication Division of AA & Wales Tourist Board, 1982), 59.

The histories of the Romans, Normans and Butes are the most emphasized stories at Cardiff, because they are still the most visible (and appealing) due to the wall, keep, and highly-decorated castle interiors. Because of the complicated and entwined medieval family trees and inheritance, these relationships are a lesser focus and guidebooks work hard to make them clear, concise and simple. The Victorian interest in the medieval world and antiquity caused the nineteenth-century inhabitants to reconstruct, restore, and emphasize the early built environment of the castle, which has helped preserve them for visitors today. This Victorian interest also accounts for the religious, mythological, and historical themes and images in the redesigned interior so celebrated today. The Victorian reconstruction focused on the Romans and early Normans, but in doing so, also promoted the Victorian Age and its idealism of (and nostalgia for) the medieval, pre-industrial, and Welsh martial spirit.

Wales has long been a contested region, with early feuding between various chieftains, Saxons, and Danes as well as construction of Roman forts and garrisons. The site where Cardiff Castle now stands was the site of a Roman fort, rebuilt four times before the Roman soldiers vacated Britain to return to a collapsing empire. After the Anglo-Saxons that followed the Romans, the Normans continued pushing into Welsh lands and constructing castles and garrisons sporadically under William the Conqueror and Henry I, and then systematically under Edward I.

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[2] William Rees, *Cardiff Castle Illustrated Handbook* (Cardiff: The Cardiff Corporation, c. 1950), 2.

These Norman lords tried to preside like Welsh chieftains while also continuing to use their traditions from England and France and acting like kings and princes; Welsh chieftains raided other settlements (and the Normans) though and were more common in their living habits so the lordly Norman settlers did not enjoy the success they had hoped. They did, however, encounter a fair amount of animosity from the Welsh, including attacks. Most of the time, the lords had the support of the English king, but occasionally a lord got into trouble with the king too. The English-supported, Norman lord Robert Fitzhamon began to build his castle at the strategic Cardiff (river) at the location of the old Roman fort, as it had some measure of protection from Welsh raiders and was in a good location to keep control of the area or ride out as necessary; a moat, mound, and motte-and-bailey castle were constructed here. Like Edinburgh Castle, the Norman keep at Cardiff was built on higher ground, although here it was manually constructed instead of naturally formed. The dirt disturbed and displaced when creating the moat was ingeniously used to build the mount for the original motte-and-bailey castle, later replaced by the stone, shell keep.

Lords from the various families holding Cardiff continued to add to it over the years, concentrating mostly on defensive fortifications and additions. The first stone keep was built by Robert's son-in-law, Robert the Consul, Lord of Glamorgan (1122). It did not do his son much good when he and his family were abducted by Welshman Ifor Bach from the keep until certain wrongs were addressed. A Welsh uprising in 1183-4 caused great damage to the castle; an embattled wall linking the keep to the Black Tower at the south gate was constructed during the uprisings (1256-1274) of Welsh prince Llywelyn the Last. The last great uprising in Wales was under Owain Glyndwr in the early fifteenth century; his attack on the town of Cardiff left everything but the monastery in flames for the murder (under the Despenser lords of Cardiff Castle) of a prominent Welsh lord at the end of the previous century.

Eventually, as the threats lessened, the castle was able to transition away from serving as a defensive structure and center of county administration toward being a home and residence for the lord and his family, particularly beginning under Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick. His brother-in-law Richard Neville became both the Earl of Warwick and Lord of Cardiff after Beauchamp's death; heavily involved in politics, Neville "Warwick the Kingmaker" played the Lancastrian king against the Yorkist king and married his daughters to the Yorkist king's brothers, including the future Richard III, before being killed in battle. Cardiff Castle was thus a lesser-seat of the dramas of those uncertain times in England and Wales during the Wars of the Roses. The story of the Castle was entwined with England's royal family for most of the medieval and early modern periods, being held by a relative, mentor, friend, or the king himself (Richard III, Henry VII, Henry VIII, and Edward VI).

Cardiff Castle was taken and retaken during the English Civil War by the opposing sides. Through the female line of Herberts (who received the castle from King Edward VI), the castle fell into the possession of the (Mount) Stuart family from Scotland after the Restoration; the head of the family eventually earned the title Marquess of Bute (still held by the family to this day even without the possession of Cardiff Castle since the seat is the Isle of Bute in Scotland). It was the second Marquess who was called 'the founder of modern Cardiff' for all his work in building the coal docks and industry, but it was his son the third Marquess who was to be so important to the castle's memory and current appearance.

The interest in the medieval of the Victorian Era, particularly of the third Marquess of Bute himself, led to the redecoration and restoration of the castle apartment. "The west apartments and south side of the castle then underwent a series of major transformations from the late eighteenth century, but particularly in the nineteenth century by the third marquess of Bute, to give the castle the appearance that has made it so famous today for lovers of things Victorian".[3] The third Marquess was also involved in the excavation of and additions to the Roman Wall (completed by the fourth Marquess). The above-ground tunnels created to view the Roman Walls actually served as bomb shelters during World War II; this is presented and remembered today in small exhibits throughout the tunnels about wartime life.

Historiography

Works on Cardiff Castle generally place it within the context of other Welsh castles. Since construction on the actual castle (and not just the Roman fort) took place in the medieval period, it is generally discussed in the context of English, Norman lords encroaching upon the divided Welsh. "Whatever one's views are of the Edwardian conquest of north Wales [under King Edward I], from the point of view of building history, the construction of castles is one of the greatest achievements of the Middle Ages. This achievement is made all the clearer because of the surviving documentation".[4] However, castle reconstruction also integrates Cardiff, seeing as it was "the romantic idealization of the medieval world" and many reconstructions speak to the nostalgia for the chivalric past.[5] The reconstruction at Cardiff was an escape from the Victorian Era's industrial life by retreating to the chivalric and medieval past, both highlighting and hiding the conquest of Wales by focusing on the personal achievements of the families who called the castle home.

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[3] John R. Kenyon, *The Medieval Castles of Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2010), 111.

[4] Kenyon, *Medieval Castles of Wales*, 7.

The writer of one book on medieval castles in Wales acknowledges the addition and reconstruction of the nineteenth-century paying homage to the medieval but prefers the glory of the creation of the Middle Ages; mostly, this seems to be personal preference and depends on a visitor's preference for the truly medieval versus the created medieval.[6] During primarily the nineteenth century, Scotland had a movement that many members of the upper class participated in to restore, beautify or update castles and ruins; for some reason, the fate of castles in Wales was more up to the individual Lord, especially the Marquess of Bute (who inherited at less than a year old and restored or reconstructed at least three castles in Wales).

Cardiff Castle is also discussed in the several works focusing on the Butes and William Burges, because of their interest and efforts in both Cardiff and the castle itself. "This relationship transformed a building with phases of Roman, Norman, Plantagenet and Neo Classical occupation into a unique site within the British Isles. By Burges's own admission Cardiff Castle took priority above his other contracts from 1865 until his death in 1881."[7] Scholars writing on Burges (such as J Mordant Crook, Jamie S Hood, and

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[5] Kenyon, *Medieval Castles of Wales*, 153.

[6] Kenyon, *Medieval Castles of Wales*, 154.

Matthew Williams) often focus on the context of his work, when the Victorian period was entranced with the medieval and its use in reconstruction. These works focus on the ideas and ideals of the Butes and Burges, not the stories and memories presented.

Castell Coch, another Bute residence near Cardiff, sometimes gets more mention because more of it was rebuilt and reconstructed by the third Marquess and Burges, since it was in ruins by the time the Marquess inherited it, even though it was intended as a pleasurable summer retreat and not as a permanent residence.[8] It may have originally been built more as a hunting lodge than a fortress, but the remains of the medieval castle and its plan dictated the work done later by Burge and Bute.[9] Both castles and their designers are part of the discourse on Victorian medieval interest, with the reconstructions and designs generally pointing more to the interests and ideas of the two men than the periods they were built in homage to.[10] "Today, Cardiff stands as a unique monument to the self-confidence and prosperity of the Victorian age."[11] Though this remains true, the castle is also different from other Victorian memorializations of the medieval past through the expense and attention to detail given by Bute and Burges as well as its combination of defenses and overly-luxurious furnishings.

Medieval architecture appealed to Victorians, who had watched England's transformation from a rural society of landowning squires to wealthy and influential city

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[7] Jamie S. Hood, "William Burges – Designer, Scholar and Collector: Accurate Representations of Arms and Armour in the Architecture of Cardiff Castle," *Arms and Armour* 16:2 (2009), 150.

[8] Thomas, *Castles in Wales*, 68 and 70.

[9] Kenyon, *Medieval Castles of Wales*, 111 – 112.

[10] Thomas, *Castles in Wales*, 60 and 70.

[11] Thomas, *Castles in Wales*, 60.

dwellers financing industry (and through extension, overcrowded slums); reaction to the changes of the Industrial Revolution included getting out of the cities (in the case of the more wealthy) and campaigning for better conditions (by the lower classes).[12] "In a way that can only be described as nostalgia the upper classes longed for 'a world of magic and fixed values; a yearning for stability in an age of change'. In this way they looked to the middle ages for inspiration, to a simpler way of life; an idealistic 'golden era'".[13] Many in the nobility missed the control and power their ancestors had wielded before wealthy merchants and industrialists replaced them in the Victorian age; Bute, on the other hand, seems to have missed more the atmosphere of the mystic and chivalrous past and less of the control since he spent his time reconstructing castles as opposed to building the city and industry of Cardiff as his father had. Ironically, it was the fortune amassed by the second marquess as an industrialist that enabled the third marquess to create this idealized past.[14]

Scholar Jamie Hood shows that one way in which the medieval came to be popular was in the decorative use of medieval arms and armour, since they were no longer used in wars with the invention of gunpowder.

> The interest in this area had been kindled during the early years of the Romantic period, the late 18th century, when arms and armour were utilised to create ambience and decorate 'baronial halls in the Gothic castles…springing up all over Europe'. In popular culture the 'knight in shining armour' came to symbolise the most idyllic aspects of the age of chivalry. This romanticized conceit was used extensively throughout the visual arts and was immortalized in Victorian literature, from the poetry of

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[12] Thomas, *Castles in Wales*, 68.

[13] Hood, "William Burges – Arms & Armour," 145.

[14] Thomas, *Castles in Wales*, 68.

> Tennyson to the prose of Sir Walter Scott, himself a keen armour collector.[15]

Bute and Burges are shown trying to blend the medieval fortress recreation with the popular Victorian ideas of the medieval. Here at Cardiff, armour (subtly) combines with other themes of medieval and ancient life to create an ambience fitting both a house of luxury and a site of defense.[16]

Wales has a history of providing good soldiers for England and its wars. Matthew Cragoe and Chris Williams edit a volume that explores Welsh attitudes to war over the past two centuries for the United Kingdom. John Ellis shows how the ancient Welsh fierceness was utilized recruiting for later wars even as new religious views campaigned against Welsh involvement:

> The Welsh martial tradition ultimately rests on images accumulated during the warlike days of the distant past. In truth, in medieval and ancient times, the Welsh and their tribal Celtic forebears were known for their ferocity, tenacity and daring in battle and were reputed to have a natural enthusiasm for war….wars and raids were the primary means to fortune, liberty, and political power. No wonder, then, that the Welsh should be seen as violent and opportunistic raiders, 'warlike and skilled in arms', whose 'glory is in plunder and theft'.[17]

Norman castles, whether in ruin or restored, highlight the invasion of Wales but also the Welsh spirit that did not give in easily. The Welsh fighters and people made the Normans earn their conquest and ownership.

Even more, the martial tradition tied Wales to resistance to conquest by Romans and Normans, both seen at Cardiff. Pantheons of heroes such as Arthur, the last native prince Llewelyn Olaf, and revolter Owain Glyndwr have been created and constructed to upload this picture of resistance.[18] "Defiant and proud, these heroes represented the unbroken Welsh spirit of resistance, but at the same time, their ultimate defeat signified the bitter and conclusive shattering of military opposition itself. The war for independence was not to be forgotten, but it was over and it had been lost."[19] These scholars show this reflection on historical martial tradition in writing; the preservation of a site like Cardiff built for Roman and Norman invaders to keep an eye on their conquered lands and people demonstrates it physically.

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[15] Hood, "William Burges – Arms & Armour," 146.

[16] Hood, "William Burges – Arms & Armour," 151.

[17] Matthew Cragoe and Chris Williams, ed., *Wales and War: Society, Politics and Religion in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007), 16.

In a similar way to (rural) Scotland, travel writers in the eighteenth and nineteenth century discussed Wales as a 'different' place, with its own Celtic culture, history and legends impressed upon the landscape.[20] These myths and culture were easy for elites versed in discourses of the picturesque, and the sublime and the past to understand, although the lower classes would not have understood these discourses but would have known Wales was different than England (or Scotland). Gruffudd, Herbert, and Piccini discuss the landscape's picturesque qualities before discussing the past of 'ethnic Wales.' One set of Welsh guidebook authors in the early twentieth century they used for their study "emphasized a Welsh 'pastness' as being part of an emotional response to the world in which a sense of heritage and historicity provides an antidote for the modern industry that made this Celtic enclave accessible in the first place."[21] Until Wales sprang into the Industrial Revolution by supplying coal and iron in the nineteenth century, it was a country untouched by modern invention and where the ancient castles and monuments could be visited "authentically". Other scholars looking into modern Wales discuss the early tourism for landscape, past monuments and architecture, and ethnically Celtic Wales; Teri Brewer in particular traces Welsh tourism in the 1980s and 1990s as both created for natives and foreign tourists revisiting the cultural and historic past.

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[18] Cragoe and Williams, ed., *Wales and War,* 17.

[19] Cragoe and Williams, ed., *Wales and War,* 17.

[20] Pyrs Gruffudd, David T. Herbert, and Angela Piccini, "In search of Wales: travel writing and narratives of difference, 1918-50," *Journal of Historical Geography* 26:4 (2000), 589.

[21] Gruffudd, Herbert, and Piccini, "In search of Wales," 598.

Building and Reconstruction

A castle is, of course, primarily built for defensive purposes and its architecture and construction reflects this. However, the castle at Cardiff (as is likely elsewhere) also became the seat and center of administration and governance of Glamorgan during the medieval and early modern periods. During the same time, the castle was beginning its transition and transformation to a home and a residence for the families. This was particularly the case during the Victorian reconstruction and remodel, since there was no danger of an army attacking the castle or family during this time. The castle's defensive structure and reconstruction regained importance during the air attacks on Britain during the Second World War, when the tunnels under the battlement walk built for easier viewing of Roman tunnels were used as air raid shelters.

