

A Tour of the Peak: Leisure, Culture and Tourism in Derbyshire, c.1700-1850.

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by

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Abstract:

Drawing upon a wide range of historical research upon leisure, culture, domestic travel and urban history, the thesis investigates the influence of wider trends in leisure, culture and tourism in the development of Derbyshire and the resorts of Buxton and Matlock Bath as tourist destinations during the period 1700 to 1850. Contemporary travel literature and personal accounts of journeys are utilised to explore the dynamic and culturally diverse activity of tourism. The case study of Derbyshire and the resorts towns of Buxton, Matlock Bath, Bakewell and the village of Castleton suggests that a multiplicity of factors outside the understood characteristics of spa development – health and commercialised urban leisure – affected their growth and that a greater role for relationship between culture and the unique portfolio of the tourist attractions of the Peak must be taken into account. Leisure and luxury retailing hierarchies are utilised for the purpose of comparative analysis between the towns and models of urban competition and co-operation provide the basis for the examination of the tourist centres intra-urban relationship. It is argued that the relative success and failure of Buxton, Matlock Bath, Bakewell and the village of Castleton as tourist destinations is explicable through a combination of health and commercialised leisure, the wider tourist itinerary of the Peak, the creation of niche identities and the nature of their interdependent relationship.

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List of Abbreviations:

CUHB – *Cambridge Urban History of Britain*

DCC/DLSL – Derby County Council, Derby Local Studies Library

DLSL – Derby Local Studies Library

MLSL – Matlock Local Studies Library

NRO – Norfolk Record Office

UNESCO – The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation

WHS – World Heritage Status

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Introduction.

‘The Peak of Derbyshire has often supplied a favourite theme to the tourist, and is visited by a multitude of strangers on very different accounts’ declared R. Ward in his *Buxton, Matlock and Castleton Guide* (1826). His list of ‘strangers’ included the health tourist who travelled to seek a cure for their ailments at the county’s spas; the picturesque tourist who came to admire the beauties of the county’s landscape; the geologist who travelled to explore the geological landscape and the antiquarian who arrived in the region to examine its sites of historical interest.¹ To Ward’s list could be added those individuals who toured the county’s stately homes and also those who desired to view the latest industrial and technological inventions. More often than not, these ‘strangers’ were one and the same person, who included an eclectic number of these attractions in their itinerary as they travelled through the Peak. In short, Derbyshire offered the tourist a unique portfolio of attractions in this period which secured the county’s reputation as a tourist destination.

There was a long tradition of tourism in Derbyshire: Buxton had been visited regularly since the sixteenth century by those seeking medicinal relief from its mineral springs. In the seventeenth century the published work of Michael Drayton’s *Poly-Olbion* (1622), Thomas Hobbes’ *De Mirabilibus Pecci* (1636) and Charles Cotton’s *The Wonders of the Peak* (1681) introduced the ‘seven wonders of the Peak’ – Buxton, Chatsworth House, the caverns of Poole’s Hole and the Devils Arse, Eldon Hole a

¹ R. Ward, *Buxton, Matlock and Castleton Guide* (Birmingham, 1826), p. 6.

supposedly bottomless pit, Tideswell's ebbing and flowing well and Mam Tor.² Ward's comments, published 145 years after Cotton's *Wonders*, illustrate the broad changes that had occurred in the Derbyshire tourist itinerary. Influenced by new forms of culture and attitudes in leisure, health, landscape, the nation's history, and towards science and industry that emerged in the eighteenth century the tour had become greatly expanded. It included participation in the new urban leisure facilities available at the spas, picturesque landscapes such as Dove dale and Matlock, ancient British and Roman and medieval remains, the collections of the grand country houses, Tudor mansions and industrial sites such as the Derby silk mill and Sir Richard Arkwright's Cromford factories. Whilst this brief survey of tourism in the county is by no means comprehensive it serves to demonstrate the broad cultural changes that occurred in domestic tourism in this period and which led to the towns of Buxton and Matlock Bath becoming popular tourist destinations from which to tour the county's attractions. Derbyshire can be seen then, as a microcosm of trends in tourism during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and, as such, it offers a regional study which allows for new perspectives on the field of historical tourism. As the county also had a number of small tourist towns, the study also contributes to our understanding of the role that the wider culture of tourism played in their urban growth and development and the nature of their intra-urban relationship in this period.

There is already a body of literature written about tourism in Britain. Esther Moir's *The Discovery of Britain* (1964) was a pivotal study that was influential in introducing to historical debate many of the cultural themes, landscape, antiquities, stately homes and

² Michael Drayton, *Poly-Olbion*, (London, 1622); Thomas Hobbes, *De Mirabilibus Pecci* (London, c.1627); Charles Cotton, *The Wonders of the Peak* (London, 1681).

industry that influenced travellers and the journeys that they made in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.³ In *The Green Bag Travellers* (1978) Anthony and Pip Burton followed similar themes in their brief survey of tourism, but they added little to the knowledge that Moir had already introduced.⁴ Ian Ousby's *The Englishman's England* (1990) concentrated on the fascination that tourists showed in literary shrines, as well as landscape, antiquities and the country house in this period.⁵ These studies all overlook important features of tourism in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Firstly travel for health and the associated rise of the spa town and coastal resort, and secondly regarding the Burtons' and Ousby's work, there is no recognition of the importance of industry to the traveller. Malcolm Andrews' *The Search for the Picturesque* (1990) is an important study in this area of tourism, but as the title suggests it devotes itself exclusively to tracing the importance of the 'cult of the picturesque' within tourism to such regions as the Wye valley and the Lake District.⁶ Alastair Durie's *Scotland for the Holidays* (2003) provides useful insights into the nature of tourism in Scotland in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but much of his study investigates later Victorian and early twentieth-century tourism, which lie outside the parameters of this study.⁷ The *Annals of Tourism Research* journal has few contributions which add to our understanding of travel in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Whilst a welcome addition to the field, the more recently established *Journal of Tourism History* (2009) also has yet to feature articles relating to this period.⁸ A number of these studies

³ Esther Moir, *The Discovery of Britain 1540 to 1840* (London, 1964).

⁴ Anthony and Pip Burton, *The Green Bag Travellers* (London, 1978).

⁵ Ian Ousby, *The Englishman's England* (Cambridge, 1990).

⁶ Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque 1760-1800* (Aldershot, 1990).

⁷ Alastair J. Durie, *Scotland for the Holidays: Tourism in Scotland c.1780-1939* (East Linton, 2003).

⁸ John K. Walton (ed.), *Journal of Tourism History*, 1:1; 1:2 (2009), 2:1; 2:2; 2:3 (2010).

have, however, touched upon Derbyshire in their discussion of tourism. Moir makes reference to Chatsworth house and a number of caverns in the area.⁹ Ousby draws attention to the natural attractions of the ‘seven wonders’ as well as Chatsworth House and Haddon Hall.¹⁰ Buxton and Matlock occupy chapters in Hembry’s study of spa towns,¹¹ but given the national focus of their research none trace the development of tourism in Derbyshire in this period.

A similar trend exists in works relating to Derbyshire in which Buxton has received the most attention. R. Grundy Heape’s *Buxton under the Dukes of Devonshire* (1948) provides an overall survey of the various Dukes’ investment in the town and the development of the town’s leisure facilities.¹² Mike Langham’s *Buxton: A People’s History* (2001) surveyed the town’s growth in the period, but devoted much of the book to later Victorian development.¹³ Their research concentrates on Buxton as a spa town, but gives little indication as to the importance of the wider tourist attractions of the Peak which contributed to the reputation of Buxton as a tourist destination in this period. Matlock Bath and the town of Bakewell – another aspiring tourist centre in the late eighteenth century – have received even less attention. A recent publication that has sought to address the nature of tourism to Derbyshire is Trevor Brighton’s *The Discovery of the Peak District* (2004). He traces and provides a survey of many of the cultural themes that are investigated by this study, but his treatment of many of the areas of tourism in this period is incomplete and less than comprehensive. His research devotes a

⁹ Moir, *Discovery of Britain*, pp. 67-8.

¹⁰ Ousby, *Englishman’s England*, pp. 52, 102-106.

¹¹ Phyllis Hembry, *The English Spa 1560-1815* (London, 1990), pp. 219-30; *British Spas from 1815 to the Present* (eds.) Cowie, L and Cowie, E (London, 1997), pp. 115-23.

¹² R. Grundy Heape, *Buxton under the Dukes of Devonshire* (London, 1948).

¹³ Mike Langham, *Buxton: A People’s History* (Lancaster, 2001).

chapter to the growth of Buxton, Matlock and Bakewell and suggests that investment in both the health and leisure industry in these towns was indicative of competition for visitors in this period, although his findings are implied rather than demonstrated.¹⁴ It must be noted, however, that both Langham's and Brighton's research have been published with the county's tourist market in mind. By contrast, this thesis is ultimately concerned to provide a comprehensive account of the tour of Derbyshire in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Any study of tourism must start with an examination of the general motives that lay behind travel. Eighteenth and nineteenth-century domestic journeys were undertaken for a variety of reasons that variously encompassed health, education and knowledge, aesthetics and the display of an individual's cultivation and 'taste'. The tradition of travelling for health can be clearly seen in the rise of the inland spa and coastal resort, but one cannot ignore that the same journey was undertaken for pleasure and to participate in the fashionable urban leisure facilities and entertainments and social round that these towns provided.¹⁵ Travelling for the purposes of the acquisition and broadening of an individual's knowledge was one of the fundamental features of eighteenth-century tourism. The tradition of tourism as an 'art' of empirical enquiry was well established in the seventeenth century.¹⁶ John Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693) advocated travel for the completion of a gentlemen's education. This part of his work was primarily concerned with travel abroad in which the gentleman was to acquaint himself with all things worthy of his notice and of use upon his return to his native

¹⁴ Trevor Brighton, *The Discovery of the Peak District* (Chichester, 2004).

¹⁵ J.H. Plumb, 'The Commercialisation of Leisure' in J. Brewer, N. MacKendrick and J.H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society* (London, 1982), pp.283-84; Hembry, *English Spa*.

¹⁶ Judith Adler, 'Travel as Performed Art', *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 94, (1988), p. 1374; 'Origins of Sight Seeing', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 16:1 (1989), pp. 16-19.

country.¹⁷ Locke further suggested that an individual was ill-prepared to make enquiries and observations of other countries unless he knew something about his own.¹⁸ As such, Locke implied that some form of domestic travel was a prerequisite for travel abroad. Mark Wenger has suggested that travel in Britain to prepare for the Grand Tour is a neglected aspect of domestic tourism in this period and argues that this was the main stimulus for John Percival's tour in 1701, which included the Seven Wonders of Derbyshire.¹⁹ Following in this tradition the eighteenth-century traveller was expected to view and comment on areas pertaining to man's welfare, prosperity, arts and nature and curiosities from careful observation.²⁰ For those individuals lacking the education, leisure time and finances to undertake the Grand Tour, domestic travel offered the opportunity to engage in this spirit of enquiry.

The picturesque tour emerged in the second half of the eighteenth century as a new and significant influence on domestic travel. Edmund Burke's *A Philosophical Enquiry into Our Ideas of the Picturesque and Sublime* (1757) ushered in a new age of contemplating landscape for its inherent aesthetic values of beauty (picturesque) and the sublime.²¹ The work of William Gilpin's *Observations on the River Wye* (1782) defined the picturesque landscape simply as a scene fit for a landscape painting.²² Uvedale Price later redefined the concept of the picturesque as a distinct third category separate from

¹⁷ John Locke, *Some thoughts Concerning Education* (1693, 15th edn. Dublin, 1778), p. 318.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 318-20.

¹⁹ Mark R. Wenger (ed.), *The English Travels of Sir John Percival and William Byrd II: The Percival Diary of 1701* (Columbia, 1989), p.17.

²⁰ Adler, 'Origins' pp, 16-19; 'Travel', pp. 1384-84.

²¹ Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into Our Ideas of the Picturesque and Sublime* (1757, repr. Oxford, 1990).

²² William Gilpin, *Observations on the River Wye* (1782, repr. Oxford, 1991).

beauty and the sublime respectively.²³ The vogue for landscape made itself felt as new tourist destinations such as the Wye valley, the Lake District and the Highlands of Scotland opened up for the picturesque tourist. The development of turnpikes, the increasing speed and security of travel in this period contributed to the accessibility and popularity of these areas as tourist destinations. Derbyshire was no exception to this new trend in tourism and an increasing number of sublime and picturesque landscapes were incorporated into the tourist itinerary of the Peak. Picturesque travel also altered the writing of travel literature in the second half of the eighteenth century: impersonal detached observations gave way to more personal observations by the authors as they strove to communicate the aesthetic values of the scene they were viewing to their audience.²⁴

Finally, tourism was itself a 'polite' and fashionable activity in both its physical form of undertaking a journey and as a use of leisure time. Travel literature was a commercial genre of print culture, second only to that of the novel in the eighteenth century. The writing of a travel account was perceived as an important undertaking for the well-educated man or woman, who recounted their experiences to an audience hungry for information about foreign places and their own country.²⁵ The relationship between print culture and tourism was an important one, not only in the case of travel literature itself which provided the traveller with information relating to their destination, but also in works which stimulated new cultural attitudes that led to the identification of new tourist

²³ William Gilpin, *Observations on the River Wye* (1782 repr. Oxford, 1991); Uvedale Price, *Essay on the Picturesque* (London, 1810).

²⁴ Adler, 'Origins' p. 22.

²⁵ Charles Batten, *Pleasurable Instruction: Form and Convention in Eighteenth-Century Travel Literature* (London, 1978), pp. 1-3.

destinations or to established sites being imbued with new meaning.²⁶ All of these motives for travel can be traced in the evolution of the tourist itinerary in Derbyshire in this period.

This study examines the hypothesis that developments in eighteenth and nineteenth century leisure, culture and tourism transformed contemporary perceptions of Derbyshire in the period 1700-1850 which led to the county becoming an important and popular tourist destination. Within this regional tourism to Derbyshire in this period there existed a network of complementary small tourist centres, Bakewell, Buxton, Castleton and Matlock Bath, that sought to exploit developments in leisure, culture and tourism to their advantage, through the creation of niche identities. Derbyshire was chosen because the tourist itinerary of the county developed a broad and dynamic range of activities and attractions – health, landscape, antiquities, stately homes, industry and urban leisure – that allows a for a re-valuation of the scholarship and debates that surround and inform our current understanding of eighteenth and early nineteenth-century culture and tourism. There is a large body of evidence, mainly in the form of travel literature for the county, in which it is possible to examine the culture that stimulated travel in this period, the marketing of the towns and attractions, and the tourist response to the places they visited. By adopting this regional approach, the thesis further contributes to the debates that inform our understanding of tourist centres that lay in close proximity to one another. This was the case in Derbyshire and with a short tourist season, the county offers the opportunity to explore the tourist centres' interaction, urban relationships and the mechanisms that were employed, and in particular the creation of separate identities that allowed for the towns to take advantage not only of their own attractions, but also those

²⁶ Adler, 'Travel', p. 1373.

of the other tourist centres. The period of 1700 to 1850 was chosen as the basis of this study because it allowed the thesis to examine the origins of tourism in Derbyshire and to trace the influence of new forms of culture upon tourism in the county that emerged throughout this period. Furthermore, the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries form a cohesive period in travel in Derbyshire before the impact of the railway on tourist trends to these centres from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. Within the historiography of travel and tourism Derbyshire has been much neglected as a tourist destination and it can be suggested that due to the county's unique range of attractions, it deserves a more prominent place in our understanding of domestic tourism in this period.

R.W. Butler's *Tourism Area Life Cycle Model* has been an influential model in the field of the study of modern resort development,²⁷ and offers a model through which to provide an overall survey of the development of tourism in Derbyshire. He identified a five stage life cycle in the evolution of a resort or tourist destination comprising of *Exploration, Involvement, Development, Consolidation, Stagnation*, while a further stage sees a resort or destination enter, either a period of *Rejuvenation* or *Decline*. The *Exploration* stage is characterised by a destination receiving a small number of tourists who are attracted to the area through its unique natural and cultural attractions, but overall tourism to the area is hampered by lack of access, facilities and knowledge of the region and the destination remains relatively unchanged by tourism.²⁸ The *Involvement* stage sees the number of tourists increasing which stimulates local residents to begin to provide facilities for visitors. Advertising can be expected to emerge as does a tourist season. Improved transport networks which facilitate the ease of access to a destination

²⁷ R.W. Butler, 'The Concept of a Tourist Area Life Cycle of Evolution: Implications for Management of Resources', *Canadian Geographer*, vol. 26:1 (1980), pp. 5-12.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

also begin to emerge at this stage.²⁹ The *Development* stage sees a period of investment begin in a well defined tourist market. Changes in the physical fabric of the destination are major and tourist-centric. Natural and cultural attractions are developed and marketed specifically to tourists. At peak periods the number of visitors to a destination will probably equal or exceed that of the local population.³⁰ Entering the *Consolidation* phase a destination will see a decline in the overall growth rate in visitors but the numbers of tourists will continue to grow. Marketing and advertising will be far reaching and attempts will be made to extend the tourist season as a major part of the destination's economy is tied to tourism.³¹ Following this a destination enters a stage of *Stagnation*. The peak number of visitors will have been reached and further growth is unlikely, the area will have an established image but be falling out of fashion.³² A destination then enters a phase of *Decline* or *Rejuvenation*: *Decline* sees a destination becoming a tourist slum or losing its tourist function completely. *Rejuvenation* is based upon the establishment of new attractions to reinvigorate a destination. Ultimately, however, even a rejuvenated destination will lose its attractiveness.³³ However, the exact timescale of when a destination changes from one phase to another is hard to pin point.³⁴

The *Exploration* of Derbyshire primarily occurred from the 1680s to the 1740s. Buxton was already a known medicinal centre which attracted those individuals who travelled for reasons of health, but the spa remained underdeveloped with limited leisure facilities and entertainments. Matlock Bath, whose medicinal springs were not

²⁹ Ibid., p. 7.

³⁰ Ibid., p., 8.

³¹ Ibid., p. 8.

³² Ibid., pp. 8-9.

³³ Ibid., p. 9.

³⁴ Durie, *Scotland for the Holidays*, p. 17.

discovered until 1699, had yet to establish itself as a spa and as with Buxton the town's amenities for tourists were limited.³⁵ Despite access to the county being difficult, an increasing number of tourists were being drawn to Derbyshire to explore the county's natural and cultural attractions as epitomised in Cotton's *Wonders of the Peak*. However, the region as a whole remained relatively unexplored by the tourist when compared with the later eighteenth and early nineteenth-century tourist itinerary of the Peak. The county was, however, beginning to establish itself as a tourist destination due to the increasing volume of travel literature that dealt with the county's growing portfolio of attractions.³⁶

Derbyshire entered the *Involvement* stage of development around the 1730s and this phase lasted until the 1770s. An increasing number of tourists were drawn to the county due to the growing number of cultural attractions within the region that centred on health, landscape, antiquities, country houses and industry. This stimulated the residents of the towns of Buxton and Matlock Bath to provide further facilities for tourists, which focussed upon increased accommodation, in the form of new hotels and lodging houses and a standardised range of urban entertainments, which included assemblies, walks and promenades, and at Buxton a small theatre.³⁷ Alexander Hunter's *Treatise on Buxton Water* (1761) represents the emergence of local advertising for the town, but it remained the only local form of marketing until the later eighteenth century.³⁸ However, the increased volume of topographical and travel literature gave the county a reputation as a tourist destination.

³⁵ Hembry, *English Spa*, p. 216.

³⁶ William Camden, *Britannia* (1695, repr. Newton Abbot, 1971); Brome, *An Historical Account of Mr Brome's Three Years Travels over England, Scotland and Wales* (London, 1700); Charles Leigh, *The Natural History of Lancashire, Cheshire and Derbyshire* (London, 1700); Defoe, Daniel, *A Tour Through The Whole Island Of Great Britain* [1724-26] (ed.), Rogers, Pat (London, 1986).

³⁷ Hembry, *English Spa*, pp. 216-18, 227-8.

³⁸ Alexander Hunter, *Treatise on Buxton Water* (London, 1761).

Central to Butler's evolution of a tourist destination from the *involvement* to the *development* phases is improved access for tourists in the form of transport networks. J. Radley and S.R. Penny, in their study of turnpike development in Derbyshire identified three phases of turnpike construction in the county during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.³⁹ At the beginning of the eighteenth century Derbyshire had a poor road system and the county's trade was dependent upon the movement of goods over packhorse trails. Trade, as well as the profits from the turnpikes provided the stimulus to the aristocracy, local gentry and merchants who financed the turnpike network.⁴⁰ The first phase of turnpike construction in Derbyshire occurred from the 1720s to 1750. The second phase lasted for a decade and saw rapid local expansion. Turnpike development continued in the county until the 1830s by which time Derbyshire had a mature road system.⁴¹ Where trade went, tourists followed and it was during the first two stages of turnpike development that the tourist towns of Buxton and Matlock Bath established important communications with other major towns. Buxton was connected to Stockport and, therefore, Manchester in 1724; a new turnpike connected Derby with Leicester in 1738 and linked the county to the important London market. The turnpike from Bakewell to Chesterfield provided easier access from the Peak to Sheffield in 1739. The Derby to Ashbourne turnpike was completed in 1749 and connected with the old roman road from Ashbourne to Buxton. Although this road had been improved for the limestone trade it also provided easier access for tourists. During the decade of local expansion further links were made within the county. A

³⁹ J. Radley and S.R. Penny 'The Turnpike Roads of the Peak District', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. 92 (1972), pp. 93-109.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

more direct route from Derby to Chesterfield was begun in 1756 and a new road linked Chapel en le Frith with Castleton, Hathersage and Buxton in 1758. A year later two new turnpikes linked Macclesfield to Buxton, and Bakewell, via Matlock to Alfreton which provided a further connection with Nottingham.⁴² Importantly for tourism in Derbyshire, these routes made travel easier, faster and safer for the visitor to the resorts of Buxton and Matlock Bath and facilitated the movement of travellers along established routes around the county-wide tourist attractions. As such the resorts of Buxton and Matlock Bath were convenient centres from which to tour the Peak.

The resort towns of Derbyshire entered the *Development* stage in the 1780s. Under the patronage of William Cavendish, the fifth Duke of Devonshire, Buxton was transformed into a small fashionable resort. Urban development in the form of the grand Crescent building and new streets provided increased visitor accommodation. Urban leisure facilities for visitors included a purpose built assembly room, a new theatre, walks and spaces and luxury retailing establishments.⁴³ Matlock Bath also entered a period of development in this period, although, this was in more in tune with the rustic nature of the spa. New hotels and lodging houses, built during the 1780s and 1790s, provided an increased tourist capacity and a range of urban entertainments, walks, museums and luxury shops.⁴⁴ William Bott's *A Description of Buxton and the Adjacent Country* (1792) was the first local tourist guide to be published and represents the emergence of the tourist-centric marketing of the town and tourist itinerary of the Peak.⁴⁵

⁴² Ibid., p. 95

⁴³ Grundy Heape, *Buxton*, pp. 28-31; Hembry, *English Spa*, pp. 221-24; Brighton, *The Discovery of the Peak District*, pp.110-113.

⁴⁴ Hembry, *English Spa*, pp. 228-9; Brighton, *The Discovery of the Peak District*, pp. 106-109.

⁴⁵ William Bott, *A Description of Buxton and the Adjacent Country* (Manchester, 1792).

From the 1800s tourism in Derbyshire entered its consolidation phase. During this period little new urban development occurred within the resort towns. The town of Bakewell was an exception to this trend. The Duke of Rutland, stimulated by developments in Buxton and Matlock Bath, sought to emulate their success by exploiting the town's mineral springs. A new bath house and hotel were built, but due to the lack of overall large scale investment the town never matured fully into the development stage. Following Bott's initial publication a plethora of other tour guides were written, from the perspective of touring Derbyshire from either Buxton or Matlock Bath throughout the early nineteenth century.⁴⁶ These local tour guides illustrate the growing confidence in the marketing of the tour of the Peak in this period and suggest that the resorts had a complementary relationship, taking advantage of each other's attractions.

From the 1820s to 1850, the end of the period under study, Buxton and Matlock Bath entered a phase of stagnation. Investment in the tourist economy of the towns was limited during this period and suggests that the limit of their tourist capacity had been reached, although it is possible that visitors to them remained significant due to the continued marketing of the itinerary of the Peak in tour guides.⁴⁷ Furthermore, the portfolio of Derbyshire's cultural tourist attractions had been firmly established and there was little growth or evolution in the range of activities on offer to the visitor. Major investment in the towns of Buxton and Matlock Bath would have been required to stimulate further growth in the tourist industry. Such investment in the tourist market of

⁴⁶ J. Hutchinson, *Curiosities of Derbyshire* (London, 1810); A. Jewitt, *The History of Buxton* (London, 1811).

⁴⁷ Daniel, Orme, *The New Buxton Guide* (Derby, 1825); R. Ward, *The Buxton, Matlock & Castleton Guide* (6th edn. Birmingham, 1826); H. Barker, *The Panorama of Matlock* (London, 1828); Stephen, Glover, *The Peak Guide* (Derby, 1830); J.B. Chambers, *Beauties of Buxton* (Buxton, 1839); William, Adam, *The Gem of the Peak* (5th edn. 1851, repr. London, 1973).

both towns was seen from the 1860s onwards and both towns matured into the rejuvenation phase of resort development with major phases of urban growth and development in leisure amenities. New transport networks, in the form of the railway opened the towns to a new wave of tourists, in particular the day tripper, but lie outside the parameters of the thesis. The success of Derbyshire as a tourist destination in the period 1700 to 1850 rested upon its reputation of its portfolio of attractions and the development of the spas of Buxton and Matlock Bath as complementary resorts within the county.

The fact that Derbyshire emerged as a significant tourist destination in this period necessarily raises questions as to how many people undertook the tour, where they travelled from and what their social origins were. The data with which to pursue these questions is fragmentary. Visitor lists were printed in the *Derby Mercury* from 1785 to 1789 but they are far from comprehensive in their coverage, only recording the name of individual visitors, and no further visitor lists were printed until the foundation of the *Buxton Herald* in 1842. There are no extant lists for either Matlock Bath or Bakewell in this period and so no comparative investigation into the relative success of the towns through visitor lists can be undertaken. Durie has suggested that such lists have limitations in their use, as they record family groups rather than individuals and make no mention of servants, furthermore they tended to only record those visitors who stayed for a week or longer.⁴⁸ Whilst bearing these limitations in mind, the lists have the potential to illuminate the nature of tourism in Buxton and Derbyshire in this period.

For Buxton, the visitor lists of 1785 to 1789 illustrate that the newly developed spa was catering to a mixed social clientele, drawn from the aristocracy, gentry, professions

⁴⁸ Durie, *Scotland for the Holidays*, p. 14.

such as physicians and the clergy, and the upper-middling sorts.⁴⁹ Peter Borsay has suggested that in resort development this class of visitor would be composed of merchants, manufactures and prosperous farmers who were an important factor in the demand for resorts.⁵⁰ The visitor lists suggest that the tour of Derbyshire's cultural attractions was fairly democratic, provided that one had the education, finances and leisure time to travel to the county. The lists record between 30 and 90 visitors per week, but were only taken from the Crescent and Hall hotels.⁵¹ As the lists do not include guests at other hotels and lodging houses of the town under-representation of visitors is, therefore, likely high. Hembry utilised the Assembly room subscription list for a five year period from 1783 to 1788 in which the annual number of subscribers was 400.⁵² However, this only records those individuals who subscribed to the Assembly room, and under-representation of the total number of visitors is likely to be high. Furthermore these sources do not include the shorter stay tourist.

Travel itineraries of Derbyshire are a further source of evidence that can be utilised in assessing the length of stay of visitors to the region, which have the advantage of covering the period under study. Charles Parry's tour of Derbyshire in 1725 lasted six days. Resta Patching, James Coldham, Theodosius Forrest, Richard Warner and Johanna Schopenhauer's tour of the county lasted five days in 1755, 1767, 1773, 1802 and 1803 respectively.⁵³ William Bray's tour of the county lasted seven days in 1778

⁴⁹ *Derby Mercury* 1785-1789

⁵⁰ Peter Borsay, 'Health and Leisure Resorts c.1700-c.1840' in Clark, Peter (ed) *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain 1540-1840*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 2000), ii, p. 881.

⁵¹ *Derby Mercury*, 10 July 1788.

⁵² Hembry, *English Spa*, p. 226.

⁵³ NRO MC/150/49/625, Charles Parry, 'Journal of a Tour to the North of England, 1725'; Resta Patching, *Four Topographical Letters written in 1755* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1757); NRO MC/40/103/1-3 James Coldham, 'Journal of a tour in England, 1767'; MLSL Ms. 914.251, Theodosius Forest, 'Forrest's Tour: Diaries and memorandum of Theodosius Forrest's Tour in Derbyshire 1773'; Richard Warner, *A Tour*

as did John Byng's tour of 1789, and his tour of 1790 took eight days.⁵⁴ An anonymous traveller's tour of the county in 1800 lasted eight days. He arrived in Derby on the 11 July and viewed the town's manufactories and churches. The next day he set off for Matlock Bath via Kedleston Hall. The 13 and 14 July was spent viewing the picturesque scenery of the resort and Arkwright's cotton mills. Haddon Hall and Chatsworth House occupied his attention on the 15 July before returning to Matlock. The 16 July was spent travelling to Buxton. On the 17 July he visited the attractions of Castleton and then returned to Buxton. Poole's Hole, Dove dale and Ashbourne occupied the 18 July and on the 19 July he left Derbyshire.⁵⁵ Their itineraries suggest that these patterns of stay were long established, and one of the principal arguments of the thesis is that tourism in Derbyshire was characterised by briefer stays in a series of complementary small tourist centres.

In examining visitors to Buxton in the 1840s, the 1841 Census Returns and the *Buxton Herald* visitor lists provide further evidence. The 1841 Census Returns are unique, as due to the death of John Rickman, the administrative organiser of the census, and the appointment of his successor Thomas Lister as the first registrar-general in 1840, the census of 1841 was delayed and not taken until June 1841.⁵⁶ The census was taken at the beginning of the season, but due to the ad hoc nature of these returns this source is of limited value. For instance the returns only record whether an individual was born in the same county rather than their residence and so no investigation into the

through the Northern Counties of England and the Borders of Scotland, i (Bath, 1802); Ruth Michaelis-Jena and Willy Merson (transl. and ed.), *A Lady Travels: Journeys in England and Scotland from the Diaries of Johanna Schopenhauer* (London, 1988).

⁵⁴ William Bray, *Sketches of a Tour into Derbyshire and Yorkshire* (2nd edn. London, 1783); John Byng, *The Torrington Diaries*, 4 vols (ed.), Bruyn Adams, C., (London, 1934), i.

⁵⁵ DLSL Ms .3463, Anonymous (c. 1800), pp.

⁵⁶ Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census Revisited* (London, 2005) p. 12.

pull factor of Derbyshire can be ascertained. Hembry identified some 334 visitors that night,⁵⁷ but as this is only a snapshot of one night it gives no true picture of the number of visitors to Buxton during the season. She also examined the visitor lists printed by the *Buxton Herald* in 1842 and 1843 which recorded around 300 visitors per week. Based upon these visitor numbers Hembry argued that Buxton was stagnating, or even declining in this period and that tourism in the Peak was small scale.⁵⁸ Her findings, however, can be questioned by a more comprehensive analysis of the visitor lists over a four year period from 1843-1846.

Table 1: Total number of Visitors per annum and average per week 1843-1846.

Year	Total Number of Visitors	Average per Week
1843	5314	312
1844	8503	472
1845	10,600	530
1846	12,758	671

The above table illustrates the total and average number of visitors per week during the seasons of 1843 to 1846. Visitors were counted, and where family or friends were recorded a score of one more visitor was added to the total to provide a conservative estimate of visitors to Buxton. The results are interesting as they show that the total number of visitors to the town more than doubled from Hembry's earlier estimate. Whilst on the one hand this shows that the total number of visitors to Buxton was growing in the 1840s, it could be suggested, following Butler's model of stagnation,

⁵⁷ Hembry, *British Spas*, p. 116.

⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 119-20.

where there is no overall growth, but visitors remain significant to a resort, that such totals represent a return to an earlier theoretical tourist capacity following the national economic slump of 1837 to 1843. Furthermore, the total number of visitors is likely to be higher as the publication of the *Herald* began in June each year and, therefore, did not include visitors who had arrived earlier, or those individuals that stayed in the town for less than a week.

Table 2: Total Number of visitors per week 1843-1846.

Year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1843	244	306	244	314	282	229	298	323	370	403
1844	182	230	372	367	378	529	560	526	454	557
1845	320	408	427	494	580	601	615	729	762	744
1846	481	479	642	708	676	685	766	764	802	913

Year	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Total
1843	415	486	504	362	281	184	69				5314
1844	621	618	684	735	614	447	378	251			8503
1845	797	813	873	777	676	570	469	293	248	104	10,600
1846	955	864	899	940	924	687	457	317	199		12,758

The above table, based upon the same methodology of counting visitors, illustrates the total numbers of tourists appearing in the visitor lists each week. The results are interesting as they demonstrate that during the peak tourist months of August and September, Buxton was catering to a significantly larger number of visitors than the total average number of weekly visitors suggests. The highest number of visitors recorded in one week that of 955 in August 1846, demonstrates that the potential theoretical tourist capacity of Buxton was considerably higher than previous estimates

based upon other sources. Such numbers also correspond with the estimates in the tour guides of the period which stated that Buxton could accommodate between 1,000 and 1,500 visitors per week,⁵⁹ although, the lower figure is perhaps a more likely estimate of the total weekly number of visitors during the peak tourist season. Whilst speculative, it could be suggested that Buxton's visitor capacity following the development of the spa in the 1780s often achieved somewhere around this lower estimate, although peaks and troughs in visitor numbers over the years should be expected. For the town of Matlock Bath, the number of visitors is harder to ascertain given the lack of sources. The tour guides of the period estimated that Matlock Bath could accommodate 500 visitors per week.⁶⁰ This is a third of the size of the estimate for Buxton, and Hembry also suggested a similar tourist capacity for Matlock Bath.⁶¹ Applying this figure to the totals recorded for Buxton this would give a figure of 1,771, 2,834, 3,533 and 4,252 visitors for the years 1843, 1844, 1845, and 1846 respectively. For the year 1846 this would give an estimated figure of 17,010 tourists who visited Derbyshire. As such, Derbyshire should be seen as a major tourist destination in this period.

The following table illustrates the length of stay of both individuals and parties in Buxton in 1844. Visitors were counted as either individuals or family and travelling groups and traced where possible by name, the place they travelled from and through their accommodation and their length of stay recorded.

⁵⁹ R. Ward, *The Buxton, Matlock & Castleton Guide* (6th edn. Birmingham, 1826), p. 72; T.J. Page, *A Month at Buxton* (13th edn. Bakewell, 1828), p.8; J.B. Chambers, *Beauties of Buxton* (Buxton, 1839), p. 24.

⁶⁰ Ward, *Buxton, Matlock & Castleton Guide*, p.28.

⁶¹ Hembry, *British Spas*, p. 116.

Table 3: Length of stay of travelling parties, 1844.

Length of Stay (Weeks)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	Total
Number of travelling Parties	3277	219	329	288	84	41	19	9	9	2	1	1	0	1	4282

Given the high total number of visitors appearing in the lists, the table demonstrates that during the 1840s Buxton was reliant on a high visitor turnover, with the majority of tourists appearing only once, or from two to four weeks. Lengthy stays of six weeks or longer were far rarer. Given that the tourist guides of the period suggested that taking a course of waters at Buxton for health reasons required a stay of three weeks or more this would suggest that the majority of visitors to Buxton were visiting the town as a base to tour the county's portfolio of attractions.

The visitor lists for Buxton also allow for a portrait of the social clientele to be drawn during the 1840s. The lists illustrate that the presence of the aristocracy had declined, although a few still visited the town, and suggests that the town had lost some of its fashionable appeal with this class of visitor after the end of the Napoleonic wars and restrictions on travel to the continent had ended. Buxton, however, remained in favour with the lesser gentry, especially those with the rank of Esquire. Once again the professions, especially physicians and the clergy were well represented within the visitors to the town. The main change in the social composition of Buxton's visitors is the significant presence of middle-class tourists, which accounted for the majority of the town's visitors in the 1840s. The town may have declined in fashionability with the upper-echelons of society, but as travel became increasingly democratic there was an

expansion in the numbers of middle-class visitors who now undertook the tour of the Peak.⁶²

The visitor lists for Buxton also record where the tourists had travelled from, allowing an examination of the pull factor of Derbyshire to be undertaken. Borsay has suggested that the development of Midland spas in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth century was in part a response to regional economic growth generated by the Industrial Revolution.⁶³ As such it would be expected that as a tourist destination Buxton served its immediate hinterland and the burgeoning industrial centres of Manchester, Sheffield, Macclesfield, the Potteries, Derbyshire itself and Nottinghamshire. This is borne out by the visitor lists for 1844 and given the proximity and ease of travel from these centres to Derbyshire it is no surprise that a large proportion of visitors were being drawn from these areas. Importantly, however, as a tourist destination, the county drew visitors from all over Britain. Visitors travelled from the southern counties of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset and Somerset; eastern counties such as Norfolk and northern counties including Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cumbria and Northumberland. Visitors also travelled from Scotland, Wales and Ireland. As a tourist destination, Derbyshire and its attractions had a national reputation and drew tourists accordingly. The 1844 lists also record visitors from much further a-field, France, Germany, America, Jamaica and New South Wales in Australia.⁶⁴ While such visitors were presumably undertaking a tour of Britain, Derbyshire was an important destination within that tour for continental and international travellers. Given the large number of tourists who visited the county and its national reputation as a tourist destination, Derbyshire and the tour of the Peak deserves a greater

⁶² *Buxton Herald*, 1843-1846.

⁶³ Borsay, 'Health and Leisure Resorts c.1700-c.1840', p. 881.

⁶⁴ *Buxton Herald*, 1844.

place within the historical scholarship and debates that inform our understanding of the interaction of leisure, culture and tourism in this period.

The thesis then traces the cultural origin and development of the tourist itinerary in Derbyshire and the complementary relationship between the county's resort towns. The evidence on which the thesis is based upon is the large volume of travel literature that was produced in this period. In dealing with these sources, especially published accounts of travel, it must be considered that the original observations of the author may have been changed or diluted for the purposes of publication. For the writers of the tourist guides their primary aim was to generate the most positive image of the attractions of the county that they could, as such they are unlikely to contain negative comments. In maintaining a balanced account of tourism in Derbyshire a number of unpublished (during the period under study) travel accounts have been consulted as they are likely to provide a more faithful account of what the traveller experienced and how they responded. From these sources it was possible to build a picture of the main features of the Derbyshire tourist itinerary, consider how they were marketed to the traveller and examine the tourist response to them. A wider number of publications was consulted in certain chapters, particularly contemporary medical literature that dealt with spa waters in investigating health and the works of writers such as Edmund Burke who had a powerful influence on picturesque tourism, and antiquarian works that related expressly to Derbyshire.⁶⁵ As such, a broader theme that is also explored by the

⁶⁵ The Derbyshire Records Office contains little source material relating to tourism in the county during this period, as does the Buxton Local Studies Library, although the library holds copies of the *Buxton Herald* newspaper first published for the season in the 1840s. The majority of the tourist guides for the county used in the thesis are deposited at Derby Local Studies Library. Matlock Local Studies library holds a number of tourist guides and journal accounts. Eighteenth Century Collections Online has been invaluable to this study for the collection of many topographical guides, material relating to eighteenth-century culture

thesis is the relationship between print culture and tourism during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The thesis takes as its starting point the role of health in the tourist itinerary of Derbyshire and its importance to the overall growth and development of the towns of Buxton, Matlock Bath and Bakewell. The first chapter draws upon research into contemporary perceptions of the mechanist physiology of the body, the causes of disease both physical and environmental, and examines how mineral waters acted upon the body in affecting the ‘cure’. Utilising research upon the medical and chemical analysis of the waters that endorsed their use in medical treatment, the chapter analyses the promotion of the town’s waters through medical and chemical literature and the tourist guides, and suggests that the town’s relative success or failure in attracting the health tourist rested upon the successful marketing of their waters. The market for health in these towns stimulated the wider development of health services, physicians, surgeons and apothecaries and consideration is given to the differences between the towns in providing these services. The chapter argues that wider attitudes to the environmental causes of disease and the maintenance of health enabled the towns to develop niche identities with which to attract the health tourist. The chapter further suggests that it was the development of the tourist infrastructure that developed around the health market that established these towns as tourist centres from which both the health and normal traveller toured the attractions of the Peak.