Yi-Fu Tuan discusses the importance and implications of building materials. Heavy materials for a fort and castle necessitated the use of local materials, mostly blue lias limestone from the bed of the River Taft.[22] The motte, of course, used the local earth dug when constructing the moat. As the threats decreased and more luxurious and comfortable materials could be utilized, local materials were still used but other resources could come from farther away. During the latter half of the 1500s especially, the earls of Pembroke (the Herbert family) were patrons of literature and the arts and important figures at the Tudor court, all of which was reflected in their new interior filled with rich furnishings like tapestries and silks.[23] The landscape also became less fortified and came to include a more private garden, especially through the work by Capability Brown, renowned landscape architect, in the 1700s.

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[22] Matthew Williams, *The Essential Cardiff Castle* (London: Scala Publishers Ltd, 2008), 4 – 5, and 11.

Bute brought in foreigners for some of his reconstruction (like Italian sculptors), but also patronized the local craftsmen and industry. He and Burges were interested in reviving medieval construction techniques and continued to use craftsmen who had served Burges well in his other projects, as well as scouting new, local talent. While not Welsh himself, the Marquess (as a proud Scotsman) was sympathetic to the Welsh, employing them in the arts as well as learning the language.[24] As a convert to Catholicism, religion also played a part in Bute's recreation, possibly because of the connection of a strong church to the medieval as well as low literacy levels during that period; like the decorations in many medieval (catholic) churches, many of the designs (particularly the murals in the Banqueting Hall) show stories of the past. The Banqueting Hall tells the story of the medieval castle, and the Chaucer Room (designed by Bute's wife the Marchioness) is filled with the characters of Chaucer while the nursery highlights children's literature tales and the zodiac and astrology symbols are highlighted in other rooms.

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[23] Williams, *Cardiff Castle*, 13.

[24] Williams, *Cardiff Castle*, 22 and 25.

Cardiff is one of the oldest Welsh castles still standing and in good condition (after renovations). "For a castle with a long history, or perhaps because of it, there is not a large amount of medieval masonry standing, certainly not standing unaltered. However, the conqueror's castle is represented by the large motte occupying the north-west half of the interior."[25] The motte and its shell keep dominate the space inside the castle walls, especially since the keep is one of the best examples of early stone keeps in Britain.[26]

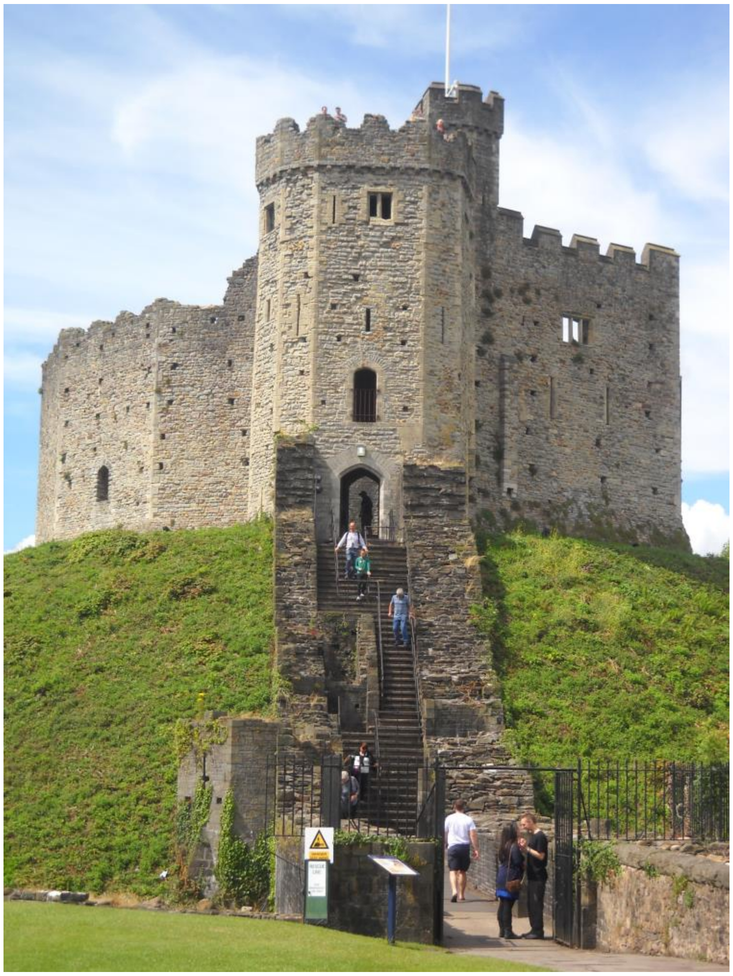

Figure 9 The Keep at Cardiff Castle (2014)

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[25] Kenyon, *Medieval Castles of Wales*, 110.

[26] Kenyon, *Medieval Castles of Wales*, 111.

Rooted and Connected Memory

Because of the relationship between the Cardiff lords and the royal families on the British Isles, Cardiff Castle connects to Wales, England, Scotland, and Britain as a whole. While not generally at the frontlines of royal family dramas and intrigues, it was on the periphery. The castle even served as a tool to firmly establish the Tudors through the creation of a document from the widowed and nearly-penniless Countess of Warwick to the new king's uncle Jasper Tudor, Duke of Bedford, granting him ownership.[27] Even while on the periphery, the connection to royalty is important, as the royal family acts as a symbol of the country. It was during Queen Victoria's reign, as Bute reconstructed his castles, that the royal family became more connected to their subjects through the stylings of the middle class customs and values used by Victoria (and Albert).

The reconstruction of the third Marquess authenticated and rooted the memory of the Normans and Romans back to the physical site of the past. Bute and Burges desired, perhaps even needed, to rebuild and reconstruct the castle, rooting it to its past as a medieval fortress and luxury medieval castle (although a bit fantasized and exaggerated). They focused mostly on the interior spaces, retaining most of the old fabric of the buildings. The two men also promoted the historic aspects of the space, such as the ruins of the Norman keep and the old Roman Wall – which was discovered during the Victorian era and preserved (and integrated into a reconstruction of the fortified walls). "A considerable amount of the original Roman masonry can still be seen, especially on the south side, near the main entrance, where the late third-century Roman walling of what was the fourth fort on the site lies under the band of pinkish Radyr stone, with the fourth marquess of Bute's reconstruction above."[28]

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[27] Charles Glenn, *The Lords of Cardiff Castle* (Swansea, UK: Christopher Davies Publishers, Ltd, 1976), 96.

The early purpose of the castle as a center of government and administration also speaks to authority and authenticity. In addition, we can see the remains and ruins of the former center of power in the county under the Romans' and Normans' control. Excavations and the preservation of these ruins ties the castle into history and the long past of both the area and the European world. The wars and royal family dramas that the castle's inhabitants experienced tied it into the larger world.

In addition to discussions of relevance in history, Pierre Nora discusses the ideas of history versus memory. The current castle is partly a romanticized history of the medieval world, or at least the romanticized medieval imagined by the third Marquess. Both Lord Bute and Burges were "fascinated by the Middle Ages which represented for him a blend of history, religion and mysticism that had an irresistible appeal. As a result of their [first] meeting, Bute commissioned Burges to transform his Welsh home, the historic but somewhat small Cardiff Castle, into an appropriate residence for one of Europe's wealthiest noblemen. The result was spectacular; Burges created a medievalist's fantasy."[29] Three new towers were built (plus new stabling) and the Norman south wall opposite High Street was rebuilt.[30] In an interesting reversal of the fashion of rich industrialists building residences with castle features that would never be used in wars on site, Bute “converted his ancient castle into a rich Victorian residence, even to the extent of beautifying it, according to the taste of his age.”[31] Bute’s castle’s ornate features, such as his Clock Tower, helped soften other, more fortress-like characteristics – like the ‘grim’ octagonal tower of Richard Beauchamp.[32]

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[28] Kenyon, *Medieval Castles of Wales*, 110.

[29] Matthew Williams, "William Burges' Furniture for Cardiff Castle," *The Journal of the Decorative Arts Society 1850 – the Present* No 16 Historicism and the International Exhibitions in Europe, 1830 – 1880 (1992), 14.

[30] Glenn, *Lords of Cardiff Castle*, 125.

Adding various towers to create a medieval castle also aligns Cardiff Castle with the Victorian building styles, particularly Queen Anne, as they feature various eclectic designs together. Combining the medieval with eclecticism at Cardiff creates “a building that is an epitome of the High Victorian Style. Burges’s genius is exemplified in the ‘most truthful reproduction of medieval baronial art in modern times’ and with it he ‘succeeded in dispelling the high moral tone with which (Romanticist) architecture had been imbued without sacrificing the authenticity of his sources’.”[33] Reconstructions of earlier architectural styles as well as goods and antiques formed part of the Victorian ‘high’ taste, as these were not the mass-produced goods of the industrial age, but specialty pieces in which the selection and arrangement was important. By decorating with ‘high taste’ objects, social order is preserved because only the wealthy and upper classes (or possibly well-to-do middle classes) could afford such things, and visitors and servants would know in which class the owners belonged.

The Guidebooks

One of the early guides to the town and castle of Cardiff in the late eighteenth century was actually sold outside the castle gates. After describing several of the town’s features, the author tells us that “what principally engages the attention of a traveller is, its ancient castle, which is a large, strong, stately, edifice, and has lately received great alterations and additions from its present proprietor.”[34] The guide traces the history of the name of Cardiff as well as how the area was conquered by Robert Fitzhamon and a castle established on the site previously used by Romans, detailing the twelve knights that accompanied him and were rewarded with land. The author continues by describing the well-known prisoner Robert Duke of Normandy and revolts against the castle by the Welsh and the English Civil War. It leaves the reader and visitor with the castle under the Windsor family before returning to the town’s description.

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[31] Glenn, *Lords of Cardiff Castle*, 126.

[32] Glenn, *Lords of Cardiff Castle*, 126.

[33] Hood, “William Burges – Arms & Armour,” 151.

Cardiff is featured in some of the nineteenth and early twentieth century guidebooks. It is primarily a short entry in traveler’s works on South Wales. The story presented focuses more on the city’s recent, near-miraculous development thanks to coal and the second marquess’s docks. The castle is almost an afterthought, only having a couple of details; these rotate between the famous prisoner Robert Duke of Normandy (which caused a tower to be named after him), the Normans or the keep, the Romans, or some of the eighteenth century additions and renovations (the garden and landscape primarily).[35] A short thought is spared for either the late (second) Marquess or the third, either as a minor or having recently gained his majority, depending on the year.

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[34] Anonymous, *A Complete Directory and Guide to the Town and Castle of Cardiff, the Surrounding Towns, Villages, Gentlemen’s Seats and Remarkable Places* (Cardiff: Printed for and sold by J. Bird, Adjoining the Castle Gate, Cardiff, 1796), 6. Spelling modernized.

[35] British Railways, *South Wales: The Country of Castles* (London: Issued by the Great Western Railway Company, Paddington Station, 1905); Edward Smith, *Handy guide-book to England and Wales for the use of visitors in this country* (London: Printed by Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., 1897); John Murray, *Murray’s Handbook for Travellers in South Wales* (London: Printed by W Clowes and Sons, 1860); John Timbs, *Abbeys, Castles, and Ancient Halls of England and Wales; Their Legendary Lore and Popular History*, re-edited and revised by Alexander Gunn (London: Frederick Warne and Co., c. 1872).

An 1860 guidebook to South Wales is uniquely and surprisingly verbose about the castle, giving a description of the architecture and plan. After describing the layout, the author makes note of the prisoner Robert Duke of Normandy before returning to descriptions of buildings and walls that were and are on site. This author does give a condensed history of the site, acknowledging the Romans before providing the scene of Robert Fitzhamon's establishment; he then lists the families and finishes by remarking that the castle is occasionally visited by the Marchioness of Bute and her minor son.[36]

Sources focused on Cardiff can of course devote more time to the castle, as an 1853 guide shows by featuring ten pages of information while an illustrated guide to the town in 1897 features nine pages of information and illustrations for the visitor. The 1853 guide presents the highlights of the castle's history (Robert Earl of Gloucester, Robert Fitzhamon, conquests, Robert Duke of Normandy, the Civil War, the second Marquess and third infant marquess) before describing features. The keep, for instance, with its medieval connections, is memorialized: "A considerable portion of the octagonal keep now stands at a short distance from the mansion, on an earthen mound of considerable elevation, as a solitary memorial of former strength and grandeur, and is carefully preserved from further dilapidation."[37]

The 1853 guidebook author, JH Clark, also brings in archival descriptions of the castle and town when possible. A sixteenth-century king's scholar reported that "The Castell … is a great thing and a strong, but now in sum ruine: there be two gates to entre the castelle… there is by Sherehaul gate, a great large tour caullid White Tour, wherein is now the king's armary. The dungeon tour is large and fair; the castelle toward the toun by est and south is plaine, but it is dikid by northe, and by weste is defended by the Taphe river."[38] One more comment is spared on the castle (the homes of the twelve knights who assisted Fitzhamon) before returning to the town's parishes and suburbs. The scholar used by Clark focuses on the defensive aspects and situation of the castle since the renovations and riches that would fully transform the castle into a home had not yet occurred.

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[36] Murray, *Murray's Handbook*, 9 – 10.

[37] John Henry Clark, *Cardiff and its neighborhood containing an account of every object worthy the attention of visitors including the history of the magnificent ruin of Caerphilly Castle* (Cardiff: J.H. Clark, 1853), 11.

The section on the castle from 1897 begins by acknowledging a possible reason for why the castle is not more prominent at that time: "Though Cardiff is not now, as of old, dependent for its existence upon its Castle, this noble building may be safely described as the finest of the many architectural monuments of the town."[39] Even today, the city is numerous and prosperous because of the transport of coal, originally brought in and dispersed on ships at docks built by the Bute family, which can help to explain the interest in them at the castle (and the city) still—although all the renovations and reconstructions remain the primary reason.

Many of these renovations had been completed (or were at least in progress) at the time of this guidebook and the author is able to use this, giving updated room descriptions as he takes the reader on a journey through the castle after a brief history contextualizes the site. His introduction also shows the medieval focus, "The mere mention of the Castle takes us back to the stirring days of old, when knights and dames in all their pride, and the varied pleasures of the tourney and the chase, mingled with the more stirring scenes of war, were the most striking features of the locality."[40] This guidebook also gives the reader (and potential visitor) brief visitation information: "The Castle may be viewed, in the absence of the family, by payment of a small sum, the latter, by Lord Bute's direction, being devoted to local charity."[41]

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[38] Clark, *Cardiff*, 14.

[39] Western Mail Limited, *The Illustrated Guide to Cardiff and its Neighborhood* (Cardiff: Western Mail Limited, 1897), 55.

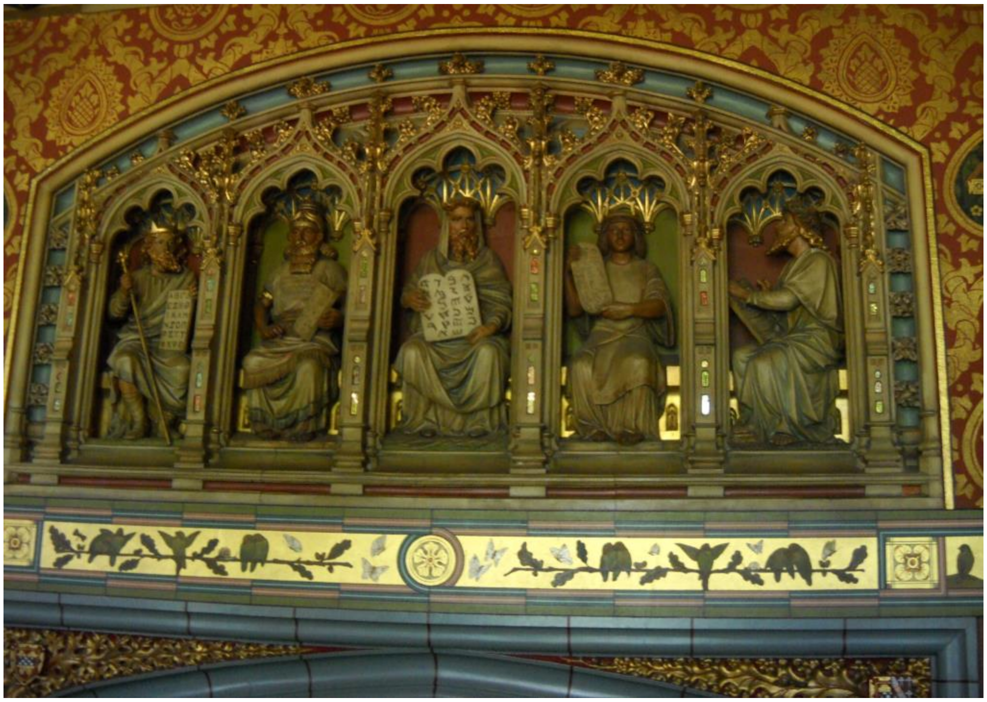

Figure 10 The ornate decoration over a fireplace in the Library, Cardiff Castle (2014)

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[40] Western Mail Limited, *Illustrated Guide to Cardiff*, 55.

[41] Western Mail Limited, *Illustrated Guide to Cardiff*, 63.

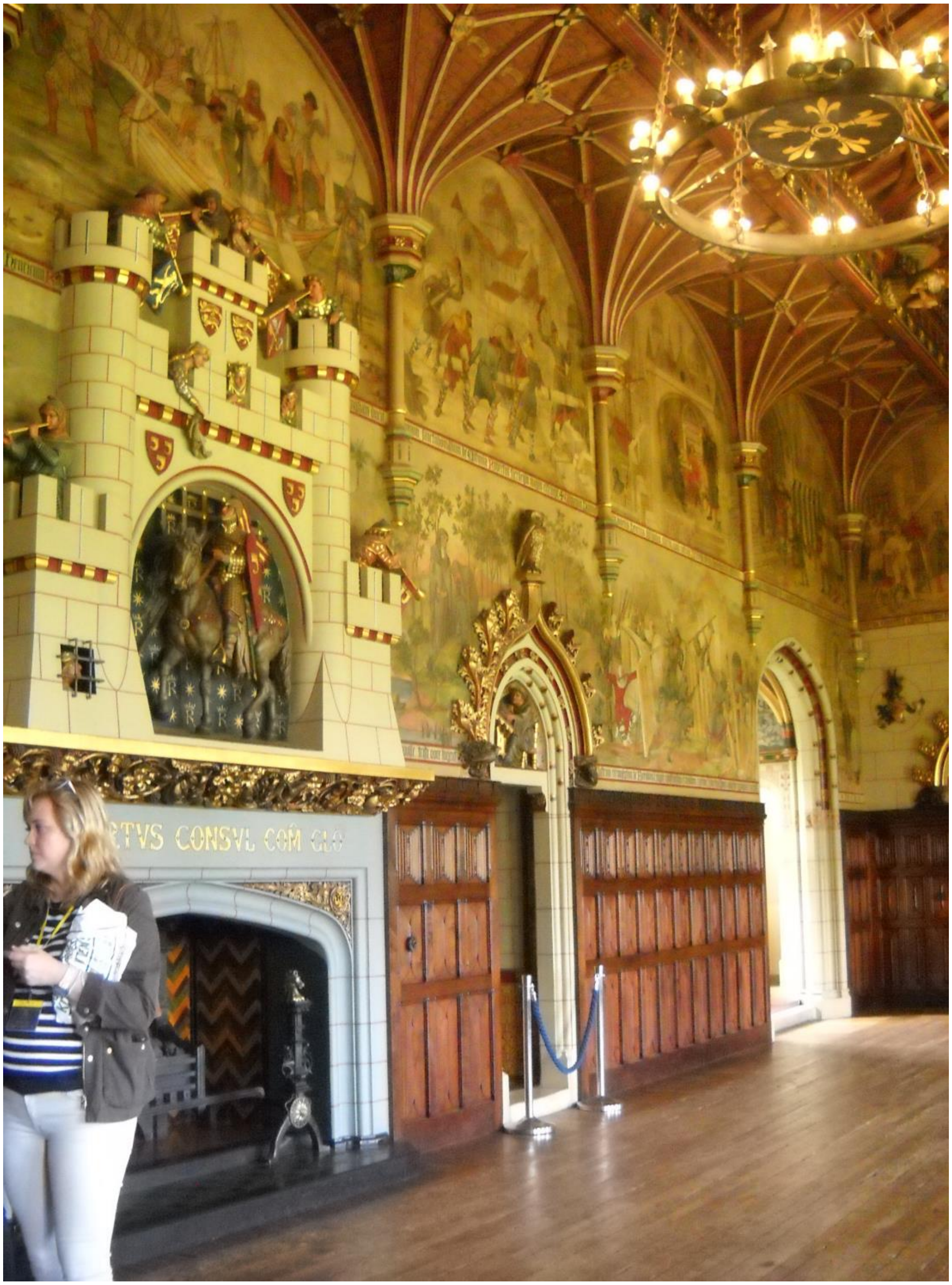

Figure 11 The decoration in the Great Hall, Cardiff Castle (2014)

After the castle was donated to the city and became the home for the College of Music and Drama, there were not many tourists or guidebooks but there were a few. One short mid-twentieth century guidebook gives a quick history of the castle written by a scholar before going on to focus on thirteen interesting features ("items of interest") of the castle, complete with black and white photographs and images. The information presented on these rooms and features vary from a sentence to a few short paragraphs to a page (on the Banqueting Hall murals, which incidentally reflect part of the castle's medieval story). The items of note are of Bute reconstructed and remodeled rooms, even if they do describe what the previous use and function of the room was, such as the Chaucer Room probably functioning as a guardroom while the Chapel had been the dressing-room of the second Marquess.[42] The only exception is the Octagonal Tower, but even here, the Butes and Burges have left their mark.

Two guidebooks from two different years in the 1980s are nearly identical. A few images and words are changed, but until the end, they are essentially identical. The later guidebook expands on the Welsh Regiment museums housed in the castle, including specifics on the main Welsh cavalry unit, the 1st the Queen's Dragoon Guards. This aspect of the castle is not addressed in the more current guidebook (or app) but in a separate brochure downstairs in the museum under the visitors' center. The sections divide attention between the (current) family's antics or achievements and the physical building and site construction, inducting the visitor into both the family context and the physical past. When the guidebooks reached the section discussing the Butes, they highlighted the regeneration of both the city and the castle: "The Bute family brought power and prosperity to Cardiff, which they turned from a sleepy backwater into one of the greatest coal ports in the world. They transformed the Castle – from all appearances an Eighteenth Century country house – into the marvelous place we know today."[43]

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[42] Rees, *Cardiff Castle*, 6.

The introduction from the 1980s guidebooks focuses on three periods: the Romans with their fort(s), the Normans with their frontier defenses and gracious living quarters for the powerful lords, and the Butes – last of the great families of the castle who restored and enhanced it with exquisite detail, craftsmanship, and colour through William Burges.[44] The more current guidebook introduction focuses on these same periods but with slightly different language: "Cardiff Castle is one of the most fascinating buildings in Britain. With a long history stretching back to the Roman invasion, the site you see today is at once a reconstructed Roman fort, an impressive Norman castle and an extraordinary Victorian Gothic fantasy palace, created for one of the world's richest men."[45]

The guidebooks have gotten longer and acquired more photos over the years. The organization and subheadings have also changed from a detailed focus on the family to a more historical (and aesthetic) view of the castle and rooms. The focus on the family connects the castle (and Wales) to the royal family and major events of the medieval and early modern periods. The 1980s guidebooks' headings are simple and direct, denoting either a people or a family name, or the Welsh regimental museum and regiment at the end of the book (i.e. The Romans, The Normans, The Clares, The Nevilles, The Butes, The Regiment, etc.). The 2008 guidebook has both chapter titles and subheadings, looking more like larger works and with catchier wording. The 2008 guidebook headlines In the Beginning: The Romans; The Romans Re-Discovered; The Normans: A Struggle for Power; The Keep; From Fortress to Mansion; The Victorian Castle; “A Passion For the Past”: The Architect William Burges; and The Castle Interior: Themes and Influences (among others). It also includes more context for the work done on the castle, particularly during the Bute and Burges period.

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[43] Anonymous, *Cardiff Castle* (Cardiff: CSP Printing of Cardiff, c. 1980), 22.

[44] Anonymous, *Cardiff Castle* (c. 1980), 2.

[45] Williams, *Cardiff Castle*, cover flap.

As has become a larger part of historic house museums (and their castle and palace counterparts), information on the household and servants is being integrated into what is presented to tourists. Both the app and the 2008 guidebook have a section on the household (or the working household) and even a little on new technology incorporated during the remodel. Family rooms had plumbing and hot water but maids were still needed to carry water to guest rooms; electricity was installed early by Bute as well as central heating.[46]

Path and Narrative Creation

A guide to the area from the 1850s takes the visitor and reader on a path through and around the grounds after giving a brief history touching on Robert Fitzhamon, Ifor Bach, Llewellyn, Robert Curthose Duke of Normandy, Owen Glendower, the besiegement by Cromwell, and the current (juvenile) third Marquess. The author, John H Clark, says the entrance is “by a gateway in immediate connexion with the principal streets of the town. Access is liberally granted to the residents of Cardiff and to respectable strangers.”[47] The grounds are briefly (although positively) described before proceeding to the buildings, beginning with the stone keep, which is “a solitary memorial of former strength and grandeur, and is carefully preserved from further dilapidation.”[48] Next on the descriptive tour are the octagonal tower (aka Robert’s or Black Tower), guard room and apartments/storerooms, and wall to the keep, which had been pulled down.

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[46] Williams, *Cardiff Castle*, 34 – 35.

[47] Clark, *Cardiff*, 10.

Theorist Michel De Certeau promotes the creation of one’s own path (and narrative); this has been partially implemented at Cardiff. There are several options on where to start and in what order to visit the several sections, but once a section has been started, there is a fairly set path with few options for variation. The guided house tour is a linear/circular progression through the castle apartments designed by the third Marquess and his architect, Burges. There is a list of “Must See and Do’s” on the castle’s website but one site does not lead directly to another, forcing the path. The introduction video viewed after picking up the audio guide leads to the wartime tunnels and the North Gate, but upon arriving at the gate, one can either go down to the castle green (where one can continue on to the keep, the castle apartments, or the signage around the towers and reconstructions) or go up to the battlement walk. In selecting how to continue, the visitor can determine whether they come to view the castle as primarily a defensive site or a luxurious site.

Because of the historic use of Cardiff Castle for defense, the castle’s interpretation center also hosts Firing Line: The Museum of the Welsh Soldier, a joint Regimental Museum of the 1st the Queen’s Dragoon Guards (the only regular cavalry unit in Wales) and the Royal Welsh; the whole museum is part of the system of Regimental and Corps Museums of the British Army around the British Isles. Although admission is included in certain types of castle tickets, the museum is separate from the castle's management; it has a couple of pages in some of the guidebooks (not however the more current 2008 edition) and is noted on the castle map and website, but it has its own website, brochures, and a family guidebook.

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[48] Clark, *Cardiff*, 11.

The free Cardiff Castle app is similar to the audio guide visitors use onsite. It, however, does have a small map that pinpoints stories. Neither the map nor the audio exhibits need to be played in order, although some would make sense to do so; there are a few 'introduction' audio segments before more focused entries that make more sense to play together than apart. For example, the "Introduction to the Keep" makes more sense to be played with the following "The 'Shell' Keep" and even "The Keep Gatehouse." Even the overall introduction exhibit (appropriately entitled "Welcome to Cardiff Castle") leaves the destination open by giving a brief history before ending with the directive that the visitor is encouraged to 'go in any direction.' The app's audio exhibits include stories on events, the history of the castle and families that called it home, parts of the castle, and even a couple oral histories. In this way, the app shows how the presentation of the castle has changed with the times, illustrating how it can be experienced both on and off site as well as what and when a visitor wants to learn about the castle. As more sites discuss the lives of servants and staff to accommodate this new popular visitor interest, the castle has added related information into the guidebooks and the app.

One early guide before Bute's reconstructions and renovations describes the town as having been "for ages the residence of princes, the seat of government and judicature, and the scene of many remarkable actions and events."[49] It lists ancient princes who have made their home in Cardiff (or the shire of Glamorgan) at one time or another, such as the early rulers Caradoc and King Arthur/his father (if one believes Liber Landavensis over Geoffrey of Monmonth).[50] Welsh rulers like Jestyn ap Gurgan were then conquered by the English and Normans, beginning with Robert Fitzhamon. Other marks of note in the author's record include the imprisonment of Robert Curthose Duke of Normandy, the taking under the banner of Prince Llywelyn, and the besieging by Cromwell during the English Civil War before coming into the family of the Windsors through marriage. The guide ends by situating Cardiff's physical location in relation to other towns and gentlemen's seats.