The following chapters analyse the development of the tourist itinerary in Derbyshire. Chapter two discusses the importance of landscape aesthetics and tourism. Starting with

and for published accounts of travel. Access to Archives also proved useful tool in the sourcing of travel journals and the repositories that they are deposited in.

the natural features of the 'seven wonders' which provided the basis of early tourism in the region the tourist response to these attractions is considered as travellers sought new ways to describe their reaction to landscape they encountered. Discussion then focuses upon the expansion of the number of sites viewed by the tourist from the mid-eighteenth century and suggests that established sites were culturally reinterpreted according to the emergence of the sublime and picturesque before tracing the impact of the 'cult of the picturesque' upon tourism in the county during the later eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The chapter concentrates on the marketing of these sites to the traveller and their response. It is suggested that Derbyshire developed a reputation for its landscape scenery in this period that provided some of the most important attractions within the itinerary. The chapter further illustrates that the towns of Buxton and Matlock gained separate identities with relation to their geographical situation in this period that provided for further co-operation in their urban relationship.

Chapter three analyses the role of the county's antiquities occupied within the tourist itinerary. Utilising the concept of the 'spirit of enquiry' in this period and drawing upon modern research upon the ancient British, Roman and medieval past as well as events in the constitutional history of the nation the chapter explores how antiquarian research stimulated an interest in these sites. It is suggested that sites of antiquity formed a popular part of the tour of the Peak in this period and that antiquarian literature provided the historical information that was incorporated into the travel literature of the period. Discussion also focuses on the increasing romanticisation of the past in later eighteenth-century literature, which was increasingly used to promote sites in the landscape that otherwise held little of interest to the traveller. It is evident however, that antiquarian

research could also de-popularise sites of antiquity as previously held assumptions about the historic value of a given site might be challenged. Finally the chapter suggests that as sites of historical interest were spread throughout the county no single town held an advantage over the other in attracting the tourist to them through this medium.

The tour of the stately home was one of the most popular features of domestic tourism in this period. Drawing upon research that has examined the role of the country house in tourism, chapter four analyses this aspect of the Derbyshire tourist itinerary. The country house served as the repository of culture in an age before the public museum and was viewed by the tourist for the examples of fashionable architectural styles, landscaped grounds and for the collections of art that they contained.⁶⁶ The chapter also investigates a number of the county's Tudor mansions that featured in the tourist itinerary, and draws upon research that suggests that there was an increasing romanticisation of their image in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth century that contributed to their popularity with the traveller. Mary Queen of Scots was associated with many of the houses in Derbyshire and the role of her image in attracting the tourist to them is also examined.

The fifth part of the thesis returns to the theme of the 'spirit of enquiry' that led travellers to view the county's industrial sites. The scientific and technical culture of the eighteenth century that fostered an interest in the latest technological innovations to be found in the county's mines, mills and manufactories and the viewing of machinery and industrial production formed a popular part of the tourist itinerary of Derbyshire in the period. Discussion then focuses upon the growing importance of the image of the entrepreneur and their contribution to the growing national economy through their

⁶⁶ Peter, Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home* (London, 1997), p. 9.

inventions and suggests that in Derbyshire this image was increasingly used to encourage tourism to these sites. As much of this industry had a rural location, and given Derbyshire's reputation for picturesque scenery, the chapter examines the relationship between industry and the picturesque landscape to explore the tourist response to the mines and mills located within the county's landscape.

Chapter six explores the urban dimension of the thesis. The growth of the towns of Buxton, Matlock Bath, Bakewell and the village of Castleton is analysed in relation to the investment in the tourist industry in their overall development. The growth in their leisure facilities is discussed through a comparative analysis of a leisure hierarchy. Luxury retailing was another important feature of leisure in this period and its provision within the towns and importance to the tourist industry is again analysed through a hierarchy. Ashbourne is used as control town, due its small size and participation in aspects of both leisure and luxury retailing in this period, to further examine the nature of tourism within the towns under study. Discussion then turns to the tourist centres' intra urban relationship within the tourist industry. Using models of urban competition and co-operation and evidence from the tourist guides it is suggested that these centres developed a complementary relationship based upon niche identities through which the towns could capitalise upon their position as centres from which to tour the county.

The small towns of Buxton and Matlock Bath lay at the centre of a dynamic and unique range of cultural tourist attractions in this period that extended beyond their understood roles as spas and centres of commercialised urban leisure resorts that has thus far been the focus of historical scholarship. Health tourism, however, provided the avenue for much of the later investment in the tourist industry in these towns and it is this

to which we will now turn as we examine the development of leisure, culture and tourism in the Peak.

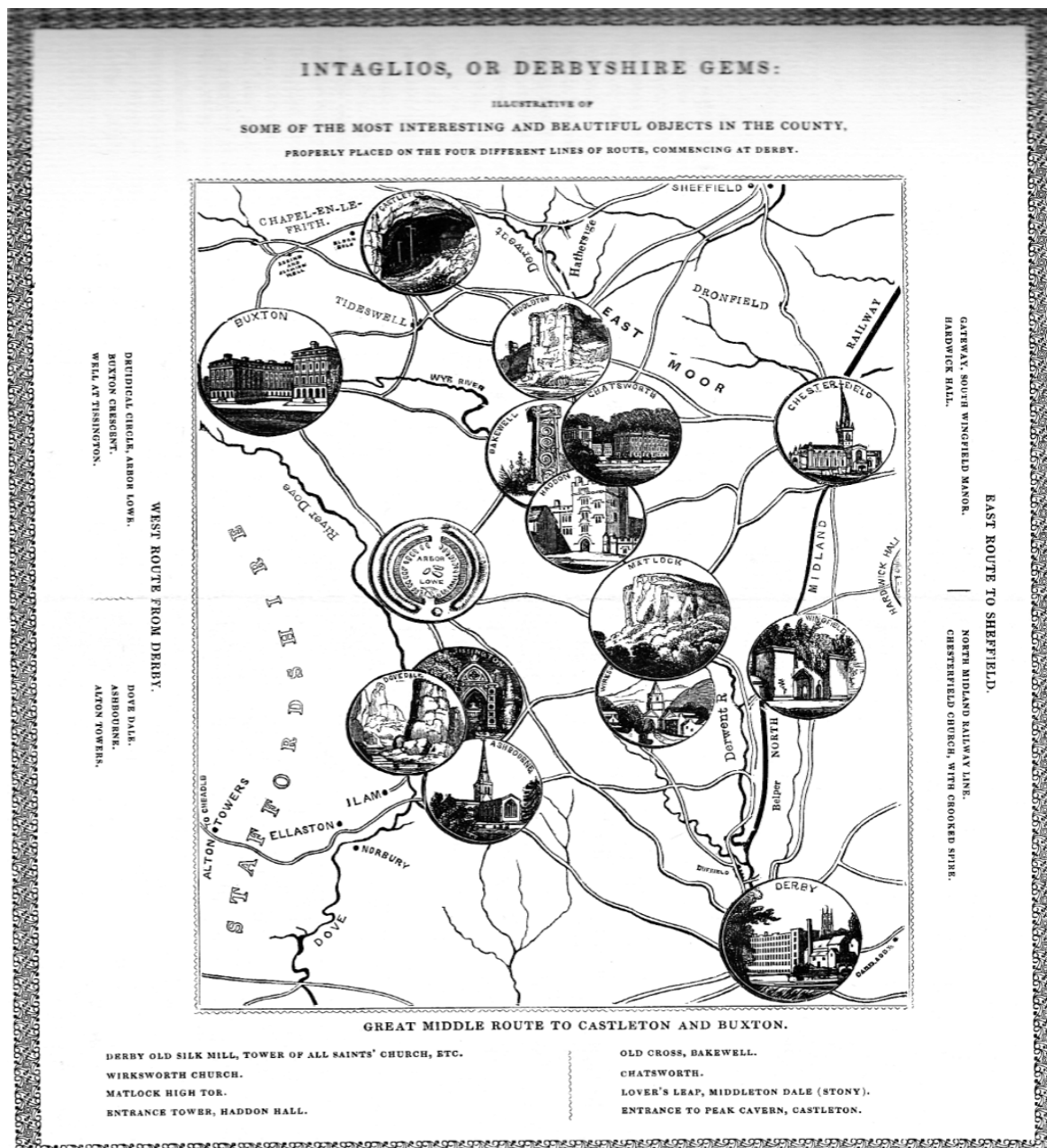


Figure 1: Derbyshire Gems in William Adam's *Gem of the Peak* (1851). Reproduced courtesy Landmark Publishing. The map shows the relation between the tourist centres of Derbyshire, the wider attractions of the county and the main tourist routes through the county.

Chapter One: Health and Tourism in Derbyshire C. 1700-1850.

Introduction:

The rise and growth of inland spa towns and coastal sea bathing resorts attests to the importance of health as a motive for travel in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Sick and health-conscious individuals flocked to these centres, in an attempt to heal or relieve their ailments, or to preserve their natural health by undertaking a ‘course’ of the curative waters. By 1851 some 112 spas and seventy-one coastal resorts catered to the demands of health and tourism, although fashions and fortunes for individual towns varied over time.⁶⁷ A considerable social culture around the provision of health amenities emerged at these centres, and many Georgians used their health as an excuse to participate in the entertainments on offer during the ‘season’.⁶⁸ Health, however, remained a major concern and a principle reason for visiting a spa or coastal resort. This chapter seeks to explore the relative success and failure of these towns through their promotion as centres for health tourism. Contemporary medical knowledge regarding the use of mineral waters and attitudes to the causes and treatment of disease were exploited to legitimise the use of the towns’ waters. Chemical analysis of the waters composition, which supported the claims of the physicians, was an important medium through which the town marketed itself to the health tourist. The writers of guides to the towns advertised their situation amongst the scenery of the ‘Peak’ in which the healthy

⁶⁷ John K. Walton, *The English Seaside Resort: A Social History 1750-1914* (Leicester, 1983), p. 53; Phyllis Hembry, *The English Spa 1560-1815* (London, 1990), p. 306.

⁶⁸ The development of leisure facilities in the towns of Buxton, Matlock Bath and Bakewell is discussed in chapter six.

environment and diversion of novelty, in the form of the cultural attractions of the county, further contributed to the maintenance of health. Despite the claims to the ‘curative’ powers of the mineral waters they could not relieve all ailments and this chapter considers the wider health services that were provided within the towns. Lastly, the chapter suggests that the relative success or failure of Buxton, Matlock Bath and Bakewell as small centres for health rested upon finding and marketing a niche position within health tourism.

Health and Mineral waters.

In explaining how the small spa towns of Derbyshire attracted visitors through the promotion of their mineral waters, it is necessary to examine what knowledge existed in the eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries regarding the causes of disease, physiology and the maintenance of health. Medical opinion held that mineral waters had direct effects on physiology, restoring the body to its normal healthy balance: disease was cured by the action of the waters on the affected part, which transferred and then disposed of the disease through the body’s natural waste systems.⁶⁹ Physicians not only recommended a course of waters, but also expected a patient to follow a healthy lifestyle or ‘regimen’ whilst doing so.⁷⁰ This reflected contemporary attitudes to the preservation of health through the ‘six non-naturals’ which included diet and exercise. This section seeks to illustrate that both the medical treatises on mineral waters and tourist literature

⁶⁹ Frederic Hoffman, *New Experiments and Observations upon Mineral Waters*, transl. Peter Shaw (London, 1731), pp. 6-7; Thomas Short, *The Natural, Experimental and Medicinal History of the Mineral Waters of Derbyshire, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire* (London, 1734), p. 15.

⁷⁰ Hoffman, *New Experiments*, pp.133-34; Short, *Mineral Waters*, pp. 6, 10-11.

marketed the towns of Buxton and Matlock Bath to the health tourist through the medical understanding of spring waters and the culture of health.

The eighteenth-century mind perceived health as the natural state of the body, disease and illness were not caused by an alien entity attacking the body, but by an internal malfunction, integral to the sufferers own spiritual, moral, mental and physical being.⁷¹ Medical knowledge continued to be influenced by the writings of both Hippocrates and Galen, whose works had been published in Latin during the sixteenth century, and reinforced the traditions of the body's humours. Discoveries in pathology and physiology, such as the circulation of the blood by William Harvey in 1628, undermined Galen's authority, leading physicians to search for a new synthesis of how the body functioned.⁷² This was provided by the sciences: Newton's theories of matter and motion established a new direction and approach to the medical understanding of how the body functioned.⁷³ Friedrich Hoffman's *Fundamenta Medicinae* (1695) saw medicine as the art of utilising physico-mechanical principles to restore or conserve an individual's health.⁷⁴ Herman Boerhaave's *Institutiones Medicae* (1708) promoted a corpuscular mechanistic view of the body, in which he viewed the body as a composition of pipes, vessels, and solid fibres which when put into motion acted like pulley's, bellows, pipes and conduits and operated by mechanical laws. He went onto distinguish disorders of the 'solids' and those of the 'blood and humours', and he considered ill-health to be an internal malfunction of the body or machine.⁷⁵ This view dominated eighteenth and early

⁷¹ Roy Porter, *Disease, Medicine and Society in England 1550-1860* (London, 1989), p. 25.

⁷² Thomas Broman, 'The Medical Sciences' in Roy Porter (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Science Eighteenth-Century Science*, (Cambridge, 2003), iv, p. 469.

⁷³ Roy Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind: a Medical History of Humanity from Antiquity to the Present* (London, 1999), p. 246.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p.248.

⁷⁵ Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind*, p. 246; Broman, 'The Medical Sciences', p. 469.

nineteenth-century attitudes towards the treatment of disease, which rested upon restoring the malfunctioning part. This was achieved in most cases that did not require major surgery, by a wide range of drugs designed in some form or another to open the vessels, pipes and conduits.

Contemporary perceptions of disease saw disorders and illness as affecting the whole bodily system and disease could spread from one part of the body to another. Poisons trapped in the body would damage it, and it was better to expel them – achieved through purges, phlebotomy, and sweats which brought the humours to the surface where they would break and disperse. This approach to illness interpreted the body as a through-put machine requiring efficient digestion and speedy waste disposal to remove disease and maintain health.⁷⁶ Contemporaries were also aware that lifestyle also affected health: intemperate living, gluttony, rich food and excessive consumption of alcohol all caused disease, with the responsibility for the resulting illness being laid at the individual's door.⁷⁷

Prevention rather than cure lay at the heart of attitudes towards health. Medical self-help and advice books popularised the concept of a lifestyle 'regimen' which remained authoritative until well into the nineteenth century. 'Regimen' owed its origins to Greek medical philosophy and hygiene which established that there were six 'non naturals' which corresponded to the human activities of air, diet, sleep, exercise, evacuations and passions of the mind: to keep the body healthy these 'non naturals' needed to be

⁷⁶ Roy Porter and Dorothy Porter, *In Sickness and in Health* (London, 1988), pp. 142-44.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 160-63.

regulated throughout life to keep them in harmony.⁷⁸ In this respect, regimen conformed to eighteenth-century medical theory by perceiving ill-health as an internal imbalance caused by the individual. Advice given in medical self-help books related to diet, activity, control of temperature and moisture through housing and clothing, bathing and food, often treated by their polar opposite. This advice could be tailored to the individual by their age, sex, location, personal habit and their occupation. To bring body and environment into harmony, the medical self-help books advocated the use of a 'cool regimen' to match the cool British climate for much of the eighteenth century. This was to be achieved by paying attention to the care of the external solids, which called for a hardening of the body through a low diet and exercise in the open air. Early eighteenth-century advocates of this view included G. Cheyne, author of *An Essay on Health and Long Life* (1724) and John Armstrong, author of *The Art of Preserving Health* (1744). Smith has suggested that the emergence of balneology as a subdivision of exercise was related to the early changes of regimen: whereby bathing in cold water was analogous to taking exercise in the cool British air.⁷⁹ In this instance it was not just the ill that would resort to a spa to drink and bathe in the waters but also the health-conscious.

The use of mineral waters to treat illness and afflictions reflected such thinking. The imbalance of the body's humours and the increase of waste material caused obstructions within the system which prevented the natural functioning of the body's waste disposal mechanisms that manifested itself as the cause of multiple diseases. The 'curative' waters operated on physiology according to mechanistic principles and restored health by

⁷⁸ Ginne Smith, 'Prescribing the Rules of Health: Self-help and advice in the late eighteenth century,' in Roy Porter (ed.), *Patients and Practitioners: Lay Perceptions of Medicine in Pre-Industrial Society* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 256-57.

⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 261-65.

correcting the malfunction in the system which allowed the disease to be secreted or excreted from the body. The ‘cure’ was explained and promoted through the parameters of medical thought throughout the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, which gave an increased legitimacy to the medicinal use of mineral waters.

Mineral waters were believed to be composed of three distinct parts, the aether or ‘spirit’, elementary water and chemical properties, which all affected physiology.⁸⁰ The ‘spirit’ passed through the whole body, strengthened moving fibres, opened obstructions and ‘threw off what is noxious and superfluous by stool, urine, sweat and vomit’.⁸¹ The elementary water was a receptacle and conduit for the chemical ingredients, yet it was not in itself ‘destitute of medicinal qualities’: it preserved and restored the health of the body, washed all juices, dissolved thick and viscid humours, absorbed the morbidic salts, and wore away coagulations in the innermost cells of the viscera and carried them to the proper excretory ducts.⁸² Mineral waters were also capable of breaking down viscid and clammy humours and removed obstructions and coagulations in the finer vessels.⁸³ Upon ingestion the water mixed with blood and acted upon the solids, removed their resistance, opened their canals so that the circulation had free course.⁸⁴ Mineral waters ensured that the body’s humours remained sufficiently thin and fluid to flow through the smallest capillary vessels, to separate the ‘drossy parts’ and promote secretion and excretion.⁸⁵ Writing on the subject on mineral waters in 1800, William Saunders declared that the ‘well-being’ of all animals depended upon the secretion and excretions of ‘noxious

⁸⁰ Hoffman, *New Experiments*, pp. 15-16; Short, *Mineral Waters*, p. 17.

⁸¹ Hoffman, *New Experiments*, pp. 5-7.

⁸² Hoffman, *New Experiments*, pp. 5-7; Short, *Mineral Waters*, pp. 15-17; William Saunders, *A Treatise on the Chemical History and Medicinal Powers of some of the most Celebrated Mineral Waters* (London, 1800), pp. 365-68.

⁸³ Hoffman, *New Experiments*, pp. 5-7.

⁸⁴ Short, *Mineral Waters*, pp. 15-17.

⁸⁵ Hoffman, *New Experiments*, pp. 13-14.

matter'.⁸⁶ Thus medical opinion strongly endorsed the perceived medical benefits of spa waters: they were a 'universal medicine' suited to 'the cure of all diseases'.⁸⁷

The authors of both treatises and tourist literature that dealt with the spas of Derbyshire incorporated this medical discourse in advertising the towns to travellers. It is notable that many of the guides were written by resident physicians, who used this medium to increase their own business within the town. A published account of the waters written by a physician served an important function for the town, in which medical authority endorsed the claims regarding the healing properties of the water.⁸⁸ Derbyshire had two principal spas in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Buxton had enjoyed a reputation as a watering place since the 1590s when Mary Queen of Scots visited the bath. Matlock Bath quickly established a reputation as a resort after the discovery of its springs in 1689. From 1800, the town of Bakewell sought to join the ranks of Buxton and Matlock Bath, but its fortunes as a spa had dwindled by 1850.

Buxton already had a long tradition as a centre for health at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Literature covering the use of the bath appeared in 1572 when J. Jones, of Derby, published *The Benefit of the Ancient Baths of Buxton*.⁸⁹ Jones believed that the properties of the water were due to the 'power' they inherited from 'the earth that they flow through' and informed his readers that Buxton springs were 'less dangerous than those at Bath' but the cure was 'less speedy'.⁹⁰ Whilst he gave no reason for why he considered Buxton's waters safer it is probable that he sought to increase his medical

⁸⁶ Saunders, *Celebrated Mineral Waters*, p. 365.

⁸⁷ Hoffman, *New Experiments*, p. 6.

⁸⁸ N.G Coley, 'Physicians, Chemists and the Analysis of Mineral Waters: "The Most Difficult Part of Chemistry"', in Roy Porter (ed.), *The Medical History of Waters and Spas* (London, 1990), p 66; Alastair J. Durie, 'Medicine, Health and Economic Development: promoting spa and seaside resorts in Scotland c.1750-1830', *Medical History*, 47:2 (2003), pp. 195-216.

⁸⁹ J. Jones, *The Benefit of the Ancient Baths of Buxton* (London, 1572).

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

practice through the recommendation of the spa. He listed the diseases that the spring waters were supposed to relieve, but his work contained no discussion as to how the mineral waters acted upon the body.⁹¹ Buxton's mineral waters also received promotion as the second 'wonder of the peak' in Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (1622), Hobbes' *De Mirabilibus Pecci* (c.1627) and Cotton's *The Wonders of the Peak* (1681). Cotton's doggerel that 'Hither the sick, the lame and barren come, and hence go healthful, sound and fruitful home' was hardly a medical endorsement, but the verses and a list of diseases that the waters cured, appeared widely in eighteenth-century topographical literature about the town.⁹²

Medical legitimacy was increasingly established for the town's mineral waters from the early eighteenth century, with Dr Thomas Short, a physician from Sheffield, being one of first to explain the effects of Buxton's waters in improving health according to mechanist principles in his *Mineral Waters* (1734).⁹³ From the mid-eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century the guides to the use of the Buxton's waters were all written by resident physicians who sought to use this medium to advertise their services in the town through enhancing the reputation of the waters. Dr Alexander Hunter's *A Treatise on the Nature and Virtues of Buxton Waters* (1761) using similar mechanistic arguments to those of Short stated that there were few diseases that could not be 'palliated, or totally removed, by the judicious use of water'.⁹⁴ Taken internally the waters acted upon a variety of diseases according to mechanist principles. Those prone to attacks of the gravel would particularly benefit as the waters acted as a detergent upon the secretory

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 4.

⁹² Michael Drayton, *Poly-Olbion*, 2 vol. (London, 1622), ii, p. 125; Thomas Hobbes, *De Mirabilibus Pecci* (London, c.1627), p. 10; Charles Cotton, *The Wonders of the Peak* (London, 1681), p. 23.

⁹³ Short, *Mineral Waters*, pp. 61-64.

⁹⁴ Alexander Hunter, *A Treatise on the Nature and Virtues of Buxton Waters* (London, 1761), p. 5.

vessels of the kidneys. The waters were equally effective externally: in cases of chronic rheumatism – caused by obstructed perspiration – was eased by warm bathing which opened the pores of the skin and allowed the perspiration to be transferred from the body.⁹⁵

Cold bathing was also believed to be beneficial as it forced the blood from the capillary vessels of the skin to the internal parts enabling the ‘exhalant arteries’ to breathe forth their ‘noxious’ contents with freedom.⁹⁶ The elementary water insinuated its way between the fibres of the muscles, which softened and assisted them in removing diseases arising from too rigid fibres.⁹⁷ Dr Joseph Denman’s *Observations on the Effects of Buxton Water* (1793) continued along the same mechanical principles. The waters cleaned and removed impurities from the organs to the circulation and the disease would be excreted from the body through an increased stimulation of the secretions. Bathing in the waters softened the skin, facilitating the absorption of water, which then mixed with the blood and other fluids of the body. The result was that the ‘viscid fluids’ were diluted for circulation allowing disease to be removed by perspiration.⁹⁸

In the early nineteenth century a number of medical guides for the towns’ waters were published, including Dr Charles Scudamore’s *A Chemical and Medical Report of the Properties of the Mineral Waters of Buxton* (1820), and T.J. Page’s, *A Month at Buxton* (1828). Their works differed from the earlier medical literature in that little information

⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 41, 44, 47-48, 53, 56-61.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 64.

⁹⁷ Ibid., pp 64-65.

⁹⁸ Joseph Denman, *Observations on the Effects of Buxton Water* (London, 1793), pp 94-110, 121-25, 128-41.

was given regarding the action of the waters on physiology; they concentrated rather on the chemical analysis of the waters.⁹⁹

The authority of medical opinion in the promotion of mineral waters to the health tourist was more actively pursued at Buxton than at Matlock Bath and there were few publications of medical or tourist literature that dealt exclusively with Matlock Bath's mineral waters in the eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries. Bakewell was not discussed in this context. Short's *Mineral Waters* included an analysis of Matlock Bath's waters; although he concluded that they were mainly 'pure', and the list of diseases that he considered the water treated was less extensive than those he ascribed to Buxton. It was long wait before a physician commented on Matlock Bath's waters again and when they did so, it was on the basis of chemical analysis to which we will now turn.

The Chemical Analysis of Mineral Waters.

By the early eighteenth century, chemistry had emerged as a discipline with a body of practical techniques, instruments and materials, and it played an important role both in medicine and in ascertaining the medicinal properties of spa waters through chemical analysis. Chemistry was also the business of physicians and pharmacists as chemical medicines had an accepted place in the *Pharmacopoeia* and an up-to-date medical education included lectures on chemistry.¹⁰⁰ The compound properties of mineral waters were similar to many of the ingredients used in prepared medicines: with the waters

⁹⁹ Charles Scudamore, *A Chemical and Medical Report of the Properties of the Mineral Waters of Buxton, Matlock, Tunbridge Wells, Harrogate, Bath, Cheltenham, Leamington, Malvern and the Isle of Wight* (London, 1820) pp. 21, 23, 32, 35; T. J Page, *A Month at Buxton* (13th edn. Bakewell, 1828) p. 14.

¹⁰⁰ Lawrence Hankin, *Science and the Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 81.

serving as either an accompaniment or alternative to these remedies. Chemical analysis could also be utilised to bolster the claims made by physicians to the ‘efficacy’ of the waters.¹⁰¹ Identification of the minerals and the gases with which the spring waters were impregnated gave a scientific legitimacy to their medicinal use and a spa was unlikely to succeed without such an endorsement.¹⁰² Indeed, the chemical analysis of the water gave an added appeal as a curative agent, even in the nineteenth century when the mineral analysis had little connection to perceived medical advantage.¹⁰³ The writers of treatises on the mineral waters of Derbyshire and the authors of tourist guides increasingly drew upon this ‘scientific’ backing in marketing the county’s spas to the individual travelling for their health. This was most pronounced at Buxton, where springs were subjected to repeated investigation and the analyses utilised by several of the town’s physicians and writers of the tourist guides. Matlock Bath’s waters received less attention and Bakewell’s waters were not analysed until the 1820s.¹⁰⁴

Early eighteenth-century chemical analysis of mineral waters sought to identify the ‘solid parts’ and the aether or ‘spirit’ of the water and understand their medicinal affects. Minerals, metals and saline ingredients all had their respective health or medicinal benefits in treating disease and the knowledge of each spring’s chemical properties would contribute greatly to the patient’s treatment.¹⁰⁵ The minerals to be found in spa waters had distinct chemical features that played an important medicinal role. Short suggested that analysis had revealed that the small chemical particles of the waters were capable of

¹⁰¹ Christopher Hamlin, ‘Chemistry, medicine and the Legitimisation of English Spas 1740-1840’, in Roy Porter (ed.), *The Medical History of Waters and Spas* (London, 1990), p. 67.

¹⁰² Hamlin, ‘Chemistry’, p. 72; Durie, ‘Medicine’, pp. 195-216.

¹⁰³ Coley, ‘Physicians, Chemists’, p. 66.

¹⁰⁴ Stephen Glover, *The Peak Guide* (Derby, 1830), p. 72.

¹⁰⁵ Hoffman, *New Experiments*, pp. 43-56

penetrating even the most ‘inconceivable small vessels’ of the body.¹⁰⁶ This stood in direct contrast to the prepared medicines of the physicians and apothecaries, which due to the large particles they contained, could not possibly penetrate the small vessels. More importantly these properties caused the water to be porous allowing the air or ‘spirit’ to impregnate them.¹⁰⁷

Following Query 31 of Isaac Newton’s *Optics* (1690), early eighteenth-century chemists identified chemical compounds by their affinities and attractions to other substances. The principles of ‘affinity’ constituted a major part of a chemist’s training and provided the basis for the chemical analysis of mineral waters until the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁰⁸ In the analysis of spa waters chemists invariably evaporated a known quantity of the water and then subjected the residue to various reagents to identify the compounds by the principles of affinity.¹⁰⁹ The method of experimentation, however, remained problematic and unsystematic and few chemists were able to replicate exactly the findings of previous investigations, which resulted in differing accounts to the mineral composition of the waters. By the end of the eighteenth century, more accurate and sophisticated techniques had been adopted but there remained limitations in both knowledge and methodology. In the early eighteenth century the aether or ‘spirit’ had been identified as a distinct constituency of mineral waters with its own medical function.¹¹⁰ The discovery that air was not a single element replaced the idea of the ‘spirit’ of the water with the analysis of the gaseous contents of the water. Chemists also

¹⁰⁶ Short, *Mineral Waters*, pp. 13-14

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 61-64.

¹⁰⁸ Hamlin, ‘Chemistry’, p. 75; Jan Golinski, ‘Chemistry’ in Roy Porter (ed), *Eighteenth-Century Science* (Cambridge, 2003), iv, pp.379, 384-85.

¹⁰⁹ On early eighteenth-century methodology and chemical testing of mineral waters by the principles of ‘affinity’ see, Hoffman, *New Experiments*, pp. 43-49, 50-56; Short, *Mineral Waters*, pp. 44-46, 51-52.

¹¹⁰ Hoffman, *New Experiments*, pp. 43-56; Short, *Mineral Waters*, pp. 13-14, 61-64.

found that air could be ‘fixed’-that is held in both solid and liquid substances.¹¹¹ From the mid-eighteenth century several new ‘airs’ were discovered: fixed air (or carbon dioxide), ‘atmospheric air’ or ‘inflammable air’ (hydrogen). The most successful researcher into ‘airs’ was Joseph Priestley and his *Observations on Different kinds of Air* (1774-7) introduced ‘nitrous air’ (nitric oxide) ‘marine acid air’ (hydrogen chloride) and he later found ‘alkaline air’ (sulphur dioxide), ‘phlogisticated nitrous air’ (nitrous oxide) and ‘dephlogisticated air’ (oxygen).¹¹² ‘Airs’ became an important area of medical study for the treatment of disease through ‘pneumatic medicine’.¹¹³ This stimulated a new round of chemical analysis to establish which ‘airs’ the mineral waters held in solution and their apparent medicinal properties. The medicinal properties of the gaseous contents of mineral waters were advocated by John Elliot who published *An Account of the Nature and Medicinal Virtues of the Principal Mineral Waters of Great Britain* (1769). Water impregnated with fixed air was a ‘powerful antiseptic’ and was given with success in putrid fevers, scurvy, dysentery, mortifications and disorders arising from a putrid cause.¹¹⁴

Hunter’s analysis of the Buxton waters, in the mid-eighteenth century, revealed that its contents were a native alkaline nitrous salt and he concluded that there was little in the chemical composition of the water that explained their actions on the human body.¹¹⁵ He gave little credence to the chemical analysis of the waters stating that the observation of the waters effects on patients seemed a more ‘rational method of arriving at the true

¹¹¹ Jan Golinski, *Science as Public Culture: Chemistry and Enlightenment in Britain 1760-1820* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 105-117.

¹¹² Hankin, *Science and the Enlightenment*, pp. 85, 91.

¹¹³ Golinski, *Science as Public Culture*, pp. 105-117.

¹¹⁴ John Elliot, *An Account of the Nature and Medicinal Virtues of the Principal Mineral Waters of Great Britain* (London, 1781), pp. 234-36; Coley, ‘Physicians, Chemists’, p. 60.

¹¹⁵ Hunter, *Buxton Waters*, p. 29.

knowledge of the virtues of mineral waters'.¹¹⁶ Hamlin has suggested that tensions could exist between medical and chemical authority on the subject of mineral waters, with the physician seeking to override the claims made by chemists which may have affected their practice at the spa through the 'unsupervised' use of the waters.¹¹⁷ Hunter's comments on the mineral contents of the town's waters, therefore, are suggestive of Hamlin's findings. However, many of the other treatises on the town's waters which contained a chemical analysis were written by resident physicians, suggesting that at Buxton, the physician was aware of the importance of chemical as well as their own medical authority in advertising the town's waters.

Treatises written in the later eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries ensured the town remained 'fashionable' as they incorporated the new discoveries of gases and the more sophisticated investigative methodologies.¹¹⁸ John Ellison's *Synopsis of the Medical Contents of the most noted Mineral Waters* (1788) did little to explain the links between chemical content and medicinal affect, but his analysis of the Buxton water did include new gases - phlogisticated air and acidulous gas. The main contents of the water were calcareous earth and acidulous gas, selenite, sea-salt, marine salt of magnesia and iron combined with the acidulous gas.¹¹⁹ Denman, author of *Effects of Buxton Water* (1793), could not account for exactly how the mineral waters acted upon the human body, but thought that chemical analysis explained their 'rational use' as a medicine. Denman found that the solid contents of the Buxton water contained calcareous earth, vitriolic selenite and sea-salt and that the waters were composed of a fixed, fixable or

¹¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 32-34.

¹¹⁷ Hamlin, 'Chemistry', p. 72.

¹¹⁸ Durie, 'Medicine', pp. 195-216.

¹¹⁹ John Ellison, *Synopsis of the Medical Contents of the most noted Mineral Waters* (London, 1788), p. 16.

mephitic air or gas. He then gave the previous authors' chemical analysis of the waters, noting that Pearson had doubted the existence of gas in the water.¹²⁰

Writing in the early-nineteenth century Sir Charles Scudamore's analysis of the waters informed his readers that his methodology and knowledge of the latest chemical procedures was up-to-date as it was based on Richard Kirwan's *Treatise on Mineral Waters* (1799).¹²¹ The chemical compounds in the water consisted of muriate of magnesia, sulphate of soda, sulphate of lime, carbonate of lime and vegetable matter. He attributed many of the healing properties of the water, however, to its 'gaseous impregnation with azote'.¹²² As a physician, Scudamore certainly utilised the chemical analysis of the water to give greater authority to his claims to the 'efficacy' of the town's waters, but his guide also illustrates some of the doubts that were being expressed to the validity of chemical authority. He questioned whether the small quantities of chemical compounds could really have any medicinal benefit, but he judged that the activity of any medicinal ingredient in the water exerted its 'influence under the most favourable of circumstances' being 'quickly absorbed into the circulation'.¹²³ A.B. Granville's *The Spas of England* (1841) also expressed concern as the 'fraction' of all the ingredients in the water was unlikely to 'impart to it much energy or power' and he doubted that the gas found in the water had any medicinal properties.¹²⁴ Despite the doubts that were raised as to the importance of the chemical composition of the water in affecting a 'cure', the authors of the early-nineteenth-century tour guides repeated the chemical analysis of the

¹²⁰ Denman, *Effects of Buxton Water*, pp. 65-81.

¹²¹ Scudamore, *Mineral Waters of Buxton*, p. 15.

¹²² *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ A.B. Granville, *The Spas of England*, 2 vols (London, 1841), ii, pp. 32-34, 38, 43-51.

waters to their audience.¹²⁵ This suggests that the link between chemical composition and medical effect remained important medium in the promotion of the town and its waters to the health tourist.

The writers of the tour guides also turned to another source of information, the Buxton Bath charity, to maintain the reputation of the town and the medicinal properties of its mineral waters.¹²⁶ The charity, founded in 1780, operated by soliciting a donation of one shilling from every visitor to the town; in return, each subscriber could recommend a patient who was furnished with medicine, medical advice, the use of the baths gratis, and allowed pecuniary aid for three successive weeks. A donation of ten pounds constituted a subscriber for life with the power to send a patient to the Bath Charity annually.¹²⁷ The charitable institution went some way to counter complaints that attending a spa had more to do with indulgence, luxury and the pursuit of leisure than health. And illustrated how leisure and luxury supported a philanthropic concern for those less fortunate in society. Daniel Orme's *The New Buxton Guide* (1825) informed his readers that visitors were 'stimulated to consider this class of society' and a donation ensured that such individuals would not 'perish in debility'.¹²⁸

The publication of the reports of the Buxton Bath Charity from the late 1820s onwards served two functions: firstly it reassured prospective travellers that their donation had a philanthropic outcome, listing the numbers who had received full or just pecuniary aid.¹²⁹ Secondly, and more importantly, the results illustrated the

¹²⁵ Glover, *Peak Guide*, pp. 5-8; William Adam, *The Gem of the Peak*. (5th edn. 1851, repr. London, 1973), pp. 315-18.

¹²⁶ Glover, *The Peak Guide*, p. 9; Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 322.

¹²⁷ William Bray, *Sketch of a Tour into Derbyshire and Yorkshire* (2nd edn. London, 1783) p. 232; W. Bott, *A Description of Buxton* (Manchester, 1792) pp. 14-15; Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, pp. 319-20.

¹²⁸ Daniel Orme, *The New Buxton Guide* (Derby, 1825) p. 16.

¹²⁹ Page, *A Month at Buxton*, p. 14; Glover, *Peak Guide*, pp. 9-10; Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 322.

improvement in the health of individuals who had received aid which reassured prospective travellers that the waters had a medicinal effect. Thus, Stephen Glover's *The Peak Guide* (1830) contained the report for the year of September 1826-27 in which 815 patients were treated by the Bath Charity with 704 patients being cured or much relieved and forty were relieved.¹³⁰ William Adam's *Gem of the Peak* (1851) contained the report of the Bath Charity for September 1841-1842 in which 1477 patients were admitted, of which 965 were cured or much relieved and 343 were relieved of their ailments.¹³¹ At a time when the validity of the chemical analysis was questioned, this gave the town an empirical basis on which the town's reputation could be secured.

Marketing mineral waters to the health tourist through the legitimacy of chemical analysis was less pronounced at Matlock Bath during this period, yet links between chemical composition and medicinal effect were strived for. Short's *Mineral Waters* (1734) was the first published chemical analysis of the fledgling spa's waters.¹³² He concluded that the water had a small trace of iron, nitre and marine salt in its composition. As Matlock's waters were cold they contained less 'sulphur and mineral spirit' than the waters at Buxton.¹³³ Further chemical investigation was not undertaken until the end of the eighteenth century. Saunders' *Celebrated Mineral Waters* (1800) added little to the chemical or medicinal knowledge of Matlock's waters. Modern chemical analysis did not seem 'necessary' to him as their 'medicinal virtues' could be ascribed to their temperature alone.¹³⁴ The increasing sophistication of chemical analysis in the later eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries did little for the reputation of the

¹³⁰ Glover, *Peak Guide*, p. 9.

¹³¹ Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 321.

¹³² Short, *Mineral Waters*, pp. 77-91.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 77, 85, 88-91.