Conclusion

Cardiff Castle, once owned by both royals and nobility, is not now owned by a large organization, but by the city corporation, which could be a factor in its presentation. While once focused on the national stage, it has become more a part of Cardiff's mentality because of the Bute influence, remodel, and use of local craftsmen through the Bute workshops, and particularly since the family gifted it to the city. Even before the gift, Cardiff's citizens were admitted to tour the castle, or so claims an earlier guidebook.

"Now a popular and successful destination, Cardiff Castle amazes its visitors by the extraordinary interiors held within the prickly silhouette of its towers."[51] Towers and walls built primarily by the Normans and Romans showcase the defensive positions of invaders attempting to conquer a free and proud people. Dressing up and upgrading the castle to support its residents in the lap of luxury during the Bute period tempers this warlike and defensive purpose, creating a unique structure highlighting both war and the martial spirit, and the profitability brought in during industrial growth allowing for luxury and fanciful creations. Even Bute's fascination with the medieval reflects on the martial spirit of the Welsh and the warlike periods of the times.

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[49] Anonymous, *Complete Directory and Guide,* 6. Spelling modernized.

[50] Anonym, *Complete Directory and Guide*, 6 – 7.

[51] Williams, *Cardiff Castle*, 48 caption.

"Cardiff Castle remains a much-loved civic treasure, at the emotional heart of the city that began to grow around the site of its castle two thousand years ago."[52] The castle may have begun as the Norman keep and castle and continued on to become the castle of Bute and Burges, but it is now Cardiff's Castle. In this way, it is a symbol of the unconquered spirit of the Welsh who first forced invaders to build it for their own protection and who then grew to see it as theirs as Wales became more integrated into the United Kingdom and the world since the nineteenth century.

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[52] Williams, *Cardiff Castle*, 48.

CHAPTER 5

CHATSWORTH: WELCOMING VISITORS AT THE HOUSE

> "Not a palace, not a castle, not a museum, but a house — always called 'the house'."[1]

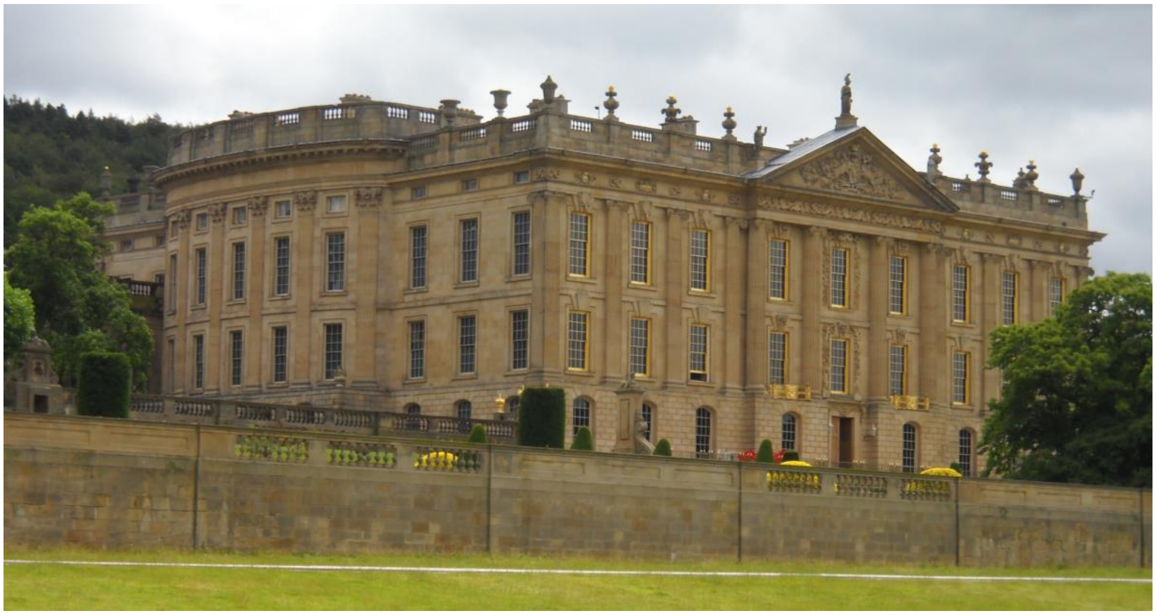

Figure 12 An exterior of Chatsworth House (2014)

Royal castles and palaces serve as residences for the royal family but also as a site of power and prestige, entertaining courts and dignitaries. Country houses, on the other hand, also entertain guests (and sometimes the rich and powerful) but are primarily residences and family homes. Chatsworth House in Derbyshire comes with a more homey feel than companion British treasure house, Blenheim Palace. With less marble than the monumental and triumphal Blenheim, Chatsworth welcomes visitors at the same time as it awes them. This is due in large part to the current Duke and Duchess of Devonshire and their immediate predecessors, who have been very involved in presenting the house and welcoming visitors. Visitors at Chatsworth are actually a bit of a family legacy, since they have been very welcome at the house since even before the sixth Duke in the 1800s. Visitors are even welcome during filming (primarily of Jane Austen, Regency and period films) to explore rooms, the collections, and family history intertwined with social and political history. The Dukes and Duchesses of Devonshire (as well as both the house staff and curators) have worked to promote Chatsworth as a home, with a focus on the family and unique individuals who inhabited this grand residence, by providing visitors with a memory of hospitality and welcome, creating a personal, intimate experience.

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[1] Deborah Vivien Freeman-Mitford Cavendish Devonshire, *The House: Living at Chatsworth* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1982), 15.

"The house looks permanent; as permanent as if it had been there, not for a few hundred years, but for ever. It fits the landscape exactly."[2] The house was begun in the sixteenth century by Bess Hardwick, who had convinced her second husband Sir William Cavendish to sell his land and buy in her native county. Bess and her fourth husband were responsible for the guardianship of Mary Queen of Scots, and Mary was even sometimes imprisoned on the grounds of Chatsworth, giving her name to the Queen of Scots Apartments (built after her time) and Queen Mary's Bower. Bess's second son eventually inherited and owned both her newly constructed Hardwick Hall and Chatsworth House and gained the title Earl of Devonshire.

The fourth earl helped King William and Queen Mary ascend to the throne during the Glorious Revolution and was rewarded with a dukedom. Hiding out from creditors (and others) in London, he updated Bess's house into a Baroque palace front by front until the entire house had been renovated. The second duke began the collections so essential to Chatsworth’s identity today. The fourth (with money from his rich wife) hired Capability Brown to change the formal gardens into the natural landscape gardens so famous at the time. The fifth duke’s claim to fame was his first marriage to Lady Georgiana Spencer (and ménage á trois with her friend (and his second wife) Lady Elizabeth Foster).

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[2] Devonshire, *The House*, 15.

It is the sixth duke, the Bachelor Duke, who is most responsible for the current house. He remodeled, experimented with design and landscape, modernized, continued collecting, and built another wing. The house was his love (and life) instead of a wife and children.

His nephew the seventh duke tried to limit expenses after the Bachelor Duke’s extravagances, but ended up adding to the debt through poor investments. The ninth duke (another who inherited the title from a childless uncle) and duchess improved Chatsworth but sold a couple of London houses that had been in the family; he also served as Governor-General of Canada from 1916-1921. The tenth duke arranged for a girls’ boarding school to use the house during the Second World War since he thought it would be gentler on the house than soldiers. His second son Andrew became the eleventh duke after the eldest son (married to Kathleen Kennedy) was killed in action during the war. The eleventh duke, swamped with death duties, sold some of the land and other properties (as well as some items from the collections) to keep Chatsworth; he and the duchess created the Chatsworth House Trust to protect the house and collections, as well as moving back into the house in 1959. The twelfth duke and duchess continue his parents’ legacy of preserving Chatsworth and welcoming visitors; they also pay rent to live in the house.

Historiography

Using country houses as settings for movies and television shows brings them to the attention of the public and encourages visitation to these sites for a personal connection to and experience with the film and the house. In the 1980s, the television series *Brideshead Revisited* (filmed at the Yorkshire country house, Castle Howard) encouraged the awareness of visitors in country houses, continuing the growing trend of historic preservation and interest that emerged in the 1970s. Today, the continuing interest in country homes is a result of the popular interest in the television show, *Downton Abbey* (filmed at the country house Highclere Castle in Hampshire), and is known as "The Downton Effect." Journal articles within the past few years have looked at topics like the increase of visitor numbers, the rise in media coverage about such homes, the increase in and subject of exhibits, the exhibition and discussion of class, and what such homes say about the politics and society of the times when the houses were built and highly used.[3]

With the exception of memory discussions on class in the home, memory at country houses and within the context of the show is not discussed. "As its narrative focus is on the servant class as well as the aristocracy, however, it [*Downton*] does engage with what Paul Dave calls the 'unresolved conflict between a secure, traditional, elite Englishness and a more unstable sense of national identity'."[4] As interest in the lives of non-elites grow, this will likely be seen in more country houses—even those with families still living in them. "It has become commonplace now for historians to concede that film has become 'the chief conveyor of public history in our culture'…debate continues as to how well the visual media can represent 'serious history with a capital H".[5] Freedom from adaptation allows for creative storytelling within a relative historical context to present modern and past themes to a general public, which can lead to more of an interest in history. This public interest in history and film is not unique to the *Downton* site, as evidenced by the number of visitors who have made their way to Chatsworth—or the several films filmed at Chatsworth (which include the 2005 *Pride and Prejudice, Death Comes to Pemberley,* and *The Duchess*).

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[3] Oliver Cox, "The 'Downton Boom': Country Houses, Popular Culture, and Curatorial Culture," *The Public Historian* Review Essay 37:2 (May 2005); Robert Hardman, "Defending the real Downton Abbey: Why Britain's stately homes are struggling," *The Spectator* (9 March 2013); Katherine Byrne, "Adapting heritage: Class and conservatism in Downton Abbey," *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice* 18:3; Nichola Tooke and Michael Baker, "Seeing is believing: the effect of film on visitor numbers to screened locations," *Tourism Management* 17:2 (1996); Anita Fernandez Young and Robert Young, "Measuring the Effects of Film and Television on Tourism to Screen Locations: A Theoretical and Empirical Perspective," *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing* 24:2-3 (2008); Bronwyn Jewell and Susan McKinnon, "Movie Tourism—A New Form of Cultural Landscape?," *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing* 24:2-3 (2008).

Chatsworth is frequently featured in books on English country houses[6] and the 'Treasure Houses of England'[7] (and has been the sole topic of a few others – mostly written by family and staff at the house), but these works have a specific angle they examine or are looking at the rooms and collections. Works on the building and the subsequent fate of country houses discuss Chatsworth in the context of other homes being built and modern owners dealing with running them. The works on collections tend to be photographic books that would look more at home on a coffee table than in a detailed discussion of collection history and memory. Such photographic books do allow us to see the home and see how much the owners allow others into Chatsworth...and how much that is needed for country house owners to survive today. Fortunately, the Devonshire family at Chatsworth is one that does not seem to mind inviting visitors into their home.

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[4] Byrne, "Adapting heritage," 315 – 316.

[5] Byrne, "Adapting heritage," 312.

[6] Gardens, parks, and landscapes at these great houses are also the subject of books, but they have not been looked at in detail for this study, which is focusing on memory of the house, collections, and family.

[7] A collection of ten of the most magnificent palaces, houses, and castles in England, most still owned and lived in by the families; all have important art collections and are architectural masterpieces of various periods with beautiful grounds. < http://www.treasurehouses.co.uk/pages/home>.

One work on English country houses is an extended catalog for the 1980s exhibition, primarily in the US, on treasures from English country homes. After a synopsis of the time period of the loaned artifacts or an overview of the interest in the pieces, the objects for the chapter are shown along with a brief article on each including dimensions, artist or creator, collection and country home, and a description. Articles on the social and architectural history of the periods and houses are also included to give the intelligent reader a context for the objects themselves. While some of the exhibit pieces were elaborate and ornate, others were more ordinary—something anyone might have in the home, such as a watch, tea set, or candlesticks. Together, the objects presented a home atmosphere in an attempt to encourage public interest in the country house itself as a home, not a museum.

Building Materials

Geographer Yi-Fu Tuan discusses space and place in several contexts, including hierarchy and architecture. Architecture can help determine the social hierarchy by dictating space and who is allowed to use that space as well as in what ways it can be used. Here at Chatsworth, "The Duke seems to have determined to erect a true Palace of Art, and for that purpose he employed the best artists of the time in its decoration."[8]

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[8] Llewellyn Frederick William Jewitt, *Illustrated Guide to Chatsworth* (London: JS Virtue and Co., Limited, c. 1872), 24.

Many of the materials for Chatsworth were local—a quarry opened to supply the stone since "Alabaster, of course, is cheap in Derbyshire."[9] The dukes and duchesses did use foreign talent, but tended to employ local materials instead of everything being imported since the materials nearby were of good quality and easy to obtain. In this way, the Devonshire family was able to use both local, loyal talent and workmen as well as incorporating their local resources and heritage to their masterpiece of a home. "Castlehayes, near Tutbury, supplied the alabaster for the [chapel] altar, and Sheldon moor, six miles from Chatsworth, the black marble. The *black stone conteyninge* 104 *soled foutes, cut out of ye hill just by*, from which, as Celia Fiennes was told, the four columns and steps were hewn".[10]

Another utilization of nearby resources was in the use of the house's valley and land to make a prominent setting for the house. In order to make the river flow where the best vantage point was in regards to the house, a ditch was dug to divert the river. A hill nearby was leveled to help: "A hill blocked the view down the valley. The Duke decided (1702) to remove it….the operation is described in the Accounts as *the filling up of the Great Slope*…The hill was used to build up the steep banks above and below the Canal Pond, dug at the same date."[11] The new view impressed early visitors, who were used to the moors and peaks of Derbyshire—and not such a picturesque location as the valley and surrounding wood and parkland of Chatsworth.

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[9] Claire Fowler, Peter Drew, and Diane Naylor, *Your Guide to* ***Chatsworth*** (Bakewell, Derbyshire, UK: Greenshires and Chatsworth House Trust, 2014), 110; Francis Thompson, *Chatsworth: A Short History* (London: Country Life Limited, 1951), 23.

[10] Thompson, *Chatsworth: A Short History*, 56 – 57.

[11] Thompson, *Chatsworth: A Short History*, 24.

Renovation and Evolution of the House

Because of the house's changes and renovations, Chatsworth has a hidden history behind renovations. If you look closely in the front entrance, you can find remnants of the kitchen that originally sat there: "the old ranges are still there, hidden behind the present fireplaces."[12] The modification from kitchen to entrance hall actually occurred before the Bachelor Duke's many changes, during the smaller renovations of the fourth duke. Several of the passages and corridors, such as the Sketch Galleries, were added by the Bachelor Duke to make moving around the house easier.[13]

Due to the several generations of renovations, the house's story is one of evolution. Not only in the collections and the house's style and architecture, but the way the house was used and shown to the public has evolved. One example of this evolution in presentation is in the Entrance Hall: "In a great house designed and built as a single architectural whole the Great Hall is entered directly from the Entrance or Sub-Hall, as a matter of course. But at Chatsworth, thanks to the first Duke's methods, or rather absence of method, this was very far from being the case. An anonymous diarist, visiting the house in 1761, before the new North Entrance had come into use, noted this significant fact."[14] As another example, the Painted Hall, which replaced Bess of Hardwick's Great Hall, "again affords a splendid illustration of the way in which Chatsworth has been gradually evolved. It bristles with afterthoughts, some dating back to its very earliest days, others from only yesterday."[15]

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[12] Deborah Mitford Devonshire, *Chatsworth: The House* (London: Frances Lincoln Limited, 2002), 48.

[13] Deborah Mitford Devonshire, *Chatsworth* (Derby, UK: Derbyshire Countryside Ltd, 2000), 28 and 30.

[14] Thompson, *Chatsworth: A Short History*, 40 – 41.

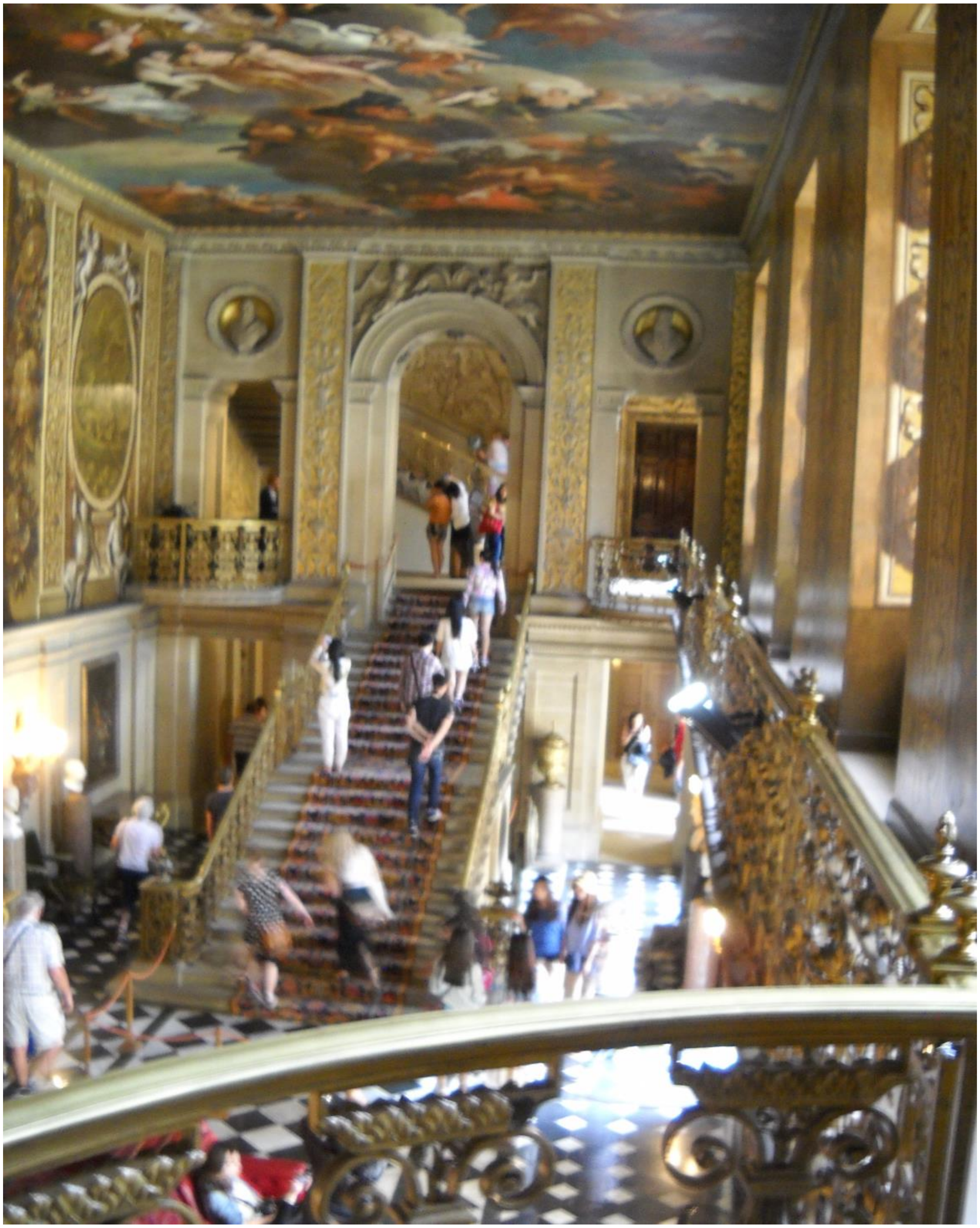

Figure 13 The Painted Hall at Chatsworth, frequently seen in films (2014)

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[15] Thompson, *Chatsworth: A Short History*, 42.

Individuals and Objects: The Legends and Traditions

Legends are important to Chatsworth's story. Most works speak of Mary Queen of Scots as being held as a prisoner here at various times during the early days under Bess of Hardwick and her fourth husband, George Talbot. This has given rise to some attributing her name to rooms at Chatsworth built long after her imprisonment in the house and grounds. Indeed,

> A curious legend grew out of this circumstance; in time it came to be believed that not merely the name, but the actual rooms which she had occupied had been preserved, by shoring them up on a timber frame while the new hall was being built beneath them. This is certainly not the fact. On the other hand, the tradition in which the name Queen Mary's Bower originated (probably at the Romantic Revival, c.1760) is quite likely to be true. According to the story the poor Queen was allowed 'to take the Ayre' in this building….Here she would be safe from that sudden attempt at rescue which was her guardian's constant dread.[16]

Even if such legends were true, Mary (nor Bess for that matter) would scarcely recognize Chatsworth now. "Not a trace now remains of that house with which Mary Stuart became so familiar, except a turned staircase in the north-east corner; even the two rooms till recently called after her are gone; not that that is matter for any particular regret, considering that, at the time of their absorption, all their contents were a century later than the Scottish queen's day".[17]

Georgiana Duchess of Devonshire has also inspired and earned a place in the history books and Chatsworth. Her life with her husband and his mistress is a soap-opera-worthy drama; she was a leader in politics and society while also gambling and having her own affairs—and even an illegitimate daughter. The drama (and a recent film) encourage interest in both her and her married home. The fifth Duke married "first, to the Lady Georgiana, daughter of Earl Spencer, one of the most accomplished and elegant women of the time, and who is best and most emphatically known as 'The Beautiful Duchess".[18] Georgiana inspired both admiration and criticism for her efforts and involvement: "than whom but few were ever more unjustly reviled by the satirist and the caricaturist, for the enthusiastic part she took in the election…was one of the most accomplished and fascinating ladies of the age, and was more than usually intellectual and polished."[19] Her son, the sixth Bachelor Duke, is also well-known and represented to visitors since he is responsible for much of the current building and gardens.

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[16] Thompson, *Chatsworth: A Short History*, 19.

[17] A.H. Malan, ed., *Famous homes of Great Britain and their stories* (New York: G.P. Putnam's son, 1899 – 1900), 234.

The nineteenth century was the age of house parties and with the first duchess in 100 years (the Double Duchess Louise), they came to Chatsworth after 1892. It brought stately rooms back to life; the 'discreet' love affairs that were often carried on at country house parties is a drama that still appeals to visitors. The theater (not on the visitor route but in films about the house) provided entertainment for winter shooting parties, where entertainment and politics were the order of the day.

As other country house families have said, living in these houses encourages the feeling of living with lots of ghosts and being confronted by the past and the many layers of history.[20] Although there have been no mentions of ghosts inhabiting the house as some palaces and castles promote, if there was one at Chatsworth, it would probably be the sixth Bachelor Duke. "His interest in and influence on Chatsworth were immense and his benign presence pervades the place to this day….Inside, every room, every passage, contains something of him. How I would love to come face to face with the undisputed spirit of this place."[21] Rooms can act as 'time capsules' where visitors (and the family) can see where history happens because the clock has seemed to stop.[22] These rooms can encapsulate several eras because owners have been using country houses as a backdrop for their own taste, something which continues with the (smaller) collecting of the current and previous Duke and Duchess of Devonshire.

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[18] Jewitt, *Illustrated Guide to Chatsworth*, 75 – 76.

[19] Jewitt, *Illustrated Guide to Chatsworth*, 76.

[20] Selina Scott, "Burghley House," *Treasure Houses of England: Tour five of England's Grandest Palaces*, episode 1, (Colonial Pictures Productions, 2011), DVD.

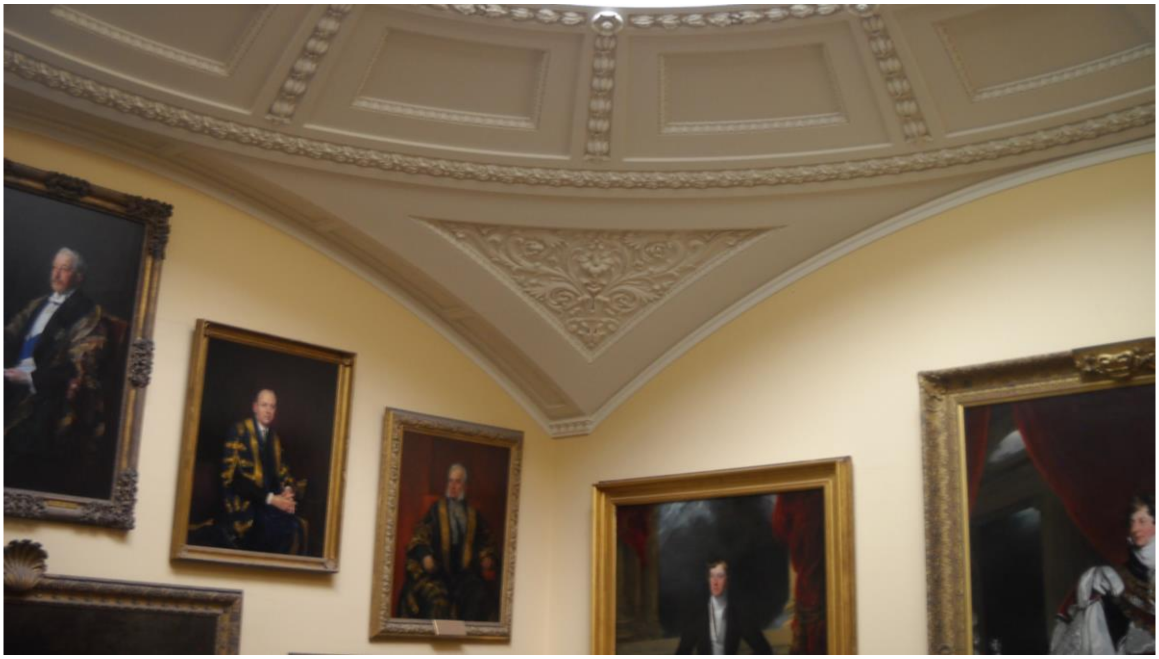

Figure 14 Family portraits displayed at Chatsworth (2014)

The house also has a link to American celebrities through the marriage of Kathleen Kennedy to the duke's heir during World War II. The heir, Billy, was killed in action and Kathleen died a few years later in a plane crash and is buried at the Chatsworth graveyard. During a 1963 visit, President John F Kennedy made a secret visit to his sister's grave.

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[21] Devonshire, *Chatsworth: The House*, 24.

[22] Scott, "Burghley House," *Treasure Houses of England*.

There are also legends about different pieces, objects, and renovations in the house. Some of the eighteenth and nineteenth century dukes and duchesses did not always know a lot about Chatsworth and so the housekeeper gave them history refreshers before guests arrived so the family could tell the house's history; these stories sometimes got a bit jumbled in the retelling, leading to some legends that were found to not be entirely correct when the documentation was examined.

A story about a caique given to the sixth Duke by the Sultan of Turkey in 1839:

> has supplied a good example of one of the ways in which a legend can get going. The story started at the highest level. The Dowager Duchess [wife of the tenth duke] told a friend whom she was showing round the house that the caique had been used by Byron on the waters of the Bosphorus, and justified this statement by an appeal to the sixth Duke's *Handbook*—that mine of information about the contents of Chatsworth, which she knows almost (but not quite) by heart. What the *Handbook* says, however, is that the Duke himself rowed the caique on the Bosphorus….A bust of Byron stands immediately behind the caique. Byron and the caique had thus become associated in her mind. Many another legend has started from a similar association of ideas.[23]

Similarly, there is a painting of a violin hanging on a peg on a door in the state apartment, and the tradition holds that it was done "by [Italian painter Antonio] Verrio to deceive [carver Grinling] Gibbons, who, in his carvings, had deceived others by his close imitation of nature."[24] This has been discovered to have not been the case, foremost because the records cannot substantially prove either man's work on these aspects of the house, or at all in Gibbons' case. "But eventually the wood-carving came to be attributed to him [Gibbons] for exactly the same reason that 'almost all the ceilings in the house' have been attributed to Verrio—that is, because in the mind of the public his name was representative of his craft…Since then [1760] it has been repeated in all guide-books almost down to the present day."[25]

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[23] Thompson, *Chatsworth: A Short History*, 51.

[24] Jewitt, *Illustrated Guide to Chatsworth*, 33.

The last two generations of dukes and duchesses have been very interested in the collections and the history of the house and objects. They enjoy the legends but also enjoy hearing the documented story. Experts come and go to help the family continue to learn more about the collections.[26] The family understands that it can rely on some of the practices of the past to keep going into the future and keep Chatsworth living and breathing for another 500 years.[27] Regular conservation, cleaning, and restoration occurs in Chatsworth, such as the major cleaning and restoration efforts of staff in the 1990s and early 2000s.[28] Through foresight and preventative measures (such as Duchess Louise's inspired ordering of replacement tapestry/drapery fabrics many years before they were actually needed),[29] the family and staff can ensure the preservation, conservation, and presentation of their home.

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[25] Thompson, *Chatsworth: A Short History*, 55 – 56.

[26] Susannah Ward, director, *Secrets of Chatsworth* (PBS and Pioneer Productions, 2013), DVD and Netflix.

[27] Ward, *Secrets of Chatsworth*.

[28] Fowler, Drew and Naylor, *Chatsworth*.