¹³⁴ Saunders, *Celebrated Mineral Waters*, pp. 128-29.

town's waters, suggesting that the water possessed few chemical attributes. Scudamore's analysis of the Matlock water in his *Chemical and Medical Report of the Properties of the Mineral Waters of Buxton* (1820) revealed that the Matlock water was composed of a free carbonic acid, and some muriates and sulphates in minute proportions.¹³⁵ As such there was little information for the writers of tour guides to draw upon when advertising the town's waters. Adam's *Gem of the Peak* (1851) repeated Scudamore's analysis for his readers and suggested that the Matlock water contained a larger quantity of free carbonic acid than 'any other in the kingdom' and it was to this ingredient that some ascribed its 'active medicinal properties'.¹³⁶ Analyses were published in guide books, in an attempt to endorse the waters, but the results remained, at best, ambiguous, and it was left to the individual to make up his or her mind as to whether the small amounts of minerals in the water had any medicinal benefit. Matlock Bath therefore relied more upon the physician's authority. Glover's *Peak Guide* (1830) had little to say upon the chemical composition of Matlock waters, referring instead to the observation of Dr Gilbert, owner of the new baths at Matlock, that 'long experience' of the use of the water showed them to be 'highly restorative and strengthening' and noted for their 'curative powers' in pulmonary cases and nervous disorders.¹³⁷ The town lacked a bath charity and this avenue of enhancing the reputation of the waters was therefore unavailable to the writers of the tourist guides for the town, as was also the case with Bakewell.

The first chemical analysis of Bakewell's waters did not appear until the 1820s. In the late-eighteenth century, a bath house was constructed in the town, but there was no corresponding literature written about the waters. In 1830, John Henry, fifth Duke of

¹³⁵ Scudamore, *Mineral Waters of Buxton*, pp. 42-46.

¹³⁶ Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, pp. 46-48.

¹³⁷ Glover, *Peak Guide*, pp. 114-117.

Rutland decided to revive the spa, and built a second bath-house.¹³⁸ Rutland was aware that success, especially with the close neighbours of Buxton and Matlock Bath, relied on promotion of its waters through chemical and medical legitimacy and he commissioned a Dr C. Sylvester to analyse the water. Sylvester recorded the waters contents as being composed of crystallised sulphate of lime, super-carbonate of lime, sulphate of magnesia, muriate of magnesia and super-carbonate of iron – and he endorsed the water as a tonic and as a bath for chronic rheumatisms.¹³⁹ However, the fortunes of the spa declined and by 1850 the baths had closed. As Durie has suggested, chemical and medical analysis endorsing a spa's waters were necessary to ensure success, but they did not guarantee it, and the example of Bakewell is representative of his findings.¹⁴⁰ Bakewell's waters received little promotion through the tour guides of the early nineteenth century. Glover reiterated Sylvester's analysis for his readers, but his guide stands out for doing so. John Goodwin, a resident printer in Bakewell and author of *A Description of Buxton* (1833), said nothing about the town's waters, and Adam's *Gem of the Peak* added little to Glover's previous description.¹⁴¹ With little advertising of the town's mineral waters, through both chemical and medical endorsement, Bakewell struggled to attract the health tourist.

¹³⁸ Phyllis Hembry, *British Spas from 1815 to the Present* (London, 1997) pp. 85-86; Trevor Brighton, *Bakewell the Ancient Capital of the Peak* (Wellington, 2005), pp. 47-50.

¹³⁹ Glover, *Peak Guide*, pp. 71-73.

¹⁴⁰ Durie, 'Medicine', p. 195.

¹⁴¹ Glover, *Peak Guide*, pp. 71-73; John Goodwin, *A Description of Buxton* (Bakewell, 1833), p. 22; Adam *Gem of the Peak*, p. 172.

Regimen.

No physician felt that their patient could rely on the curative powers of mineral waters alone. In advising a course of the waters, a physician may or may not have prescribed other treatments and manufactured remedies (discussed later in the chapter) but almost all instructed their patient to control the ‘six non-naturals’ by following a ‘regimen’. The regulation of air, diet, sleep, exercise, evacuations and passions of the mind all contributed to the ‘cure’. The importance of evacuation in the overall treatment of disease has been explained above and physicians were well aware that an intemperate lifestyle could result in ill-health. One of the first treatises on mineral waters, Jones’s *Benefit of the Ancient Baths of Buxton* (1572) advised its readers to follow a ‘regimen’ whilst at the spa and reflects the resurgence of classical Greek medical doctrine in the sixteenth century.¹⁴² In the early eighteenth century Hoffman’s *Mineral Waters* declared that ‘no remedy, without a proper regimen, can have its effect; so a course of mineral waters requires an exact care in this particular’.¹⁴³ Short was great believer in ‘regimen’ which formed a part of his mechanistic understanding of health. Proper sleep, healthy diet and exercise were all ‘noble ingredients’ of the cure. Physical activity improved the circulation ‘that immediate cause of life’ which strengthened the body, and restored weakened and relaxed fibres.¹⁴⁴

Regimen played its part in the treatment of disease throughout the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. At Buxton, Hunter suggested that the patients’ recovery depended much upon the change of air, diet and company and advised that everyone

¹⁴² Jones, *Baths of Buxton*, pp. 11-12.

¹⁴³ Hoffman, *New Experiments*, pp. 113-114, 118-119, 133-34.

¹⁴⁴ Short, *Mineral Waters*, pp. 6-11.

‘ought to make these necessary assistants contribute as much to his advantage as possible’.¹⁴⁵ Denman reiterated Hoffman’s advice on the correct ‘regimen’ to be followed whilst taking a course of the waters.¹⁴⁶ Writing about Matlock Bath’s waters Scudamore suggested that the waters should be used as part of an overall ‘regimen in diet’ that would lead to the improvement of the stomach and therefore general health.¹⁴⁷ Easily explicable, the benefits of diet and exercise as a preventative cure for ill-health were to be found in the pages of almost all the later eighteenth to mid-nineteenth-century tour guides for the county.

Health and the Environment.

Disease could also be caused by environmental factors. The earth exhaled miasmas and stagnant waters and marshes likewise released noxious gases that caused disease, which only vigorous winds, free flowing air and running water could dispel.¹⁴⁸ Contemporaries were well aware of this, Daniel Defoe described Buxton in 1727 and suggested that the town had the advantage of being situated in ‘open country’ and was, therefore, more ‘conductive to health’ than a closed city such as Bath and he went on to describe the noxious state of the latter city.¹⁴⁹ Fresh air was also one of the ‘six non-naturals’ and exercise in the ‘cool’ British climate contributed to the maintenance of good health. Increasing industrialisation and urbanisation in towns in the late eighteenth and

¹⁴⁵ Hunter, *Buxton Waters*, pp. 66-68.

¹⁴⁶ Denman, *Effects of Buxton Water*, pp. 110-119, 126.

¹⁴⁷ Scudamore, *Mineral Waters of Buxton*, pp. 42-46.

¹⁴⁸ Porter, *Disease, Medicine and Society*, p. 26; Caroline Hannaway, ‘Environment and Miasmata’, in W. F. Bynum and Roy Porter (eds.) *Companion Encyclopaedia of the History of Medicine*, 2 vols (London and New York, 2003), i, pp. 295-302.

¹⁴⁹ Daniel Defoe, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (ed.), Pat Rogers (London, 1986), pp. 468-69.

nineteenth centuries and their associated social problems further stimulated the demand for a healthy environment such as that enjoyed by Buxton and Matlock Bath on the urban/rural periphery. Physicians advocated the advantages of the climate of the 'Peak' and the tourist guides for the county increasingly drew on this image as a medium through which to advertise the towns' claim to health tourism in the later eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Walton has suggested that one factor in the rise of the coastal resort at the expense of the inland spas was due to their promotion of the 'healthy sea air'.¹⁵⁰ The endorsement of the healthy Derbyshire climate in the tour guides of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries suggests that Buxton and Matlock Bath were responding to the challenges posed by their coastal and inland rivals.

Physicians endorsed the healthy climate of both Buxton and Matlock Bath to the traveller by exploiting contemporary attitudes to the environmental causes of disease. Denman's *Effects of Buxton Water* (1793) described how the weather contributed to 'the purposes of health'; strong winds cleared extraneous matter from the air and the large amount of precipitation cleansed away any noxious particles, removing many of the causes of disease. High level and low lying regions were considered unhealthy, and the state of the air was most conducive to animal life between 1,500-2,000 feet above sea level.¹⁵¹ The Peak was reckoned to lie between these heights and 'under a favourable impression of the atmosphere'.¹⁵² Similarly, Scudamore suggested that the 'invigorating power of Buxton air' contributed to the patient's treatment as it increased their appetite, spirits and general energy.¹⁵³ Physicians also extolled the virtues of the atmosphere at

¹⁵⁰ Walton, *English Seaside*, pp. 16,

¹⁵¹ Denman, *Effects of Buxton Water*, p. 31

¹⁵² Ibid., pp. 31-34.

¹⁵³ Scudamore, *Mineral Waters of Buxton*, pp. 21, 23, 32, 35.

Matlock Bath from the early eighteenth century onwards. Dr Thomas Short considered the situation and the climate of the town to be as beneficial to health as the waters, stating that the air was ‘pliant, thin, sweet and dry’ and in summer was ‘perfumed by fragrant and salutary plants’ which was of service in chronic disorders.¹⁵⁴

The tourist literature of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century all echoed these arguments in promoting the towns. William Bott’s *A Description of Buxton* (1792) declared that Buxton was well known ‘for the salubrity of the air’.¹⁵⁵ Daniel Orme’s *The New Buxton Guide* (1825) reiterated many of Denman’s observations on the benefits of the weather and situation of the town to health; he suggested to his readers that many individuals travelled to Buxton for the climate.¹⁵⁶ Adam’s *Gem of the Peak* (1851) suggested that the mountains that lay in the vicinity of the town enabled the ‘invalid’ to ‘inhale the pure and invigorating air of the highlands’. The ‘unadulterated atmosphere’, he claimed, was, in some cases, more ‘essential’ to health than all the medicines in the ‘London *Pharmacopoeia*’, however skilfully they were applied.¹⁵⁷ This image was also applied to Matlock Bath. Granville’s *The Spas of England* (1841) described Matlock, independent of its waters, as a ‘superior’ summer retreat to Buxton due to healthy climate of the valley.¹⁵⁸ Adam described the pure air and climate which was ‘recommended for consumptive patients’ and those of ‘extremely delicate constitutions’.¹⁵⁹ The town of Bakewell, however, was not discussed in these terms.

¹⁵⁴ Short, *Mineral Waters*, pp. 77, 85, 88-91.

¹⁵⁵ Bott, *Buxton*, pp. 3, 7-8.

¹⁵⁶ Orme, *New Buxton Guide*, pp. 3-4

¹⁵⁷ Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, pp. 312-15.

¹⁵⁸ Granville, *Spa's of England*, ii, pp. 68-73.

¹⁵⁹ . Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, pp. 46-48.

The healthy environment of the 'Peak' was also used to advertise the towns of Buxton and Matlock Bath. H. Barker's *The Panorama of Matlock* (1828) declared that it was not just 'invalids' that visited Buxton and Matlock Bath but also the 'votaries of Hygeia' who wished to improve their constitutions through relaxation, travel and amusements that were 'active' rather than 'sedentary'.¹⁶⁰ Strength was renewed by 'daily excursions' among the hills, valleys, rivers, rocks and caverns. Exposure to the weather improved the tone of the nerves and lead to the 'invigoration of the corporeal and mental powers'. He concluded that if this sort of exercise was 'essential to health' then a 'residence' that motivated exercise through the beauty, salubrity of its sites and the attractions of art and nature would be required.¹⁶¹ This was to be found at Matlock and Barker thought it difficult to name any other place 'entitled to such a distinction than this secluded retreat on the romantic banks of the Derwent'.¹⁶²

Health Services and Treatments.

Medical and Chemical authority encouraged the use of mineral waters in a wide range of diseases and treatment inevitably involved a routine of either drinking or bathing in the waters. As contemporaries perceived spa waters as a form of medicine, with potentially 'dangerous' side effects, instruction as to their correct use was necessarily given in the medical and tourist guides to the towns. This advice varied from author to author and

¹⁶⁰ H. Barker, *The Panorama of Matlock* (London, 1828), pp. 49-50.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

from disease to disease but they often gave a general synopsis of the water's use.¹⁶³ At Buxton and Matlock Bath medical advice as to the internal or external use of the waters was to start slowly and as the treatment began to take effect, the dose ingested, or, time spent in the bath could be 'safely' increased. Late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century tour guides provided general guidance to the use of the individual towns' waters – often taken from the guides written by physicians. Bott's *A Description of Buxton* (1792) described the general routine and offered advice on drinking and bathing in the waters. Glover's guide drew on Pearson's and Page's accounts, and Adam reiterated the advice given by both Page and Robertson.¹⁶⁴ In their discussion of Matlock Bath's waters, however, the tourist guides had little medical opinion on which they could draw as to the correct use of the waters. A. Jewitt's *The Matlock Companion* (1832) simply observed that the time of drinking or bathing was early in the morning and Adam's guide gave little information regarding ingesting or bathing in the waters.¹⁶⁵ For the town of Bakewell there was no medical advice given as to the use of the spa and therefore none given in the tour guides. The medical and tourist guides to the county's mineral springs provided information which prepared the unhealthy individual for the routine to come and gave general guidance as to the correct use of the waters for the health conscious followers of 'regimen' who did not need to seek the physicians' advice. The relative successful treatment of disease through the use of mineral waters, however, took weeks to achieve. It can be suggested then, that the physicians in the towns attempted to

¹⁶³, Short, *Mineral Waters*, pp. 66-67, 77, 85, 88-91; Hunter, *Buxton Waters*, pp. 66-68, Denman, *Effects of Buxton Water*, pp. 110-119, 126; Scudamore, *Mineral Waters of Buxton*, pp. 21, 23, 32, 35, 42-46.

¹⁶⁴ Bott, *Buxton*, pp. 8-13; Glover, *Peak Guide*, p. 8; Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 319.

¹⁶⁵ A. Jewitt, *The Matlock Companion* (Duffield, 1832), pp. 21, 23-25, 26; Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, pp. 46-48.

encourage the longer stay health tourist to seek their services, which enhanced their business.

Distinctions were made between the towns as to the number of diseases that the waters were claimed to ‘cure’ and ‘relieve’ which was based upon both medical and chemical authority. Buxton’s waters were considered to be the most medicinal and correspondingly the list of diseases treated was the largest – they ‘cured’ practically anything from gout, rheumatism and scorbutic pains to dysentery, convulsions, diabetes and paralytic disorders.¹⁶⁶ As Matlock Bath’s waters had few chemical properties the list of diseases was correspondingly smaller, ranging from disorders of the stomach and bowels to fevers, muscular debility and scrofula. Bakewell’s waters were considered the least efficacious and Dr. Sylvester who analysed the water suggested that they should be used only as a general tonic and as a bath for chronic rheumatism. Eighteenth-century topographical literature often contained lists of conditions that the waters were supposed to cure as did the late eighteenth-and early nineteenth century tour guides for the county. This was particularly important for Matlock Bath in the promotion of its waters as a treatment for disease, given the absence of medical and chemical guides during the eighteenth century.¹⁶⁷ It could be suggested, however, that these lists were somewhat arbitrary and were used by the physician for their own means, as it demonstrated that they had a sophisticated understanding of the medicinal benefits of the waters and there use as a treatment, rather than there being any real distinction between the towns’ waters.

¹⁶⁶ Short, *Mineral Waters*, pp. 61-64, 77, 85, 88-91; Hunter, *Buxton Waters*, pp. 37, 41, 44, 47-48, 53, 56-61; Denman, *Effects of Buxton Water*, pp. 94-110; Scudamore, *Mineral Waters of Buxton*, pp. 21, 23, 32, 35, 42-46; Page, *A Month at Buxton*, pp. 10-11.

¹⁶⁷ J. and R. Dodsley, *England Illustrated*, 2 vols (London, 1764), i, pp. 155-156, 158, Spencer, *Complete English Traveller* (London, 1771), p. 498, James Pilkington *View of the Present State of Derbyshire*, 2 vols (2nd edn. London, 1803), i, p. 227; Bott, *Buxton*, pp. 8-13; Orme, *New Buxton Guide*, pp. 3-4; Glover, *Peak Guide*, pp. 5-8, 71-73, 114-117; Jewitt, *Matlock Companion*, pp. 21, 23-25, 26; Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, pp. 46-48, 304-318.

Mineral waters were both an accompaniment, and an alternative, to manufactured remedies in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries which stimulated a wider provision of health services within the towns. Physicians, surgeons and apothecaries all offered their skills and services to the individual traveller. Physicians advocated further treatments such as purging and phlebotomy, although some physicians advised against such practices on the grounds that they damaged the stomach and ran the danger of debilitating the patient. Such practices, it was suggested, were recommended only by physicians who had ‘eye to their fees’ rather than the health of their patients.¹⁶⁸ Such warnings, however, were not entirely disinterested. Harley has suggested that the ‘unsupervised’ use of mineral waters promoted in spa literature challenged the physicians’ authority within the town.¹⁶⁹ Physicians argued that self-diagnosis was dangerous and sought to maintain their presence through medical advice, especially with regard to treating diseases that the waters alone could not cure.¹⁷⁰

Physicians at Buxton asserted their necessary role and involvement in the treatment of disease in their guides to use of the waters. They advised that medical opinion, which would be tailored to the individual requirements of the patient, should be sought before embarking on a course of waters. The role of ‘regimen’ would also be tailored to suit the need of the patient and the role of the physician was important in treatment. Hunter suggested that the ‘cure’ for Gleet, a condition caused by the treatment of Gonorrhoea by both mercury and purging, was best occasioned by ‘injecting’ the ‘water into the

¹⁶⁸ Hoffman, *New Experiments*, p. 114.

¹⁶⁹ David Harley, ‘A sword in a Madman’s Hand: Professional opposition to popular consumption in the waters literature of southern England and the Midlands, 1570-1870’ in Roy Porter (ed.), *The Medical History of Waters and Spas* (London, 1990), pp.51-52.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

urethra by means of an ivory syringe'.¹⁷¹ His 'cure' for rheumatic complaints was electric therapy, which was grounded in his understanding of mechanistic principles: as one of the most rapid and penetrating forces of nature it was 'well suited' to dissolve the 'viscid rheumatic matter' which would be released into the circulation and excreted from the body.¹⁷² Hunter, Denman and Scudamore all described diseases that would require further medication, such as Peruvian bark and other astringents, which caused a tightening of the tissues of the body, emollients, and sudorific remedies, which caused sweating.¹⁷³ Whilst their accounts on the one hand gave information, it remained vague as to the dose and exact preparation of these 'suitable medicines', presumably to encourage the patient to enlist their services, rather than self-diagnose and visit the apothecary without consulting them. Whilst the writers of the early nineteenth-century tourist guides may have promoted the 'unsupervised' use of the waters, they were quick to suggest obtaining the services of a physician in their advertising of the towns.¹⁷⁴ Thus, they confirmed the physicians' authority in the treatment of disease. At Buxton the market for health tourism appears to have been a lucrative market for the physician. By the nineteenth century the town attracted physicians who resided in the town for the season. Sir Charles Scudamore, who published a treatise on the town's waters, is one such example of a physician who practiced at the town during the season for some thirty years.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷¹ Hunter, *Buxton Waters*, pp. 42-43,

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

¹⁷³ Denman, *Effects of Buxton Water*, pp. 95, 97, 121-125, 128-141; Scudamore, *Mineral Waters of Buxton*, pp 20, 29-30.

¹⁷⁴ Jewitt, *Matlock Companion*, pp. 21, 23-25, 26; Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, pp. 304-318, 315-318.

¹⁷⁵ Scudamore, *Mineral Waters of Buxton*; *Buxton Herald* 1846

The apothecary also played an important role in the medical trade as the dispenser of the required medication. Porter and Porter have suggested that the apothecary himself had received some medical training, although they were not allowed to charge for their diagnosis. The apothecary was also at the heart of the boom in the consumption of medicine during the eighteenth century and catered for the demand from both physicians patients and those individuals who chose to self-diagnose and dose themselves. They supplied the growing range of new medicines imported from the Orient and the New World and in the distribution of the widely advertised patented and proprietary remedies.¹⁷⁶ For the Derbyshire spas, the apothecary was an essential part of their provision of wider health services. He played a supporting role to the physician, who as we have seen above relied heavily on the new medical preparations in their treatment of their patients. The apothecary was the vital link in the chain in the acquisition and distribution of drugs that involved both preparation and the sale of manufactured remedies. For those that chose to self-medicate, he would have been an important source of medical advice with regard to what drugs should be used.

The following table illustrates the health services that were provided in the towns from 1818 to 1850. Buxton provided the greatest range and number of health services to the health tourist which increased, despite a loss of surgeons over this period. Bakewell is in second place, but it lacked the overall range of services that Buxton provided and the number of services remained the same throughout. Matlock Bath lay in third place, although there was little to separate it from the range and number of services provided at Bakewell. As the population of both Buxton and Matlock Bath was half and a quarter of

¹⁷⁶ Roy Porter and Dorothy Porter, 'The Rise of the English Drugs Industry: the Role of Thomas Corbyn', *Medical History*, 33 (1989), pp. 278-80.

Table 4: Health services in the Derbyshire spas 1818-1850.

Town and Trade	1818	1835	1850
Buxton Surgeon	5	3	3
Buxton Physician	0	1	6
Buxton Apothecary	2	2	4
Matlock Bath Surgeon	3	3	4
Matlock Bath Physician	0	0	0
Matlock Bath Apothecary	0	0	1
Bakewell Surgeon	3	3	3
Bakewell Physician	0	0	0
Bakewell Apothecary	2	2	2

the size of Bakewell's in 1851, it is clear that these health services were being provided for visitors to the town and reflects the importance of such services to the overall economy of these centres. It must be noted, however, that when dealing with trade directories there may be under representation of these services, and that this picture is only a snapshot, and there is no telling how long businesses may have lasted. In catering for the health tourist investment was also required in bathing establishments. By 1850, Buxton could boast of nine separate bathing establishments, while Matlock Bath had three baths and Bakewell two. There is little evidence to suggest that this made Bakewell a more exclusive micro resort as mechanics and servants were allowed to bathe, albeit with restrictions on the time they were allowed to enter the bath.¹⁷⁷ The bathing amenities within the towns also provided the latest fashionable water treatments with all the towns providing shower baths by the nineteenth century.¹⁷⁸ It is clear, however, that Buxton led the pack in terms of health provision.

¹⁷⁷ George Challenger, 'The Bath House', *Bakewell and District Historical Society Journal*, 32 (2005), p. 47.

¹⁷⁸ Glover, *Peak Guide*, pp. 71-73;

Travel itself was perceived to be a ‘cure’ for certain diseases, particularly ‘nervous’ and ‘mental’ disorders, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In nervous disorders caused by the ‘common sources’ of ‘indolence, intemperance and vexation’ the cure was self-explanatory, the patient had to rouse themselves and keep busy.¹⁷⁹ This theme was taken up by the tourist guides for the county who sought to attract the traveller by stating that in the treatment of disease many physicians counted on the ‘excitement of the journey to come’.¹⁸⁰ At Buxton and Matlock Bath wider investment in leisure facilities and amusements, such as assemblies gave the towns an added appeal by enabling them to claim that they catered to this ‘diversionary’ aspect of health. As convenient centres from which to tour the features of the Derbyshire tourist itinerary, all the towns could lay some claim to providing this beneficial healthy activity. However, this form of advertising was more marked at Matlock Bath than at either Buxton or Bakewell. Short thought that Matlock Bath held many objects to ‘allure and charm the outward senses’ which concentrated the mind away from ‘bodily disorders’ and ‘gloomy’ melancholic thought that affected the circulations and secretions, possibly resulting in a chronic disorder.¹⁸¹ Barker’s *Panorama of Matlock* (1828) informed his readers that, the physician counted on the change of scene, and air, and the ‘buoyancy of spirits’ that were produced by novelties; and that the romantic scenery of Matlock Bath and its other natural curiosities were well suited to procuring this effect.¹⁸² Travellers also described the health benefits of the situation of Matlock Bath. Visiting the town in 1767, James Coldham thought the beauty of the place well suited to soothing the ‘lovers melancholy’

¹⁷⁹ Denman, *Effects of Buxton Water*, pp. 94-110.

¹⁸⁰ Barker, *Panorama of Matlock*, p. 49.

¹⁸¹ Short, *Mineral Waters*, pp. 77, 85, 88-91.

¹⁸² Barker, *Panorama of Matlock*, pp. 49-50.

and that its ‘natural curiosities’ afforded ‘health to the infirm’.¹⁸³ Johanna Schopenhauer made a similar comment as to the restorative powers of the scenery of Matlock Bath on her journey in 1803.¹⁸⁴ Matlock Bath had several other attractions that could all contribute to the ‘novelty’ aspect of the ‘cure’, which included several show caverns of geological interest. The town also had lead mines and Arkwright’s cotton factories which contained the latest examples of technological development, and chapter five describes how these were attractions in their own right.

Conclusion

The towns of Buxton, Matlock Bath, and Bakewell, all sought to capitalise upon their mineral waters in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Medical and chemical endorsement of the waters provided important mediums through which the use of the waters could be legitimised and their benefits advertised. Writers of spa literature and the tour guides made much of the towns’ situation within the ‘Peak’ in which the healthy climate and environment, as well as travel and novelty contributed to the cure. Transformation, of both body and mind, through the restorative powers of the mineral waters and scenery was a key theme to be found in the literature marketing the county’s mineral waters to the health tourist. The relative success of Buxton and Matlock Bath and the failure of Bakewell as a spa in this period implies that the market for health tourism, even on a local scale, was a competitive one.¹⁸⁵ However, differences between

¹⁸³ NRO, MC/40/103/1-3, James Coldham, ‘Journal tour in England 1767’.

¹⁸⁴ Ruth Michaelis-Jena and Willy Merson (transl. and eds.), *A Lady Travels: Journeys in England and Scotland from the Diaries of Johanna Schopenhauer* (London, 1988), pp. 21-22.

¹⁸⁵ Brighton, *Discovery of the Peak District*, pp. 109, 116.

the towns – in the level of investment, health services provided and promotion of their waters – and their close proximity to one another suggests that the key to success was dependent upon the exploitation of niche markets within the health tourism industry. Buxton emerged as the medical centre *par excellence* of the ‘Peak’ and provided the widest range of health services to the visitor. As tourism was the lifeblood of the towns’ growth and development in this period, a vigorous policy of advertising its waters through medical and chemical analysis was pursued, which reflected the need to encourage the health tourist to the town. Success, however, came at a price, and many travellers complained bitterly about the number of ‘invalids’ who visited the town.¹⁸⁶ As such descriptions may have potentially put off the fashionable visitor and detracted from the towns’ potential growth, the writers of the tourist guides attempted to counter this image by reflecting on enjoyment to be found in contemplating the ‘invalids’ daily progress towards health.¹⁸⁷

Whilst Matlock Bath’s waters were considered less medicinal than those at Buxton, they possessed qualities that were beneficial in the treatment of disease; thus the town was able to cater to the health tourist in this period. The town’s waters were the subject of both medical and chemical analysis, but publications about the virtues of the springs were less numerous than at Buxton. Wider health services were also less extensive than those to be found at Buxton, but it can be suggested that with a number of industries, such as lead mining and cotton, located within the town it was less reliant on health tourism for its overall growth and development. The waters were believed to be almost ‘pure’ and, therefore, safer to use than Buxton’s; as such a more ‘unsupervised’ use of the

¹⁸⁶ DLSL, MS 3463, Anonymous, c. 1800, pp. 85-86, 112-115; Granville, *Spa’s of England*, ii, p. 35.

¹⁸⁷ Ebenezer Rhodes, *Peak Scenery or the Derbyshire Tourist* (London, 1824), p. 296.

waters could be marketed to the health conscious individual who wished to maintain their health through 'regimen' whilst visiting the county. As a spa, however, Matlock Bath's success lay in exploiting wider attitudes to health. The writers of medical and chemical treatises and tour guides drew upon the healthy environment and situation of the town amongst the picturesque scenery of the Peak. The town then had a distinct image contrasting with that of Buxton and was marketed as a centre for those individuals suffering from 'nervous' disorders or those who wished to restore their 'spirits' in the pursuit of 'novelty' and 'diversion'.¹⁸⁸

The development of Buxton and Matlock Bath as spas laid the foundation for the wider tourist industry in Derbyshire. Their mineral springs were objects of curiosity in their own right. Throughout the period tourists, who had not travelled for their health, bathed in and sampled the waters, and filled their journals with the known information about the springs.¹⁸⁹ The presence of mineral springs at these towns, and the market for health, stimulated investment in the provision of accommodation and leisure facilities to entertain the longer stay tourist throughout the period. Buxton and Matlock Bath emerged in this period not only as spa towns, but as convenient centres from which to tour the wider cultural attractions of the Derbyshire tourist itinerary.

¹⁸⁸ Short, *Mineral Waters*, pp. 77, 85, 88-91; Barker, *Panorama of Matlock*, pp. 49-50.

¹⁸⁹ Defoe, *Tour through*, pp. 468-469; Resta Patching, *Four Topographical Letters written in 1755* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1757), p. 41; Bray, *Sketch of a Tour*, pp. 120-121; John Plumptre, 'A 'Journal of a Tour into Derbyshire in the year 1793', in Ian Ousby (ed.), *John Plumptre's Britain: The Journals of a Tourist in the 1790's* (London, 1992), p. 64; Grant, 'Three Weeks Tour to the Lakes' in Mavor, William (ed.), *The British Tourists*, 6 vol. (London 1798), v, p. 221; DLSL, Ms. 3463, Anonymous, c. 1800, p. 85, 113.

Chapter two: Landscape: Aesthetics and Tourism.

Introduction

The vogue for viewing the landscape of Britain was one of the most distinguishing features of eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century domestic travel. The popularity of this activity is illustrated by the sheer volume of words dedicated to the discussion of landscape in the pages of tour guides, published travel accounts, and tourists' own accounts of their journeys. With antecedents that stretched back to the beginning of the century, the 'cult of the picturesque' emerged from the mid-eighteenth century as an ever evolving relationship between man, nature and art; a relationship where the concepts of nature and the picturesque were defined in poetry, landscape painting and gardening.¹⁹⁰ The works of Joseph Addison, Edmund Burke, William Gilpin, Richard Payne Knight and Uvedale Price defined the rules through which the landscape was aesthetically appreciated, and provided a vocabulary with which to describe the emotional response it provoked.¹⁹¹ In the Lake District, Scotland, Wales, and the Wye Valley the tourist sought out landscapes for their associations with poetical imagery, heightened emotional response, and the degree to which the scenery conformed to the principles of landscape painting.

¹⁹⁰ Christopher Hussey, *The Picturesque* (1927, repr. London, 1983), p. 4.

¹⁹¹ Joseph Addison, 'The Pleasures of the Imagination', in *The Spectator* 411-417, in Gregory Smith (ed.), *Addison & Steele And Others: The Spectator*, 4 vols. (London, 1967), iii; Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757, repr. Oxford, 1990); William Gilpin, *Observations on the River Wye* (1782, repr Oxford, 1991), Uvedale Price, *Essays on the Picturesque as Compared with the Sublime and Beautiful*, 3 vols (London, 1810), i.

The natural features of the ‘seven wonders’ of Derbyshire have often featured in the historiography of landscape and tourism to illustrate contemporary fascination with the natural and curious. The development of the aesthetics of the sublime and picturesque and their importance to tourism in Derbyshire in the later eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries at such tourist attractions as the Devils Arse cavern, Dove dale and Matlock Bath has received little attention.¹⁹² The ‘picturesque tourist’ was no stranger to the landscape of Derbyshire and throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the landscape of the county formed one of the most important features of the tourist itinerary.

This chapter focuses upon the development of the aesthetics of the sublime and picturesque throughout the period, and utilises these concepts to explore the marketing and tourist response to a growing number of sites within the county. Discussion first concentrates on the ‘wonders’ of Derbyshire in the early eighteenth century and suggests that antecedents of the sublime aesthetic were being explored by travellers in the subterranean landscape. The growing popularity of these sites was further enhanced by the increasing use of poetical allusion through which tourists sought to define their experiences, echoes of which reverberated into the nineteenth century. From the mid-eighteenth century the Derbyshire landscape was culturally re-evaluated according to the works of Burke, Gilpin and Price which saw the reinterpretation of its older ‘wonders’ and the emergence of new sublime and picturesque sites to the tourist itinerary. Finally, the chapter suggests that the ‘vogue’ for landscape was an important

¹⁹² Esther Moir, *The Discovery of Britain: The English Tourists 1540 to 1840* (London, 1964); Ian Ousby, *The Englishman’s England: Taste, Travel and the Rise of Tourism* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 102-106; Trevor Brighton, *Discovery of the Peak District* (Chichester, 2004), pp. 41-58.

cultural dynamic within the tour of the Peak which contributed to the development of Buxton and Matlock Bath as tourist centres beyond their function as health centres.

The Sublime and the Picturesque.

The 'picturesque tourists' of the later eighteenth century waxed lyrical about the aesthetic qualities of the landscape that they viewed in their journeys. These individuals were a 'new breed' of tourist and the pleasure they took in visiting grand scenes of nature distinguishes them from attitudes towards nature that was expressed by earlier travellers undertaking the Grand Tour.¹⁹³ The seventeenth-century traveller perceived mountains and caverns as the deformities of nature.¹⁹⁴ Thomas Burnet's *Sacred Theory of the Earth* (1692) reflected contemporary attitudes to nature according to which the earth had been created oviform, smooth, without continents, mountains and oceans. Following biblical tradition, he suggested that the universal deluge had been the cause of the ruination of the original form leaving the world in its present disfigured state.¹⁹⁵ Despite such attitudes, the seventeenth-century tourist was not averse to viewing the perverted 'wonders' of nature; as conspicuous features in the landscape they piqued the curiosity of the traveller in search of novelties and formed part of the 'spirit of enquiry' that defined travel in this period. In the late- seventeenth century continental travel, began to influence the tourist's taste for grand scenery. The traveller on the Grand Tour experienced the crossing of the

¹⁹³ Marjorie Hope Nicholson, *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: the Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite* (1957, repr, London, 1997), p. 3.

¹⁹⁴ Ousby, *The Englishman's England*, p.102.

¹⁹⁵ Thomas Burnet, *Sacred Theory of the Earth*, 2 vols (1692, repr. London, 1965), i, pp. 53, 64-71; Nicholson, *Mountain Gloom*, pp. 197-200; Ian Ousby, *The Englishman's England: Taste, Travel and the Rise of Tourism* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 109.

Alps and in Italy they encountered the landscape paintings of Claude and Salvator Rosa, in which the ideal of classical beauty and the sublime were respectively represented.¹⁹⁶ The influence of the Grand Tour, in particular the crossing the Alps, in shaping English tourists' perceptions of the landscape they encountered, and of their native landscape upon their return should not be underestimated.¹⁹⁷

Attitudes to nature began to change from the turn of the eighteenth century. Joseph Addison's 'Pleasures of the Imagination' in the *Spectator* (1712), sought to describe his experiences of the landscape he encountered on his continental travels and the emotions that it had provoked. Visible objects furnished the imagination with its ideas, when either in view or from secondary stimuli such as paintings, statues and descriptions.¹⁹⁸ Addison suggested that allusion to classical poetry provided a medium through which the traveller could both describe and heighten the association between landscape and the ideas formed in the mind. Suitable poetry to be used included Homer's *Iliad*, Virgil's *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as they struck the 'imagination wonderfully' with what was Great, Beautiful and Strange respectively.¹⁹⁹ This he suggested made 'the most rude uncultivated parts of nature administer to his pleasures' and enabled the tourist to discover a 'multitude of charms' that were concealed from the 'generality of mankind'.²⁰⁰ Addison's 'pleasures' taught the tourist to view the British landscape through the lens of classical poetry.

¹⁹⁶ Hussey, *Picturesque*, p. 12.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ Joseph Addison, 'The Pleasures of the Imagination', in Smith, Gregory (ed.), *Addison & Steele And Others: The Spectator*, 4 vols (1712, repr. London, 1967), iii, p. 276.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 298.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 278.

Addison also tried to consolidate his experience of Alpine scenery into his thesis. Landscapes of ‘mountains, high rocks and precipices’ struck the observer not with ‘novelty and beauty’ but with a ‘rude kind of magnificence’ which appeared in the ‘stupendous works of nature’.²⁰¹ These scenes contained degrees of ‘horror or loathsomeness’ and provoked conflicting ideas in the mind that took ‘delight’ in the ‘very disgust’ that the scene had awakened.²⁰² Such delight was explicable as the ‘imagination’ loved ‘to be filled with an object, or to grasp at anything that is too big for its Capacity’.²⁰³ Addison attempted to articulate the emotional response to landscape that would later be defined as sublime, although his theory lacked the intrinsic qualities of an object and the immediate psychological response defined by later writers on the sublime. His work, however, remains important as it armed the early eighteenth-century tourist with a new aesthetic through which to experience nature.

Until the mid-eighteenth century, the British landscape was viewed and appreciated through its associations with poetical imagery.²⁰⁴ From the 1730s onwards, in a response to the difficulty of matching classical arcadia to the English landscape, English poets began to be favoured as sources of inspiration for a traveller’s descriptions of the scenes that they viewed.²⁰⁵ Addison himself had advocated the works of Shakespeare and Milton. *Paradise Lost* (1667) in particular was a ‘divine’ poem which provided scenes ‘to strike the imagination’ and furnish it with ideas of the Great, the Beautiful and the

²⁰¹ Ibid., p. 279

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Addison, ‘Pleasures’, p. 279; Nicholson, *Mountain Gloom*, pp. 311-315.

²⁰⁴ Andrews suggests that classical pastoral poetry tinged the early descriptions of the landscape in a phase that he describes as the ‘Augustan picturesque’: this deliberately simplified world enabled the individual to ‘imaginatively escape’ from the social complexities of the city. The pastoral analogy of beauty, however, did not match the landscape and ‘wonders’ of Derbyshire and was not applied in tourists’ description of the county in this period. Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain 1760-1800*, (Aldershot, 1990), p. 5.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 12.

Strange.²⁰⁶ Andrews has suggested that this was important to tourism as the language of Shakespeare and Milton was more accessible to a middle-class readership to which a large proportion of the new travellers belonged.²⁰⁷ However, classical references were not altogether extinguished from travellers' perceptions of the landscape during the period.

The influence of Edmund Burke's *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757) on the 'picturesque tourist' can not be overestimated. The *Enquiry* instigated a distinct cultural change in the aesthetic appreciation of nature. Burke suggested that objects had 'intrinsic qualities' that provoked a subconscious emotional response of self-propagation or self-preservation, which made them beautiful or sublime respectively: thought did not enter into the process.²⁰⁸ Burke rejected proportion and symmetry as the defining characteristics of beauty: smallness, smoothness and gentle variation that caused feelings of self-propagation made a landscape beautiful.²⁰⁹ Sublime emotions were provoked by the sense of 'fear and wonder' that an object arose in the observer. Objects that possessed intrinsic qualities of terror, obscurity, power, vastness, sudden variation and which caused the contemplation of the infinite were sublime. It was, however, the threat of, rather than the immediacy of danger that caused the 'appealing terror' of the sublime.²¹⁰ Sight was not the only sense that instigated the psychological reaction to landscape. Sound contributed to the appearance of beautiful and sublime scenery. Running water

²⁰⁶ Addison, 'Pleasures', pp. 299-300.

²⁰⁷ Andrews, *Search for the Picturesque*, p. 12.

²⁰⁸ Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry*, p. 36; Hussey, *Picturesque*, pp. 12-13; Andrews, *Search for the Picturesque*, pp. 42-45.

²⁰⁹ Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry*, pp. 84, 102-105.

²¹⁰ Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry* pp. 36, 53-67; Hussey, *Picturesque*, pp. 56, 58-60.

conjured images in the mind of languor and relaxation and was beautiful: conversely the sublime was the ‘noise of vast cataracts, raging storms, thunder, or artillery’ which awakened ‘great and awful’ sensations in the mind’.²¹¹ Burke concurred with Addison that the response to landscape could be further intensified through reference to secondary stimuli. Poetry rather than painting, was his preferred medium through which best to convey the experience as written description conjured ‘images far greater’ than the poor imitation of reality in a painted landscape.²¹² Most importantly, Burke’s *Enquiry* established a vocabulary which enabled the traveller to respond to the sublime scenery that they encountered and which reflected the intensity of the sublime experience. Batten has suggested that the influence of Burke can be traced in tourist literature in the later eighteenth century as description no longer concentrated on the object itself, but upon its effects on the observer’s mind.²¹³

William Gilpin’s *Observations on the River Wye* (1782) declared that he was engaged in a ‘new object of pursuit’ whereby he examined the ‘face of a country’ according to the ‘rules of picturesque beauty’.²¹⁴ Gilpin’s definition of ‘picturesque beauty’ was that which would look good in a landscape composition. He asserted that the ‘immensity of nature’ was ‘beyond human comprehension’ and her ‘vast’, but harmonious scheme caused problems for the artist who was ‘confined’ to a limited canvas.²¹⁵ As such, some liberty with the landscape could be taken by the artist to ‘improve’ the landscape for compositional purposes. Invention, however, was not justified.²¹⁶ Gilpin admired the

²¹¹ Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry*, p.75.

²¹² Ibid., p. 149.

²¹³ Charles Batten, *Pleasurable Instruction: Form and Convention in Eighteenth-Century Travel Literature* (London, 1978), p. 104; Andrews, *Search for the Picturesque*, p. 45.

²¹⁴ Gilpin, *River Wye*, p. 1.

²¹⁵ Gilpin, *River Wye*, p. 31; Hussey, *Picturesque*, p. 113.

²¹⁶ Gilpin, *River Wye*, pp. 31-32.

‘roughness and ruggedness’ of nature which he saw as part of the characteristics of ‘picturesque beauty’, and he rejected Burke’s earlier definition of smoothness being the source of all beautiful objects.²¹⁷ Assessing nature from the standpoint of a landscape painter, Gilpin argued that ‘roughness’ was essential to ‘picturesque beauty’ as it prevented objects in the landscape from being too formal.²¹⁸ He also found the distinction between sublime and beautiful objects ‘inaccurate’ as the sublime alone could not make an object picturesque and the scene must contain some degree of beauty in form or colour.²¹⁹ A sublime object was also ‘understood’ to be a beautiful object and distinctions between the two were only made as the idea of the sublime or beautiful prevailed in a scene.²²⁰ Gilpin’s influence on tourists lay in his multi-volumed *Essays and Observations on Picturesque Beauty* (1772-1798) which did much to instruct the ‘picturesque’ amateur painter as to composition and selection of picturesque objects. His *Essays* achieved major popularity, and as each volume dealt with a different area of Britain, he was influential in promoting or condemning these areas to the tourists who deferred to his authority.

Richard Payne Knight’s *The Landscape* (1793) and Uvedale Price’s *Essays on the Picturesque* (1794) established the picturesque as a distinct aesthetic separate to that of beauty and the sublime. Price’s definition of the picturesque was influenced by landscape gardening, which was increasingly modelled on ‘raw’ nature. He rejected the modern art of ‘improving’ a private landscape along classical conceptions of beauty – particularly evident in Capability Brown’s designs, who he attacked vehemently – and his

²¹⁷ William Gilpin, *Three Essays: on Picturesque Beauty, on Picturesque Travel and on Sketching a Landscape* (2nd edn. London, 1794), pp. 5-6.

²¹⁸ Ibid., p. 7.

²¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 42-43.

²²⁰ Ibid., p. 43.

concepts were based upon the ‘picturesque neglect’ of older gardens.²²¹ Price concurred with Burke that objects had ‘intrinsic’ qualities that defined them as beautiful, sublime or picturesque. The characteristics of the picturesque, variety and intricacy lay in a landscapes roughness and sudden variation that was joined with irregularity. These qualities aroused observer’s sense of ‘curiosity’ rather than the sense of self-propagation or self-preservation associated with the beautiful and sublime.²²² Whilst Price’s concept shared some common ground with Gilpin, he rejected the latter’s concept that the picturesque was that which made a good picture, as indistinct and too confined. Payne-Knight also defined the picturesque as a distinct category in its own right. However, he argued that objects and the feelings they aroused were subjective and not caused by any inherent quality; rather it was the association of the ideas in the mind that defined them.²²³ For the tourist schooled in a long tradition of judging a landscape through its ‘intrinsic qualities’, it would be Price’s theories that gained the most credence. The writers on the sublime and picturesque had a major impact on domestic travel in this period and this chapter will now analyse their theories in the marketing of, and tourist response to the Derbyshire landscape.

Landscape in the Early Eighteenth-Century Derbyshire Tourist Itinerary:

At the beginning of the eighteenth century Derbyshire’s landscape was already attracting tourists, although this was almost exclusively based upon the ‘Seven Wonders’ of the county. Popularised by the works of Michael Drayton, Thomas Hobbes and

²²¹ Price, *Essays on the Picturesque*, p. 31.

²²² Price, *Essays on the Picturesque*, pp. 39, 48, 57; Hussey, *Picturesque*, pp. 14, 66.

²²³ Hussey, *Picturesque*, p. 79.

Charles Cotton, the ‘wonders’ attracted late-seventeenth-century travellers in search of topographical novelty.²²⁴ Travelling through the county in 1662, Edward and Thomas Browne visited the subterranean attractions of Poole’s Hole and the Devils Arse.²²⁵ At Poole’s Hole they saw fantastic stalactites and stalagmites in which they ‘observed the shape of an old man, a ‘lion’, a ‘foot’ and another resembling a ‘flitch of bacon’ as named in Cotton’s *Wonders of the Peak*.²²⁶ At the Peak Cavern they ventured up the ‘*intestinum rectum*’, a pun on the name of the cavern, and entered ‘infernal regions’ where they were confronted by an underground river which resembled the river Styx.²²⁷ John Percival arrived at Poole’s Hole in 1701 and described a ‘troublesome’ passage through the cavern; of the rock formations whose shapes Cotton had described, he observed that ‘fancy must make out what nature has left imperfect in these figures’. Arriving at Castleton, he declined the opportunity of touring the Peak cavern, despite the guide’s attempt to solicit his custom through descriptions of the interior.²²⁸ It would appear that for Percival there was nothing of inherent value in the cavern to warrant another subterranean journey. These early travellers’ accounts illustrate that print culture had both aroused their curiosity and informed their travels in Derbyshire. Despite the brief comparison made by Browne to the river Styx, their descriptions are primarily factual accounts of the natural ‘wonders’ that they viewed. This is suggestive of

²²⁴ Michael Drayton, *Poly-Olbion*, (London, 1622), pp. 124-26; Thomas Hobbes, *De Mirabilibus Peccis* (London, c.1627), pp. 5-22; Charles Cotton, *The Wonders of the Peak* (London, 1681), pp. 6-20, 39-63.

²²⁵ The name of the Devil’s Arse cavern at Castleton, offended the sensibilities of the ‘polite tourist’ and its name was changed to the Peak Cavern to make it more appealing: from hereafter it will be referred to by its more polite name. Recently, the cavern’s appellation has been changed back to the Devil’s Arse, ironically in an attempt to attract the less shock-able modern tourist.

²²⁶ Edward and Thomas Browne, ‘Journal of Edward and Thomas Browne’s Tour into Derbyshire in 1662’, in Simon Wilkin (ed.), *Sir Thomas Browne’s Works*, 4 vols (London, 1836), i, p. 33.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

²²⁸ Mark R. Wenger (ed.), *The English Travels of Sir John Percival and William Byrd II: the Percival Diary of 1701* (Columbia, 1989), pp. 146, 150.

Hope's findings that seventeenth-century travellers were distinguished from their later counterparts in that they viewed the marvels of nature from a scientific perspective and as geological specimens, rather than for the aesthetic pleasures they aroused..

In the early eighteenth century tourists continued to visit the Derbyshire landscape for its novelties. Contemporaries, however, often perceived the landscape as disfigured which reflected the biblical tradition of the universal deluge and a world in ruin. Having toured Poole's Hole at Buxton in the 1720s, Defoe perceived the cavern as a ruin of a once perfect world, disfigured by the biblical flood as suggested by Thomas Burnet's *Sacred Theory of the Earth*.²²⁹ A deformed landscape, however, does not necessarily mean that it did not appeal to the traveller imbued with a sense of curiosity. Entries in the diaries of James Clegg, a physician in Chapel en le Frith in Derbyshire, reveal that on numerous occasions he escorted friends to view the 'wonders'. In the July of 1728 and June and July of 1732, he took his friends to see Castleton although there is no description of his visit. In September 1737 he again accompanied his friends a Mr Hamilton and Mrs Berry to see 'that wonder' at Castleton. In 1739 he met with friends at Buxton and proceeded to show 'the company the rarities'.²³⁰ Whilst their reactions to the scenery they viewed are omitted from his account, his diaries suggest that the tour of the county's 'wonders' was becoming firmly established and enjoyed a relative popularity with visitors.

Addison's 'pleasures of the imagination' influenced a change in cultural attitudes towards the way in which landscape was viewed and described, which can be traced in

²²⁹ Daniel Defoe, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (ed.), Pat Rogers (London, 1986), p. 470.

²³⁰ Vanessa S. Doe (ed), *The Diary of James Clegg of Chapel en le Frith 1708-1755* Part 1, (Matlock, 1978), pp. 38, 148-149; Vanessa S. Doe (ed), *The Diary of James Clegg of Chapel en le Frith 1708-1755* Part 2, (Matlock, 1979), pp. 332, 366-367.

the accounts of the Derbyshire landscape in the early eighteenth century. Travellers increasingly drew on poetical imagery to describe their experiences of the county's novelties. At the Peak Cavern, the visitor crossed underground streams (as at the Speedwell navigation mine, discussed below) and tourists delighted themselves with the darker passages of classical poetry and made comparisons with the river Styx, likening the guide to Charon the ferryman. This continued well into the nineteenth century.²³¹

That poetical analogy was used to intensify the experience of the event and raised the expectation of fellow travellers can be traced in Charles Parry's account of 1725. He reached 'Charon's boat', but found it was nothing but a 'hog's trough' and disappointed he ventured no further.²³² Later tourists employed both classical and English sources of poetry to describe the landscape and provide inspiration for the 'imagination'.

Approaching the Peak cavern in 1755, Resta Patching encountered a brook 'black and dismal as Styx or Acheron'.²³³ At the entrance to the cavern he described how the figures of the twine manufacturers who dwelt in the cavern represented in his imagination a supernatural scene of 'infernal hags', 'imps of Darkness' and the 'Weird Sisters in Macbeth'.²³⁴ Arriving in an area known as the Chancel, the visitor was struck by the sudden sound of a choir singing. Patching described the effect that this had in poetical terms: their voices were "the sound of dulcet symphonies, and voices sweet" that Milton had described at the raising of 'Pandemonium'.²³⁵ The choirs in the caverns remained a unique tourist attraction in Castleton, which contributed to the village's

²³¹ Joseph Sullivan, 'Sullivan's Tour through different parts of England, Scotland and Wales, performed in the year 1778', in William Mavor (ed.), *The British Tourists*, 6 vol. (2nd edn. London, 1800), iii, p. 98; William Adam, *The Gem of the Peak* (5th edn. 1851, repr. London, 1973), p. 344; Ousby, *Englishman's England*, p. 106.

²³² NRO, MC/150/49/625, Charles Parry, 'Journal of a Tour to the North of England, 1725'.

²³³ Resta Patching, *Four Topographical Letters written in 1755* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1757), p. 27.

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Ibid., p. 32.

popularity as a tourist destination: no guides or travellers' accounts mention a choir at Poole's Hole or in any of the caverns being shown to the public in Matlock from the 1770s.

The tourist who visited the caverns of Derbyshire in the early eighteenth century encountered an antecedent of the later sublime aesthetic. Nicholson has suggested that the origins of the sublime were derived from astronomy, in which the imagination of the individual was aroused by the contemplation of the magnitude of infinite space.²³⁶ Activities in the Derbyshire caverns and the tourist response to them are suggestive of her findings. Dr Charles Leigh visited Poole's Hole in 1700. For him, the gloom of the cavern represented the overwhelming magnitude of space, a candle was placed at the 'Needle's Eye' and this complemented the illusion, as viewed from a distance it represented a 'star in the firmament'.²³⁷ This practice was also carried out at the Peak Cavern where Patching described how the candles were placed 'at a great height and distance' and between him and the 'twinkling stars' was 'a vast abrupt, an empty void or gulph of horrid Darkness'.²³⁸ Patching's comments are interesting as they suggest that before the publication of Burke's *Enquiry* provided a vocabulary for the sublime, contemporaries were experimenting with similar language to define their experiences. This was a popular tourist experience and continued at several caverns, including the Speedwell navigation mine, throughout the eighteenth century.²³⁹

There was similarly an emergence of interest in the sublime and picturesque qualities of the surface landscape of Derbyshire in this period. In 1743 Thomas Smith of Derby

²³⁶ Nicholson, *Mountain Gloom*, pp. 113, 270, 320-21.

²³⁷ Charles Leigh, *The Natural History of Lancashire, Cheshire And Derbyshire* (1700), p. 43.

²³⁸ Patching, *Four Topographical Letters*, p. 32.

²³⁹ John Plumptre, 'A Journal of a Tour into Derbyshire in the year 1793', in Ian Ousby (ed.), *John Plumptre's Britain: The Journals of a Tourist in the 1790's* (London, 1992), p. 71.

published a collection of ‘the most extraordinary Natural Prospects’ of the ‘mountainous part of Derbyshire and Staffordshire’.²⁴⁰ His engraving, *A prospect in the upper part of Dove-Dale* showed Salvator Rosa styled crags, a thundery sky, rapids on the river and the caves called Dove Dale Church and Reynard's Hall.²⁴¹ Clayton has suggested that Smith was a pivotal figure in promoting British beauties, and his engravings represent the first English appearance of the sublime landscape.²⁴² Others followed quickly. William Oram, further promoted English scenery with a set of prints of Derbyshire and Yorkshire in 1745, with the view composed with regard to that ‘as would make beautiful pictures’ predating Gilpin’s later definition of picturesque composition to his subscribers.²⁴³ Clayton argues that Smith’s prints emerged as one of the earliest manifestations of the vogue for Romantic scenery and exerted a profound influence on the later patterns of tourism.²⁴⁴ Derbyshire’s landscape was further promoted in paintings during the later eighteenth century. Joseph Wright produced several views of Matlock and Phillpe de Louthenberg, an artist renowned for his ability to capture the essence of the sublime, designed theatre sets for the production of the Wonders of Derbyshire in 1779.²⁴⁵ Visiting the Peak Cavern in 1801, the Reverend Richard Warner described how the view from the inside of the cavern matched ‘Louthenberg’s painting’.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁰ Smith’s prints were published in 1769 as part of a collection. The prints of Derbyshire consisted off three views of Dove dale, three of Matlock Bath, the Peak Cavern, Chee Tor and Monsal Dale all of which illustrated the sublime and picturesque qualities of the landscape. Thomas Smith, *A Collection of Forty Views in England including the Peak of Derbyshire* (London, 1769).

²⁴¹ Timothy Clayton, *The English Print 1688-1802*, p. 159.

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Louthenberg’s sets also included views of Matlock Tor, Dove dale and Poole’s Hole and importantly gave a visual representation of the scenery of Derbyshire to the potential London market. Anonymous, *An Account of the Wonders of Derbyshire as introduced in the Pantomime Entertainment at Theatre Royal, Drury Lane* (London, 1779), pp. 7-21; Andrews, *Search for the Picturesque*, p. 30.

²⁴⁶ Richard Warner, *A Tour through the Northern Counties of England and the Borders of Scotland*, 2 vols (Bath, 1802), i, p. 173.

Visitors to the county also began to take an interest in the picturesque appeal of Derbyshire's landscape. In 1728, James Clegg visited Matlock Bath and described its situation as 'charming' and the next day he ascended the High Tor from where he gained a 'surprising' view of the country. Clegg's descriptions may appear simplistic, but his comments stand out as the only instance in which he comments upon the scenery of the county, which suggests that he was impressed with what he saw.²⁴⁷ Travelling through the county in 1735, John Loveday described Matlock Bath as a 'romantic situation' as was the High Tor. Descending towards Castleton later in his journey he described the road down Winnat's Pass as a 'narrow valley one mile deep between two vast high ridges, out of which appears an impending craggy rock horrid enough'.²⁴⁸ Their descriptions reveal an interest in the wider Derbyshire landscape even if tourists lacked the vocabulary of the sublime that later tourists would use to describe it. Influenced by the developments in the aesthetic appreciation of nature, the Derbyshire tourist itinerary had, by the mid-eighteenth century, expanded from its list of original deformed 'wonders', to an array of destinations and sights that was ripe for further exploration by the 'picturesque tourist'.

The Sublime and Picturesque in the Derbyshire Tourist Itinerary:

From the mid-eighteenth century onwards, Derbyshire established a reputation with travellers for its sublime and picturesque landscape. Published and unpublished accounts of travel to Derbyshire reflect the new cultural attitudes to the landscape and suggest that

²⁴⁷ Doe (ed), *Diary of James Clegg* Part 1, p. 95.

²⁴⁸ Sarah Markham (ed.), *John Loveday of Caversham 1711-1789: The Life and Tours of an Eighteenth-Century Onlooker* (Salisbury, 1984), pp. 192, 195.

the region was a popular picturesque destination with the traveller. The tourist guides for the county drew heavily upon the landscape in their marketing of the towns of Buxton and Matlock Bath to the prospective tourist. The influence of Burke's *Enquiry* invested the landscape of the county with a new cultural meaning and led to new sites being incorporated into tourist itineraries.

Poole's Hole continued to be visited during the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but the cavern was not reinterpreted according to sublime principles. As a 'wonder' of Derbyshire, however, it still retained popularity with travellers who continued to visit the cavern to view its geological formations. Accounts by travellers and the writers of tour guides continued to describe the stalactites and stalagmite incrustations and the comical appellations that had been given to them.²⁴⁹ Arriving at Buxton in the 1790s Joseph Sullivan described the petrifications, one of which was said to too resemble 'old Poole himself' and remarked that the Mary Queen of Scots' pillar was 'beautifully surrounded with curtains of fine incrustations'.²⁵⁰ Richard Warner suggested that it was his 'curiosity' that led to him visiting the cavern in 1802, although he found the cavern inferior to others that he seen, particularly Wookey Hole, but as he was from Bath this hardly surprising.²⁵¹ The cavern made a more favourable impression with Sir George Head in 1835, who found Wookey Hole 'inferior' to Poole's Hole and described the 'impressive' stalactites as the 'best' he had seen in the country.²⁵²

²⁴⁹ Ebenezer Rhodes, *Peak Scenery or the Derbyshire Tourist* (London, 1824), pp. 93-94; Daniel Orme, *The New Buxton Guide* (Derby, 1825), pp. 52-54; Stephen Glover, *The Peak Guide* (Derby, 1830), pp.11-12; Sir George Head, *A Home Tour through the Manufacturing Districts of England* (London, 1836), pp. 99-101; Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, pp. 307-09.

²⁵⁰ Sullivan, 'Sullivan's Tour', pp. 36- 37.

²⁵¹ Warner, *Northern*, i, pp. 160-161.

²⁵² Head, *Home Tour*, pp. 99-101.

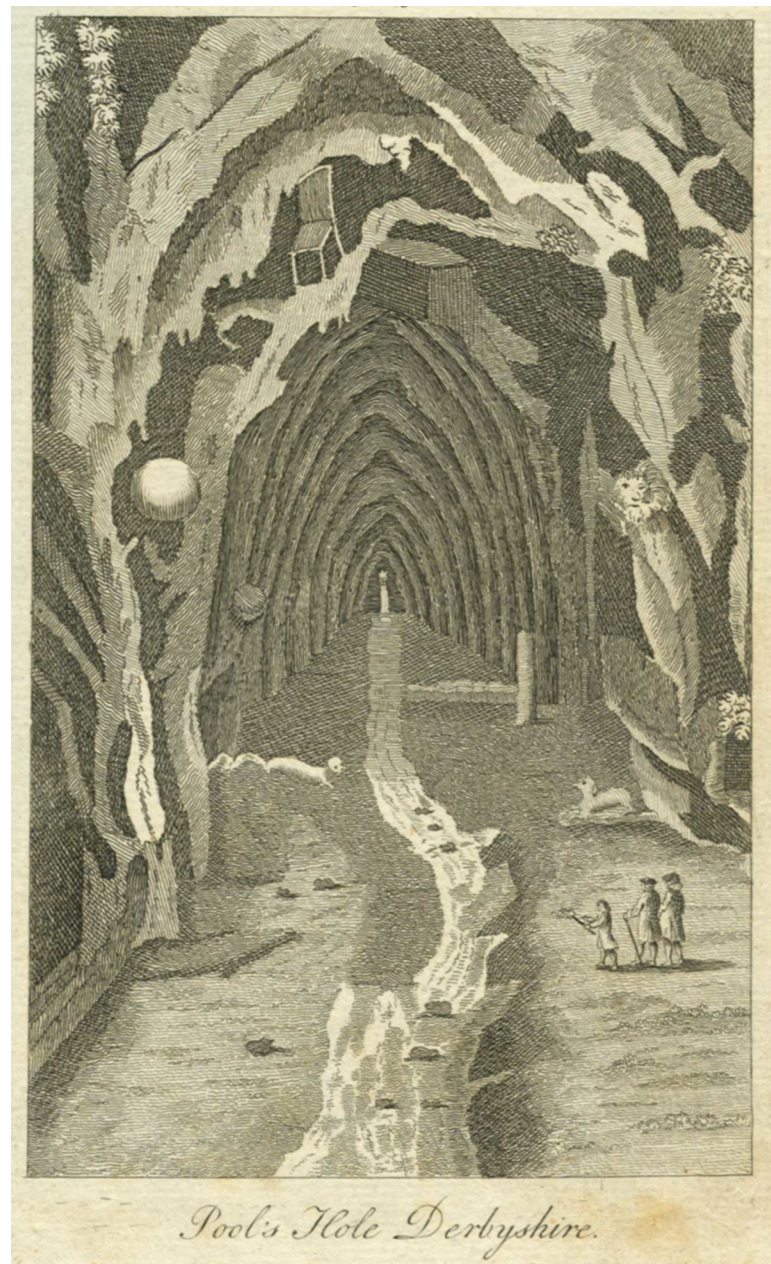


Figure 2: The interior of Poole's Hole. Unknown Artist. Reproduced courtesy Derby City Council, Derby Local Studies Library (DCC/DLSL). This image appeared in various topographical publications during the period and shows the geological formations named in Cotton's *Wonders of the Peak*.

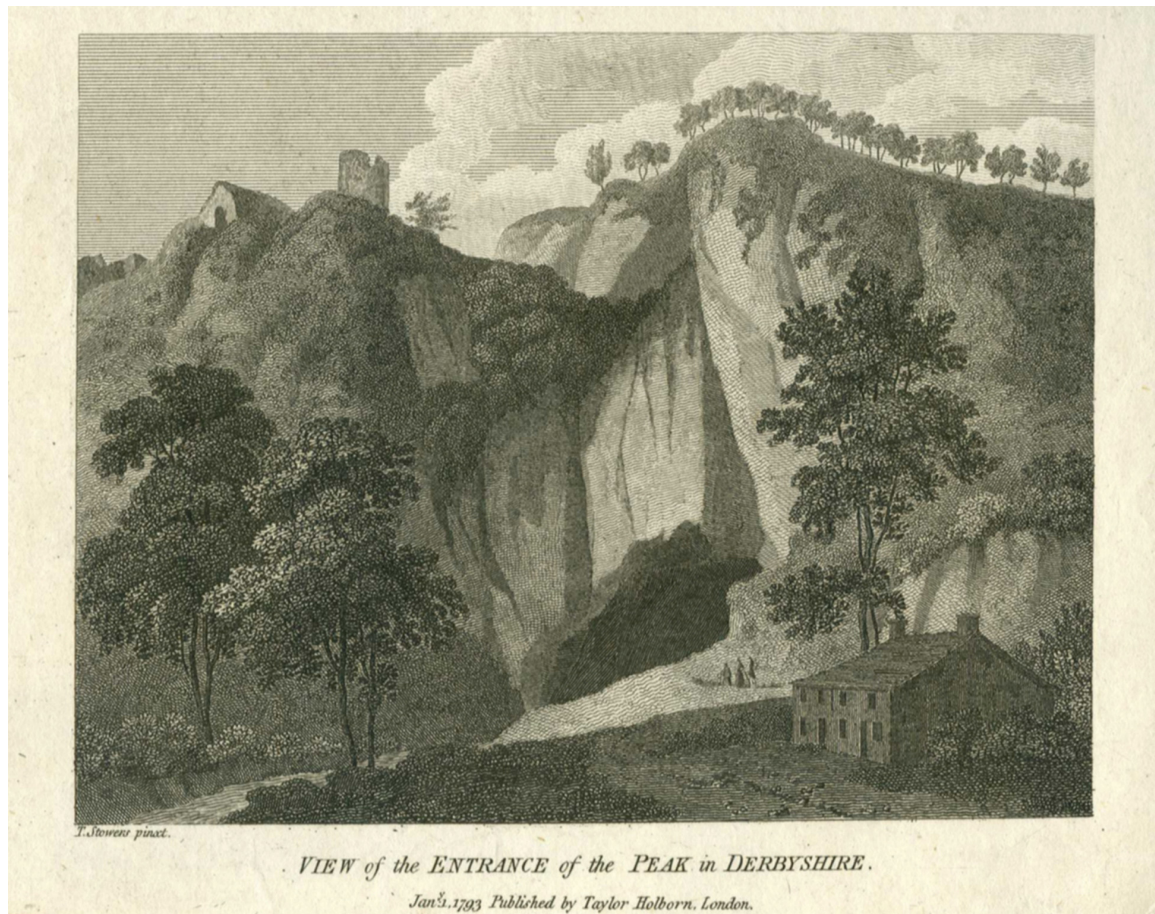


Figure 3: View of the Entrance of the Peak in Derbyshire, Artist T. Simons (London, 1793). Reproduced courtesy DCC/DLSL. The picture also shows the ruins of Peverel castle.



Figure 4: A Prospect of Dove dale. Artist Thomas Smith of Derby (1743).

Reproduced courtesy DCC/DLSL. The picture illustrates the sublime character of the dale with its towering rock formations.

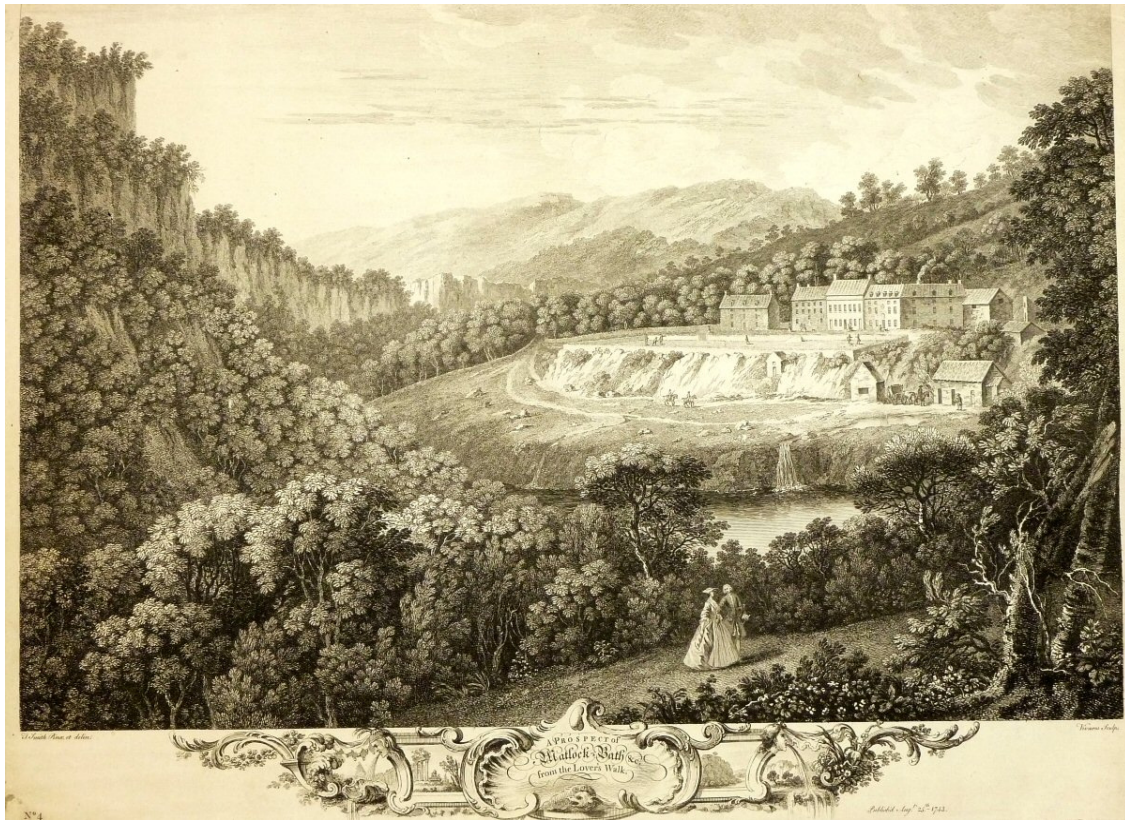


Figure 5: A View of Matlock Bath from Lovers Walk. Artist Thomas Smith of Derby (1743). Reproduced courtesy DCC/DLSL. The picture illustrates the rustic appeal of the spa, and the combination of water, rocks and foliage that gave it its ‘picturesque’ reputation. This was also the scenery that medical opinion believed contributed to the restoration of a patients body and mind.

Poole's Hole, however, appears to have lost some of its reputation as a 'wonder' as it did not represent the sublime aesthetic that tourists journeyed to caverns in search of. Local competition appears to have been a factor in the loss of the cavern's reputation, not only from the Peak Cavern at Castleton, but also from several caverns that were opened to the tourist at Matlock Bath from the 1770s. Travelling in 1797 Grant did not bother to view Poole's Hole, as he had been 'credibly informed' that the cavern was 'inferior in grandeur to what we have seen at Matlock, and were to see at Castleton'.²⁵³ Rhodes in his *Peak Scenery* (1824) informed his readers that there was 'little gratification' for those who had already visited the Peak Cavern. Sir George Head thought that the cavern lost some of its 'just reputation from its proximity to the Devil's cavern, in comparison with which all others sink into the shade'.²⁵⁴ Yet, for the town of Buxton, Poole's Hole remained important as it was the only natural attraction that lay on the town's doorstep and an integral part of attracting the tourist to the town. As such, the promotion of the 'wonder' continued in the tour guides of the period, albeit, for its geological and scientific interest. Adam's *Gem of the Peak* considered the cavern worthy of a visit to examine the geological formations and the interest it derived from its association with Mary Queen of Scots'.²⁵⁵

The caverns and mines at the village of Castleton became popular tourist destinations as they represented the principles of Burke's sublime aesthetic, darkness, obscurity, void, horror and terror, while the village served as a day excursion destination for those already

²⁵³ Grant, 'Three Weeks Tour to the Lakes' in William Mavor (ed.), *The British Tourists*, 6 vols (London 1798), v, p. 227.

²⁵⁴ Rhodes, *Peak Scenery*, p. 94; Head, *Home Tour*, pp. 99-101.

²⁵⁵ William Bott, *A Description of Buxton and the Adjacent Country* (Manchester, 1792), pp.16-20; R. Ward, *The Buxton, Matlock & Castleton Guide* (6th edn. Birmingham, 1826).pp. 73-74; Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 309.

staying at Buxton and Matlock Bath. The Peak Cavern and the Speedwell navigation mine both underwent a comparable process of cultural reinterpretation in this period. Meadow Taylor Cambridge journeyed through the Peak cavern in 1775, and while he did little to describe the appearance of the cavern he found it a ‘most astonishing place’ and, therefore, a sublime one.²⁵⁶ Later tourists wrote more expressively of the emotions that the cavern aroused in them. In 1773, Theodosius Forrest described how they visited this ‘renowned place’, led by that ‘invincible curiosity’ which prompted travellers to see everything that is ‘wonderful’.²⁵⁷ His party was given candles to help ‘grope’ their way through the ‘regions of obscurity’. Having crossed the underground streams the cavern opened out on them with ‘awful grandeur’, and caused feelings of ‘surprise mixed with horror and amusement at the wonderful operation of Nature’ which had heaped together massive piles of rock in ‘extravagant and irregular forms’.²⁵⁸ In the next cavern they heard the choristers sing, which suggests that the experience was spiritual as well as scientific and they returned ‘thoroughly satisfied’ with what they had both seen and heard.²⁵⁹ Neither of these accounts was published, but they illustrate the tourists’ increasing desire to experience the sublime emotions that Burke had described and they drew on his vocabulary to articulate their experiences.

Published accounts of travel continued in much the same vein. Sullivan described the ‘gloomy horror’ of the scene: where nature appeared in ‘awful though frightful majesty before us’.²⁶⁰ Warner’s account of his journey through the cavern in 1802 illustrates how

²⁵⁶ NRO, MC/257/59,684, Meadow Taylor Cambridge, ‘Tour 1775 and 1781’.

²⁵⁷ MLSL, Ms. 914.251, Theodosius Forrest, ‘Forrest’s Tour: Diaries and memorandum of Theodosius Forrest’s Tour in Derbyshire 1773’, p. 46-48.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

²⁶⁰ Sullivan, ‘Sullivan’s Tour’, pp. 90-92.

the experience of hearing the choristers sing was also reinterpreted through the concept of the sublime. Drawing on more contemporary Romantic poetry to describe his experience he wrote that in a 'place as still as death' they impressed 'the imagination with solemn ideas' and produced that 'mingled emotion of fear and pleasure, astonishment and delight', which he suggested was one of the most interesting feelings that the mind could encounter.²⁶¹ Later eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century topographical literature and tourist guides also drew upon sublime imagery to market the attraction to the tourist; although as guides to the cavern this was blended with a factual account of the underground journey which informed the traveller of what they were to see.²⁶² The Peak cavern was a major attraction in the tourist itinerary of Derbyshire. Of the thirty-five published and unpublished tours consulted from 1662-1850 only five travellers did not refer explicitly to the attraction and with two of these sources it is unclear as to whether they visited the cavern or not. William Stukeley recorded the cavern in his tour of Derbyshire in the 1720s, but gave no account of the interior.²⁶³ John Loveday does not appear to have visited the cavern, but this may be due to the nature of the source which does not record his full journey in detail.²⁶⁴ Percival felt no need to undertake the tour of the cavern in 1701 as he had already visited Poole's Hole.²⁶⁵ Neither John Byng nor

²⁶¹ Warner, *Northern*, pp. 167-169.

²⁶² James Pilkington, *View of the Present State of Derbyshire*, 2 vols (2nd edn., London, 1803), i, pp. 65-66; Bott, *Buxton*, pp. 21-25; John Britton and Edward Brayley, *The Beauties of England and Wales*, 18 vols (London, 1802), iii, pp. 463-66; Rhodes, *Peak Scenery*, p. 185; Orme, *New Buxton Guide*, pp. 59-60; Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 344.

²⁶³ William Stukeley, *Itinerarium Curiosum*, 2 vols (2nd edn. London, 1776), ii, p. 27.

²⁶⁴ Markham (ed.), *John Loveday of Caversham 1711-1789*.

²⁶⁵ Wenger (ed.), *English Travels of Sir John Percival* p. 150.

Mary Lee Warner on their tour of Derbyshire in 1789/90 and 1828 respectively, visited Castleton and gave no indication as to why they did not see this attraction.²⁶⁶

Tourists enjoyed a different experience at the Speedwell navigation mine and so many travellers visited both the Peak cavern and the mine. A Staffordshire company in search of lead opened the mine at Castleton in the 1770s. The venture was commercially unviable, but the mine remained an attraction for the sublime atmosphere it contained. The visitor descended 106 steps and then undertook a subterranean boat journey along the canal before arriving in a vast natural cavern where they were confronted by the 'bottomless pit'. Sullivan described the boat journey as 'awful and sublime'.²⁶⁷ Travelling in 1797 Grant described the 'appealing terror' of the sublime aesthetic in his journey through the mine. Arriving at the viewing platform which was placed thirty meters above the 'bottomless pit' he recorded that the most 'horrid apprehensions' were roused: every joint to shudder with a 'sensation never to be obliterated'. It was an 'aggregate of every source' of the sublime – 'terror, darkness, immensity and power'.²⁶⁸ He concluded that the day had been one of 'horror, and sleep at night was a stranger to our eyes'.²⁶⁹ Warner, visiting the mine in 1802, described similar feelings that the scene aroused in him.²⁷⁰ Early nineteenth-century tourist guides again gave a factual description of the mine to the potential tourist; but concentrated far more upon the sublime imagery than they did at the Peak cavern. Britton and Brayley's, *Beauties of England* (1810) repeated Warner's account of his experiences.²⁷¹ Rhodes' *Peak Scenery*

²⁶⁶ John Byng, *The Torrington Diaries*, 4 vols (ed.), C. Bruyn Adams (London, 1934), i; NRO, BUL7/20,615x1, Mary Lee Warner, 'Diary tour of Yorkshire and Derbyshire'.

²⁶⁷ Sullivan, 'Sullivan's Tour', p. 39.

²⁶⁸ Grant, 'Three Weeks Tour', p. 230,

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

²⁷⁰ Warner, *Northern*, p. 182.

²⁷¹ Britton and Brayley, *Beauties of England*, iii, pp. 369-370.

(1824) drew upon both sublime vocabulary and poetical allusion to Milton in his promotion of the mine. He wrote of the ‘terrific void’ that the visitor was confronted with and how the tourist’s resolve must be firm to contemplate the ‘dark vacuity of immeasurable depth’ and above a ‘mighty cavern’ that caused an ‘awful feeling’ which took possession of ‘every faculty’ and ‘breath and thought and motion’ was ‘nearly suspended’.²⁷² Mid-century writers of the tourist guides continued to describe the attraction in a semi-plagiarised format.²⁷³

For Edmund Burke the causes of the sublime were not just rooted in the visual aesthetic of the scene and he argued that loud noises contributed to the sense of terror.²⁷⁴ In the caverns of Derbyshire both artificial – blasts of gunpowder – and more natural sources of noise such as cataracts contributed to the awakening of the sublime emotion in the tourist. An early example of this can be traced at Poole’s Hole. Dr Charles Leigh in 1700 noted the effect of firing a pistol in Poole’s Hole, but his experience was rooted in the contemporary perception of a ruined world articulated by Burnett as the sound represented the catastrophe of the biblical flood.²⁷⁵ Later eighteenth-century accounts of travel described this activity as representing the powerful geological forces of nature, rather than catastrophic events that had created such sites in the landscape. Both perspectives, however, suggest that the tourists were aware of the transformative power of nature which contributed to the sublime aesthetic. Sullivan wrote of the ‘staggering effect’ of a blast which filled his imagination with the idea that ‘heaven and earth seemed

²⁷² Rhodes, *Peak Scenery*, p. 195.