[29] Thompson, *Chatsworth: A Short History*, 95.

The Visitor Route and Guidebooks

Theorist Michel de Certeau discussed the implications of a planned route in cities and this idea can also be applied to visitor routes. Plans and routes dictate how the space can be used and how to move within. In addition, a plan is "not only a representation of a building, but can also be an indicator of how people might behave within."[30] Behavioral expectations for all who step into the space help them relate to the space. The family understands this is their home while visitors understand that they are guests and should behave respectfully, recognizing that their continued viewing of the home is dependent on the good will of the owner (and staff, nowadays).

When country house owners began opening up their estates to visitors, they "had to decide what would be shown to visitors, and how to provide visitors with information about the house and its contents. At first, these problems were solved by instructing housekeepers to guide visitors, but, as certain houses became exceptionally popular [like Chatsworth], a new practice developed: publishing guidebooks."[31] When prescribed routes were implemented in the early to mid-nineteenth century, some early visitors accepted the presented progression and wrote about houses in this way since it assisted in the recollection of the visit; others avoided the route in their description in order to focus on the architectural logic and space of the house since these houses were built for specific purposes and in a specific order that did not always fit with the sequential visitor route.[32]

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[30] Jocelyn Anderson, "Remaking the Space: the Plan and the Route in Country-House Guidebooks from 1770 to 1815," Architectural History 54 (2011), 197.

[31] Anderson, "Remaking the Space," 195.

[32] Anderson, "Remaking the Space," 203 – 204.

The more formal design plan met entertaining needs from the seventeenth century on and although formal entertaining was not the only reason for the design, "architects usually intended for houses to appear to their best advantage when one walked through them according to the routes used for formal occasions. However, the tourist routes prescribed by guidebook authors often did not correspond to those paths."[33]

The visitor route at Chatsworth has changed over time, or at least the room order of the guidebooks has changed. Earlier guidebooks and publications tend to follow floors, not routes, when describing the rooms and collections. Newer guidebooks from the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries follow the visitor route fairly closely, beginning with the North Entrance Hall where visitors pay (after leaving large bags at the checkpoint gate) until the Orangery—the primary gift shop. The twentieth-century works follow the ground floor, then up to the state apartments, then on to guest rooms, down a different stairway and finishing with the first and ground floors on the other side from the entrance. Unfortunately, with a couple options to explore a few adjoining rooms in a different order, there is one path through the house, although it does not feel too confining. Unless specifically requested (or on specific days with special tours), visitors are still kept to the public rooms and spaces, although specialty books and television shows often feature private areas. The parks and gardens are available to wander through and do not require a specified or prescriptive path.

Guidebooks show these visitor routes, sometimes through plans but often through ordered descriptions. "No matter whether a guidebook offered a plan, it almost always prescribed a route through the house, and this was the way that tourists, usually guided by housekeepers, were expected to experience the property. Much like exhibition catalogues, guidebooks manipulated visitors' movements by presenting information about different rooms in a specific order."[34] Sometimes, visitors are on a tight schedule and so ordered descriptions can direct these rushed visitors to what has been deemed most important by curators and staff (and involved family, in the case of Chatsworth and other such country houses). "By describing layouts with reference to the prescribed route, guidebooks also tied tourists' knowledge to the limited time frame of their visit. Presenting rooms in sequential order essentially created a schedule of how one was expected to move through the house, one that included specific beginning and end points."[35] Earlier visitors, guided by the housekeeper and other staff with other duties, did not have the time to linger that present-day visitors do; groups had to be timed in their visits but with audio guides, guidebooks, and an app, it is no longer necessary to dictate the pace of the visit. This gives visitors a little leeway to backtrack if they want to look at something again, but going against the flow of visitor traffic can deter an individual visitor from doing so.

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[33] Anderson, "Remaking the Space," 204.

While there is an established path through the house, there is no longer a set pace at which a visitor must view Chatsworth. Earlier, guided tours helped visitors only go where they were supposed to, but now ropes and posted staff can help fulfill this role while allowing visitors more freedom in their individual visit. In the nineteenth century, it was "[t]hrough the extreme kindness and liberality of the noble duke a part of each of these [three] stories is, under proper regulation, permitted to be shown to visitors. It is not my intention to describe these various apartments in the order in which they are shown to visitors—for this would for many reasons be an inconvenient and unwise arrangement—but will speak of them according to the stories on which they occur."[36] Visitors may not remember the rooms in the order of visitation, but a souvenir guidebook is available for that so other writers do not have to discuss rooms by route in their works. Such a souvenir is a lovely remembrance of one of the most prominent tourist attractions in Derbyshire, which remains a prominent spot for locals with special events and an open park for walking. Indeed, "of what very great benefit such a show-place must be to the district….all comers are admitted, even children of sizes and infants of days—a veritable exuberance of even ducal good-nature and philanthropy."[37]

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[34] Anderson, "Remaking the Space," 202 – 203.

[35] Anderson, "Remaking the Space," 208.

The current guidebook helps orient the visitor by color-coding its pages. The Welcome and family genealogy pages are purple, the park blue, the house yellow and gold, and the garden is a light blue-green color. The stables features another shade of blue, the farm is a soft pink color, the wood a blue-purple color, and the estate pages another shade of green. In addition to color-coding the sections of the house and grounds, this guidebook has some unique outside margins. The house section features a plan that shows where in the house a room is located—and another, lighter color shows the preceding room and many pages have reference numbers of related pages within the guidebook. For instance, the page on the original park under Bess of Hardwick shows the reference for the Hunting Tower on page 106, a Tudor tower built for spectators to watch hunts in the park and woods.[38] The page on The Cascade of water in the garden and the page on the Emperor Fountain both link to the informational page on all the uses of water on the estate on page 70.[39]

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[36] Jewitt, *Illustrated Guide to Chatsworth*, 28 – 29.

[37] Malan, ed., *Famous homes of Great Britain*, 258.

[38] Fowler, Drew, and Naylor, *Chatsworth*, 10 – 11 and 106 – 107.

A few notes or comments may be made in the guidebook on rooms not available to visitors, but mostly it adheres to rooms seen by visitors. “Visitors are not normally admitted to the rooms on the far side of the West Entrance, and for the best of reasons: the north-west corner of the house is and always has been essentially private—a practically self-contained section, occupied by the Duke and Duchess when they are in residence alone at Chatsworth.”[40] Because the family still lives in part of the home (paying rent to do so), not all the house can be viewed—something not uncommon in country houses still hosting families. The visitor is limited to the state rooms used by the family, not the servants; aspects of servants’ lives are mentioned but these rooms are not seen so the other side of the house story is not readily available here. There is an option for a scheduled tour to see the old kitchen and similar rooms with a docent but it is not included in the normal ticket. This type of tour and ticket depends on the country house and owner; although still in use by the family and rented out for events, Hatfield House (for example) ends the tour in the kitchen outside the gardens. The dowager duchess remarked herself that “People have become increasingly curious to know how Chatsworth works. They want to go through locked doors to find out what the people who work here do all day….To satisfy their curiosity, we started ‘Behind the Scenes’ tours in 1996….Their strength is that they are led and whipped-in by the people who work here and so know what they are talking about."[41]

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[39] Fowler, Drew, and Naylor, *Chatsworth*, 70 – 71, 76 – 77, and 84 – 85.

[40] Thompson, *Chatsworth: A Short History*, 60.

Visitors often use keepsakes to refer back to their visit, but photos can now also often be taken to provide and spark memories; however, since guidebooks and postcards are professionally done, they offer a high-quality image to encourage remembering the visit. In this way, "Guidebooks not only thus offered tourists vicarious possession of the houses they were visiting and reading about, but they also offered visitors various authority when it came to reporting their experiences of the building. In addition, by showing and discussing rooms which might be inaccessible for one reason or another, guidebooks, served to remind visitors of the continuing life of the house."[42] This continues today with disclaimers that rooms and objects may not always be on display or available for viewing due to conservation, cleaning, seasonal restrictions and needs, and other commitments such as filming. "Thus, by identifying spaces which were either temporarily or permanently inaccessible, guidebooks reminded visitors that designated areas for the family remained within the house."[43] In the twentieth and twenty-first century guidebooks, spaces not temporarily inaccessible tend to be left out so visitors do not have to worry about not finding a room that is not on the route; these permanently inaccessible rooms are more special since these family areas can now only be seen in even more specialized books, often written or published by the owner. These specialized books help reinforce the memory of this being someone's house, and few people open every single room in their house up to guests and visitors so that they have a private space for storage and to unwind. In addition, the showing of special rooms in such books and films encourages tourist spending, providing funding for the house and its upkeep.

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[41] Devonshire, *Chatsworth: The House*, 209.

[42] Anderson, "Remaking the Space," 200.

[43] Anderson, "Remaking the Space," 200.

The sculpture gallery before the Orangery Shop does not force visitors through the gallery, but once exiting, one cannot return to the house itself. "Here [in the Orangery] ends the tour of the house and visitors are spat out into the garden whether it is wet or fine. But luckily they can run to the Stables for shelter or refreshment."[44] The previous duke and duchess rearranged the gallery (as had several of their predecessors); the film crew of the 2005 *Pride and Prejudice* rearranged the sculptures (and removed the tapestries) in the gallery for a more Regency period look, and the duke and duchess liked it so much that they kept it this way, particularly since it was closer to what the sixth Duke would have arranged himself.[45]

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[44] Devonshire, *Chatsworth: The House*, 133.

[45] ATS Heritage and Chatsworth House Trust, *Chatsworth* (Waterlooville, UK: ATS Heritage and Talking Guides, 2011), App and Audio Guide.

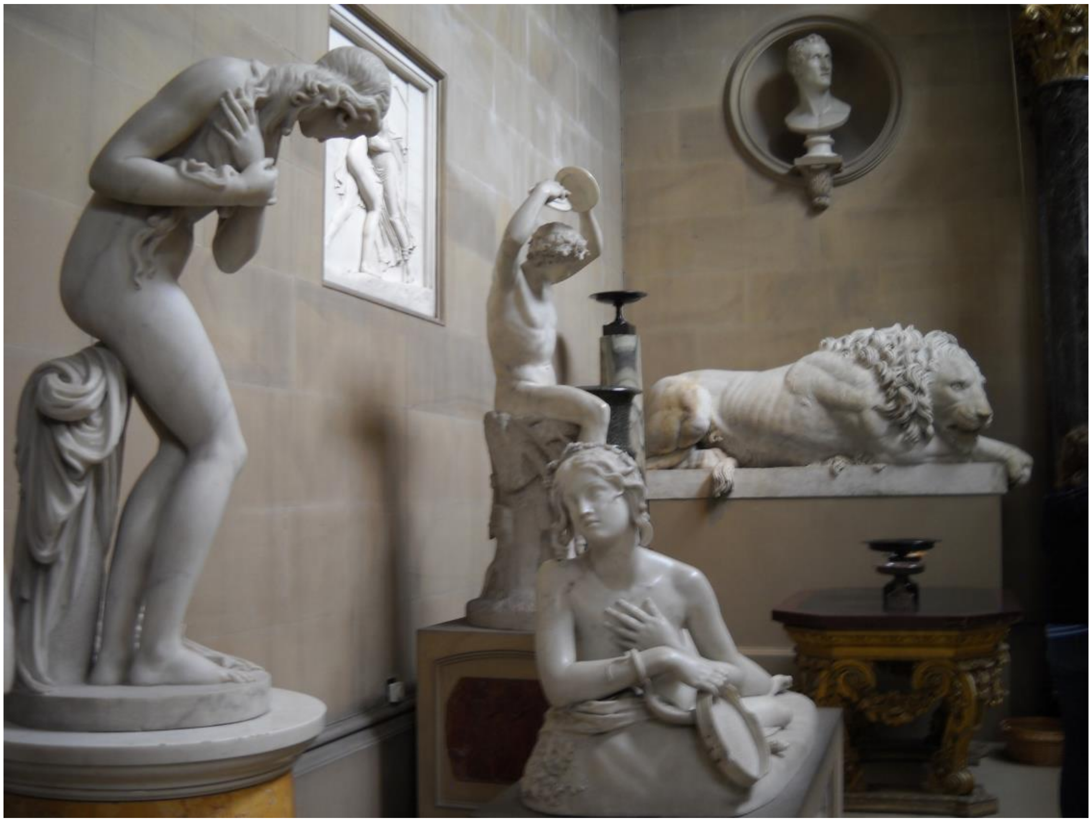

Figure 15 In the Sculpture Gallery, Chatsworth (2014)

The guidebooks and histories of Chatsworth present their work in different ways. A history from the 1950s explains that “In writing this little book I have imagined myself to be conducting a visitor round Chatsworth, its gardens and its park, and this visitor not a scholar or a specialist but a member of the ordinary intelligent general public; and I have tried to tell the reader what in fact I have told such a visitor…in the course of such a tour, and to tell it in the same sort of personal familiar way.”[46] Of course, Chatsworth’s collections and rooms are too numerous to fit in a handy visitors’ guide so “this book is in no sense a Guide to Chatsworth and its contents….you will find mentioned many of the objects which catch your eye and engage your interest; but many others, about which you personally would have liked to know, are unavoidably passed over."[47] There is only so much time, space, and print in which to describe the house while still allowing the visitor to see it and not spend their visit with their nose never leaving the guidebook.

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[46] Thompson, *Chatsworth: A Short History*, 9.

Chatsworth and Its Visitors

Modern descriptions tend to refer to Chatsworth as a 'house' while earlier sources continually use 'palace' and refer to the dukes as 'princely'. Part of it could be that it seemed rather magnanimous for a country house owner to open up his home to visitation from more than just the elite: "Well in keeping would it be with a palace where all classes of people are welcome, and the gilded gates are shut to none, if all birds were granted like freedom to the woods, and no class distinction recognized among them".[48] Not many house owners began opening their homes to the public as early as the eighteenth century, so perhaps that is the reason for such praise as "with your Grace's express permission…I have attempted to trace the history, and describe some of the features of your princely home of Chatsworth."[49] These writers were perhaps thankful for the opportunity to produce such a work on a place that "is thrown open to 'the people,' under such restrictions only as are essentially necessary to its well-being and proper conservation. Assuredly no mansion and grounds are more freely and liberally made available to the public, while none are more worthy of being visited."[50]

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[47] Thompson, *Chatsworth: A Short History*, 9.

[48] Malan, ed., *Famous homes of Great Britain*, 261.

[49] Jewitt, *Illustrated Guide to Chatsworth*, 3.

[50] Jewitt, *Illustrated Guide to Chatsworth*, 7.