²⁷³ Ward, *Buxton, Matlock and Castleton Guide*, pp. 82-83; J.B Chambers’ *Beauties of Buxton* (Buxton, 1839), p. 47; Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 347.

²⁷⁴ Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry*, p. 75.

²⁷⁵ Leigh, *Natural History*, p. 43; Wenger (ed.), *English Travels of Sir John Percival*, p. 146.

to be coming together'.²⁷⁶ Similarly, Warner thought the sound of the blast was that of 'universal nature' tumbling into 'ruins'.²⁷⁷ Letting off a blast of gunpowder was evidently a popular tourist activity; James Plumptre recorded in his journal the disappointment he felt as the effect of the blast in his visit was 'diminished', as another party had recently fired a pistol and the noise that the party made in the cavern reduced the 'horror and solemnity' of the scene'.²⁷⁸ Tourist accounts had nothing to say about this activity at the show caverns of Matlock Bath, but price lists for the caverns included the charges for gunpowder, which suggests that guides catered for this activity even though it was not expressly detailed.²⁷⁹ At the Speedwell mine it was the sound of a cataract falling 30 meters which contributed to the sublime atmosphere. Warner wrote that the noise overwhelmed 'the mind' and awakened feelings of appealing terror that characterised the sublime aesthetic.²⁸⁰

The experience of the sublime was a major attraction for those undertaking a tour of the Peak and most travellers appear to have enjoyed the experience. There were, however, criticisms of the caverns themselves. Newte argued a more theatrical presentation of the Peak cavern would improve it and he suggested that if the cavern was to be better lighted and music stationed at intervals, and scenes such as the 'three witches of Macbeth' and their cauldron were staged managed, then a more 'wonderful effect' might thereby be produced, than the contemplation of any 'natural scene'.²⁸¹ At a more prosaic level Sir George Head in 1835 described how the inhabitants of the entrance

²⁷⁶ Sullivan, 'Sullivan's Tour', pp. 90-92.

²⁷⁷ Warner, *Northern*, p. 170.

²⁷⁸ Plumptre, 'Tour into Derbyshire', p. 68.

²⁷⁹ A. Jewitt, *The Matlock Companion* (Duffield, 1832), p. 50.

²⁸⁰ Sullivan, 'Sullivan's Tour', p. 89; Warner, *Northern*, p. 183.

²⁸¹ Newte, 'Newte's Tour in England and Scotland' in William Mavor (ed.), *The British Tourists*, 6 vols (2nd edn. London, 1800), iii, p. 236.

spoiled the effect – the ‘illusion’ of the sublime was dissipated and dragged back to ‘terrestrial matters’ by a direct appeal to the pocket.²⁸² He also complained about the Speedwell mine, the experience of which did not live up to the expectation that had been aroused by the sublime superlatives used in its advertising. The navigation was not a ‘wonder of nature, or, an unusual work of art’ and was commonplace in mines.²⁸³ The ‘roaring’ cascade was ‘a dribbling rivulet’ which was artificially secured by a dam which only became a torrent when the guide opened the sluice gate.²⁸⁴ The guide then threw a stone and the resulting splash concluded ‘the exhibition of the bottomless pit’.²⁸⁵

Dove dale, a narrow valley with steep sides contained all the qualities of sublime and picturesque landscape – unusual rock formations and wooded areas through which flowed the river Dove – and aroused the interest of the ‘picturesque tourist’. Dr John Brown’s letter of 1749 to Lord Lyttleton articulated the growing interest in picturesque scenery, and although much of the letter was devoted to the scenery of Keswick in the Lake District, he made comparisons with Dove dale in Derbyshire.²⁸⁶ He informed Lyttleton that the scenery around Keswick contained ‘beauty, horror, and immensity united’, but only ‘horror’ was to be found in Dove dale and that Nature had left almost a desert and the ‘diminutive and lifeless’ form of the hills did not lend themselves to the idea of ‘magnificence’.²⁸⁷ Despite Brown’s negative comments Dove dale did possess some redeeming features, the rocks were ‘finely wild, pointed and irregular’.²⁸⁸ Brown’s letter illustrates that as early as 1749 the landscape of Derbyshire was being judged

²⁸² Head, *Home Tour*, pp. 107. 112-113.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁶ John Brown, *A Description of the Lake at Keswick in Cumberland* (Kendal, 1772), pp. 4-5; Hussey, *The Picturesque*, pp. 97-100.

²⁸⁷ Brown, *Description of the Lake at Keswick*, p. 4.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

according to the emerging rules of picturesque analysis and the letter was later published in 1768 and then again in 1772.²⁸⁹

William Bray journeyed along Dove dale in the 1770s and claimed that the rocks on both sides of the river formed ‘every wild and grotesque variety of height and shape’.²⁹⁰ Some stood singly, others reminded him of the ruins of an ‘old castle’ and others were slender pinnacles: ‘huge masses’ hung from the upper part of the valley and appeared to ‘threaten destruction’ to anyone who ventured beneath them.²⁹¹ His comments reflected the fragility of mankind, which was further reiterated by both the medical and aesthetic elements of tourism in the Peak. Bray concluded that the scenery was characterised more by the sublime than the beautiful and he suggested that no one of ‘curiosity’ should ‘omit seeing it’.²⁹²

William Gilpin, the authority on the picturesque, visited Dove dale and discussed his response in *Observations Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty* (1786). He questioned Brown’s description made some thirty years previously and could not understand why he would ‘rob this scene of beauty, and grandeur; or fill it with horror’.²⁹³ Beauty consisted of a ‘pleasing arrangement of pleasing parts’, grandeur consisted of large parts and

²⁸⁹ Schellenberg has recently discussed Brown’s letter in relation to the twenty years between it being written and its publication. She has suggested that the manuscript was circled amongst friends and relatives and a community of travellers, who communicated with one another outside of print culture during this period. Informed as to the picturesque attractions of the Lake District, they then undertook their own tours of the region. She has further suggested that the letter instigated picturesque tourism, albeit, on a limited basis some twenty years before modern scholarship acknowledges its impact through print on tourism. She has described a similar pattern between Lyttleton’s tour of Wales in 1755 and its first publication in 1774. Her findings have possible connotations for the tour of Derbyshire. Given that topographical literature in this period simply reiterated many earlier observations about the established ‘wonders’ of the Peak, new sites of interest such as Dove dale may have been discussed in private circles before they became established in travel literature. However, this remains a hypothesis and an area that requires further research. Betty A. Schellenberg, ‘Coterie Culture, the Print Trade, and the Emergence of the Lakes Tour’ in *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 44, 2 (2011), pp. 205, 209-10.

²⁹⁰ William Bray, *Sketches of a Tour into Derbyshire and Yorkshire* (2nd edn, London, 1783), p. 141.

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ William Gilpin, *Observations Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty*, (London, 1786), ii, p. 231.

objects of which Dove-dale had ‘a great share’.²⁹⁴ If horror consisted in vastness it predominated ‘less here’ than at Keswick.²⁹⁵ He found that the scenery was sufficient to raise the ‘idea of grandeur; but not to impress that of horror’.²⁹⁶ Gilpin was of the opinion that Dove dale was one of the most ‘pleasing pieces of scenery’ that he encountered anywhere and that the perpendicular rocks stamped it with a character entirely unique and for that reason it afforded a great pleasure to the observer.²⁹⁷ Given Gilpin’s approval, Dove dale could hardly fail to attract the ‘picturesque tourist’.

Describing Dove dale in 1789, an anonymous author wrote of how he had to rest at every single step to contemplate the changing prospect, yet felt compelled to proceed by a variety of new prospects so ‘wild in appearance’ that they gave ‘truth and nature to all that imagination has ever feigned’.²⁹⁸ Warner thought that the hills that stood at the entrance to the dale produced the emotion of ‘wonder in the mind’ which arose from the contemplation of ‘regularity blended with vastness’.²⁹⁹ This, however, was the ‘tamest feature’ of the dale and as they proceeded the scenery increased in ‘majesty and rudeness’: diversified by interesting and ‘fantastic’ rock formations. The rocks around Reynard’s Cave formed objects truly sublime that he found ‘pleasingly contrasted’ with the little river.³⁰⁰ Nineteenth-century tourist guides were quick to exploit the ‘taste’ for natural scenery in marketing the county’s landscape to the tourist and concentrated particularly on the charms of Dove dale, on which they lavished superlatives of picturesque praise and reiterated many of the earlier observations as to the singular

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., p.232.

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ Anonymous, ‘Journal of a Tour from Oxford through the Peak of Derbyshire’, *The Topographer*, 1:6, (1789), p. 321.

²⁹⁹ Warner, *Northern*, p. 132.

³⁰⁰ Ibid., pp. 133-37.

character of the dale.³⁰¹ The picturesque landscape of the county became one of the most important tools in the advertising of the county to the potential visitor.

Dove dale became increasingly popular tourist attraction with tourists throughout the period. Of the twenty-six published and unpublished tours consulted, of those undertaken after 1750, sixteen made a visit to the valley. Of those that did not, some are explicable. Patching's tour of 1757 was perhaps too early for the valley to be included as Dove dale had received little promotion in travel literature at this point.³⁰² Hatchett's tour in 1796 was mainly conducted for the professional purposes of visiting mines and manufactories and he appears to have had little time to indulge in leisure pursuits.³⁰³ Other tourists such as MacRitchie, Skinner and Rudge travelling in 1795, 1803 and 1830 respectively confined their quick visits to Derbyshire to the 'wonders' at Castleton and Buxton before leaving the county for other destinations.³⁰⁴

Matlock Bath and Matlock dale were considered by tourists to be amongst the most picturesque landscapes in the county. Tourists waxed lyrical about the beauty of the dale. In 1767, James Coldham thought that Matlock had 'every beauty', mountainous rocks, wood fringing their slopes and a 'rapid stream' that rolled over the 'immense' fallen rocks.³⁰⁵ Forrest travelled to the town in 1777 expecting to find 'great amusement' among the romantic landscape, the reputation of which proceeded it. Arriving at Matlock he was not 'disappointed' in his expectations and he and his companions spent the

³⁰¹ Bott, *Buxton*, pp. 49-54; Rhodes, *Peak Scenery*, p. 195; Ward, *The Buxton, Matlock & Castleton Guide*, p. 71; H. Moore, *The Stranger's Guide* (Derby, 1827), p. 28; Glover, *Peak Guide*, p. 16; J.B Chambers' *Beauties of Buxton* (Buxton, 1839), p. 47; Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 207.

³⁰² Patching, *Four Topographical Letters*.

³⁰³ Arthur Raistrick (ed.), *The Hatchett Diary: A Tour Through the Counties of England and Scotland in 1796 Visiting Mines and Manufactories* (Truro, 1967)

³⁰⁴ William MacRitchie, *Diary of a Tour through England in 1795* (London, 1897); MLSL, Ms. 914.1, J. Skinner, 'Sketches in Wales, Derbyshire 1803'; MLSL, Ms. 914.251CAS, S.N, Rudge, 'Journal of a Tour to the Lakes in July and August 1830'.

³⁰⁵ NRO, MC/40/103/1-3, James Coldham, 'Journal tour in England 1767'.

afternoon contemplating the ‘extravagance of Nature in all her picturesque forms’.³⁰⁶

William Gilpin’s visited Matlock in the 1780s and described how the dale blended the ideas of the sublime and beautiful. Ramparts of rocks contributed the sublime aesthetic, whilst the woods and the river with its many cascades provided picturesque beauty.³⁰⁷

Gilpin’s endorsement of the scenery of Matlock would have done much to encourage the picturesque tourist to the dale and town. Warner arrived at Matlock and found that the scenery was too extensive to be called picturesque, too diversified to be sublime, and too stupendous to be beautiful, but at the same time it blended together all the ‘constituent principles’ of these different qualities.³⁰⁸ In the same manner as at Dove dale the writers of the early nineteenth-century tourist guides were quick to promote the natural scenery of Matlock Bath in the highest accolades to the potential tourist.³⁰⁹ Matlock Bath became an essential part of the tour of the Peak. Its situation amongst the picturesque scenery of the dale did much to encourage the tourist patterns of the tour of the Peak, in which travel for health required a longer stay than viewing the aesthetic attractions of the county that could be undertaken in a relatively short amount of time. Warner observed that the large number of visitors to the town had travelled to view its beauties rather than drink its waters.³¹⁰ Indeed, the town’s picturesque identity can be directly contrasted with that of Buxton.

³⁰⁶ Forrest, *Forrest’s Tour*, p. 50.

³⁰⁷ Gilpin, *Picturesque Beauty*, pp. 221-22.

³⁰⁸ Warner, *Northern*, pp. 141-42.

³⁰⁹ Ward, *Buxton, Matlock and Castleton Guide*, p. 50; Rhodes, *Peak Scenery*, p. 249; Moore, *Stranger’s Guide*, pp. 5-7; Glover, *Peak Guide*, pp. 107-109.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 154.



Figure 6: Matlock Bath from the Old Bath Hotel Gardens, Artist Unknown (Bemrose and Sons c. 1840). Reproduced courtesy of DCC/DLSL. The picture shows the later development of the spa amidst its picturesque scenery.



Figure 7: The Crescent Buxton. Artist Unknown, Engraved by Newman published J. Bates Buxton (c. 1820). Reproduced courtesy of DCC/DLSL. The view shows the grand Crescent building and the contrast between measured classicism and the wild landscape which was an important part of the town's image in attracting the visitor.



Figure 8: Rocks in Middleton dale. Artist J. Farrington (Fischer and Sons 1817).

Reproduced courtesy of DCC/DLSL. This picture illustrates the bold rocks, but also that the dale lacked the water and foliage that would have contributed to the dale being considered picturesque.

The scenery around Buxton was rarely praised in picturesque terms. Travellers wrote of their disappointment when visiting the town, contrasting its situation with that of Matlock Bath. In the 1770s William Bray visited both Matlock Bath and Buxton. He described that Buxton's situation was the reverse of Matlock's and that he searched for picturesque scenery 'in vain'.³¹¹ William Gilpin complained that Buxton was surrounded by 'dreary hills' and spoiled still further by the 'offensive' limestone kilns and concluded that it was surely only for health reasons that a man could 'endure' such a 'disgusting' scene.³¹² Given the authority of Gilpin and his influence on the 'picturesque tourist' it was unlikely that the town ever would gain a reputation in this respect. The local writers of tour guides could do little to improve this image. In 1811 Jewitt noted that Buxton had long been considered by travellers as one of the most 'barren and cheerless spots in England' and not a fit scene for the 'pencil'.³¹³ Despite the recent 'improvements' Jewitt considered that it would take many years of progressive amelioration before it could be considered picturesque.³¹⁴ The writers of the early nineteenth-century tour guides, who owned businesses and, therefore, had a vested interest in the promotion of Buxton could only market the town to the aesthetic traveller as a convenient centre from which to tour the scenery of the 'Peak'. This even extended to visiting Matlock Bath. William Bott's guide to Buxton spent several pages informing his readers as to the 'beautiful and sublime' scenery of Matlock.³¹⁵ Daniel Orme's guide to the town published in 1825 similarly praised the picturesque qualities of Matlock, and suggested that the 'man of

³¹¹ Bray, *Sketches of a Tour*, p. 232.

³¹² Gilpin, *Picturesque Beauty*, p. 218.

³¹³ A. Jewitt, *The History of Buxton and Visitor's Guide to the Curiosities of the Peak* (London, 1811), pp. 89.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

³¹⁵ Bott, *Buxton*, pp. 28-33.

taste' would be amply rewarded for undertaking a visit to the town.³¹⁶ Their aim was to encourage the tourist to stay in Buxton and visit Matlock rather than losing the custom of those who desired to view the 'picturesque'.

The picturesque tourists in Derbyshire were not indiscriminate in their critical appreciation of the scene before them, as the example of their reactions to Middleton dale illustrates. The dale was narrow with steep projecting rocks on both sides which resembled in places the broken battlements of a ruined castle. The writers of the tourist guides were also keen to promote another picturesque feature of the county to the traveller and described the dale in similar terms to Dove dale and Matlock dale.³¹⁷ James Coldham contemplated on the scene before him in 1767, and recorded in his journal that the dale was not considered a 'wonder', but it still struck him with 'amazement' and he went on to describe the familiar themes of 'awe and dread' and the insignificance of man when compared to the works of nature.³¹⁸ Forrest described how his party were 'delighted' with the appearance of the dale and the lime kilns that were burning that day gave the dale a misty appearance, which as a 'picturesque scene' added to the 'singularity' of the prospect.³¹⁹ At the time of their arrival, Middleton dale had received no promotion in travel literature and as their accounts were unpublished their opinions demonstrate that the tourist did not just slavishly follow a round of established views. William Gilpin was equally enthusiastic about the view at Middleton suggesting that it was one of the 'most romantic scenes of the country'.³²⁰ Given Gilpin's authority on the picturesque one would expect Middleton dale to become established as one of the

³¹⁶ Orme, *New Buxton Guide*, pp. 81-82.

³¹⁷ Bott, *Buxton*, pp. 54-56; Moore, *Stranger's Guide*, p. 22.

³¹⁸ James Coldham, 'Journal tour in England 1767'.

³¹⁹ Forrest, *Forrest's Tour*, p. 48.

³²⁰ Gilpin, *Picturesque Beauty*, p. 212.

‘wonders’ of the county with travellers. James Plumptre, however, found the dale ‘uninteresting’ and was ‘disappointed’ by the scene. He admitted that the rocks were ‘bold’ and that the foliage added to the scene, but it lacked an essential feature of picturesque beauty – water.³²¹ The influence of Price’s theories on the picturesque can be traced in later traveller’s accounts. Warner visited the dale due its reputation as a picturesque scene in 1802, but found the dale ‘undeserving’ of that distinction. The view lacked ‘variety’, the essential feature of the picturesque; there was no water to divert the eye, the rocks were unadorned by foliage which would contributed to the idea of the picturesque and the rocks ‘heavy and clumsy’ forms lacked elegance and precluded the idea of grandeur.³²² Both Plumptre’s and Warner’s opinions can be contrasted with the enthusiasm that they displayed and the praise that they lavished upon the scenery of Dove dale and Matlock. This would suggest that whilst the tourist guides may have been enthusiastic in their promotion of sites, the picturesque traveller did not simply agree with earlier observations, but surveyed a site according to their own understanding of the principles of the picturesque.

Conclusion:

The changing cultural attitudes in the aesthetic appreciation of nature exerted a profound influence on the development of the tourist itinerary and popularity of undertaking a tour of Derbyshire during the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. The early-eighteenth century traveller visited Derbyshire’s original deformed ‘wonders’

³²¹ Plumptre, ‘Tour into Derbyshire’ p. 71.

³²² Warner, *Northern*, p. 155; Moore, *Stranger’s Guide*, p. 22.

under the cultural influence of scientific enquiry, which brought their attention to the transformative power of nature represented in the county's geological formations. This combined with activities such as placing candles to represent the infinite void of space and the blasts of gunpowder in the caverns, led the early-eighteenth century traveller to contemplate the emerging concepts of the sublime aesthetic. Scientific enquiry gave way to the aesthetic pleasure that nature aroused in the traveller as they searched for a new medium to describe their feelings. This was provided by Addison's 'pleasures of the imagination' and the tourist viewed the Derbyshire landscape through the lens of the darker passages of classical and English poetry in describing the 'horror' that they felt at sites such as the Peak cavern. By mid-century, greater interest was shown in the county's surface landscape which was being promoted and discussed through the emerging concepts of the beautiful and sublime.

From the mid-eighteenth century and under the influence of the 'cult of the picturesque' there was a cultural revaluation and expansion in the number of sites visited by the tourist. Mid-century travellers were already searching for a vocabulary to describe the sublime aesthetic that they encountered at Derbyshire's caverns, but it was Burke's *Enquiry* that stimulated the tourist to discuss what they encountered with regard to the 'intrinsic qualities' and the subconscious response they caused in the imagination. Published accounts of travel did much to advertise the county and attractions such as the Peak cavern and the Speedwell navigation mine for the aesthetic pleasure they produced in the individual before the tourist guides of the early-nineteenth century marketed these sites through sublime descriptions to tourists. Derbyshire's dales also received cultural re-evaluation in this period which stimulated further expansion of the tourist itinerary.

The influence of the works of Burke, Gilpin and Price can be traced in travellers' discussions of the aesthetic qualities of the landscape at sites such as Dove dale and Matlock Bath – sublime and picturesque. The tourist was well satisfied with what he or she encountered. The Derbyshire landscape also had a profound influence on the pattern of tourists' journeys. The original 'wonders' were situated at Castleton, a short journey from Buxton and as such the town was the main destination of the early-eighteenth-century traveller. The expansion of the number of landscape attractions, such as Dove dale and Matlock, from the mid-eighteenth century saw the traveller focus their journey upon both Matlock and Buxton. As such the landscape was an important factor in the overall evolution of the tour of the Peak.

For the towns of Buxton and Matlock Bath the aesthetic appreciation of nature gave a broader cultural dynamic to the tourist itinerary on which to capitalise. In the first instance the tourist interest in landscape added further diversion and entertainment to the longer stay tourists – those individuals who had travelled to the towns for their health and those who had accompanied them. The Derbyshire landscape also enabled the towns to market themselves to the shorter stay tourists who wished to view the county's picturesque attractions; such travellers would have been an important source of income in the tourist economy of the towns. Situated amidst some of the most picturesque scenery in the Peak, Matlock Bath had distinct advantages over Buxton in attracting the tourist and its marketing through the tour guides of the early-nineteenth century reflected its position and the 'fashion' for viewing scenery. Whilst Buxton lacked the picturesque appeal of Matlock Bath, the town served as a centre from which to view the county's more sublime and picturesque attractions. The fashion for viewing landscape was too

lucrative a market for potential visitors, and rather than losing the short stay visitor to Matlock Bath, the writers of the tour guides for the town sought to encourage the traveller to visit Matlock Bath from Buxton. This would suggest that while Matlock Bath was a potential rival Buxton assigned the town a complementary role within its own tourist industry. The 'cult of the picturesque' was an important cultural dynamic in the Derbyshire tourist itinerary and should be seen as an essential factor in the development and success of both Buxton and Matlock Bath as tourist destinations in this period.

Chapter Three: Antiquities and Tourism.

Introduction.

Curiosity, knowledge, education and self-improvement were all motives for travel in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. As conspicuous landmarks, sites of antiquity and the history they embodied aroused the curiosity of the traveller. John Byng elucidated the purpose of his travels in his journal in 1789. He journeyed so that he could ‘view old castles, old manors and old religious houses, before they be quite gone’ and ‘compare the ancient structures, and my ideas of their taste, and manners, with the fashions of the present day’.³²³ Through empirical research, observation and fieldwork the ‘enlightened’ antiquarian – no longer the pedant obsessed with a few curiosities did much to change cultural attitudes to the past and popularise domestic antiquities that challenged the dominance of classical authority and the ideal of the progress of civilisation, so central to the perception of the nation’s identity in the first half of the century. The founding of the Society of Antiquaries in 1717 and its subsequent incorporation in 1751 gave an institutional permanence to the study of antiquity, and provided a forum in which to set agendas for specific research areas. From 1770 the society published its own journal *Archaeologia*. Although its appeal was rather specialised, it was part of an increasing number of publications that included county histories, urban histories, topographical studies, and literature that first illuminated and

³²³ John Byng, *The Torrington Diaries*, 4 vols (ed.), C. Bruyn Adams (London, 1934), i, p. 39.

then romanticised the nation's past.³²⁴ This literature provided the information that informed the traveller's knowledge about the sites of antiquity that they included in their tour. In the early-nineteenth century, the writers of the tourist guides for the county drew upon this information in promoting Derbyshire's antiquities to the tourist. Here a chronological approach is employed to examine the marketing of the county's antiquities to the visitor.³²⁵

Starting with the remains of the ancient Britons the chapter explores the antiquarian research and the Celtic revival literature that changed attitudes to the ancient British past leading to the association of Derbyshire's monuments and their landscape with druidical figures. Roman antiquities follow and it is suggested that their remains had special significance for the town of Buxton in its promotion to the tourist.³²⁶ Discussion then concentrates on the remains of the county's medieval fabric and changing perceptions of this period in the nation's history, influenced by at first antiquarian research and then the period's subsequent romanticisation. More recent events in the constitutional history of the nation, the Glorious Revolution and Charles Stuart's uprising in 1745, are then explored as areas of tourist interest and the increasingly romantic image of the '45'.

³²⁴ Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London, 2004), pp. 84-88, 91, 95.

³²⁵ Brighton's *Discovery of the Peak District* illustrates a number of ancient British sites that became popular tourist attractions. He does not, however, give any account of why they became fashionable. He has less to say about the county's medieval antiquities. Trevor Brighton, *Discovery of the Peak District* (Chichester, 2005), pp. 83-92.

³²⁶ The county's Saxon history received little attention in the tour guides over the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Guides would include the Saxon etymology of place names such as the towns of Derby and Bakewell and briefly describe the odd events in the history of the county, but they were unconnected with an overall Saxon history. Camden had recorded a number of sites connected with the Saxons: the village of Repton had been the burial place of several of the Mercian Kings, Ethelfleda defeated the Danes at Derby, and he recorded the tradition that the town of Alfreton had been founded by Alfred the Great. James Pilkington is perhaps the only example of anyone visiting Alfreton for the towns supposed connection with Alfred the Great and certainly the only one who claimed that he was shown the spot where the house which Alfred the Great had resided in had once stood. William Camden, *Britannia* (1695, repr. Newton Abbot, 1971), cols. 491-493; James Pilkington *View of the Present State of Derbyshire*, 2 vols (2nd edn. London, 1803), ii, p. 319.

Finally, it is suggested that the county's antiquities and the history that they embodied gave a broader cultural appeal to the tourist itinerary of Derbyshire.

The Ancient Britons and Druidical Remains in Derbyshire.

The tourist interest in the remains of the Celtic past owed its stimulus in part to the antiquarian study of the early eighteenth century. The study of the Celtic past at the national level challenged and changed the perception of the Celtic identity from a barbaric race civilised by Rome, to that of the early cultured patriots of Britain. The druid and the bard became symbols of religion untainted by Rome, wisdom, law and culture and importantly to the traveller, the first lovers of the British landscape. Indeed, there was a movement from the 1750s onwards in antiquarian circles to promote several features of the ancient Britons as being analogous to the modern eighteenth-century face of Britain.

The early-eighteenth-century antiquarian's research into the Celtic past was constrained by biblical chronology; there was no recorded Celtic history and little mention of the druids or the bards in the classical Roman histories. In the *Gallic Wars*, Julius Caesar described the society of the ancient Gauls. The druid presided over matters religious, judicial, human sacrifice and used magic and superstition. The vate was a soothsayer and concerned with matters of natural philosophy. The bard was the keeper of history and culture, recited in epic verse.³²⁷ The early-eighteenth-century antiquarian leant heavily on the classical sources to illuminate the Celtic past. Developments in fieldwork, surveying, geology and textual criticism during the century contributed to a

³²⁷ A. L. Owen, *The Famous Druids* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 16-21.

more sophisticated understanding of the ancient British past, even if marked with speculation and conjecture.³²⁸

The antiquarian, building upon Edward Lhwyd's research on megalithic structures in Wales and John Aubrey's unpublished notes on Stonehenge and Avebury, suggested that the ancient Britons had been a sophisticated, cultured society, whose megalithic remains were associated specifically with a learned druidical culture. Henry Rowland's *Mona antiqua restaurata* (1723), a study of the remains on Anglesey, reiterated Aylett Sammes' argument that the ancient Britons had inherited the patriarchal religion of Noah – as the Cromlech, similar to those described in the Pentateuch proved.³²⁹ William Stukeley's *Stonehenge: A Temple Restored to the Druids* (1740), and *Abury: A Temple of the British Druids* (1743), identified both monuments as temples built by the ancient Britons and he elaborated upon the advanced state of Celtic society that would have been required to build them.³³⁰ William Borlase's *Antiquities Monumental and Historical of the County of Cornwall* (1754) saw nothing to link the druids with patriarchal religion or Christianity. He argued that druids were polytheists who engaged in 'ancient idolatry' – they worshiped rocks, as the evidence of rocking stones, turning stones and rock basins proved and engaged in divination and hydromancy.³³¹ This provided the starting point for comparison, speculation and debate for the rest of the eighteenth century.

³²⁸ Sweet, *Antiquaries*, p. 127.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

³³⁰ Stukeley's arguments were made to champion ancient British society against that as portrayed in John Toland's *History of the Druids* (1726). Influenced by his deist beliefs, Toland's publication could be read as an attack on the Church of England. The druids were analogous to the priest craft of the Church of England: the people subjugated and encouraged in 'idolatrous practices'. Owen, *Famous Druids*, p. 117; Sweet, *Antiquaries*, p. 128.

³³¹ Owen, *Famous Druids*, p. 134.

Antiquarian research into the ancient Britons continued and papers upon the subject were a regular feature in the pages of *Archaeologia*.³³²

From the mid-eighteenth century the changing perception of the Celtic past – stimulated by antiquarian research – spawned a literary genre that romanticised and popularised the ancient Britons to a wider reading public until it declined in fashionability at the end of the century. This ‘Celtic revival’ is illustrative of the way in which domestic antiquities challenged the authority of classical sources. Snyder has suggested that the ‘revival’ was stimulated by the abandonment of an over used classical mythology, and that by 1780, a replete body of literature existed which reflected the growing public interest in Celtic myth and druidism.³³³ Thomas Gray’s *The Bard* (1757), was set against the backdrop of Edward I’s conquest of Wales in 1282. Due to the threat of seditious uprising that the bards posed, Edward condemned them to death. In the climatic conclusion, the last surviving bard of Wales stood upon Snowdon, prophesying the destruction of Edward’s line, before throwing himself to his death.³³⁴ James Macpherson claimed that *Ossian Fingal: An Ancient Epic Poem* (1761) and *Temora: An Ancient Epic Poem* (1763) were derived from a Gaelic oral tradition that had survived through the ages. Although proved to be less than authentic, *Ossian* achieved popularity with the reading public, as a source of atmosphere and the supreme example of the Celtic Golden Age. The atmosphere of *Ossian* contributed to the sublime qualities which tourists were beginning to discover in Wales and Scotland: this was a particular feature of ‘Celtic revival’ literature with its symbols of the druid and the bard set against the

³³² Sweet, *Antiquaries*, p. 135.

³³³ Edward D. Snyder, *The Celtic Revival in English Literature 1760-1800* (Gloucester, 1965), pp. 7, 103.

³³⁴ Sam Smiles, *The Image of Antiquity* (London, 1994), p. 50.

backdrop of sublime scenery.³³⁵ The rise of domestic travel and of the cult of the picturesque in the later half of the eighteenth century increasingly incorporated the image of the ancient Britons into the picturesque landscape. Antiquarian literature supported this, purporting to demonstrate that the druids had worshipped in sacred groves, venerated nature and their monuments were often built within the picturesque landscape. Smiles has suggested that these antiquarian and literary sources gave cultural and historical associations to landscapes otherwise empty of interest.³³⁶

In the nineteenth century, the Celtic revival began to wane in England as Saxon studies and the medieval past became more important to the growing national identity. Antiquarian study was in itself beginning to change as the influence of geology undermined biblical chronology, and pointed to the fact that many of the rock formations attributed to the work of the druids were in fact, natural formations. Consequently the druids became disassociated with sites that had been previously attributed to them.

Sites of ancient British antiquity and the changing perception of them became incorporated into the Derbyshire tourist itinerary from the mid-eighteenth century. Published antiquarian research into local sites and Celtic revival literature did much to promote the Celtic past in Derbyshire to travellers and became an important source of knowledge from which the tourist guides of the nineteenth century drew their information. Early-eighteenth-century topographical guides contained few references to the Celtic past in Derbyshire. Gibson's 1695 edition of Camden's *Britannia* – an important source of information for the antiquary and traveller alike, with further editions published in 1727, 1756 and in 1786 – described a rocking stone on Stanton Moor close

³³⁵ Ibid, pp. 62, 67.

³³⁶ Ibid, p. 170.

to the village of Birchover. This was large rock, resting on its point and easily moved from side to side, similar to a stone to be found in Cornwall.³³⁷ Later topographical guides that took their information from *Britannia* repeated this observation and left it simply as a curiosity unconnected with the ancient Britons.³³⁸ Antiquarians and travellers, however, were beginning to show an interest in the county's Celtic past. Touring through Derbyshire during in the 1720s, Stukeley described the many barrows that could be seen on the hill tops, and at the village of Hope, remains called Marvel Stones, which he surmised had been a 'Celtic temple'.³³⁹ Stukeley, however, did not elaborate further on the site as his travels in Derbyshire predated the advancement of his theories on Stonehenge and Avebury.³⁴⁰ At mid-century Derbyshire's Celtic remains were not yet associated with a druidical culture.

The antiquarian William Bray, following earlier descriptions of the rocking stone at Birchover, visited Router Rocks in the 1770s. The local guide told Bray enthusiastic stories of the druidical sacrifices that had taken place at the site, but Bray placed little value on this local tradition as could not discern any physical evidence that supported this tradition.³⁴¹ His comments reflect the growing influence of fieldwork and physical proof, rather than tradition in antiquarian study. The research undertaken by local antiquarians Major Hayman Rooke of Nottingham, Reverend Samuel Pegge of Whittington, Derbyshire and Reverend James Pilkington of Derby in the 1780s and 1790s, brought several sites of Celtic antiquities in the county to the attention of the antiquarian and the

³³⁷ Camden, *Britannia*, col. 498.

³³⁸ Thomas Cox, *Magna Britannia Antiqua and Nova*, 6 vols (London, 1730), i, p. 496; Thomas Read, *The English Traveller* (London, 1746), p. 242.

³³⁹ William Stukeley, *Itinerarium curiosum*, 2 vols (2nd edn. London, 1776), ii, p. 27.

³⁴⁰ Brighton, *Discovery of the Peak District*, p. 83

³⁴¹ William Bray, *Sketch of a Tour into Derbyshire and Yorkshire* (2nd edn. London, 1783), pp. 130-134.

tourist. Their work reflected the prevailing historical and cultural attitudes to the ancient Britons and associated rock formations and stone circles with a druidical culture. The papers that Rooke and Pegge contributed to *Archaeologia* and Pilkington's *View of the Present State of Derbyshire* (1789) gave these sites the important historical connections with the druids at the height of public interest in the Celtic past and a new medium through which to market these sites to the tourist.

Hayman Rooke's account of his research on Stanton Moor was published in *Archaeologia* (1785). He discovered numerous temples, elevated places, rocking stones, rock basins and idols, and suggested that the number of 'druidical remains' proved that the place had been 'inhabited by the druids'. Their presence was long gone but their 'more durable monuments' had stood the 'ravages of time' and served to illustrate their history. In a later letter, describing Stanton Moor and Granded Tor – an outcrop of rock colloquially called Mock Beggars Hall – on Hartle Moor, he elaborated upon his earlier findings. Drawing on earlier antiquarian literature by Stukeley and Borlase he described the druidical culture of rock worship, religious rites, judicial ceremonies and the practice of divination and hydromancy that were associated with their remains. That one of the stones, according to local tradition, was called the 'Great Altar' appeared to corroborate his observations.³⁴² James Plumptre visited the area in 1793, and drawing upon the poetical image of the druid wrote that 'the scenery described in the opening of Mr. Mason's *Caractacus* is well expressive of this place' and quoted a passage from the poem. Finding himself in a place imbued with Celtic atmosphere, Plumptre was fascinated by the guide's story about the use of the rocking stone for judicial purposes: if

³⁴² Hayman Rooke, 'An account of some Druidical Remains on Stanton and Hartle Moor in the Peak of Derbyshire', *Archaeologia*, vol. 13 (1785), p. 115; Hayman Rooke, 'An account of some Druidical Remains in Derbyshire', *Archaeologia*, vol. 12 (London, 1796), pp. 41-49

the stone did not rock then the man was found guilty. By placing a wedge underneath, the druids could control the verdict and then the man was ‘murdered’.³⁴³ Given the earlier lack of interest, it would appear that locals were inventing stories to please their clientele.

Arbor Low, a stone circle on the road from Ashbourne to Buxton also solicited the attention of Bray. As the stones were no longer standing he could offer no firm conclusions regarding the use of the site and speculated that it was probably a ‘great barrow’. He took his evidence from the tumuli that could be seen on nearby hills and the Derbyshire tradition that a hill with a barrow was ‘called a Low’.³⁴⁴ The antiquarian Samuel Pegge published his fieldwork conducted on the site in *Archaeologia* (1785) and declared Arbor Low to be ‘the most magnificent and capital druidical-remain of any we have in Derbyshire, not to say in all this part of England.’ Pegge was critical of the view that the site was a barrow – the appellation Low had been misapplied – and he identified the stone circle as a ‘druidical temple’ which had originally been comprised of thirty-two standing stones, unusually placed in pairs, with a cromlech at its centre. Pegge’s article concluded at this point and he refrained from conjecture upon the use of the site.³⁴⁵ Once established as a civil or religious monument speculation on the use of the site was possible. James Pilkington’s *View of the Present State of Derbyshire* (1789) elaborated on the druidical cultural practices that would have taken place: he informed his readers that this was where the druids had led the ancient Britons in ‘idolatrous worship’ and the celebration of their religious rites had involved human sacrifice. Pilkington also assigned

³⁴³ John Plumptre, ‘A Journal of a Tour into Derbyshire in the year 1793’, in Ian Ousby (ed.), *John Plumptre’s Britain: The Journals of a Tourist in the 1790’s* (London, 1992), pp. 72-73.

³⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 242.

³⁴⁵ Samuel Pegge, ‘A disquisition on the Lows or Barrows in the Peak of Derbyshire’, *Archaeologia*, vol. 7 (1785), pp. 139-47.

a Celtic identity to Mock Beggars Hall where the druids had held the gorsedau (meetings), and from the top of the pinnacles of rock they had ‘pronounced their decrees and sentences, and made solemn orations to the people’.³⁴⁶ It is worth noting that their antiquarian enquires were published at the same time as Celtic revival literature became increasingly popular.

Nineteenth-century tourist guides continued to promote the county’s Celtic antiquities to the tourist. R. Ward’s *Buxton, Matlock and Castleton Guide* (1826) expressly stated that those desiring a more detailed account of Celtic antiquity than he had described should refer to the relevant articles ‘in the different volumes of the *Archaeologia*’.³⁴⁷ A. Jewitt’s *The Matlock Companion* (1832) contained a list of the Celtic remains on Stanton Moor to be simply ticked off by the visitor.³⁴⁸ This would suggest that the county’s Celtic remains were increasingly visited as part of an externally dictated itinerary, rather than reflecting an individual’s antiquarian pursuits. Attitudes to the sites were, however, beginning to change. The late eighteenth-century antiquarian in Derbyshire had assigned druidical identities to both natural and man made rock features for want of other explanations; the nineteenth century antiquarian placed a greater reliance upon excavation rather than tradition, and the influence of geology marked a change in the number of sites attributed to the druids. Ebenezer Rhodes, informed his readers about the druidical remains to be found on Stanton Moor; he followed Rooke’s observations and quoted Quintus Cicero’s account of the ‘temples of the Britons’ and their ceremonies. Approaching Router rocks, however, he found the claims that it had built by the druids

³⁴⁶ Pilkington, *Present State of Derbyshire*, ii, pp. 458, 462.

³⁴⁷ R. Ward, *The Buxton, Matlock & Castleton Guide* (6th edn. Birmingham, 1826), p. 10.

³⁴⁸ A. Jewitt, *The Matlock Companion* (Duffield, 1832), p. 43.

‘too incredible to be believed’.³⁴⁹ The geologist William Adam was likewise critical of the theory that the druids had built Mock Beggars Hall, and suggested that it was ‘most absurd’ as the position and structure of the rocks could be explained by ‘natural principles’.³⁵⁰ The rocking stones and rock basins were not the work of art, but natural formations caused by the weathering of the rock.³⁵¹ Adam did not dispute that the area had been frequented by the druids, the physical remains of barrows and circles proved that, but his views distinguish him from the eighteenth-century antiquarian. His critical approach removed the historical association with the druids at this site, but left them as figure in the landscape where their remains proved their presence. Stanton Moor continued to be popular with visitors: Adam’s guide noted that a Mr Thornhill had opened an inn for the accommodation and refreshment of visitors to the rocks.³⁵²

There was a further attempt by the writers of the tour guides to promote these sites to the traveller as picturesque attractions through their association with the druids. Antiquarian research provided the link as it suggested that the druids had venerated nature. In a purely conjectural letter to the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, Hayman Rooke considered Dove dale had been the habitation of the ‘principal druids’ of the region and that the sublime character of the dale was ‘well suited for the performance of their solemn rites’.³⁵³ Pilkington thought the extensive prospect from Arbor Low ‘well suited to the general idea of a heathen place of worship’.³⁵⁴ Adam’s *Gem of the Peak* (1851) illustrates how the image of the druid in the landscape was utilised in marketing Arbor

³⁴⁹ Ebenezer Rhodes, *Peak Scenery or the Derbyshire Tourist* (London, 1824), pp. 239-248.

³⁵⁰ William Adam, *Gem of the Peak* (5th edn. 1851, repr. 1973), p. 273

³⁵¹ Ibid.

³⁵² Ibid., p. 275.

³⁵³ G. L. Gomme (ed.), *The Gentleman’s Magazine Library 1731-1868, English Topography, Part III* (London, 1893), p. 297.

³⁵⁴ Pilkington, *Present State of Derbyshire*, ii, p. 462.

Low to the tourist. Adam suggested that the ground had been rendered ‘deeply interesting’, as here the ancient Briton had first displayed ‘that love of landscape, which has distinguished his posterity in much later days’.³⁵⁵ However, Stanton Moor, Mock Beggars Hall and the scenery surrounding Arbor Low was never described by the tourist in picturesque superlatives and their lack of response to this marketing medium suggests that it failed. The druidical identities assigned to these sites in Derbyshire gave an added appeal to them when they illustrated the history of the site, but they lacked the particular appeal of the romance of Gray’s *The Bard* and Macpherson’s *Ossian* which had blended the end of Celtic society and sublime scenery and whose popularity was declining in the early-nineteenth century. Furthermore, the tour of the Peak already contained numerous sublime and picturesque attractions: the tourist perhaps, had simply no need to seek out scenery that was only considered picturesque through the druids association with them.

Roman Remains.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century anything Roman was praised and recorded with interest. Although the influence of classical ideals was challenged by antiquarian research into the Celtic and medieval past, Roman remains retained significant value for both the antiquarian and the tourist as part of the overall British identity. The antiquarian was on firmer ground when researching Roman antiquity – classical literature, the physical fabric recorded on the continent and seen on the grand tour, datable evidence in the form of coins and inscriptions – all illuminated the Roman past. While Britain had nothing to compare with the remains on the continent, the Roman roads, forts, stations

³⁵⁵ Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 272.

and baths were all investigated by the antiquarian. Numerous publications appeared throughout the century. Camden's *Britannia* was littered with references to the Roman past. William Stukeley's *Itinerarium curiosum* (1724) illustrated many Roman antiquities in order to promote Romano-British antiquity in response to the fascination exercised by the Grand Tour. John Horsley's *Britannia Romana* (1732) incorporated all that was known about Roman Britain, listing all monumental inscriptions, and a historical geography of Roman Britain. Between 1770 and 1796 nearly 20 percent of published papers in *Archaeologia* dealt with Romano-British antiquities.³⁵⁶ The numerous publications and papers gave ample information for the tourist guides to disseminate to the traveller.

Camden's *Britannia* contained a reference to a station called Derventio at the village of Little Chester, just outside of Derby, where Roman coins had been dug up by farmers.³⁵⁷ Basing his tour of Derbyshire upon a Roman itinerary, William Stukeley described not only the coins that he was shown, but also the remains at the village. He traced the ancient walls, and noted the bridge a little way up the river, where in winter with clear ice on the river the 'foundations of the piers' could be seen and 'a piece of one' was still left'.³⁵⁸ Later guides such as Adam's *Gem of the Peak* simply reiterated Stukeley's observations to the traveller.³⁵⁹ Gibson's edition of *Britannia* described a Roman altar that had been discovered in the grounds of Haddon Hall. Again, this passage was repeated in the guides throughout the period. Prior to the interest in

³⁵⁶ Sweet, *Antiquaries*, pp. 167-168, 173.

³⁵⁷ Camden, *Britannia*, col. 497.

³⁵⁸ Stukeley, *Itinerarium curiosum*, ii, p. 24.

³⁵⁹ Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 9.

medieval history and gothic atmosphere, the Roman altar was the principal reason for visiting the hall.

New discoveries were added to the tourist itinerary in the later eighteenth century. John Watson published an account of Melandra Castle, a Roman station outside the town of Glossop, in *Archaeologia* (1776). He measured the length of the walls which contained four gates, recorded that it was situated on an elevated piece of land at the confluence of two rivers. Watson suggested that the site contained a Praetorium as the foundations of a square building could be discerned as the 'plough has not defaced it' and the form could not be 'mistaken'.³⁶⁰ He further attributed the ruins to the Romans as a nearby tenant possessed a stone, inscribed with a Latin inscription and he concluded that the fort had been garrisoned by the Frisian Cohort, and was a sister fort to the one at Manchester 'as appears by an inscription there, and published by Camden and others'.³⁶¹

For Buxton the Roman past became an important part of marketing the town to the tourist. Camden had suggested 'these Baths were anciently known' as Buxton was situated on the 'Roman causey called Bathgate'.³⁶² Dr Charles Leigh recorded the Roman origins of Buxton on his visit in 1700 and recorded how he had viewed a 'Roman wall' cemented with 'red Roman plaster' and the 'ruins of the ancient bath'.³⁶³ Around 1709, however, the wall was destroyed. William Bray recorded that in 1697, a Mr White had discovered buried underground huge sheets of lead that had originally been a bath, which Bray surmised had probably been Roman.³⁶⁴ In 1781, during the construction of

³⁶⁰ J. R. Watson, 'An account of an undescribed Roman station in Derbyshire', *Archaeologia*, vol. 3 (1786), p. 238.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*

³⁶² Camden, *Britannia*, col. 494.

³⁶³ Charles Leigh, *The Natural History of Lancashire, Cheshire and Derbyshire* (London, 1700), p. 42.

³⁶⁴ Bray, *Sketch of a Tour*, p. 228.

the crescent, the bath was rediscovered, and a more detailed account of the bath was presented in the tour guides. Britton and Brayley's *The Beauties of England and Wales* (1802) described the remains and noted that in the floor of the bath was a cavity that resembled the shape of a boat.³⁶⁵ Further Roman remains discovered at Buxton were automatically connected to the ancient bath and spa water. Upon the discovery of a Roman building on the hill opposite the crescent, Hayman Rooke, with little evidence to support his reasoning, speculated that the Romans having discovered the 'salutary effects of the warm springs' had dedicated a temple to Apollo there, one of whose attributes was healing.³⁶⁶

That travellers included the Roman history of the town in their accounts is illustrative of the appeal that Roman antiquities held and that travel, in part, was stimulated by the desire for knowledge and education throughout the period under study. Importantly for Buxton its Roman past gave the town a classical identity that was used by the early-nineteenth-century tour guides as a medium to attract the tourist, and it is possible that Bath was a model for this type of marketing. For William Adam, Buxton had a tradition of Roman civility and society and in his *Gem of the Peak* he speculated on how the 'rude huts' of the ancient Britons were replaced 'by the elegant villa' and beautiful structure of the polished Roman'.³⁶⁷ Adam was not, however, simply glorying in the image of Rome, and it is possible that he was using this description as an analogy for the development of Buxton from the 1780s onwards. The building of the crescent, squares and newly laid walks were an indication that politeness and civility was again the hallmark of the town.

³⁶⁵ John Britton and Edward Brayley, *The Beauties of England and Wales*, 18 vols (London, 1802), iii, p. 438.

³⁶⁶ Hayman Rooke, 'An account of a Roman building and camp lately discovered at Buxton', *Archaeologia*, vol. 9 (1789), pp. 137-38.

³⁶⁷ Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, pp. 286-87.

Importantly, however, the Roman remains failed to captivate the public imagination in the eighteenth and nineteenth century: the importance of classical literature, as a lens through which to view the landscape, declined over the eighteenth century with the result that there was less of a perceived relationship between the Romans and the picturesque landscape than the Celts. The concentration on atmosphere endorsed by both the Celtic and gothic revivals that led to the Derbyshire landscape being populated by druids, the first lovers of the British landscape, or, knights at tournaments, was not matched by evocations of classical Rome. There were few physical remains to attract the tourist and the appeal of Derbyshire was chiefly derived from its rural location which did little to conjure images of urban Rome.

The Medieval Past: Castles and Churches.

Over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the medieval was increasingly sought out by travellers viewing antiquities on their tours.³⁶⁸ Castles, cathedrals and local parish

³⁶⁸ Derbyshire's monastic ruins did not feature as attractions in the tour of the Peak, despite antiquarian research that investigated their history. Topographical literature provided information about the region's abbeys concentrating on the founding of the abbey, the monastic order, its charities and the abbey's value at the dissolution of the monasteries. Samuel and Nathaniel Buck's *Engravings of Castles and Abbeys in England* (1727) illustrated the ruins of Beauchief abbey and recorded the tradition that it had been founded by Robert Fitz Ranulph in repentance for the crime of murdering Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, to whom the abbey had been dedicated. This historical connection was the focal point of interest at the abbey and was repeated in Francis Grose's *Antiquities of England* (1772-76) and James Pilkington's *Present State of Derbyshire* (1789). Samuel Pegge's *An Historical Account of Beauchief Abbey* (1801) was critical of the earlier accounts of the foundation of the abbey. Pegge suggested Fitz Ranulph had never been called to account for his crime: the four knights themselves were exiled from the kingdom and had their property seized as punishment. However, Fitz Ranulph remained 'opulent and flourishing' otherwise he would never have been able to found the abbey. By rejecting the tradition upon which the abbey had been founded, Pegge removed the major historical interest of the abbey, which did little to encourage the tourist to visit the remains. Derbyshire's monastic ruins did little to inspire reflections upon the mutability of the human condition. Byng recorded in 1789 that the physical remains of Darley abbey had been 'pulled down' some years previous to his tour. There were, then, no physical remains to inspire such thoughts. The tourist guides for the county noted that divine service was still held within the chapel at Beauchief abbey, and as such the ruins lacked the melancholic picturesque appeal of

churches occupied the attention of the antiquarian and traveller. The growing volume of antiquarian research which investigated the middle ages changed the historical perception of this period. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the middle-ages were perceived as a barbarous period when contrasted with polite eighteenth-century society. Yet, due to the period's importance for the development of the English constitution, it could not be ignored.³⁶⁹ The study of the middle-ages, especially its medieval fabric shaped the English national identity. Castles and abbeys were powerful political and religious symbols in the English landscape. The ruins of these buildings represented the passage of feudalism and the triumph of reformed religion over Catholicism.³⁷⁰

The gothic revival in architecture has been dealt with admirably by others and as such we need only give a brief treatment of it here.³⁷¹ At the beginning of the eighteenth century Gothic architecture was on the whole mainly despised or overshadowed by the taste for Palladianism and neo-Classicism. From mid-century there emerged a greater interest in the gothic style of architecture. Horace Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting* (1762) demonstrated an aesthetic appreciation of gothic, concluding that the gothic had a touch of the sublime to it, but he offered no system of the style's development.³⁷² John Carter's *Views of Ancient Buildings in England* (1786-93) was influential in promoting the view that gothic architecture was definitively English, and a patriotic pride in the

ruin and decay wrought by the dissolution. With little of interest to attract the traveller the early-nineteenth century tour guides did little to promote them to the tourist. A further reason for the lack of tourist interest in both Dale and Beauchief abbeys was that they were located far from established tourist routes and other attractions of the county, situated close to the county borders of Nottingham and Yorkshire respectively. Thomas Cox, *Magna Britannia Antiqua and Nova*, pp. 447-49; Buck, *Engravings of Castles and Abbeys*, p. 20; Grose, *Antiquities of England*, p. 61; Pilkington, *Present State of Derbyshire*, pp. 380-81; Byng, *Torrington Diaries*, i, p. 39; Samuel Pegge, *An Historical Account of Beauchief Abbey*, in G. L. Gomme (ed.), *Gentleman's Magazine*, p. 23.

³⁶⁹ Sweet, *Antiquaries*, p. 231.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 316.

³⁷¹ Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival* (Cardiff, 1970); Michael, J. Lewis, *The Gothic Revival*, (London, 2002).

³⁷² Sweet, *Antiquaries*, p. 275.

nation's gothic buildings was further stimulated by the Napoleonic wars. John Milner's *Treatise on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of England during the Middle Ages* (1811) argued that the pointed arch was the key in understanding and dating gothic architecture. His later work demonstrated the evolution of three orders of pointed arches. Rickman's *Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture* (1819), praised the English gothic as being superior to that of the continent and coined the terms, Norman, early English, decorated English and perpendicular English.³⁷³

Antiquarian interest in the medieval past was not confined to just the architecture of the buildings. Edward King's 'Observations on ancient castles' (1776) argued that castles merited antiquarian attention; as the remains had been so 'neglected' and 'wantonly mutilated' that they fast approached 'utter ruin and oblivion'. It was not only the issue of preservation that concerned King, but also the lack of scholarly research. He found Francis Grose's *Antiquities of England and Wales* (1772-76) valuable for the detail on the architecture of the buildings, but Grose provided little information about its design and use. King selected Rochester castle to illustrate his research on the design and function of the castle, focussing on defence, the logistics of water supply and sanitation and the quality of accommodation it offered to the commander.³⁷⁴

Castles were not just the preserve of the antiquarian, as conspicuous landmarks in the landscape they aroused the curiosity and interest of the tourist. Sweet suggests that during the later eighteenth century that there was a less specialised antiquarian interest in the past which had a broader social appeal. Richard Hurd's *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* (1762) encouraged readers to look beyond 'the apparent barbarism of the

³⁷³ Lewis, *Gothic Revival*, p. 48.

³⁷⁴ Edward King, 'Observations on ancient castles', *Archaeologia*, vol. 4 (1786), pp. 365- 66, 368-69.

middle ages and to consider the latent causes which had given rise to gothic chivalry' which stimulated further interest in castles and chivalric values.³⁷⁵ Thomas Percy's *Reliques of English Poetry* (1765) stimulated a taste for medieval ballads through the image of the courtly troubadour, and later in the century the French wars further encouraged the taste for medieval romances, ballads and chronicles. Joseph Strutt's most influential work *A Complete View of the Manners, Customs, Arms, Habits, of the Inhabitants of England* (1775) became one of the most widely-read antiquarian sources of the time.³⁷⁶ Its appeal was that it concentrated on 'historical dress, banquets, music, sport and the theatre' and did much to promote the values of 'baronial hospitality'.³⁷⁷

Peverel or Peak Castle at Castleton was a small building that consisted of a keep with two rooms, surrounded by walls which had supported two towers. Set upon a hilltop above the Peak Cavern, the castle could hardly fail to escape the attention of those who had entered the village to see this natural wonder. Until the later eighteenth century there was little antiquarian research into the castle's history. Camden had recorded that the ruined castle formerly belonged to the Peverel family and in the reign of Edward III the castle had passed to his son John Duke of Lancaster.³⁷⁸ Cotton's *Wonders of the Peak* mocked the castle in verse: as Cotton wrote that the castle was

'An Antick thing, fit to make people stare;
But of no use, either in peace; or War'.³⁷⁹

Travellers could not easily perceive that the castle had either been habitable or built for defensive purposes. Samuel and Nathaniel Buck's *A Collection of Engravings of*

³⁷⁵ Sweet, *Antiquaries*, p. 261.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 331.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 333.

³⁷⁸ Camden, *Britannia*, cols. 494-95.

³⁷⁹ Charles Cotton, *The Wonders of the Peak* (London, 1681), pp. 46-47.

Castles, and abbeys in England (1727) contained a prospect of the castle and reiterated Camden's observations, but suggested that the castle was a defensive structure, as its 'situation made it impregnable'.³⁸⁰ These details were repeated in early eighteenth-century topographical literature.³⁸¹ Early-eighteenth-century travellers appear to have been uninterested in the building which reflected contemporary attitudes towards the medieval period. Arriving in Castleton in 1725, Charles Parry simply mentioned that there was a castle, as did William Stukeley in 1727: neither account contained any historical information.³⁸² From the mid eighteenth century the castle began to attract more attention. Travelling in 1755, Resta Patching found that he 'could obtain no account' of when the castle had been built or its subsequent history;³⁸³ his inquiries indicate an emerging appreciation amongst tourists to village, of the castle and the history it embodied.

Edward King published a detailed appraisal of Peverel castle in *Archaeologia* (1786). He suggested that the descriptions of earlier antiquarians were inaccurate and offered little detail about the castle's history. He rigorously examined the castle – according to the framework he had advocated in his first paper – and illustrated the defensive design of the building, surmising that 'a small band of men might defy an army'. The lack of a discernable water supply for the garrison troubled King, but he reasoned that it must have had one. Having examined the walls of the castle closely he identified a herring bone pattern employed in the brickwork, which to King indicated a Saxon construction. He

³⁸⁰ Samuel Buck, *A Collection of Engravings of Castles and Abbeys in England*, 2 vols (London, 1727), i, p. 23.

³⁸¹ Read, *The English Traveller*, p. 242.

³⁸² NRO, MC/150/49/625, Charles Parry, 'Journal of a Tour to the North of England, 1725'; Stukeley, *Itinerarium curiosum*, ii, p. 27.

³⁸³ Resta Patching, *Four Topographical Letters written in 1755* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1757), p. 26.

offered further proof of the Saxon presence in the stateroom where there was a large niche which he speculated had been an 'idol cell' in 'pagan times'. He concluded that the castle had been one of 'the fortresses and places of Royal residence during the Heptarchy'.³⁸⁴ Importantly King offered a purpose for the building's construction and its subsequent history for the tourist. William Bray investigated the castle following King's conjectures. He thought that despite the castle's situation it was 'little calculated for defence, except against any sudden assault' as the castle was too small to hold any great number of men, and there was no discernable water supply. However, he differed from King in the fact that he thought the castle was of Norman construction, stating that 'tradition' held that the castle was 'built by William Peverel'.³⁸⁵

Samuel Pegge collaborated with Hayman Rooke and published *Sketch of the History of Bolsover and Peak Castles* (1785). The work covered both castles as Pegge believed that the two had a common founder. (We shall return to Bolsover castle below). Pegge's account stated that the castle had been built by William Peverel, although the precise date was uncertain, but the land and castle was recorded in the Domesday survey as belonging to Peverel. Pegge refuted many of King's conclusions: the building was undoubtedly Norman and he could find no evidence of Saxon construction. He dismissed the 'idol cell' as proof of a Saxon presence and suggested that it had probably been a Christian shrine.³⁸⁶ Pegge ascribed a new purpose to the building: it had functioned jointly with Bolsover castle in 'controlling and keeping in order' the northern part of the county. The castle, he argued, had been a garrison, and before the invention of gunpowder had been almost impregnable. The discovery of a spring very near the castle as a possible water

³⁸⁴ Edward King, 'Sequel to observations on ancient castles', *Archaeologia*, vol. 6 (1786), pp. 233-248.

³⁸⁵ Bray, *Sketch of a Tour*, p. 190.

³⁸⁶ Samuel Pegge, *Sketch of the History of Bolsover and Peak Castles* (London, 1785), pp. 5, 11, 14.

supply strengthened his conclusions. Pegge then illustrated the descent of the property until the castle fell into disuse in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.³⁸⁷

An anonymous tourist visited the castle in 1800 and recorded detailed information as to the size of the castle, the purpose of the building and its history influenced by antiquarian accounts.³⁸⁸ However, other travellers were less impressed with the site and its overall lack of general historical interest. Theodosius Forrest visited ‘the old castle’ after viewing the Peak cavern and found that it was an ‘insignificant building scarce deserving the name of a castle’ and he appears to have regretted toiling up the hill to the building.³⁸⁹ In 1778 Sullivan recorded on his tour of Derbyshire, that he and his companions were shown the castle ‘parts of which are in good preservation’. Sullivan seems to have had little interest in the castle and the history it embodied, and the picturesque views from the summit occupied more of his attention.³⁹⁰

The tourist guides of the early nineteenth century drew on the antiquarian researches of King and Pegge in marketing the castle as a tourist attraction.³⁹¹ Given the castle’s relative historical unimportance the writers of the tourist guides began to draw on the fashionable appeal of chivalric values of the medieval period to provide further interest to the site. Antiquarian research appeared to support the claims that the guides made. James Pilkington had recorded that there was a tradition that there had been a tournament held at the castle. Pain Peverel had a daughter named Mellet who would only marry the greatest knight in the country. He organised a tournament in which Guarine de Meez,

³⁸⁷ Ibid., p.14.

³⁸⁸ DL SL, Ms. 3463, Anonymous, c. 1800, p. 107.

³⁸⁹ MLSL, Ms 914.251, Theodosius Forrest, ‘Forrest’s Tour: Diaries and Memorandum of Theodosius Forrest’s Tour in Derbyshire 1773’, p. 48.

³⁹⁰ Joseph Sullivan, ‘Sullivan’s Tour through different parts of England, Scotland and Wales, performed in the year 1778’, in William Mavor (ed.), *The British Tourists*, 6 vols (2nd edn. London, 1800), iii, p. 92.

³⁹¹ Rhodes, *Peak Scenery*, pp. 184-85; Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 339.

after defeating a son of the king of Scotland and a baron of Burgoyne, emerged victorious to marry Mellet. This tradition was repeated in several of the guides throughout the early-nineteenth century.³⁹² J. Skinner and S.N. Rudge both referred to the tournament in their accounts of the castle in 1803 and 1830 respectively. As neither account was published this suggests that there was an emerging appreciation of the romanticised medieval past at the castle.³⁹³ In 1822, Sir Walter Scott published *Peverel of the Peak*, a historical romance set in Castleton, between the Civil Wars and the Glorious Revolution. The popularity of Scott's historical novels provided an additional layer of historical atmosphere. Describing Castleton and the castle in 1828, T.J. Page thought it sufficient to simply state that it was 'the scene of Sir Walter Scott's 'Peverel of the Peak''.³⁹⁴ With these historical associations in mind, J.B. Chambers informed the readers of his *Beauties of Buxton* (1839) that the castle was of special interest 'to those who delight to dwell on the deeds of former days'.³⁹⁵ The ruins of the castle, stood above the precipice which marked the entrance to the Peak cavern also had picturesque qualities that could be pointed out to the tourist. Gilpin's attention was attracted by the castle battlements which appeared 'to grow out of the rock' and its situation was 'tremendous'.³⁹⁶ Given Gilpin's stamp of approval, sketching the castle became popular with travellers. Eighty years later Adam's *Gem of the Peak* promoted sketching the 'romantic ruin', although for Ebenezer Rhodes the castle was 'devoid of the picturesque appendages' that excited the artist.³⁹⁷

³⁹² Pilkington, *Present State of Derbyshire*, ii, p. 397-398; J. B. Chambers, *Beauties of Buxton* (Buxton, 1839), p. 43; Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 341.

³⁹³ MLSL, Ms. 914.1, J. Skinner, 'Sketches in Wales and Derbyshire 1803'; MLSL, Ms. 914.251CAS, S.N. Rudge 'Journal of a Tour to the Lakes in July and August 1830'.

³⁹⁴ T.J. Page, *A Month at Buxton* (Bakewell, 1828), p. 26.

³⁹⁵ Chambers, *Beauties of Buxton*, p. 43.

³⁹⁶ William Gilpin, *Observations Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty*, 2 vols (London, 1786), ii, p. 214.

³⁹⁷ Rhodes, *Peak Scenery*, p. 184; Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 339.

In 1608, Sir Charles Cavendish purchased the remains of the medieval castle at Bolsover, which he promptly levelled to erect a great house and stables. Cavendish admired the medieval period and tales of medieval valour, and had a small castle for entertainment purposes erected upon the site. It was these ruins that the tourist visited in the eighteenth century. Camden's *Britannia* had described the remains of the older medieval castle,³⁹⁸ and later eighteenth-century topographical literature and antiquarian works viewed the remains of Cavendish's building as one and the same. In *England Illustrated* (1764), the author wrote of Bolsover 'it has a castle, of which no description is extant'.³⁹⁹ Francis Grose's *Antiquities of England and Wales* (1772-76) contained a plate and a brief history of the castle. He could not ascertain a date for the building and recorded the descent of the property. Grose, or his informant, however, failed to draw the important distinction between the old medieval castle and the castle erected by Cavendish.⁴⁰⁰ For tourists, who utilised antiquarian research to inform their journeys and desired to view medieval remains for the history that they embodied, there was nothing to suggest that the castle was not medieval, which led to disappointment on their arrival. Bray wrote it 'is nothing more than a house, as ill contrived and inconvenient as ever was formed', and he found little of interest at the site.⁴⁰¹ Byng, touring the county in 1789, visited Bolsover and viewed 'the Windsor Castle of Derbyshire'.⁴⁰² As the building was not a medieval castle, one can detect his normal irony in the comment.

In his *History of Bolsover and Peak Castles*, Pegge offered the reader a more complete history of the castle. The date of the castle's foundation eluded him – there was

³⁹⁸ Camden, *Britannia*, col. 493.

³⁹⁹ R. and J. Dodsley, *England Illustrated*, 2 vols (London, 1764), i, p.151.

⁴⁰⁰ Francis Grose, *Antiquities of England and Wales*, 8 vols (London, 1772-1776), viii, pp. 49-50.

⁴⁰¹ Bray, *Sketch of a Tour*, p.343.

⁴⁰² Byng, *Torrington Diaries*, i, p. 34.

no record of a castle at Bolsover in the Domesday survey – but the castle had certainly been built by 1153: William Peverel, son of the former, poisoned Ranulph Earl of Chester that year and ‘forfeited his estate’.⁴⁰³ Pegge highlighted the fact that the castle had been taken from King John, as had Peverel castle, and ‘kept against him by the Barons till the year 1215’.⁴⁰⁴ The large numbers of human remains found in the grounds suggested that the medieval castle had been under repeated attacks in its history. Pegge drew the important distinction between the old and new castle erected by Sir Charles Cavendish who designed it as a house ‘rather than a fortification’.⁴⁰⁵ Bolsover failed to capture the interest of the tourist; antiquarian research revealed it was not a medieval ‘gothic’ building and it lacked the historical and picturesque appeal of the period. This is interesting as it illustrates that antiquarian research could reduce a places appeal to the tourist as well as create it.

The county’s churches enjoyed a relative popularity with both the antiquarian and the tourist during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Churches figured prominently in the general trend of antiquarian research over the period, particularly when interest in gothic architecture became more widespread from the late eighteenth century. For the traveller, they offered the opportunity to relieve the tedious progress of travel. Towns were often staging posts to change coaches, find local guides and take refreshment, and the local parish church and its furniture (tombs, monuments, fonts, pulpit and other effigies) that illustrated the local history of the vicinity could offer a welcome diversion. This was reflected in the tourist guides of the early-nineteenth century which provided much information on the county’s churches.

⁴⁰³ Pegge, *Bolsover and Peak Castles*, p. 17.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

Tourist interest in the county's churches reflected the growing aesthetic appreciation and the understanding of gothic architecture stimulated by antiquarian research. All Saints Church at Derby piqued the traveller's curiosity throughout the period. Camden had observed that the steeple was 'famous both for height and workmanship'.⁴⁰⁶ The church was built between 1510 and 1530, but in 1725 the body of the church was rebuilt in a classical style, so that only the gothic tower remained. Travellers and the writers of tourist guides admired the tower throughout the period. T. Read, who visited the church in 1746, echoed Camden stating that the church 'is remarkable for the architecture of its beautiful gothic tower 178 feet high, and for the elegance of its ornaments'.⁴⁰⁷ Britton and Brayley's *Beauties of England and Wales* (1802) added more detail and described the ornaments of 'tracery, crockets, high pinnacles, and battlements' that adorned the tower.⁴⁰⁸ Adam in 1851 simply wrote that it was 'one of the finest towers in the kingdom'.⁴⁰⁹ Richard Warner thought the gothic tower 'impressive' and the church's Grecian body was of 'chastely proportions and elegant design, but he regretted that two distinct, separate and unconnected architectural styles had been employed, which in his opinion, had produced 'a disgusting incongruity'.⁴¹⁰

All Saints church in the town of Bakewell was the recipient of the traveller's attention throughout the period. As a coaching centre, the town was often where tourists changed coaches and the church offered a welcome diversion to the tedium of travel. Interest in the church illustrates the growing appreciation and understanding of the evolution of

⁴⁰⁶ Camden, *Britannia*, col. 491.

⁴⁰⁷ Read, *The English Traveller*, p. 207.

⁴⁰⁸ Britton and Brayley, *Beauties of England and Wales*, iii, p. 358.

⁴⁰⁹ DLSL, Ms 3463, Anonymous, c. 1800, p. 73; Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 2.

⁴¹⁰ Richard Warner, *A Tour through the Northern Counties of England and the Borders of Scotland*, 2 vols, (Bath, 1802), i, pp. 116-117.

gothic architecture, but it can not be ignored that, for the traveller, convenience was as important as the ideology that lay behind the growing appreciation of interest in the gothic style. In the 1720s, Stukeley described the church as a ‘large handsome building’, but there was little discussion as to when the church had been built or the architectural styles.⁴¹¹ William Bray thought that the church had a ‘handsome spire’ and noted that at the west end of the chapel there was a Saxon arch, but did not elaborate further on the church’s architecture.⁴¹² In the nineteenth century the tourist guides applied the more sophisticated understanding of gothic architecture to the church. Glover wrote that three different architectural styles had been employed in the church: the nave was plain Saxon; the arch at the west end was ornamented Saxon, meaning that this part of the church had been erected before the Norman Conquest. The rest of the church had been built in the fifteenth century. Adam noted that three architectural styles, ‘the round Norman, the pointed Gothic and the more modern perpendicular style’ could be discerned in the main body of the church as well as the Saxon nave and arch.⁴¹³

It was the churches’ sepulchral monuments that chiefly attracted the attention of the tourist, especially when they were connected to other features on the tourist itinerary. The tomb of Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury, at All Saints church in Derby aroused the interest of the traveller and her monument and aspects of her life were discussed in detail. The church also contained the monument of William Cavendish, the Earl of Devonshire and his wife, Christian: some twelve feet high, each side of the monument was open and in the middle were whole ‘length figures in white marble, of the Earl and

⁴¹¹ Stukeley, *Itinerarium curiosum*, ii, p. 26.

⁴¹² Bray, *Sketch of a Tour*, p. 154.

⁴¹³ Glover, *Peak Guide*, p. 68; Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 160.

his Lady, standing upright'.⁴¹⁴ These monuments would have been of interest to the tourist, not only in their own right, but also because they were connected with the houses of Chatsworth and Hardwick, the seats of the families and polite culture. All Saints Church in Bakewell illustrates the less specialised antiquarian appeal of monuments. Glover's *Peak Guide* included a list of the most notable tombs with engravings, and a complete list of the arms and inscriptions to be found in the Church. Chambers guide published in 1839 thought that the monuments would be 'pored over by the curious in these matters with considerable gratification'.⁴¹⁵ Again the connections with other items on the tourist agenda were promoted. The tourist guides focused in particular on the tomb of Sir George Vernon, the self styled 'King of the Peak', who was by the nineteenth century associated with the popular image of baronial hospitality at nearby Haddon Hall.

St Oswald's church at Ashbourne particularly reflects the vogue for visiting sepulchral monuments. In 1791 Sir Brooke Boothby's only child Penelope died, aged only six, and her monument was erected in the church. Sculpted by Thomas Banks, her tomb incorporated her effigy in white marble, asleep but with a trace of suffering upon her face, around which in Latin, French, Italian and English was the inscription,

She was in form and intellect most exquisite. The unfortunate parents
ventured all in this frail bark, and the wreck was total.

Her tomb appealed to the sentimentality of the traveller as it reflected the changing concept of childhood in the eighteenth century whereby it came to be valued as a distinct

⁴¹⁴ Britton and Brayley, *Beauties of England and Wales*, iii, p. 358-59.

⁴¹⁵ Glover, *Peak Guide*, pp. 71-74; Chambers, *Beauties of Buxton*, p. 62.

stage of life and showed the impact of Rousseau's writing on the Boothbys.⁴¹⁶ Penelope Boothby's tomb represented the tragic loss of innocence and childhood for both her and her parents. At this site sentimentality was a key theme alongside the usual understood motives of convenience and scholarship when visiting a church when travelling. In 1797, Grant wrote of the tomb 'nobody ought to overlook this, as it is, perhaps, the most interesting and pathetic object in England' and continued that the traveller who remained unaffected need not continue with their tour as their 'heart is not formed to relish the beauties of nature or art'.⁴¹⁷ Adam's *Gem of the Peak* informed his readers that he had been 'riveted' to the spot commenting that he had 'wept' over the tomb as he too had seen 'angelic cherubs' that had struggled into the 'land of sweet peace and everlasting joy'.⁴¹⁸ As Ashbourne was the gateway to Dove Dale her tomb became an important tourist viewing point for the sentimentality that it embodied and aroused.

The Glorious Revolution and Charles Stuart.

This Glorious Revolution of 1688 was the last major constitutional upheaval. Planned in part by William Cavendish the then Earl of Devonshire, this event retained significant interest for both the antiquarian and traveller in Derbyshire – appearing in

⁴¹⁶ Rousseau's *Emile* (1762) criticised Locke's views on the nature of childhood. He argued that many children died young, having spent their short lives preparing for an adulthood that they never achieved. Importantly Rousseau introduced the concept that the right of the child was to have a happy childhood as it was the best part of life, and in the early stages to learn from nature without the imposition of being taught moral laws. Furthermore literature for the adult market used children as symbols of innocence, emotion and simplicity. J. H. Plumb, 'The new world of children in eighteenth century England', *Past and Present*, 67 (1975), p.67; Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500* (London, 1995), pp.62; 69-70.

⁴¹⁷ Grant, 'Journal of a three weeks tour, in 1797, through Derbyshire to the Lakes' in William Mavor (ed.), *The British Tourists*, 6 vols (London, 1798), v, pp. 214-215.

⁴¹⁸ Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 223.

both the tourist guides and travellers journals. In the centenary year of the revolution, Samuel Pegge published an account of the events that had occurred at Whittington. He described a meeting that took place there between Cavendish, Lord Danby and John D’Arcy, to plan the assault of Nottingham by Devonshire, and York by Danby. They met upon a moor, but because it was raining they retired to the Cock and Pynot Inn, or Revolution house.⁴¹⁹ There was no formal national celebration to mark the centennial anniversary of the event, but in Derby and Whittington the anniversary caused excitement and was celebrated. At Whittington a dinner was held – in attendance was the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Stamford, Lord George and Lord John Cavendish. A procession was held in the town, in which flags bearing mottos such as ‘Revolted from Tyranny at Whittington, 1688’ were carried.⁴²⁰ Samuel Pegge delivered a sermon which is indicative of the patriotic value that contemporaries ascribed to the political and religious turmoil of the seventeenth century culminating in the Glorious Revolution. William and Mary, and those who had supported them, were represented as liberators of both the Anglican Church and the Constitution whose limited monarchy safeguarded the English against ‘absolute despotism, aristocracy, and republicanism’.⁴²¹ This, according to Pegge, was primarily due to the actions of ‘those great and true patriots’ the Earl of Devonshire and the Earl of Danby, although, as the Duke of Devonshire was present he could hardly do otherwise.

⁴¹⁹ Samuel Pegge, *A Narrative of what passed at the Revolution House at Whittington, County of Derby, in the year 1688* (Nottingham, 1788), p. 10.

⁴²⁰ G. L. Gomme (ed.), *Gentleman’s Magazine*, pp. 72-74.

⁴²¹ Samuel Pegge, *A Sermon preached at Whittington in the County of Derby* (Chesterfield, 1788), pp. 8-9.

The *Gentleman's Magazine* reported that the 'plotting parlour' and the 'armchair' in which the Duke of Devonshire 'sat' was shown by the landlord of the inn.⁴²² Byng visited 'Revolution house' in 1789 and having sat in 'the chair' he reflected, 'who being at Whittington must not resolve on the consequences of this meeting?' Byng had a different perspective to that of Pegge on the events of 1688, in which he thought that in the 'haste of alteration and reformation' more had been done 'than is consistent with reason or with justice'.⁴²³ Early-nineteenth century guides do not mention Revolution House. It would seem that excitement and patriotism combined with the centenary of the event marked a particular interest in this place that peaked quickly.

Early-nineteenth-century travellers and the writers of tourist guides continued to record the events of the Glorious Revolution, but the focus of their attention had shifted to Chatsworth house, the seat of the Duke of Devonshire. The painting in the hall of the death of Julius Caesar was a powerful symbolic reminder of the first Duke's part in the revolution. Warner, viewing a portrait of the first Duke, reflected on the 'patriotic principles' displayed by Cavendish and how he had encouraged the Derbyshire gentry to transfer to King William their 'allegiance and affection' to which James had 'forfeited all claims'. He rebuilt Chatsworth whilst waiting for the 'overthrow of a system of Popery and tyranny' that had 'daily' become more 'oppressive and intolerable'.⁴²⁴ Glover's *Peak Guide* waxed lyrical about the patriotic Cavendish's 'ardent attachment to the liberties of his country' and how he had saved the country from the 'dominion of foreign priesthood' and the 'divine right of the crown'. Adam plagiarised much of Glover's account for his history of the dukes of Devonshire, but drew the analogy between the first

⁴²² G. L. Gomme (ed.), *Gentleman's Magazine*, p. 72.

⁴²³ Byng, *Torrington Diaries*, i, p. 27.

⁴²⁴ Warner, *Northern*, i, pp. 151-53.

and the then present sixth Duke, who had inherited the patriotic love of liberty of his predecessor – demonstrated by his support for the recently passed Reform Bill.⁴²⁵ The focus of travellers and the tourist guides on the events of 1688 gave the tour of the Peak with a history of national importance, which can be juxtaposed against its less historically significant antiquities.

The history of the Stuart line and the recent constitutional threat posed by Charles Edward Stuart in 1745 proved an interesting part of the history of Derby – the most southerly point the Scottish army reached during the insurrection – which appealed to the tourist. Derby then acquired a powerful symbolic value in this respect for the Hanoverian State, as one of the locations of the end of the Jacobite threat that had dated back to James II. Tom Thumb recorded this fact in 1746 which suggests that tourist interest in the events at Derby manifested itself quickly.⁴²⁶

Pilkington's *View of the Present State of Derbyshire* offered his readers a detailed description of events in Derby. The town had been garrisoned by the Duke of Devonshire, but the morale of the inhabitants soon dissipated when the Duke's troops were ordered to Nottingham. On the 4 December 1745, the 'Pretender's' army – numbering some 6-7000 troops – marched into the town. The town crier in 'obedience to their demands' publicly proclaimed the prince as King of England. In the evening Charles Edward Stuart entered Derby and took residence at 'Lord Exeter's house'. The next day was characterised by violence as the 'rebels' seized property. That evening the Prince held a council: having met with little support on the road and having received the news that the Duke of Cumberland's army was approaching, they resolved to return to

⁴²⁵ Glover, *Peak Guide*, pp. 46-47, Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, pp. 137-38.