It may also be that writers of the time tended towards the use of ‘palace’ to differentiate such a residence from the houses of the ‘common people’ who were so lucky to be allowed into a duke’s family seat. Houses of the elite would have had (and continue to have, if the furnishings have survived with the house) sumptuous possessions that most would never have seen, let alone owned. “Of the various apartments—suites of bedrooms—composing the north and west sides of the courtyard or quadrangle, not, of course, shown to visitors, it will be unnecessary to say much. They are all as sumptuously and as tastefully arranged and furnished as such a palace, with such a princely owner, requires, and are replete with every comfort.”[51] Although the furnishings and art of such country houses and palaces are still beyond the reach of many visitors, nowadays an emphasis on these estates being ‘family houses’ may push the use of ‘house’ in current literature. Relevance is key in attracting and connecting with visitors.

The family has accepted all interested people who wished to see the main rooms and gardens since the house was built. In the eighteenth century, when the family spent a lot of time in London, the housekeeper even had special instructions to show the house to those interested who stopped; an inn was also built for visitors’ convenience.[52] Ever since the remodeling of Bess of Hardwick’s house with the first duke, Chatsworth has seemed to be part of the community and open to all, including visitors.[53] Once “Arrived at the house, the visitor will, after proper application at the Lodge, and the necessary permission obtained, be ushered through the exquisitely beautiful gates…and be conducted through the courtyard”.[54]

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[51] Jewitt, *Illustrated Guide to Chatsworth*, 38.

[52] Devonshire, *The House*, 86; Jewitt, *Illustrated Guide to Chatsworth*, 86. The inn has since become an estate office.

[53] Selina Scott, “Chatsworth,” *Treasure Houses of England: Tour five of England’s Grandest Palaces*, episode 2 (Colonial Pictures Productions, 2011), DVD.

The Sixth Duke was especially fond of visitors; when the nearby railways opened up in 1849, leisure visitors became more frequent and increased in numbers. The Duke and the staff made sure to welcome these visitors and guided them around in groups for free. An extract from a publication in February 1844 quoted by the dowager duchess explains that “The Duke of Devonshire allows all persons whatsoever to see the mansion and grounds every day in the year, Sundays not excepted, from 10 in the morning till 5 in the afternoon. The humblest individual is not only shown the whole, but the Duke has expressly ordered the waterworks to be played for everyone without exception. This is acting in the true spirit of great wealth and enlightened liberality; let us add, also, in the spirit of wisdom.”[55] This is incidentally only a few years after Queen Victoria opened Hampton Court Palace to all members of the public for free. Other houses had also begun to open their doors to visitors experiencing leisure time as a result of labor and reform bills, but the dukes at Chatsworth were one of the few families who liked to have their homes open to the public, especially before houses began charging admission for charity and upkeep, particularly during the later hard-times of the 1950s. These visitors were mainly middle class due to Chatsworth’s location, but the addition of nearby railroads did allow visits from the working classes in metropolitan areas.

The Sixth Duke’s next two successors followed his lead. The ninth duke did as well but did implement a small fee that paid the guides and donated the rest to local hospitals.[56] Under the eleventh and twelfth dukes' guidance from the mid-twentieth century on, people are free to explore on their own and take as much time as they want (until the house closes of course). Guidebooks and now audio guides are also available for interested visitors at reasonable prices.

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[54] Jewitt, *Illustrated Guide to Chatsworth*, 27.

[55] Devonshire, *The House*, 86.

The current duke sums up the family policy by referring to those touring the house as visitors, not tourists; he also reveals that without the visitors, the house would be quite lonely.[57] The duke and his family realize that without visitors, they would not be here.[58] Indeed, it has been described as belonging "somehow not only to the family who built it but to the nation" in film programs.[59] Like some other country house owners, the duke and duchess participate in the visitor side of their home; they have authored (or helped author) several of the guidebooks and other works on the house, and the duke is even featured as one of the narrators on the audio guides. Not always recognized as the owners, the family is able to hear unfiltered visitor opinions and how they have enjoyed Chatsworth.[60]

Some other country houses claim to have been open to visitors at various times but Chatsworth is one of the oldest to do so, as well as having a long record of doing so. More houses have been opened to the public in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, but mostly because they are required to do so for restoration and maintenance grants. With the work put forward by the current ducal family and its predecessor, Chatsworth is a rare specimen since the family seems to want visitors, not just tolerate them as some other houses do.[61] “The house has been open for people to see round since it was built. There are no detailed records of the early years, but accounts of travellers from the time of Celia Fiennes (1622—1741) and Defoe (1660 – 1731) onwards make it clear that all interested people could see the main rooms and the garden.”[62]

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[56] Devonshire, *The House*, 88 – 89.

[57] Scott, "Chatsworth," *Treasure Houses of England*.

[58] Ward, *Secrets of Chatsworth*.

[59] Scott, "Chatsworth," *Treasure Houses of England*.

[60] Ward, *Secrets of Chatsworth*.

The family has a very good relationship with and connection to the house. When the death duties on the tenth duke threatened the safety of the estate, the family rallied by selling some of the land they owned. They also sold some of their valuable collections – paintings, books, etc. In addition, they donated Bess’s family home, Hardwick Hall, to the National Trust to finish the debt so they could keep the family seat, Chatsworth. The eleventh duke

> pondered the means by which the money could be raised that would have the least bad effect on the collections, the estate and succeeding generations of his family. Chatsworth was always at the centre of his thoughts and his plans. Everything revolved round Chatsworth. His prime object was to save the house and as much of the contents as possible, though it seemed unlikely that either would remain in the ownership, let along the occupation, of his family. There was much speculation, both local and national, as to what would become of the place.[63]

The eleventh duke and duchess then created the Chatsworth House Trust to help preserve the house, grounds, and collections for future generations of family and visitors.

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[61] David Littlejohn, *The Fate of the English Country House* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 75, 77 – 79, 91, 123, and 164 – 165.

[62] Devonshire, *The House*, 86.

[63] Devonshire, *Chatsworth: The House*, 234.

The dowager duchess devoted a small chapter in one of her books on Chatsworth to what it is actually like living in the house—an idea that can appeal to visitors fascinated by both country houses and the families that live in them. It is like having a behind-the-scenes tour, which many people appreciate. It is enjoyable to imagine what it would be like to live in such a house, but it can also be incredibly rewarding to learn about the truth of living in a large, beautifully-furnished country house. "The intense pleasure of living in the house and of actually using the rooms we had visited so often for the purpose for which they were built, waking up to the wide view across the park and being surrounded by so much beauty is our good fortune, and something of which I am acutely aware, and will never take for granted however many years I may live here."[64] Living in a home, no matter the size, causes some wear-and-tear; these can be multiplied in a large house open to visitors, but such homes also tend to have a staff that can see to maintenance and conservation (or enough knowledge to find someone if needed and more than the individual can handle). The dowager duchess addresses this problem but also discusses the positives:

> You might think that such intensive everyday use would have a damaging effect on the very structure of the building and that the crowds of people might destroy the atmosphere created by all things visible and invisible, vital to the enjoyment of visitors and residents alike. Curiously enough both structure and atmosphere seem to thrive on it. The house was built for large numbers of people and it was built to please. It seems to have reached the twenty-first century succeeding in both these aims, welcoming and containing with ease anyone who wishes to see it. It is often remarked upon that there is a lived-in feeling.[65]

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[64] Devonshire, *The House*, 82.

[65] Devonshire, *Chatsworth: The House*, 7.

With help from a trained staff, a lived-in feeling does not automatically mean a house in need of repair; being 'lived in' also means that a house can have several different decorating styles:

> Our luck is that since 1550 the Cavendishes have respected the place as the first and most important among the houses they built or inherited. Each has loved the house and its surroundings, and all have added something to it. Perhaps the charm, attraction, character, call it what you will, of the house is that it has grown over the years in a haphazard sort of way. Nothing fits exactly….The house is a conglomeration of styles and periods, of furniture and decoration.[66]

The dowager duchess has published numerous works, including two more in-depth books on Chatsworth (besides the guidebooks themselves (late twentieth century)); she begins with the history and public rooms of the house, but later sections include information (and some images) of the private rooms as well as her own observations and opinions, infused with warmth and a sense of humor. "When some kind host shows me round what is now called a Historic House and says with a wave of his hand, 'This was the kitchen,' I can't pay attention any more. Unfortunately this is exactly how we must start the tour of Chatsworth."[67] The dowager duchess reminds readers and visitors that while the house may have only been the idea of a few, it took many to create it. "Everyone who contributed to the whole, including some whose names are forgotten now but who were nevertheless vital to the projects they carried out, was (and is) of the highest caliber in whatever their field. Nothing could have happened without them, and their skill and loyalty, in equal measure, have made Chatsworth what it is today."[68]

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[66] Devonshire, *Chatsworth: The House*, 8.

[67] Devonshire, *Chatsworth: The House*, 48.

[68] Devonshire, *Chatsworth: The House*, 8.

She also enables a visitor to compare their own home to her home: "The joys and the problems of living in a huge house are all magnified."[69] But she also adds a couple paragraphs later that "You lose things, but you never know what you might find."[70] For comparative and comprehensive (or incomprehensive) purposes, the dowager duchess provides supplementary statistics on the house:

> The roof is 1.3 acres. There are 175 rooms, of which 51 are very big indeed, 96 of more or less normal size, 21 kitchens and workshops and 7 offices connected by 3,426 feet of passages, 17 staircases and 359 doors — all lit by 2,084 electric light bulbs. There are 397 external window-frames, 62 internal window-frames…7,873 panes of glass. 24 baths, 52 wash-hand basins, 29 sinks, 53 lavatories and 6 wash-ups… The total cubic living space in Chatsworth is 1,704,233 cubic feet. The total cubic living space in a first-time buyer's modern two-bedroomed house [in 1982] is 4,726 cubic feet.[71]

By comparing the size of Chatsworth to that of an average visitor's home, she frames the comparison in a context that makes it easier to understand. In this way, the dowager duchess works to make Chatsworth a living site as well as a site of memory by the emphasis on home and hospitality. As in the visitor tour, the public rooms are accessible so visitors can get a feel for the home. Both the tour and the works commemorate the house and family, as the draw to such houses for most visitors is the specialty architectural detail, furnishings, and historical family use. After all, a house without a story does not attract many visitors.

In addition to the dowager duchess's storied descriptions of rooms and living in the house, her friendly discussion of the family permits the reader to be brought in to the family and feel invested in their lives. It is easy to care about the people she describes, particularly with her personal recollections of ‘the story I like best is __’ and ‘I remember __’. Using journals, diaries, and letters (when available) of the past dukes and duchesses, she also describes their writing styles and what that can say about the writer. For example, one duke is described as having “a droll style of writing that is endearing” and the Bachelor Duke’s Handbook (on what and why he changed and collected what he did) “reveals the mixture of grandeur and humility in his character, and his descriptions of family, guests, servants and neighbors bring the first half of the nineteenth century at Chatsworth vividly to life. But it is his sense of humour that makes one love him more than all the rest put together. He was funny and sad, the irresistible combination that is one of the secrets of charm.”[72]

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[69] Devonshire, *The House*, 82.

[70] Devonshire, *The House*, 82.

[71] Devonshire, *The House*, 83.

Conclusion

Chatsworth is unique in this study in several respects: it is in the rural countryside and not in (or on the outskirts of) a city; it is owned by a family trust instead of a city or government organization; the family still lives in the home and is actively involved in events and heritage tourism. In the period immediately following the Second World War, the preservation and restoration of country houses were not priorities of either the government or the public, and many houses were demolished, sold, or given to the National Trust. A couple decades later, things were turning around for country houses and owners due to the emergence of broader historic preservation movements in the 1970s. Once the economy and cities recovered from the war, more money and interest could be spent on heritage and non-essentials. The family had managed to retain ownership of Chatsworth during the hard times after the war, even reopening to visitors within a few years; when interest picked up in country houses, Chatsworth benefitted as well. The dowager duchess herself commented that "The scale of the change of heart in public opinion towards such places as Chatsworth that has taken place in the last fifty years is something that only people like Andrew and I, who have lived through those years in a house like ours, can comprehend."[73]

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[72] Devonshire, *Chatsworth: The House*, 33 and 25.

The internet, travel blogs, films, and more people traveling have all helped to make visitors more aware of places like country houses and heritage sites. Such factors have helped more locations earn a reputation as visitor and heritage attractions; the added bonus of seeing a heritage site with a family still in residence (and therefore hopefully making the site more relatable) is also helpful in bolstering an interest in national heritage. "A new mood has gathered strength in the last two decades and now never a day passes but the words 'heritage' and 'environment' appear on the home news pages of the papers."[74] The US and other countries have also had an increase in the public's interest at historic and heritage sites, but few of these places are as expansive as some of the country houses in Britain. Even the size of a southern plantation, for example, cannot compare to the size of a location such as Chatsworth, which is difficult to put into perspective without physically being at the site. However, no matter the location or the size, the heritage industry and participants are grateful for the increase in tourist interest and visitation.

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[73] Devonshire, *Chatsworth: The House*, 234.

[74] Devonshire, *Chatsworth: The House*, 235.

At Chatsworth, the family jumped on the heritage and visitor bandwagon early. They established good relations with their visitors and treated visitors as guests, not nosy tourists. Legends on owners and objects are enjoyed by all, but discovering the ‘truth’ is also exciting; story and fact are distributed to visitors because of the family’s commitment to experience and knowledge.

Servant’s (and family) quarters are not shown regularly to visitors, and so there is room for improvement in this area in regards to (former) servants’ quarters as the family deserves its privacy. Even with this, Chatsworth is a friendly and inviting house, working hard to help visitors appreciate the family home just as much as the family itself has done through the centuries. Often regarded as the inspiration for *Pride and Prejudice*’s Pemberley, it has featured in several Jane Austen and Regency period films. Once here, visitors can see the reason for the inspiration but become enmeshed in Chatsworth’s own story.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Since the union of the Scottish and English Parliaments in 1707, the island nation worked to come together and had become a single United Kingdom by the time Victoria ascended to the throne in 1837. In the course of coming together as one country, a national identity (based both on opposition to a French and European ‘other’ as well as common characteristics) led to an interest in the past, focusing mainly on the medieval and pre-industrial periods. As the interest in preserving history continues to grow today, it is important to examine how that history and its memory can and should be presented. Relevance to current day is key so visitors continue to be interested in learning from the past. Public history and heritage professionals work diligently to determine what should be presented to their publics and how it should be presented in order to keep visitor interest and engagement without diluting the sites so that they simply become tourist traps.

The increasing industrialization of the Victorian Age scared many landowners and even some of the people still living in rural areas. They longed for the medieval and pre-industrial past, which was seen in some of the decoration and reconstruction of homes, castles, and even palaces and country houses. The ornateness and artistry of hand-crafted goods appealed to more of the elite than many of the mass-produced products becoming readily available; it also spoke to the ability of the elite and upper-middle class to still afford these products.

It was also in the Victorian Age that the peoples of England, Scotland and Wales truly began to be British. Although there had been some (mostly Scottish) uprisings in the eighteenth-century, the countries had begun to come together after 1707. It was a lengthy process, only really completed under Queen Victoria, although even today division still rears its head occasionally in petitions, protest, and calls for autonomy. Under Victoria and during the nineteenth-century, Scotland and Wales began to experience how they could use their pasts to celebrate both their nationality and their connection to England, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom. The English also began to appreciate the historic legends, culture, and figures of their sister countries and a new interest (fitting with the medieval and early Renaissance) emerged in the romantic appeal of Mary Queen of Scots, King Arthur, and Camelot.

After William and Mary created their Baroque palace to replace the torn-down Tudor half of Hampton Court Palace, the Tudor sections lost their importance in the eighteenth century. Once Queen Victoria opened the palace to the public, the national interest in the medieval and thus the Tudors, Henry VIII, and his family led to the returned predominance of the older section of the palace. With the presentation work this century by Historic Royal Palaces, the Tudor section still predominates but the Baroque is not forgotten; history can still literally walk the halls through the ghost stories, simple costumes available for visitor use, and historic pageantry with costumed reenactors. Hampton Court Palace is a place that readily lends itself to the space between past and present, memory and history.

Edinburgh Castle serves as a symbol of Scotland, its monarchy, and its military. Even though it was a royal residence and still houses the Honours of Scotland, it was built primarily as a military fortress and participated in struggles over the national control of Scotland. England tried to conquer Scotland but the two were eventually joined under a dual monarchy, with Scotland as an equal, unconquered and uncolonized partner with England. In this way, Edinburgh Castle is Scotland's Tower of London, a proud symbol of both Great Britain and Scotland's independent sovereignty.

Cardiff Castle's story still connects to a national story (the conquest and invasion of Wales, the Wars of the Roses, and the Victorian interest in the medieval), but the local story has also gained light through the promotion and use of local craftsmen during its reconstruction under Bute and Burges as well as the regional military museum exhibitions on site. The castle was originally a defensive site for both the Romans and the Norman invaders before transitioning to a family home, epitomized as a house of luxury during the reconstruction. The combination of luxury and defensive structures provides a unique setting and story for visitors to enjoy: the experience of both the unconquered spirit of the Welsh and the reliving of the medieval, illustrated story of the past. With Cardiff Castle's transfer from the Bute family to the city, the castle's noble ownership has given way to the city's public ownership and use.

Although visitors often come to Chatsworth to experience the setting for Jane Austen and Regency period films, the family's interest in providing a quality visit and the promotion of their family home encourages the appreciation of the house for itself. The visitor route is a bit prescribed to prevent visitors straying into private, family quarters, but visitors are encouraged to take as much time as they would like while on the route to have the full experience. The family worked hard to save its family seat from high death duties and created a trust to preserve it for the future. The dowager duchess has done much to showcase both public and more private aspects of the home to the public, and the current duke (and duchess) continue to participate in the visitor side of Chatsworth, being featured on the audio guide among other involvements. Chatsworth is a family home and visitors are encouraged to see and feel this in their experience.

To maintain interest moving forward, historic sites have to adopt new technologies. The organizing bodies of Cardiff Castle and Chatsworth have both created an app for the site, designed to be used either on-site or as a virtual tour at home. Some of the listening tours on the app have just been recycled from the on-site audio guide; this can be seen in the Sculpture Gallery at Chatsworth, where visitors are still instructed in the app to leave their audio guides at the door before exiting. This does not mean it is ineffective, but might be made more useful and enjoyable if the non-applicable directives were removed. Historic Scotland has an app for all of its nearly 80 properties, but the description indicates the app focuses more on information related to visiting (directions, special events, prices, hours, overview, and social media posts) than a virtual tour audio-guide. It is likely Edinburgh Castle is featured in the several city visitor and Scotland visitor apps, but no official castle app like that of Cardiff or Chatsworth is in app stores. Similarly, neither Hampton Court Palace nor Historic Royal Palaces have an official app, although they are developing mobile device games for children and young adults on their website for carry over use from home to site. For visitors truly interested in these sites and hearing more about them, an app and other forward-thinking technology is becoming more appropriate and necessary.

Public history seeks to understand and contribute to such sites of history and memory, whether natural or man-made, or a hybrid of the two. Examining the process of how places imbued with memory were created and the reasons for doing so reminds public historians of their influence. Here, we have seen how the story of each palace and castle is uniquely local but also connects to a larger narrative and identity. National identities are often helped along by heritage and historic sites so it is important to see how these sites are created, represented, and remembered. Public history practitioners walk a fine line between representing the past and only appealing to (and retaining) visitors through site and museum presentation. The most successful sites must do both, and not lose their link to the past, thereby becoming only tourist traps. There are many sites that navigate this issue fairly successfully to serve as a memory of the past—and a physical manifestation of history to both visitor and practitioner. This thesis has demonstrated that there is no one path to striking this balance. Through the examination of the selected British palaces of Hampton Court, Edinburgh Castle, Cardiff Castle, and Chatsworth House, it has shown that different approaches to memory usage can lead to the creation of a vibrant site for today's visitors that remain closely tied to history.

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APPENDIX A

OWNERSHIP CHRONOLOGY OF PROPERTIES DISCUSSED

Hampton Court Palace

(Knights Hospitallers of St John	c.1338)
Giles Daubeney	1494
Cardinal Thomas Wolsey	1514
Henry VIII	1525 gifted by Wolsey 1529 occupy & remove Wolsey
Catherine of Aragon	d. 1536
Anne Boleyn	d. 1536
Jane Seymour	d. 1537
Anne of Cleves	divorced 1540, d. 1557
Catherine Howard	d. 1542
Katherine Parr	d. 1548
Edward VI	r. 1547 – 1553
Mary I	r. 1553 – 1558
Elizabeth I	r. 1558 – 1603
James I	r. 1603 – 1625
Charles I	r. 1625 – 1649
Oliver Cromwell & the Commonwealth	1649 – 1660
Charles II	r. 1660 – 1685
James II	r. 1685 – 1688
Mary II	r. 1689 – 1694
William III	r. 1689 – 1702
Anne	r. 1702 – 1714
George I	r. 1714 – 1727
George II	r. 1727 – 1760
George III	r. 1760 – 1820

[Grace & Favour Apartments from George III til 1980s]

Opened to the public – Queen Victoria	1839
Historic Royal Palaces	1989

1998 independent charity separate from the government

Edinburgh Castle

Local tribe Votadini
Romans 78AD
Malcolm III & Queen (St) Margaret of Scotland r.1058 – 1093

Donald III r. 1093 – 1094
Duncan II r. 1094
Donald III r. 1094 – 1097
Edgar r. 1097 – 1107
Alexander I r. 1107 – 1124
David I r. 1124 – 1153
Malcolm IV r. 1153 – 1165
William I r. 1165 – 1214
Castle held by the English 1174 – 1186
Alexander II r. 1214 – 1249
Alexander III r. 1249 – 1286
Margaret r. 1286 – 1290
Interregnum 1290 – 1292 Edward I of England
John r. 1292 – 1296
Interregnum 1296 – 1306 Edward I of England
Robert I the Bruce r. 1306 – 1329
David II r. 1329 – 1371
Robert II r. 1371 – 1390
Robert III r. 1390 – 1406
James I r. 1406 – 1437
James II r. 1437 – 1460
James III r. 1460 – 1488
James IV r. 1488 – 1513
James V r. 1513 – 1542
Mary I Queen of Scots r. 1542 – 1567
James VI (I of England) r. 1567 – 1625
Charles I r. 1625 – 1649
Charles II r. 1649 – 1685
Cromwell & the Commonwealth 1649 – 1660
James VII r. 1685 – 1689
Mary II r. 1689 – 1694
William II r. 1689 – 1702
Anne r. 1702 – 1714
Union of Parliaments 1707
George I r. 1714 – 1727
George II r. 1727 – 1760
George III r. 1760 – 1820
George IV r. 1820 – 1830
Honours of Scotland discovered 1818
William IV r. 1830 – 1837
Victoria r. 1837 – 1901
Edward VII r. 1901 – 1910
War Office to Office of Works 1905
Historic Scotland 1991

Cardiff Castle

- Romans (fort) 43 AD invasion c.50s AD fort – 4th Cent

- Robert Fitzhamon 1093 1081 William of Normandy found Castle
- Robert the Consul (married Fitzhamon's daughter), lord of Glamorgan 1122
  - Son William Welsh uprising 1183 – 1184
  - Daughter Isabel & husband Prince/King John
    - (divorced but held til she remarried earl of Essex (d. 1216))
- Gilbert de Clare (son of Isabel's sister Amicia) d. 1230
  - Son Richard came of age 1243 d. 1262
  - Son Gilbert the Red succeed c.1264 d. 1295
    - Llywelyn ap Gruffydd revolt 1256 – 1274
  - Son Gilbert d. 1314
- Sister Elizabeth, husband Hugh Despenser m. 1306
    - Hugh killed 1326
  - Son Hugh Despenser II 1337 inherit from mom
  - Nephew Edward d. 1375
  - Son Thomas 1394 came into possession (minor) d. c1399
  - Son Richard d. 1414
- Sister Isabella 1411 married Richard Beauchamp (d.1422)
  - Owain Glyndwr's rebellion 1400 – c1412
  - Remarry another Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick both d. 1439
  - Son Henry, Duke of Warwick 1444 d. 1445
    - Infant daughter d. 5 yrs later
- Richard's Sister Ann married Richard Neville 'the kingmaker' (d. 1471)
  - Daughter Isabel (d. 1476)
    - Married George Duke of Clarence 1469 (d. 1478)
  - Sister Anne (d. 1485)
    - Married Richard Duke of Gloucester 1472 (d.1485)
      - Ascended throne as Richard III 1483
- Crown Possession
  - Henry VII gave to uncle Jasper Tudor d. 1495
  - Henry VII, Henry VIII, Edward VI
- William Herbert 1550 (given by the crown) d.1570
  - Son Henry d. 1601
  - Son William d. 1630
  - Brother Philip d. 1650
    - Civil War: held by royalists, Parliamentary forces 1645
  - Son Philip d. 1669
  - Son William d. 1624
  - Brother Philip d. 1683
  - Brother Thomas d. 1733
- Philip's daughter Charlotte Herbert & 2nd husband Thomas
    - (1st Viscount Windsor) m.1703

Granddaughter Charlotte Jane & husband John Stuart (Marquess of Bute)
    1766 d. 1814
Grandson John Stuart (2nd marquess) 1793 – 1848
Son John Patrick Crichton-Stuart (3rd marquess) 1847 – 1900
    1872 married Lady Gwendolen Howard
    Architect William Burges d. 1881
Son John Crichton-Stuart (4th marquess) 1881 – 1947
Son John Crichton-Stuart (5th marquess) 1907 – 1956

Given in trust to City of Cardiff 1947
    College of Music and Drama 1947 – 1974
    Opened as tourist site 1974

Chatsworth House

Bess of Hardwick		1527 – 1608
	2. Sir William Cavendish	1505 – 1557
	3. William St Loe	
	4. George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury	

William Cavendish (2nd son), 1st Earl of Devonshire		1552 – 1625
	Anne Keighley	d. 1625
William Cavendish, 2nd Earl		1590 – 1628
	Hon. Christian Bruce	1595 – 1675
William Cavendish, 3rd Earl		1617 – 1684
	Lady Elizabeth Cecil	1619 – 1689
William Cavendish, 4th Earl & 1st Duke of Devonshire		1640 – 1707
	Lady Mary Butler	1646 – 1710
William Cavendish, 2nd Duke		1673 – 1729
	Hon. Rachel Russell	1674 – 1725
William Cavendish, 3rd Duke		1698 – 1755
	Katherine Hoskins	d. 1777
William Cavendish, 4th Duke		1720 – 1764
	Lady Charlotte Boyle	1731 – 1754
William Cavendish, 5th Duke		1748 – 1811
	Lady Georgiana Spencer	1757 – 1806
	Lady Elizabeth Foster	1757 – 1824
William Spencer Cavendish, 6th Duke (Bachelor Duke)		1790 – 1858
William Cavendish, 7th Duke (nephew, inherit from uncle)		1808 – 1891
	Lady Blanche Howard (niece)	1812 – 1840
Spencer Compton Cavendish, 8th Duke		1833 – 1908
	Louise von Alten (Double Duchess)	1832 – 1911
Victor Cavendish, 9th Duke (nephew, inherit from uncle)		1868 – 1938
	Lady Evelyn Fitzmaurice	1870 – 1960
Edward Cavendish, 10th Duke		1895 – 1950
	Lady Mary Cecil	1895 – 1988
Andrew Cavendish, 11th Duke		1920 – 2004
	Hon. Deborah Mitford	b. 1920
Peregrine Cavendish, 12th Duke		b. 1944
	Amanda Heywood-Lonsdale	b. 1944
	3 children, 10 grandchildren	

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Alexandra Deselms was born November 2, 1990 in Lincoln, Nebraska and attended the following schools: Republican Valley Elementary School (Indianola, NE); Hobbs Elementary School (Cheyenne, WY); Platteville Elementary School and South Valley Middle School (Platteville, CO); and graduated as a valedictorian in 2009 at Valley High School (Gilcrest, CO). She received her Bachelors of Arts in History (Liberal Arts) with a minor in Anthropology from the University of Northern Colorado (Greeley, CO) in May 2013, graduating summa cum laude. Deselms was part of the Honors program and her undergraduate Honors Thesis received the Becky R. Edgerton Award. She began attending Arizona State University (Tempe, AZ) August 2013 to obtain her Master's degree in Public History, serving for two years as a teaching assistant in the School of Historical, Philosophical, and Religious Studies. She studied abroad in Aalborg, Denmark as an undergraduate and participated in the first Open Palace Programme in England during her graduate coursework. Deselms has also participated in internships at the Steelworks Center of the West Museum (Pueblo, CO) as a graduate student and the City of Greeley Museum (Greeley, CO) as well as serving as an aide in the museum's archives while working on her Bachelors; she has also volunteered and worked on public history projects through ASU. She is a member of several museum, history, heritage, and civic organizations, including Phi Alpha Theta National History Honor Society, National Council on Public History, American Association of State and Local History, and Daughters of the American Revolution.