⁴²⁶ Tom Thumb, *The Travels of Tom Thumb over England and Wales* (London, 1746), p. 84.

Scotland.⁴²⁷ Given the convenience of the houses location at Derby, already a destination for the traveller, viewing the house for the history it embodied became incorporated within tourist itineraries. William Bray and Joseph Sullivan both saw the house in the 1770s and Sullivan's published account informed its readers that a guide had conducted him to both the house where 'the pretender's son' had resided and the 'spot' where he had 'heard the proclamation of Charles Stuart, as King of England'. John Byng described in his journal how he made 'much enquiry' as to the location of the house and 'saw the parlour' where the council meetings had been held.⁴²⁸ Their accounts suggest that this site was celebrated in response to tourist's own travel agendas, rather than as an attraction that was marketed to them.

Pittock has suggested that the uprising of 1745 became romanticised in the later eighteenth century. The death of Charles Stuart in 1783 and his brother's ordination as a catholic cardinal effectively ended the Jacobite threat, thereby making it safe to look back on it nostalgically.⁴²⁹ The invention of highland tradition in the late eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries contributed to this image. Highland society had crumbled after 1745 and the chronological distance from the events themselves saw a shift in the perception of the highlanders from dangerous rebels to a romantic, endangered, primitive people. Sir Walter Scott's first novel *Waverley* (1814) gave a further taste for the highlander and the 1745 uprising. The romanticisation of the highlander was intensified by George IV's state visit to Edinburgh in 1822 in which visiting Scots proudly wore the newly invented clan tartans. The fact that the wearing of tartan had been banned by law in 1747 and was

⁴²⁷ Pilkington, *Present State of Derbyshire*, ii, pp. 188-192.

⁴²⁸ Thumb, *Travels of Tom Thumb*, p. 84; Bray, *Sketch of a Tour*, p. 107; Sullivan, 'Sullivan's Tour', p. 30; Byng, *Torrington Diaries*, i, p. 62.

⁴²⁹ Murray Pittock, *Jacobitism* (London, 1998), p. 131.

now being worn as a celebration of highland culture is proof that the Jacobite threat had long since ceased to be a reality.⁴³⁰

The romanticisation of Bonnie Prince Charlie can be traced in the literature upon the town and in travellers' own accounts of their journey's. Pilkington suggested that tradition in Derby held that at the council meeting 'the standard of the prince' was found to be broken: they considered this incident as 'ominous of their future fate' which influenced the decision to retreat. Britton and Brayley's *Beauties of England and Wales* (1802) relied heavily on Pilkington's account and reiterated the tradition to their readers.⁴³¹ This added romantic associations to what otherwise was simply a room in a house. Descriptions of Charles Stuart himself were also becoming tinged with romanticism. For Thumb, Bray and Sullivan he had been the 'Pretender' which suggests that not enough time had passed to view the events nostalgically. Although Byng also labelled Charles Stuart as the 'Pretender' he also described him as a 'hasty, misguided adventurer'. Britton and Brayley also perceived the prince to have been a 'misguided wanderer' who entered the town dressed in 'highland plaid' and carrying a 'broadsword': a romantic image of the highland prince.⁴³²

⁴³⁰ Hugh Trevor Roper, 'The Invention of Tradition: the Highland tradition of Scotland', in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 25, 28-31.

⁴³¹ Pilkington, *Present State of Derbyshire*, ii, pp. 188-92; Britton and Brayley, *Beauties of England and Wales*, iii, pp. 355-56.

⁴³² Bray, *Sketch of a Tour*, p. 107; Sullivan, 'Sullivan's Tour', p. 30; Byng, *Torrington Diaries*, i, p. 62; Britton and Brayley, *Beauties of England and Wales*, iii, p. 355.

Conclusion.

The tourist interest in the county's antiquities and history reflects how domestic travel was stimulated in part by the desire for education and greater knowledge about the region and nation. The county had a rich array of sites of antiquity, ancient British remains, Roman remains and medieval fabric as well as sites of recent political and constitutional events of interest to the traveller. Antiquarian research and literature was influential in illustrating to the tourist the history that these sites embodied which contributed a valuable cultural dynamic to the tour of the Peak. Due to antiquarian studies new values were placed upon these sites of antiquity. The county's ancient British remains became associated with a druidical culture, Roman remains were discussed avidly as part of the overall British identity and there was an increasing admiration and appreciation expressed for the gothic architecture of the county's churches and the local history that their sepulchral monuments represented. Antiquarian research and historical information about the county's sites of antiquities was also a major marketing feature within the early-nineteenth-century tour guides for Derbyshire.

It must also be considered that patterns of tourism contributed to the sites of antiquity that were visited by the traveller undertaking the tour of the Peak. The county had no national monuments such as Stonehenge or Windsor Castle which could draw the tourist to them and many of the sites of antiquity were situated either on or near to the major travel routes through the county. The most visited Celtic remains at Router Rocks were passed by the tourist en route from Matlock to Bakewell and lay close to the other important attractions of Chatsworth House and Haddon Hall. Similarly the Arbour low

stone circle was passed by the tourist en route from Ashbourne and Dove dale to Buxton. The most frequent discussion of Roman remains concentrated upon those found at Buxton. Peverel castle sat atop the entrance to the Peak cavern and the most frequented churches were those at Derby, Bakewell and Ashbourne. It can be suggested then, that within the tour of Derbyshire in this period, convenience as much as ideology played an important role in what was marketed to the visitor and what was viewed by them. This view can be further supported by the examples of Bolsover castle and the county's monastic remains. Antiquarian research removed much of their perceived historical importance and situated further a-field from established tourist routes they consequently received less attention from the traveller.

With the exception of the events that surrounded the Glorious Revolution and Charles Stuarts uprising of 1745 which were major themes in the political history of the nation, most of Derbyshire's sites of antiquity were relatively historically unimportant. As such the broader appeal of sites of antiquity within the tour of the Peak lay in the increasing romanticisation of the past which gave historical associations to sites that may otherwise have been devoid of interest to a broader travelling public. Antiquarian research, Celtic and gothic literature all stimulated a romantic image of the past that was utilised by the tour guides in marketing these sites to the tourists. The tourist response to such imagery at these sites suggests that in the later eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries this had become an important part of the attraction of antiquities for them. Celtic atmosphere and local traditions and stories told by the guides heightened the experience of viewing the county's ancient British remains. At Peverel Castle it was the concentration on knights and tournaments and the association with chivalry that represented the fantasy of the past.

Even the events of the 1745 uprising were romanticised in the nineteenth century. For the general tourist it was the particular appeal of the fantasy of the past that contributed to their desire to view the county's antiquities. Antiquarian research and the romanticism it engendered would have had a further impact on the tour of the Peak in this period and provided a valuable marketing tool in the promotion of the county's Tudor mansions and the image of 'Baronial hospitality' discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Four: Stately Homes and Baronial Mansions.

Introduction.

Visiting grand country houses was one of the most popular aspects of travel in Britain during the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. The sheer number of houses being either built, or remodelled and landscaped in this period, aroused the traveller's sense of curiosity in the changing face of Britain. Such was the 'fashion' for visiting these houses that many of their owners imposed regulation, in the form of strict admittance rules and opening hours, often to the dismay of the traveller who had arrived unannounced and outside of visiting hours – in an attempt to control the volume of tourists that passed through their doors.⁴³³ The country house offered much to the tourist who, having viewed the owners 'taste' in architecture, landscaped grounds and collections of artworks, would then pass judgment according to their own ideals of 'taste'.⁴³⁴

Derbyshire was no exception to the national trend and Chatsworth House and Kedleston Hall, the property of the Dukes of Devonshire and the Earls of Scarsdale respectively, formed major attractions within the tourist itinerary. Topographical literature and tourists own accounts of their journeys illustrate the popularity of these houses with the visitor. For the early-nineteenth century tourist guides the houses provided a further cultural attraction through which to market the county to the traveller. The stately home also played an essential role in the democratisation of travel in this period. Towards the end

⁴³³ Esther Moir, *The Discovery of Britain: The English Tourists 1540 to 1840* (London, 1964), pp. 58-59; Ian Ousby, *The Englishmen's England: Taste, Travel and the Rise of Tourism* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 60-61; Peter Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home* (London, 1997), p. 9.

⁴³⁴ Moir, *Discovery of Britain*, p. 63.

of the eighteenth century, the houses attracted the middle classes and, by the mid-nineteenth century, Thomas Cook offered day trips to country houses for the working-class, who toured Chatsworth House in 1857.⁴³⁵

In the later eighteenth century Derbyshire's medieval and Tudor manor houses began to attract the tourist. Stimulated by antiquarian research and gothic literature that created an interest in the medieval past; these houses became popular with tourists for the history and gothic atmosphere that they embodied. In the nineteenth century these manor houses gained further popularity under the romanticised image of the 'olden time' and 'merrie England' that particularly concentrated on Tudor manor houses.⁴³⁶ Haddon Hall and Hardwick Hall, the property of the Dukes of Rutland and the Cavendish family respectively, illustrate the growing popularity of the medieval and Tudor past in the Derbyshire tourist itinerary and these houses were imbued by the tourist with gothic atmosphere, Romanticism and the image of 'Baronial hospitality'.⁴³⁷ Uninhabited, these houses stimulated the tourist into melancholic reflections on the mutability of mankind normally associated with gothic ruins.⁴³⁸ The early-nineteenth-century tour guides drew heavily on these cultural influences in marketing these houses to the traveller.

This chapter first examines the role of the stately home within the tourist itinerary of Derbyshire. Discussion concentrates on the cultural influences that prompted tourists to

⁴³⁵ Ousby, *Englishmen's England*, p. 68; Mandler, *Stately Home*, p. 9.

⁴³⁶ Peter Mandler, 'In the Olden Time': romantic history and English national identity', in Laurence Brockliss and David Eastwood (eds.), *A Union of Multiple Identities: The British Isles, c.1750-c.1850* (Manchester, 1997); Rosemary Mitchell, *Picturing the Past: English History in Text and Image 1830-1870* (Oxford, 2000).

⁴³⁷ R. Ward, *The Buxton, Matlock and Castleton Guide*, (6th edn. Birmingham, 1826) p. 69; H. Moore, *The Strangers Guide* (Derby, 1827) p. 27; H. Barker, *The Panorama of Matlock* (London, 1828) p. 20; Stephen Glover, *The Peak Guide* (Derby, 1830) p. 85. Moore, strangers guide, Barker, *Panorama of Matlock*, p. 20.

⁴³⁸ Moore, *Strangers Guide*, p. 27; Ebenezer Rhodes, *Peak Scenery or the Derbyshire Tourist* (London, 1824), p. 147; J.B. Chambers, J.B., *Beauties of Buxton* (Buxton, 1839), p. 56; William Adam, *The Gem of the Peak* (5th edn. 1851, repr. London, 1973), p. 189.

visit these houses before focusing upon Chatsworth House and Kedleston Hall. Comparisons are drawn between the relative successes and failures of these houses in visitor estimation and their promotion in the early-nineteenth century tour guides. The chapter then turns to Haddon Hall and Hardwick Hall as examples of ‘Baronial mansions’ and the romanticised past that tourists sought out and which the tour guides promoted. Finally, discussion turns to the importance of Mary Queen of Scots who stayed in several of the houses, and also gave them an important historical connection and an added appeal with which to in market these houses to the tourist.

Stately Homes and Tourism.

As conspicuous landmarks in the landscape the stately house piqued the curiosity of the traveller throughout the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Approaching the house the tourist would encounter the first examples of the owners ‘taste’ with regard to the situation of the house, its architectural style and its gardens. For much of the eighteenth century architectural styles were dominated by classicism and Palladianism which reflected the influence of the owner’s classical education and travels on the continent where they encountered the classical styles.⁴³⁹ At the beginning of the eighteenth century the tourist took great delight in examining the elegance of the architecture, recording the span of the house and the number of windows. From mid-century and with changing fashions in classical styles the visitor became more critical of the architectural style employed in the building. The tourist also passed judgment on the

⁴³⁹ Mandler, *Stately Home*, p. 8.

‘taste’ of the owner with regard to the interior design and furnishings of the house.⁴⁴⁰

Over the eighteenth century, the emergence of a new industrial wealth challenged the landowning elite’s traditional role in politics. As a consequence, they searched for a new identity and role within the nation that can be seen in the stately home. Ousby has suggested that by opening their doors to the wider public the aristocracy sought to become role-models for the middle classes, a benevolent example that wealth bred refinement and ‘taste’.⁴⁴¹ The democratisation of the stately home is associated with this new role, but by placing themselves in such a role, the owner was open to criticism from a socially wider base of visitors.

The landscaped gardens that surrounded the house appealed to the traveller as examples of changing fashion. The formal Dutch and vernacular gardens that had surrounded the great country houses in the early-eighteenth century gave way to the influence of the picturesque from the mid-century onwards and the formal gardens, with their grottoes and follies which reflected the aesthetic taste of arcadia, were replaced by sweeping vistas of lawn, water and trees that represented the natural landscape.⁴⁴² The praise that was lavished upon the formal gardens by the early-eighteenth-century tourist was replaced with more critical remarks by later tourists well versed in the rules of the picturesque.⁴⁴³

The conspicuous display of wealth and power which were the motive forces behind the building of the stately homes represented the political landscape of the eighteenth and

⁴⁴⁰ Moir, *Discovery of Britain*, p. 67.

⁴⁴¹ Ousby, *Englishmen’s England*, p. 49.

⁴⁴² Mandler, *Stately Home*, p.11

⁴⁴³ NRO, MC/150/49/625, Charles Parry, ‘Journal of a Tour to the North of England, 1725’; Resta Patching, *Four Topographical Letters written in 1755* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1757); William Bray, *Sketches of a Tour into Derbyshire and Yorkshire* (2nd edn. London, 1783); John Plumptre, ‘A Journal of a Tour into Derbyshire in the year 1793’, in Ousby, Ian (ed.), *John Plumptre’s Britain: The Journals of a Tourist in the 1790’s* (London, 1992).

nineteenth century. Everett has suggested that the stately homes situation in the landscape made a powerful statement of the owner's view of politics, history and tradition. In rebuilding and improving their houses and grounds, the style they used demonstrated the political and social changes of the eighteenth century. Two types of houses and landscapes emerged in this period; the Tory, which represented the traditions of England and aristocratic power, romanticised under gentlemanly benevolence; and the Whig, which represented the owner's pursuit of wealth, opulence and aloofness from the local community.⁴⁴⁴ Excluded from politics for much of the early eighteenth century the Tories retired to a romanticised notion of the traditional past that was reflected in their houses. The house would be situated, in a close setting to the nearby village that demonstrated the paternal benevolence of the local lord. His landscaped grounds, while walled, formed part of the local community and flowed naturally into the cultivated fields of rural England.⁴⁴⁵ In contrast the Whig concept of landscape was an expression of political economy in which the 'improvement' of society depended less on traditional benevolence than on the competing energies of individuals.⁴⁴⁶ The great Whig stately house which was separated from the village –re-sited several miles away – by vast landscaped grounds represented the dominance of personal property from the common.⁴⁴⁷ Moralistically this new landscape of personal riches was justified as it would lead to emulation and the 'improvement' of the nation.⁴⁴⁸ Political liberty, security of property and increasing national wealth all contributed to the 'improvement' of the nation that was symbolised in the landscape by the great Whig stately house, which was separated from

⁴⁴⁴ Nigel Everett, *The Tory View of Landscape* (London, 1994), pp. 1, 21 38-39.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid.,

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 10.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 38-39, 50-53.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 31-32.

the village – which was re-sited several miles away – by vast landscaped grounds and represented the dominance of personal property from the common.⁴⁴⁹ However, in reality, clear distinctions between Tories and Whigs in the appearance of their houses and grounds according to changing fashions and taste are not so clear cut. Both Chatsworth House and Kedleston Hall in Derbyshire, built by the Whig Cavendish family and the Tory Curzon family respectively, had removed villages in the construction of their landscaped grounds. In the latter half of the eighteenth century the moral interpretations of the ‘improved’ landscape became less plausible and the house and grounds appeared to its critics as an expression of property and display.⁴⁵⁰ That the moral and aesthetic landscape were inseparable this image could flavour the whole experience of the house for the tourist.

The primary reason for the traveller visiting a house was to view the artworks and specialised collections of the owner.⁴⁵¹ Mandler has suggested that the interior of stately homes were designed to incorporate and show the grand manner continental paintings, classical marbles, books, manuscripts and whatever else the owner had collected on the grand tour.⁴⁵² He further suggests that to prove he was a man of ‘taste’ and a connoisseur the owner needed to keep up with emerging fashions and his collections had to be admired and judged by others.⁴⁵³ In an age before the public museum, the country house provided this cultural function; and the tour of the stately homes of Britain illustrates the educational purpose of travel in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Ebenezer Rhodes described the fashion for visiting stately homes to view their collections in his guide to

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 38-39, 50-53.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 51-53.

⁴⁵¹ Moir, *Discovery of Britain*, pp. 71, 75.

⁴⁵² Mandler, *Stately Home*, pp. 8-9

⁴⁵³ Ibid., pp. 8-9.

Chatsworth house in 1831. The country house was the ‘depositories of the works of genius’ and those that revered art had an ‘abiding interest in the treasures they contain’.⁴⁵⁴

Chatsworth house occupied a primary place in the tourist itinerary of Derbyshire, although, its fortunes in visitor estimation varied from one of praise in the early-eighteenth century to one of criticism and returning back to praise in the early-nineteenth century. Originally built by William Cavendish and Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury in 1553, the house was completely rebuilt by the first Duke of Devonshire, when excluded from government, in 1688 and finished in 1707. Although based on the Dukes own designs, William Talman was the architect of the south and east fronts. The original design intended to retain the Elizabethan north and west fronts; however, the Duke added a new west front in 1700-1702 and then the new north front in 1705-07. Charles Cotton’s *Wonders of the Peak* (1684) promoted the house as one of the ‘wonders’ of Derbyshire – a polite and civilised manmade object juxtaposed against the county’s natural deformed ‘wonders’.⁴⁵⁵ He described the situation of the house and its exterior and informed his readers that this was where ‘the scorned peak rivals proud Italy’. The reference to Italy is important as it satirised those who looked to Italy as the source of culture and civilisation and ignored the achievements at home. Cotton informed his readers as to the interior rooms, artworks and collections that the house contained and suggested that the house was a repository of culture.⁴⁵⁶ His account of Chatsworth is interesting, as the patronage of the arts and culture was closely associated with the Royal court and London in this period, as such he promoted the house as a rare beacon of culture that existed outside of

⁴⁵⁴ Ebenezer Rhodes, *The Palace of the Peak, or, Chatsworth in 1831* (Sheffield, 1831), p. 13.

⁴⁵⁵ Charles Cotton, *The Wonders of the Peak* (London, 1681), p. 73.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

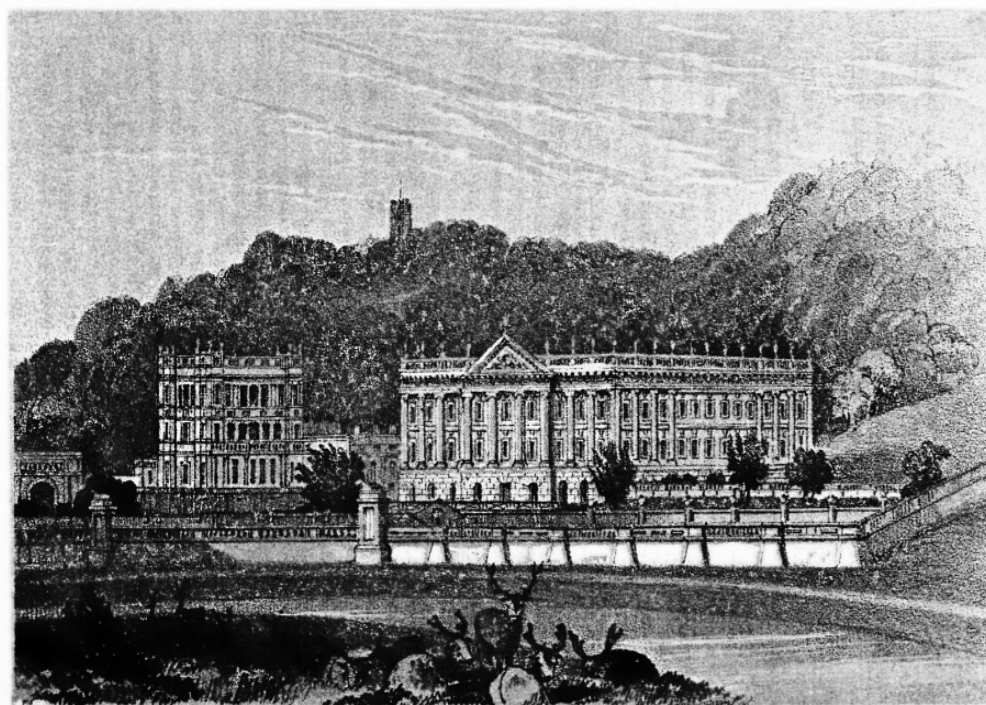
the metropolis. Due to Cotton's promotion, Chatsworth House quickly became one of the most important attractions in the early development of the tour of Peak which contributed to patterns of tourism throughout the period under study.

Early-eighteenth-century topographical literature further promoted Chatsworth house as the 'wonder' of Derbyshire. While their descriptions often repeated Cotton's, new praise for the house was being recorded in their pages. Count Tallard, held prisoner after the battle of Blenheim and entertained at Chatsworth by the Duke of Devonshire, supposedly stated that when he counted the days of his captivity he would 'leave out those I spent at Chatsworth' such was the grandeur of the house.⁴⁵⁷ Daniel Defoe's *Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1727) declared that Chatsworth was 'a palace for a prince, a most magnificent building'.⁴⁵⁸ James Corbett's *A New Guide to Derbyshire* (1749) quoted another travellers account of the house, which had exceeded all the 'high ideas and descriptions' he had read and concluded that the 'house yields to nothing in *Europe*'.⁴⁵⁹ By the mid-eighteenth century Chatsworth had established a reputation on the national scale, being second only to the Dukes of Marlborough's seat, Blenheim Palace.

⁴⁵⁷ James Corbett, *A New Description of Derbyshire and Devonshire* (London, 1749), p. 221.

⁴⁵⁸ Daniel, Defoe. *Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (ed.), Pat Rogers (London, 1983), p. 475.

⁴⁵⁹ Corbett, *Description of Derbyshire*, p. 221.



G. Rowe del.

Published by H. Adam, Mallock.

CHATSWORTH.

Figure 9: Chatsworth House, Artist, G. Row (c. 1830). Reproduced courtesy Landmark Publishing. This engraving shows the main form of the house built in the 1750s and the Sixth Dukes gothic wing constructed in the late 1820s.

From the start of the house's rebuild, it attracted the tourist and their own accounts of the house illustrate both the popularity of the house in the tourist itinerary and that its reputation was deserved. Celia Fiennes who visited in 1697 described the water works in the gardens and the exterior and interior of the unfinished house.⁴⁶⁰ Sir John Percival visited Chatsworth in 1701. He measured the frontage of the house at 186 feet and that there were twelve sash windows all of 'looking glass' which alluded to the expense and grandeur of the house. He described the interior decoration of the house and noted that the painted walls of the great hall depicted the life and murder of Julius Cesar – a powerful symbolic representation of Cavendish's role in the Glorious Revolution.⁴⁶¹ Percival in a phrase reminiscent of Cotton thought the house contained the 'best' of carving, architecture, painting and tapestry and suggested that the artwork was by the 'best masters'.⁴⁶² Charles Parry visited the house in 1725 he measured the frontage of the house and recorded that the windows had been gilded. He described several interior rooms and their decoration including the painting of Cesar. Parry thought Chatsworth a 'fine seat'.⁴⁶³ James Clegg's diaries show that he accompanied several of his friends on repeated visits to the house in the 1720s and 1730s although he left no impression of their experiences.⁴⁶⁴ John Loveday arrived at Chatsworth in 1735 and waxed lyrical about the house. The grand front was 'admirably finished in a neat and elegant taste' without

⁴⁶⁰ Celia Fiennes, *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes* (ed.) Christopher Morris (London, 1947), pp. 97-101.

⁴⁶¹ Mark R. Wenger (ed.) *The English Travels of Sir John Percival and William Byrd II: The Percival Diary of 1701* (Columbia, 1989), pp. 151-54.

⁴⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 152.

⁴⁶³ Parry, 'Tour to the North of England, 1725', pp. 32-36.

⁴⁶⁴ Vanessa S. Doe (ed.) *The Diary of James Clegg of Chapel en le Frith 1708-1755 Part 1* (Matlock, 1978), pp. 38, 150, 228; Vanessa S. Doe (ed.), *The Diary of James Clegg of Chapel en le Frith 1708-1755 Part 2* (Matlock, 1979), pp. 316, 600.

grandiose ornamentation.⁴⁶⁵ He went on to describe the interior of the house and recorded that the furniture is all ‘very grand here, being of the richest materials’. He concluded that nothing could be more ‘grand and elegant than Chatsworth’.⁴⁶⁶

The situation of the house and its gardens also caused comments in the tourists’ own accounts. Dr Charles Leigh thought ‘Chatsworth, like a sun in a hazy air, adds lustre to those dusky mountains, and attracts a general congress to be spectators of its wonders’.⁴⁶⁷ The formal gardens with the water works of the Cascade, the great Fountain and a willow tree, sculpted from copper which dripped waters from its leaves provided great amusement for the tourist. Celia Fiennes described the fountains ornamented with sea gods, dolphins and sea horses and the willow tree.⁴⁶⁸ Early-eighteenth-century tourists continued to praise the gardens at Chatsworth. Sir John Percival, described the Duke’s menagerie, the willow tree from whose leaves ‘comes a stream of water’, the cascade of ‘forty-five steps’ and that a canal 322 yards long, 25 broad and 4 feet deep was being constructed: for Percival the gardens were as ‘fine’ as the house.⁴⁶⁹ Charles Parry described the now familiar water works, but also recorded that in the summer house which stood at the head cascade there were more pipes set in the floor. The mischievous guide turned on the water while Parry was in the middle and the experience was ‘very surprising!’⁴⁷⁰ John Loveday was of the opinion that the ‘waterworks here are esteemed the best in England’.⁴⁷¹ Surveying the grounds in 1755, Resta Patching waxed lyrical

⁴⁶⁵ Sarah Markham (ed.), *John Loveday of Caversham 1711-1789: The Life and Tours of an Eighteenth-Century Onlooker* (Salisbury, 1984), p. 193.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁷ Charles Leigh, *The Natural History of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Derbyshire* (London, 1700), p.44.

⁴⁶⁸ Fiennes, *Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, pp. 97-98.

⁴⁶⁹ Wenger (ed.) *English Travels of Sir John Percival*, pp. 155-57.

⁴⁷⁰ Parry, ‘Tour to the North of England, 1725’, pp. 36-38.

⁴⁷¹ Markham, *John Loveday of Caversham*, p. 193.

about the gardens and situation of the house which raised the ideas of ‘Milton’s description of the boundaries of paradise’.⁴⁷²

Chatsworth house was subject to major remodelling in the 1760s under fourth Duke William Cavendish who employed the architect James Pain. The house had originally faced east but the frontage was changed to face west. The clearing of the new park, removed not only a hill, but parts of the nearby village of Edensor. Capability Brown landscaped the new park, completely removing the old gardens, but he left many of the water works. From this period, and in the later eighteenth century when the fifth Duke removed many of the artworks and collections to his London residence Devonshire house, Chatsworth began to suffer in visitor estimation. After his visit to Chatsworth, Bray concluded that the house was ‘certainly magnificent’ but was devoid of the ‘beautiful productions of the pencil’ to be found in the seats of our ‘nobility and gentry’: a few full length portraits in the state apartments were all that was seen and there were a ‘few antiques’.⁴⁷³ The anonymous author of the *Topographer* went further and stated that the house had ‘nothing to recommend it’ and that ‘not one room’ was ‘handsomely furnished’.⁴⁷⁴ Joseph Sullivan thought the house ‘little above the common standard of mediocrity’.⁴⁷⁵ James Plumptre was of a similar opinion the house was ‘little worth seeing’ as so many other houses exceeded it in ‘magnificence that it is only to be regarded as a curious specimen of the old taste’ – a clear reference to the more fashionable Kedleston Hall.⁴⁷⁶ Richard Warner viewing the house in 1802 described that

⁴⁷² Patching, *Four Topographical letters*, p. 17.

⁴⁷³ Bray, *Sketches of a Tour*, p. 169.

⁴⁷⁴ Anonymous, *Topographer*, vol. 6 (London, 1789), p. 318.

⁴⁷⁵ Joseph Sullivan, ‘Sullivan’s Tour through different parts of England, Scotland and Wales, performed in the year 1778’, in William Mavor (ed.), *The British Tourists*, 6 vol. (2nd edn. London, 1800), iii, p. 96.

⁴⁷⁶ Plumptre, ‘A Journal of a Tour into Derbyshire in the year 1793’, p. 72.

the architecture of building was a style that had been imported from Italy some 100 years previously and did not live up to the modern fashions of the later eighteenth century. The building was ‘magnificent, but heavy, expensive, but devoid of taste’. ‘Heaviness and gloom’ also characterised the interior of the house, but Warner thought that the ball-room was ‘singularly magnificent’.⁴⁷⁷ The most critical attack in the published accounts of travel was made by Grant, who toured Derbyshire in 1797 and wrote,

‘Ascend a steep hill, and saw it a mile off – Saw enough of it – Saw
those vile lawns and belts, and summer seats – Heard enough of it too –
Asked a man what curiosities it contained – “nothing but what you see”,
said he, “except it be a few water works” – Turned back’.⁴⁷⁸

Grant’s disgust towards Chatsworth can be explained as a critique of the Whig ideal of landscape. The situation of the house and in particular Capability Brown’s landscaped grounds was, for Grant, nothing more than a self-conscious display of private property, wealth and power that contributed nothing to the overall benefit of the nation. With no collections the house was simply not worth seeing: this was the ultimate criticism of the owner’s political ideologies and ‘taste’. It is possible that Grant was a Tory as his description of nearby Illam Hall, a Tudor mansion, reflects his ideal of landscape. This house had an ‘air of elegant snugness and of convenience mingled with taste’. The grounds also gained his admiration as they had not been redesigned according to Brown’s formula; kitchen gardens filled the immediate environs of the house and the borders of

⁴⁷⁷ Richard Warner, *A Tour through the Northern Counties of England and the Borders of Scotland*, i (Bath, 1802), pp.149-150, 153.

⁴⁷⁸ Grant, ‘Three Weeks Tour to the Lakes’ in William Mavor (ed.), *The British Tourists*, 6 vol. (London 1798), v, p. 225.

the house and walks were composed of old trees.⁴⁷⁹ As such the house flowed into surrounding countryside. John Byng recorded in his journal that Chatsworth ‘galled’ him. The building and grounds affronted his Tory leanings as did the Duke of Devonshire’s private affairs and he raged against the owner of the house and his ‘taste’. The river of clear water was nothing more than a ‘pitiful twine’ which under an ‘owner of spirit’ would equal that at Blenheim palace: but ‘here is no taste, no comforts displayed. All is asleep! More money may be lavished in follies, or lost at cards, in one year than would render this park a wonder of beauty’.⁴⁸⁰ However, criticism of the house from such a perspective was rare, other tourists, despite their political leanings, simply commented upon the out-dated fashionability of the house.

Tourists’ own accounts of their Chatsworth experience further reveal that the reputation of the house diminished in the later eighteenth century. James Coldham visited the Chatsworth in 1767 and thought that ‘it was a fine house, of the last age’, despite the recent remodelling, and went on to describe that the house had been ‘Gutted, no doubt for a finer one in town’.⁴⁸¹ Theodosius Forrest’s account of his visit to the house illustrates the way in which tourists applied their own ideals of taste. Contrasted with the surrounding ‘disagreeable country’ the house from a distance appeared ‘enchanted’. On closer inspection the architecture lacked ‘great elegance’ and was only deemed so by those that had not studied the ‘rules of that science’ and who remained unacquainted with the ‘harmony of chaste design’.⁴⁸² Beauty was found in just proportion, from whence ‘true elegance is derived’. Forrest thought the interior of the

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 217.

⁴⁸⁰ John, Byng, *The Torrington Diaries*. (ed.) C. Bruyn Andrews, 4 vols (London, 1934), i, p. 37.

⁴⁸¹ NRO, MC/40/103/1-3, James Coldham, ‘Journal Tour in England 1767’.

⁴⁸² MSL, Ms. 914.251, Theodosius Forrest, ‘Forrest’s Tour: Diaries and memorandum of Theodosius Forrest’s Tour in Derbyshire 1773’, pp. 48-49.

house had many stately apartments, but they were not ‘fitted up in a taste to merit our description’. Despite his criticisms of the house he thought Chatsworth ‘well worth seeing’.⁴⁸³ Johanna Schopenhauer thought the house ‘built in the grand style’ was ‘one of the finest and most splendid in all England’ and that the gilded window frames which reflected the sunlight gave the building ‘a marvellous fairy-tale appearance’.⁴⁸⁴ She was, however, more critical of the interior which contained ‘little of great interest’.⁴⁸⁵ Not visited by the owners, the house showed only its ‘ancient splendour’ and was ‘decaying’. As nothing new had been added it lacked the ‘freshness’ that made ‘other English country houses so very attractive’.⁴⁸⁶

Chatsworth’s new landscaped grounds and water works also suffered in visitor estimation during this period. Warner suggested that the grand waterworks had made Chatsworth famous as the ‘greatest wonder of Derbyshire’ some fifty years ago, but the ‘correct taste of the day’ considered them ‘only as expensive puerilities’.⁴⁸⁷ Brown’s smooth lines and clumps of trees failed to match the emerging appreciation for the ‘roughness’ and sudden variation of the later picturesque. The false landscaped grounds were the antithesis of the natural landscape and lacked appeal for those people who sought the natural, which was a major reason for visiting Derbyshire, and they criticised the grounds accordingly. Bray thought the water works ‘conceited’ and drawing on the vogue for natural scenery wrote that those who had ‘contemplated’ natural waterfalls would ‘receive little pleasure from seeing a temporary stream falling down a flight of

⁴⁸³ Ibid., pp. 48-49.

⁴⁸⁴ Ruth Michaelis-Jena and Willy Merson (trans and ed) *A Lady Travels: Journeys in England and Scotland from the Diaries of Johanna Schopenhauer* (London, 1988), p. 26.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 27.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁷ Warner, *Northern*, p. 149.

steps'.⁴⁸⁸ William Gilpin's *Observations Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty* (1786) adequately described the problem. 'Chatsworth was the glory of the last age, when trim parterres and formal water-works were in fashion. It *then* acquired a celebrity, which it never lost; though it has *now* many rivals' he continued that 'its environs had not kept with the improvements of the times'.⁴⁸⁹ Tourists were of a similar opinion. An anonymous traveller wrote in his journal that the gardens and artificial water works 'did not answer my expectations' as in his opinion 'natures rocks and cascades may be assisted yet they never can be equalled by artificial productions'.⁴⁹⁰ Criticism of a stately house's landscaped grounds judged from the rules of the picturesque was not just confined to Chatsworth, and Kedleston Hall also came under the tourist's fire. Much of Derbyshire's reputation as a tourist destination was built upon the county's picturesque scenery. Criticism was levelled against the owners of the house for their failure to model their grounds on 'raw' nature, especially as they had so many local examples that they could draw upon and which the tourist viewed. James Plumptre, who visited the house in 1793, illustrates the point. The situation of house was 'very pleasant' and lay 'beautifully in hill and dale, well wooded and a fine piece of water running through the park'. He found fault, however, with the artificial appearance of the cascades as they did not represent a natural scene: in his opinion the lack of 'natural taste' was 'unpardonable', as the owners had such 'beautiful specimens of nature to copy from'.⁴⁹¹ Having toured Dove dale, Plumptre further attacked the landscaped grounds of Chatsworth and Kedleston. He could not forgive the artificial scenes in the grounds at the two houses,

⁴⁸⁸ Bray, *Sketch of a Tour*, p. 169

⁴⁸⁹ William Gilpin, *Observations Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1772*, (London, 1786). p.220

⁴⁹⁰ DLSL, Ms. 3463, Anonymous, c. 1800, p.94.

⁴⁹¹ Plumptre, 'Tour into Derbyshire', p.62

especially as Dove dale stood as a 'ruinous monument' of Nature's own 'taste' and an exemplar upon which the grounds should have been modelled.⁴⁹²

This is not to suggest that all tourists were disappointed by Chatsworth, which illustrates the fact that tourists were a self-selecting group who judged the houses according to their own criteria and ideals of 'taste'. Touring Derbyshire in 1828, Mary Lee Warner described the house as 'the best' she had ever seen which according to her estimate numbered eighteen country houses, although, she gave no account of why this was the case. Whilst the gardens did not live up to her expectations they were 'better' than at any of the other houses she had visited.⁴⁹³ It may also be that there was vogue for debunking Chatsworth in the later eighteenth century as outdated, especially with Kedleston Hall, an example of the more fashionable neo-classical architecture, situated so nearby.

The tourist guides of the early to mid-nineteenth century continued to promote Chatsworth as an attraction to the visitor. Despite the criticism found in published and travellers' own accounts of their journeys, the house remained too important a feature of the tourist itinerary for the guides not to comment upon it. The sixth Duke of Devonshire appears to have been aware that the fashionability of Chatsworth and its reputation had declined. He remodelled the house in the 1820s and employed the architect Jeffery Wyattville, who added a new north wing, but most importantly remodelled the interior design of the house and gardens.⁴⁹⁴ The collections of art also saw significant improvement. The tourist guides of the early-nineteenth century marketed the house as a tourist destination through factual description rather than subjective observations on

⁴⁹² Ibid, p. 62-63.

⁴⁹³ NRO, Ms. BUL7/20, Mary Lee Warner, 'Diary tour of Yorkshire and Derbyshire 1828'.

⁴⁹⁴ Glover, *Peak Guide*, p. 25.

‘taste’. By doing so they were able to avoid any negative criticism that may have discouraged the tourist from viewing the house.

Stephen Glover’s *Peak Guide* (1830) gave the reader an account of the building phases at Chatsworth; the architects and artists employed and factual descriptions of the architecture rather than judgements on ‘taste’. The new wing was simply a ‘great credit to the architect’. He described the interior, where the great hall gave the ‘idea of grandeur’, although he returned to his factual descriptions of the rooms for the rest of the house. Glover also printed floor plans to the house. Having viewed the water works, he found them ‘amusing’ but misplaced amongst the surrounding scenery. The rest of his guide related the family history of the Cavendish family.⁴⁹⁵ Chamber’s *Beauties of Buxton* (1839) suggested that no admirer of the wonders of Derbyshire would be able to ‘expiate upon them until he has seen this splendid mansion’. He described the principal rooms and art collections to be seen in the house, and with Glover before him suggested that the ‘water works are generally a source of considerable amusement’.⁴⁹⁶ Both Glover and Chamber’s accounts illustrate the way in which the writers of the tour guides endorsed a trip to the house without any discussion of outdated fashionability.

The writers of early-nineteenth-century tourist guides were able to take a more positive stance in marketing Chatsworth to the potential visitor when describing the addition of the new collections of art. Given that the lack of collections had been commented upon by tourists, the new additions to the house could be used to enhance its reputation. Ward’s *Buxton, Matlock and Castleton Guide* (1826) Glover’s *Peak Guide* and Ebenezer Rhodes’ *Chatsworth: the Palace of the Peak* (1831) and Adam’s *Gem of*

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 20-51.

⁴⁹⁶ J. B. Chambers, *Beauties of Buxton* (Bakewell, 1839), pp. 48-53.

the Peak (1851) described the new collections of art. The gallery contained ‘the unique and extensive collection of drawings by the most eminent masters of the Flemish, Venetian, Spanish and Italian schools’, which contained ‘nearly one thousand original sketches’ – Claude Lorraine, Correggio, Titan, Salvator, Raphael, and Rubens all formed an ‘exhibition of talent’. These artworks had recently been removed from Devonshire House and did much to ‘enrich this part of Chatsworth’.⁴⁹⁷ Chambers’ *Beauties of Buxton* suggested to the reader that to describe the numerous artworks now at Chatsworth would ‘require a volume’ in their own right.⁴⁹⁸ H. Moore’s *Strangers Guide* (1827) went further suggesting that the new collections and museum was ‘highly gratifying to the world of taste’.⁴⁹⁹

Kedleston Hall, the seat of the Earls of Scarsdale, was rebuilt by Sir Nathaniel Curzon from 1760 onwards and immediately caught the eye of the tourist in Derbyshire. Designed by Robert Adam, one of the most influential architects of the later eighteenth century, and based upon designs from Rome and Herculaneum, the house stood out as a showpiece of both his design and neo-classical architecture. The salon, based upon the pantheon in Rome, was the showpiece of the house and the entrance hall was decorated with twenty-four Corinthian columns of Derbyshire marble. Much of the interior of the house had been designed to exhibit the Curzon’s collection of artworks and statues. The landscaped grounds were also a testament to both Curzon and Adam’s love of classical Italy. The house quickly gained a reputation for the display of superior ‘taste’, in architecture and collections, with the traveller and occupied a position in the tourist

⁴⁹⁷ Ward, *Buxton, Matlock & Castleton Guide*, p. 56; Glover, *Peak Guide*, pp. 27-29; Rhodes, *Chatsworth*, pp. 13, 14-31; Adam, *The Gem of the Peak*, pp.108-109.

⁴⁹⁸ Chambers, *Beauties of Buxton*, p. 49.

⁴⁹⁹ H. Moore, *The Stranger’s Guide* (Derby, 1827), p. 24.

itinerary that rivalled Chatsworth. After viewing the house, William Bray was of the opinion that Kedleston was the ‘true glory of Derbyshire, eclipsing Chatsworth the ancient boast of the county’.⁵⁰⁰

Theodosius Forrest included Kedleston on his tour of Derbyshire in 1773. Adam’s architectural style impressed him with its ‘elegant and majestic appearance’. Applying the same ‘rules of science’ to the house that had found Chatsworth wanting, he described the whole building with its curving wings as a design in which ‘harmony, elegance and taste’ were ‘happily united’ and one that could not ‘fail’ to give ‘satisfaction to the most curious spectator’. Forrest was ‘greatly mortified’ that they could not gain access to the house as he desired to see two of the ‘finest rooms in the kingdom, and the noble collection of pictures, this house has the reputation to contain’ and he vented spleen against the landlord of the Derby inn who had given them the wrong opening times. Unable to tarry in Derbyshire for another viewing he was disappointed at missing this opportunity.⁵⁰¹ Bray wrote that in the library there was a ‘piece by Rembrandt ‘which beggars all description. It is the story of Daniel brought before Nebuchadnezzar to interpret his dream’⁵⁰². Joseph Sullivan toured Kedleston in 1792 and found that the building was large enough to admit the idea of ‘grandeur and magnificence’. He described the hall with its twenty-four columns of Derbyshire marble as ‘superb’ as if it was designed for more than a ‘mortal residence’ and he was impressed by the collection of paintings. He informed his readers that the house was ‘magnificent’ and that ‘the hand of taste is evident in every part’, this was not surprising as it had been designed by Adam.

⁵⁰⁰ Bray, *Sketch of a Tour*, p. 66.

⁵⁰¹ Forrest, ‘Forrest’s Tour’, pp. 52-53.

⁵⁰² Bray, *Sketch of a Tour*, p. 114.

He concluded that no traveller 'should omit seeing it'.⁵⁰³ James Plumptre was impressed by both the architecture and the collections of paintings at the house, although the entry in his journal is not particularly detailed.⁵⁰⁴ An anonymous traveller visited the house in 1800 and could not sing the praises of the 'elegant mansion' high enough. The architecture of the house 'uncommonly beautiful' and that the 'proportion' of the whole front had been 'judiciously observed'. Describing the hall he thought 'nothing' could 'surpass this room in elegance'. Having viewed the paintings, rich furnishings and the grounds he concluded that 'modern magnificence runs throughout the whole of this seat'. His views on Kedleston can be contrasted with the indifferent account that he gave of Chatsworth.⁵⁰⁵ The Reverend Richard Warner waxed lyrical about Kedleston on his tour of Derbyshire in 1802. The house was a 'grand specimen of Adam's architectural taste and skill'. He described the saloon with its collection of art as 'one of the most elegant in Europe'. He took vast notes on the collections of pictures, paying much attention to the painting of Daniel in the library which with its expressions, grandeur of the King and light, reflected the 'transcendent genius and skill' of the artist. Warner continued by noting that the family apartments were fitted for comfort and concluded by stating that the 'elegance and taste' characterised everything within the house.⁵⁰⁶ Johanna Schopenhauer found much to her liking at Kedleston and she admired the houses collection of art and furnishings. Her only criticism was of the collection of antique

⁵⁰³ Sullivan, 'Sullivan's Tour', pp. 81-82.

⁵⁰⁴ Plumptre, 'Tour into Derbyshire', p. 62.

⁵⁰⁵ DLSL, Ms. 3463, Anonymous, c. 1800, pp. 81-83, 94-97.

⁵⁰⁶ Warner, *Northern*, pp. 118-128.

figures which she could not admire as they had all been treated with white paint to make them look like marble.⁵⁰⁷

Whilst Kedleston impressed most of the tourists who passed through its doors, there were criticisms of the house. James Coldham viewed the house in 1767. He found overall that the house was ‘sumptuous’, the furnishings on the ceilings, door-cases and furniture was a ‘great display of elegance and taste’ and he admired many of the paintings. He was, however, critical of many features of the house. The architecture was too plain, especially the pavilions, the entrance to the house was situated under a ‘lofty but unremarkable portico’: from the south the house looked ‘dead for want of windows’ and he described the curving wings of the house as ‘dead walls’, which was to ‘shame of the builder and proprietor’. Aspects of the interior design of the house also failed to impress him. The Corinthian columns admired by other tourists caused him concern as they were ‘very remarkable’ for having no bases, which he judged to be ‘disgusting to the eye and to the understanding’. He concluded overall that the house was not to his ‘taste’.⁵⁰⁸

The grounds laid out around the house had required extensive landscaping and the nearby village of Kedleston had been relocated during Curzon’s remodelling. Travellers, however, were less critical of this act than they were at Chatsworth. Bray recorded that ‘the village is removed (not destroyed, as is too often done)’,⁵⁰⁹ a clear reference to the remodelling of Chatsworth and other houses. The anonymous traveller noted the same information with no criticism as did Warner on his tour of the house.⁵¹⁰ The Curzon’s

⁵⁰⁷ Schopenhauer, *A Lady Travels*, pp. 25-26.

⁵⁰⁸ Coldham, ‘Journal tour in England, 1767’.

⁵⁰⁹ Bray, *Sketch of a Tour*, p. 112.

⁵¹⁰ DLSL, MS 3463, Anonymous, c. 1800, p. 80; Warner, *Northern*, p. 118.

were Tories and it is possible that tourists were of the opinion that ‘improvement’ at Kedleston had been carried out with characteristic Tory benevolence. Nathaniel Curzon had also kept the old village church within his grounds, and the situation of the house continued to reflect the Tory ideal of more traditional political landscapes rather than the Whig aloofness that tourists perceived at Chatsworth. Furthermore the Curzon’s private affairs may not have been in the public domain, unlike the fifth Duke of Devonshire which aroused negative comments.

The gardens and park surrounding the house were considered fashionable by the visitors to the house who delighted in the park – Plumptre’s negative criticism has already been described above. The anonymous tourist described that from the house one could obtain ‘many picturesque views’ of the water and adjoining woods.⁵¹¹ Warner thought the views from the house ‘beautiful’ and ‘embraced the skill-full improvements of Lord Scarsdale’ which had seen a ‘trifling brook’ turned into a ‘noble expanse of water’.⁵¹² Schopenhauer described the park as ‘excellent’ for its position and for the way in which the ‘arts’ had ‘improved nature without being too obtrusive’ and she thought that the stream gave the grounds ‘special charms’.⁵¹³ The grounds were not to every travellers ‘taste’ and James Coldham described that Curzon had ‘no view, but his lawns’ and that there was a ‘prodigious body of water, though not astonishing’.⁵¹⁴

The writers of the early to mid-nineteenth-century tourist guides had little trouble in promoting Kedleston hall as tourist destination as it was generally held high in visitor estimation. These author’s, as with the tourist before them, praised the architecture of

⁵¹¹ MS 3463, Anonymous, c. 1800, p. 80.

⁵¹² Warner, *Northern*, p. 118.

⁵¹³ Schopenhauer, *A Lady Travels*, p. 25.

⁵¹⁴ Coldham, *Journal tour in England*, 1767.

house and its art collections. Ward's *Buxton, Matlock and Castleton Guide* informed his readers of the 'uniform elegance and splendour of this noble house'. The hall and saloon were of 'particular notice' and the former was a 'combination of elegance and splendour' that was 'rarely' seen. He continued by describing the art collections and observed that 'almost every room of this noble mansion is enriched with paintings of great excellence'.⁵¹⁵ H. Moore *Strangers Guide* (1827) stated that the house was reputed to be 'the finest hall in this country' and that many 'excellent paintings' decorated the interior.⁵¹⁶ William Adam's *Gem of the Peak* (1851) described the hall in much the same vein, the rooms contained 'splendid specimens of between thirty and forty masters, Flemish, French, Italian and English schools'.⁵¹⁷ Unlike Chatsworth, there was less divergence between the marketing of the hall to the tourist and their own experience of Kedleston hall. The house was, therefore a major attraction of the tourist itinerary of Derbyshire and on a par with Chatsworth.

It was not just the stately homes of Derbyshire that were of interest to the tourist and lesser houses were included within the tourist itinerary. They appealed to the traveller for the collections or special pieces of art that they held and that the tourist was desirous of viewing. Oakover hall, situated close to Dove dale illustrates the point. The house received little interest in its own right but it contained a particularly fine painting, the Holy Family by Raphael. James Coldham, who travelled through Derbyshire in 1767, went to see the 'famous picture of the holy family by Raphael, the picture's composition, drawing and colours was 'inexpressible'. Grant, who was so critical of Chatsworth that he did not view the house, was attracted to Oakover hall by the reputation of its artworks

⁵¹⁵ Ward, *Buxton, Matlock and Castleton Guide*, pp.24-25.

⁵¹⁶ Moore *Strangers Guide*, pp. 27-28.

⁵¹⁷ Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, pp. 204-205.

and recorded viewing a 'collection of paintings by the best masters', including the Holy Family and two paintings by Titan, John baptizing Christ and Christ Bearing his cross. The Reverend Richard Warner informed his readers that - 'the visitor is permitted to view one room only in the house; but this is a jewel' and he continued that the painting of the Holy Family could not be spoken off in terms of 'too high praise'. The baptism of Christ by Titan was remarkable for its detail; 'the hands could almost be felt' and he went on to describe several other paintings in the room.⁵¹⁸

Baronial Mansions.

The preceding chapter on antiquities has suggested that in the later eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries there emerged a less specialised antiquarian interest in the history of the middle-ages and its architecture. Gothic literature further stimulated an interest in older gothic mansions as a source of atmosphere and romance which gave the tourist a vocabulary of association to be employed at these sites. In the nineteenth century the middle-ages increasingly became the focus of a growing national identity and the democratisation of history. There was a move away from the elite dominated Whig history that concentrated upon the political development of the nation and a more romantic history emerged. Technological developments in the printing industry not only allowed the marriage of text and image, but for the first time history was able to reach a new and socially broad audience.⁵¹⁹ Mandler has suggested that within this romantic history there was a particular concentration upon the 'Olden Time' – a period beginning

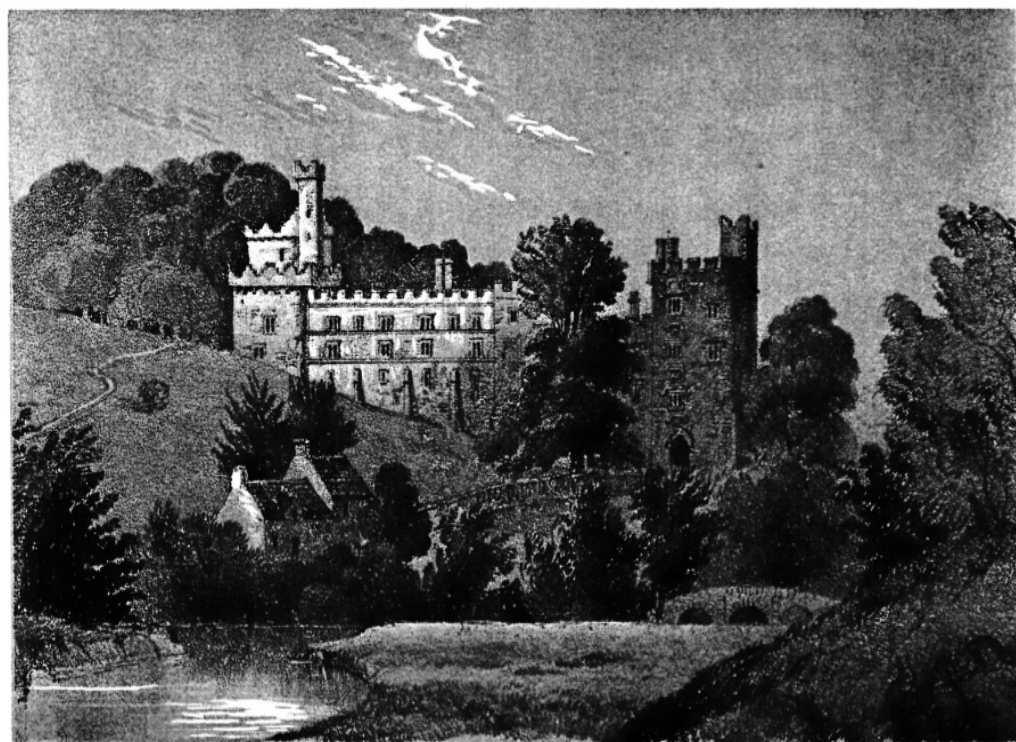
⁵¹⁸ Coldham, *Journal tour in England, 1767*; Grant, 'Three Weeks Tour', p.216; Warner, *Northern*, pp. 129-130.

⁵¹⁹ Mitchell, *Picturing the Past*, p. 15.

with the advent of the Tudors and ending with the civil wars. This romantic history drew heavily on earlier eighteenth-century antiquarians' works such as that of Joseph Strutt. The broader social appeal of the 'Olden Time' was that society had been more equitable and equal and had also been a time of relative peace and harmony for the English people.⁵²⁰ Joseph Nash's *Mansions of England in the Olden Time* (1839-1849) depicted sport events and games around English country houses, Christmas festivities, and concentrated on the social harmony between the nobles and commoners. The mansions of England were no longer the crude uncomfortable dwellings that the eighteenth-century tourist had perceived them to be. Rather, they were simple or rustic, and what the ruling class lacked in refined manners, they made up for in warmth and common humanity; their residences were places of social harmony of which the great hall was the symbol. Literature was also a part of this process. The historical novel came in to its own in the nineteenth century. The majority of Sir Walter Scott's novels were set in the middle ages and popularised a taste for historical atmosphere and romance amid sweeping historical change. Mandler further suggests that this was matched by a boom in popular tourism from the middle classes. The new and varied media in which historic buildings could be viewed was vital to the popular picturesque tourism, providing those of a lower social class with the vocabulary of the past to unleash at a given historical building.⁵²¹

⁵²⁰ Mandler, 'In the Olden Time', pp. 78-89.

⁵²¹ Peter Mandler, 'The Wand of Fancy': the Historical Imagination of the Victorian Tourist', in Marius Kwint, Christopher Breward and Jeremy Aynsley (eds.) *Material Memories* (Oxford, 1999), p. 139.

*G. Rowe, Cheltenham.**Published by H. Adam Madox.*

HADDON HALL.

Figure 10: Haddon Hall. Artist G. Rowe (c. 1830). Reproduced courtesy Landmark Publishing. The engraving shows Haddon Hall which became imbued with to the romanticised image of Baronial hospitality.

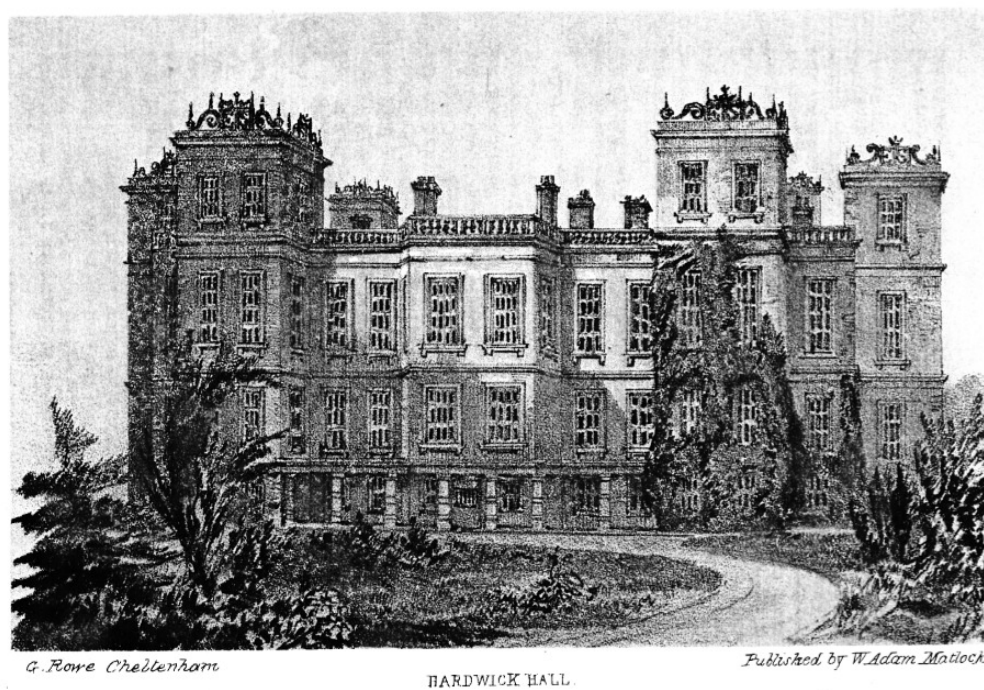


Figure 11. Hardwick Hall. Artist G. Rowe (c.1830). Reproduced courtesy Landmark Publishing. The engraving illustrates Hardwick Hall which was particularly associated with the tragic figure of Mary Queen of Scots.

Haddon Hall, the property of the Manners family the Dukes of Rutland, was a fourteenth century gothic manor house with additions and remodelling in the sixteenth century. The Manners resided at Belvior Castle in Nottinghamshire and the hall was uninhabited throughout the period. Furthermore around 1760 the most valuable furniture was removed to Belvior Castle with the rest being sold or thrown away.⁵²² The hall received few visitors for much of the eighteenth century; as a gothic building its architecture did little to attract the tourist who considered the classical style superior and standing empty the house contained no collections to encourage the tourist to view the house. In light of this Ousby has suggested that gothic manor houses needed important historical associations to interest the tourist. He has further suggested, with regard to Haddon Hall in particular, that ‘not even the gothic revival helped visitor’s perceptions of the place’.⁵²³ Ousby’s findings require some revision as Haddon Hall, without any important historical connections, at first drew the attention of the antiquarian and in the early-nineteenth century became more popular with tourists for the image of ‘Baronial hospitality’.

Haddon Hall began to attract the tourist in the later eighteenth century which, due to the influence of antiquarian study, saw a growing interest in the medieval past and in particular a concentration on the modes of life and customs of the period. William Bray toured the house in the 1770s, although the house left a less than favourable impression as he found that his antiquarian interests were not satisfied. ‘The rooms (except the gallery) are dark and uncomfortable, and give no favourable idea of our ancestor’s taste

⁵²² Anonymous, *A Visit to Haddon Hall in 1838* (Derby, c.1838), p. 30

⁵²³ Ousby, *Englishmen’s England*, p.53

or domestic pleasures'.⁵²⁴ John Byng found the interior of Haddon hall highly satisfactory. The gallery was 'finely wainscoted' and 'finely windowed' with stained glass. The chapel particularly impressed him, the east window which depicted the crucifixion and various saints was 'to be admired for the very curious, and antique painting'.⁵²⁵ Byng admired it so much that he took a piece as a souvenir.⁵²⁶ Both Bray and Byng's visit to the hall illustrate that there was an emerging appreciation for the history of the medieval period that the house embodied. Grant visited Haddon in 1797, but found the rooms 'dismal' and filled with the 'tatters of pride'. He took particular notice of the rack of roasting-spits which put him in mind of 'ancient gormandising'. His comments, however, lack the later romanticism of the 'olden time'.⁵²⁷ An anonymous traveller who arrived at the hall in 1800, recorded the emerging fascination with John Vernon, self-styled 'King of the Peak' and the hospitality that was associated with him and he described Christmas festivities and the dining arrangements where the lord and commoners eat in the same room.⁵²⁸ His comments reflect the interest in the manners and customs of the Tudor period but, as with Bray he found the rooms too 'gloomy' to give an idea of the 'great hospitality exercised here when it was inhabited by its noble owners and their retainers, and sounded with the joyous merriment of them and their illustrious guests'.⁵²⁹

The gothic literature of the late eighteenth century with its concentration on atmosphere further inspired the tourist to visit Haddon. It was claimed that the house had

⁵²⁴ Bray, *Sketch of a Tour*, p. 153.

⁵²⁵ Byng, *Torrington Diaries*, i, p. 43

⁵²⁶ Ibid.

⁵²⁷ Grant, 'Three Weeks Tour', pp. 233-234.

⁵²⁸ DLSSL, MS 3463, Anonymous, c. 1800, pp. 90-92.

⁵²⁹ Ibid., 90-92.

been the inspiration behind Ann Radcliff's gothic novel the *Mysteries of Uldolpho* (1794).⁵³⁰ Rhodes suggested that the hall had supplied her 'imagination' with 'romantic ideas' and the 'gloomy scenery' that appeared in her novel 'was studied within the walls of this ancient structure'.⁵³¹ The same anonymous traveller described in his journal how the gloomy old halls impressed the 'mind with the most dismal imagination of imprisonments, assassinations, murders' and of 'ghosts, apparitions and all sorts of frightful hobgoblins' who were the attendants of 'dark and horrid deeds. He concluded that the hall was 'well calculated for the scene of a modern romance'.⁵³² Antiquarian research that concentrated on the history of the house suggested that Dorothy Vernon had eloped with Sir John Manners and the event provided a historical base which the writers of the nineteenth-century tourist guides romanticised. Chambers' *Beauties of Buxton* suggested that she had slipped from the 'gay crowd' being entertained by her father to elope with her lover.⁵³³ William Adam described Dorothy Vernon's rooms as being 'full of interest to the lovers of romantic love stories'.⁵³⁴ From the window she conversed with her lover, who had approached the window unobserved and announced his presence to her by the 'sweet and gentle strains of his lute'. He also suggested that it was from the doors of the upper terrace that she eloped with Manners.⁵³⁵ This associated the hall even further with the familiar themes of gothic romance of the period. H. Barker's Matlock guide (1810) informed his readers that the house deserved 'the attention of the antiquary,

⁵³⁰ Ward, *Buxton, Matlock & Castleton Guide*, p. 60; Moore, *Strangers Guide*, p. 27; Glover, *Peak Guide*, p. 86; Chambers, *Beauties of Buxton*, p. 62; Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 165.

⁵³¹ Ebenezer Rhodes, *Peak Scenery or the Derbyshire Tourist* (London, 1824), p. 147.

⁵³² DLSL, MS 3463, Anonymous, c. 1800, p. 92.

⁵³³ Chambers, *Beauties of Buxton*, p. 61.

⁵³⁴ Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 180.

⁵³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

as well as the reader of romance'.⁵³⁶ This suggests that the writers of the tour guides utilised gendered marketing at this attraction, in an attempt to give the Hall a broader appeal to the female tourist by drawing upon themes expressed in the romantic gothic novel.

In the early-nineteenth century it was the particular appeal of the 'olden time' that attracted the tourist to Haddon. The sixteenth century manor represented a time of social harmony in the medieval past. Adam's *Gem of the Peak* illustrates the changed cultural perceptions towards the Tudor period. The fourteenth century Old tower represented the feudal system, the barbarity of former times, the darkness and superstition that people lived in, when 'caprice, passion ambition, or avarice' ruled the day.⁵³⁷ He contrasted this image with the rest of Haddon which was without the 'powerful and gloomy defences' as men had become 'united, and subject to law, and one common form of government'.⁵³⁸ The writers of the early-nineteenth century tourist guides did much to promote the house to the prospective tourist by drawing on this image of the 'olden time'. H. Moore's *Strangers Guide* (1827) suggested that the hall in its 'present state retains many curious vestiges of the residence of an English baron, and affords several indications of the ancient mode of living'.⁵³⁹ Glover wrote that the hall was 'venerable relique of the baronial period' which illustrated the 'domestic economy of the great in the middle ages', their 'profuse hospitality' and the 'rude magnificence of their general mode of living'.⁵⁴⁰ Ward and Chambers thought that the size of the kitchens and buttery proved that 'old

⁵³⁶ Barker, *Panorama of Matlock*, p. 25.

⁵³⁷ Adam. *Gem of the Peak*, p. 166.

⁵³⁸ Ibid.

⁵³⁹ Moore, *Strangers Guide*, p. 27; Barker, *Panorama of Matlock*, p. 20.

⁵⁴⁰ Glover, *Peak Guide*, p. 82.

English hospitality was both practiced and understood within these walls'. Adam described the hall simply as one of the 'finest specimens of a hall of the olden time'.⁵⁴¹

The image of 'baronial hospitality' and social harmony was particularly associated with the hall's most notable owner, John Vernon. Nineteenth-century tourist guides described and reflected on the ancient manners of the period.⁵⁴² Adam's description illustrates and reflects many of the comments to be found in the guides. He reflected on the 'the glee and revelry which succeeded, when the prince and the dependant, the master and the menial, dined in the same common hall'. He described how the hall inspired the imagination to dwell on the period when the 'King of the Peak', kept his two hundred retainers, and open house for twelve days at Christmas-tide, to all who chose to partake of his generous bounty'.⁵⁴³ It would appear that tourists were eager to recreate a pastiche of this experience on their visit to hall. The author of *A Visit to Haddon Hall in 1838* informed his readers that the 'Banqueting hall' was particularly suited to 'call forth associations connected with by-gone times'. Here parties, who brought their own provisions, could gratify their 'taste for antiquity' by dinning of the same long table that had often 'groaned beneath loads of roast and boiled, of flesh, and fish, and fowl' – and the guide William Hage was ready to oblige.⁵⁴⁴

Two halls stood adjacent to each other at Hardwick – the old and the new – and it was the new hall that tourists visited. Built by Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury in 1597 she provided an important historical attraction for the house. Her life was well chronicled,

⁵⁴¹ Ward, *Buxton, Matlock and Castleton Guide*, p. 60; Chambers, *Beauties of Buxton*, p. 59; Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 165.

⁵⁴² Ward, *Buxton, Matlock and Castleton Guide*, p. 69; Moore, *Strangers Guide*, p. 27; Glover, *Peak Guide*, p. 85.

⁵⁴³ Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 176.

⁵⁴⁴ Anonymous, *Haddon Hall*, p. 9.

her four marriages had raised her to a position of power, and with her second husband she had founded the original Chatsworth house, another at Oldcotes and the two halls at Hardwick. Furthermore, her fourth husband the Earl of Shrewsbury was charged with the custody of Mary Queen of Scots and the Countess and the Queen became inexorably connected. Architecturally, the hall reflected the changing fashions of the late sixteenth century and straddled the gothic and baroque styles. As such it was never associated with the image of the 'olden time', but was visited by, and marketed to the tourist as an example of the 'grandeur' and 'taste' of that period.

William Bray included the 'noble old seat' on his tour of Derbyshire in the 1770s. He had little to say about the architecture but described the rooms, furnishings and paintings – many of which were 'hurt, and some entirely destroyed by damp' – in the house. The paintings which were mainly portraits were of interest to him as an antiquarian and he commented upon the dress and styles of the past that they illustrated.⁵⁴⁵ Hardwick appealed to John Byng, who enjoyed reflecting on the 'tastes' of the past that older halls presented. He described the dining-hall as being a room of the 'most surprising grandeur' and having seated himself at the dining table was 'filled' by the 'lofty ideas of the grandeur and living of the lady builder, who was the richest subject in Europe'.⁵⁴⁶ An anonymous tourist described a previous visit to Hardwick in his tour of Derbyshire in 1800. Having seen the rooms and portraits, he quoted Horace Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting* as illustrating his views on the hall. Although a 'remarkable specimen of the noble edifices' of the period, Hardwick was constructed when 'space and vastness' were

⁵⁴⁵ Bray, *Sketch of a Tour*, pp. 161-65.

⁵⁴⁶ Byng, *Torrington Diaries*, i, pp. 31-32.

‘mistaken’ as an ‘idea of grandeur’ and ‘costly workmanship for taste’. Adam’s *Gem of the Peak* (1851) also quoted Walpole’s account of the hall.⁵⁴⁷

The early-nineteenth-century tourist guides marketed the house to the traveller along much the same lines, although the hall and paintings were refurbished by the Duke of Devonshire in the 1790s. William Adam’s *Gem of the Peak* described the rooms and furnishings of the castle which now included a statue of Mary Queen of Scots (her association with the houses of Derbyshire is discussed below). The portraits had seen most improvement and 187 now adorned the walls, which Adam found ‘valuable’ not on account of their ‘execution’ but for the ‘historical recollections that attach to the persons they present’⁵⁴⁸. It would appear that Hardwick remained the preserve of travellers with antiquarian leanings rather than the general tourist as it lacked the appeal of the ‘olden time’. Furthermore, the hall was situated on the border with Nottinghamshire and lay some distance from the usual round of houses that included the more popular Chatsworth, Kedleston and Haddon halls.

Melancholic Reflections.

The Tudor manor house of Derbyshire had a further attraction in that in their uninhabited and semi-ruinous condition they reflected themes of age, antiquity, dynasty and its passing that led to melancholic reflections on the mutability of mankind in the tourists’ imagination. Clark has suggested that Thomas Gray’s *Elegy in a Country Churchyard* (1757) inspired melancholic reflections based at ruins, and a new value was

⁵⁴⁷ DLSL, MS 3463, Anonymous, c. 1800, pp. 121-22; Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 196.

⁵⁴⁸ Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 195.

placed on crumbling architecture, overgrown with ivy, the ages of man reduced to nothing by time and nature. The gothic novel of the late eighteenth century owed much to the poetry of the early eighteenth century with its concentration on melancholy and tombs. These familiar themes were repackaged in action, romance and the supernatural in the gothic novel such as Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1765) and Ann Radcliff's novel, *The Mysteries of Uldolpho* (1791).⁵⁴⁹ Everett has suggested that 'venerable mansions' confirmed the impression of age and that the play of light, particularly with the approach of dusk, created romantic effects in the mind of chivalry and ancient manners.⁵⁵⁰

Such reflections can be traced at Haddon hall. Grant, who visited Haddon in 1797 described how a 'group of old, dark trees embraces the desolate and princely ruins of Haddon'.⁵⁵¹ Approaching the house at dusk became fashionable; William Adam described how the sun was fast declining in the far west when we attained the eminence near Haddon'.⁵⁵² This approach stimulated the melancholic reflections on by-gone days which were derived from the fantasy of the past. H. Moore's *Strangers Guide* (1827) suggested to his readers that the ruins of Haddon raised 'serious reflections on the mutability of human affairs'.⁵⁵³

Ebenezer Rhodes *Peak Scenery* (1824) and Chamber's *Beauties of Buxton* (1839) painted particularly melancholic reflections of Haddon hall to their readers which drew on the image of the 'olden time'. The 'corroding tooth of time' had taken its toll on the building. The courts that been thronged with busy retainers were now deserted. The

⁵⁴⁹ Sweet, *Antiquarians*, p. 276; Clark, *Gothic Revival*, p. 44.

⁵⁵⁰ Everett, *Tory View of Landscape*, p. 107.

⁵⁵¹ Grant, 'Three Weeks Tour', p. 233.

⁵⁵² Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 165.

⁵⁵³ Moore, *Strangers Guide*, p. 27.

‘once crowded hall’, whose walls and rafters had rung to the sound of the ‘huge wassail howl’, shouts of ‘revelry’ and the ‘minstrel’s song’ was now ‘cheerless and forsaken’: only the ‘silence and stillness of death’ now prevailed. He concluded with the rhetorical question of the lecture that the changed fortunes of this mansion presented to the ‘proud and arrogant’.⁵⁵⁴

The ruins of South Wingfield manor house also stimulated the tourist to dwell on the mutability of mankind. The house had been built in 1440 by Ralph Lord Cromwell, Chancellor of the Exchequer to Henry VI. The mansion consisted of a quadrangular court, with two towers and battlements. At the end of the Civil Wars the house had been ‘slighted’, since when it had remained in a ruinous condition. The architecture of the building interested the tourist, the groined roof of the cellar, supported by a double row of pillars, was of particular note and Adam declared that they were only equalled by ‘those at Fountains Abbey’.⁵⁵⁵ Britton and Brayley were of the opinion that the house had once been ‘the most-stately residence in Derbyshire’⁵⁵⁶ and the remains of the great hall, measuring seventy two feet by thirty six feet, called forth the increasingly popular image of ‘baronial hospitality’.

John Byng described the houses picturesque qualities, declaring that from its ‘present state, from shade, situation, and remains, it is one of the most curious, and well worth seeing bits of antiquity in the kingdom’.⁵⁵⁷ Adam’s *Gem of the Peak* (1851) described the house: the ruined turrets had become the haunt of the owl and bat, overgrown with ivy and vegetation. A farmer used the spacious courts to store hay, while his animals

⁵⁵⁴ Rhodes, *Peak Scenery*, p. 147; Chambers, *Beauties of Buxton*, p. 56.

⁵⁵⁵ Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 189.

⁵⁵⁶ Britton and Brayley, *Beauties of England and Wales*, iii, p. 532.

⁵⁵⁷ Byng, *Torrington Diaries*, i, p. 199.

roamed freely through the halls. He contrasted this with the image of baronial hospitality, and for Adam, and presumably his readers, Wingfield manor exhibited 'an impressive monument of the mutations caused by time'.⁵⁵⁸

Mary Queen of Scots.

The importance of Mary Queen of Scots to the tourist itinerary in Derbyshire during the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries can not be over estimated. As a historical figure of tragedy, she occupied an almost cult like status in the later eighteenth century.. Taken prisoner in 1568, she spent 17 years in confinement under the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury. Her association with Chatsworth house, Hardwick hall and South Wingfield manor was an important draw for the tourist, especially at the latter two which had little else to offer the general tourist. In the late eighteenth century and early- nineteenth century the writers of tour guides increasingly drew upon her as a figure of tragedy in marketing these houses to the tourist.

For much of the eighteenth century Mary Queen of Scots provided the houses of Derbyshire with an important historical connection and her rooms and furniture were shown at Chatsworth, Hardwick and South Wingfield. Percival recorded seeing her apartments at Chatsworth in 1701, although he little to say about the Queen herself. Early-eighteenth-century topographical literature further promoted her association with the house to the prospective traveller. J. Corbett described in 1749 that 'In memory of this royal captive, the new lodgings that are built instead of the old, are still called the

⁵⁵⁸ Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 188.

Queen of Scots apartments’⁵⁵⁹. Glover informed his readers in 1830 that he thought Chatsworth had ‘acquired particular interest, as being one of her prisons’.⁵⁶⁰ Her rooms at the house were shown throughout the period. Warner saw her apartments in 1802, but apart from describing Mary as ‘beautiful, indiscrete and unfortunate’ he spent little time reflecting upon her memory. William Bray and John Byng visited Hardwick Hall and both described being shown her bedchamber, which contained her bed and her arms were carved above the door.⁵⁶¹ Adam described that a ‘richly sculptured statue of Mary Queen of Scots, in Maltese stone, by Westmacott’ stood in the hall.⁵⁶² James Pilkington’s *View of the Present State of Derbyshire* recorded that Mary had also resided at South Wingfield manor during her captivity and that the guide showed ‘apartments, which were appropriated to her use’.⁵⁶³ Their descriptions, however, do not contain the more romantic associations that she would begin to embody.

In the later eighteenth century Mary Queen of Scots became a figure of tragedy and romance. Antiquarian research culturally revaluated her in these terms concentrating on her long imprisonment and the dignity that she possessed at her execution. Her tragic life reached a wider audience through plays and novels based upon these themes that aroused the sentimentality of the eighteenth-century mind.⁵⁶⁴ Lewis has suggested that old English buildings became imbued with interest due to her melancholy fate and that Georgians used her memory to bring old buildings to life and she draws particular

⁵⁵⁹ Wenger (ed.), *The English Travels of Sir John Percival*, p. 155; Corbett, *Description of Derbyshire*, p. 221.

⁵⁶⁰ Glover, *Peak Guide*, p. 18.

⁵⁶¹ Bray, *Sketch of a Tour*, p. 164; Byng, *Torrington Diaries*, i, p. 31

⁵⁶² Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 192.

⁵⁶³ James Pilkington, *View of the Present State of Derbyshire*, 2 vols (2nd edn. London, 1803), ii, p. 314.

⁵⁶⁴ Jane Elizabeth Lewis, *Mary Queen of Scots: Romance and the Nation* (London, 1998), pp. 88-110.

reference to travellers engaging in this practice at Hardwick Hall.⁵⁶⁵ Pilkington informed his readers that Camden's *History of the reign of Queen Elizabeth* stated that in 1569 a rescue attempt was planned from Wingfield by Leonard Dacres. However, the Earl of Northumberland, a partner in the plot, leaked the plan to the Duke of Norfolk, who forbade any rescue attempt.⁵⁶⁶ Writing some fifty years later William Adam's *Gem of the Peak* (1851) described the same event as an attempt to 'liberate' the 'ill fated' queen from her 'thralldom'.⁵⁶⁷ This particular episode of Mary's captivity appealed to the growing romanticism that she embodied, and to the familiar pattern of imprisonment and rescue in gothic literature.

Visitors to Chatsworth also dwelt on Mary Queen of Scots as a tragic and romantic figure. Having seen the 'unfortunate' Mary's apartments, Joseph Sullivan felt that the furniture provided 'melancholy memorials of fallen greatness'.⁵⁶⁸ Johanna Schopenhauer emotions were stirred when she saw Mary's room and she felt that one can almost feel the many lonely tears she must have shed there'.⁵⁶⁹ She left 'sad but beautiful Chatsworth' still much under the influence of Mary's fate and felt 'proud that in his play *Maria Stuart* our own poet, Friedrich Schiller' had paid homage to her long before anybody did publicly in Britain.⁵⁷⁰ William Adam promoted Mary's tragic and romantic association with Chatsworth to the tourist in the strongest language of melancholy. Describing Queen Victoria's visit to Chatsworth in 1843 he could not help but reflect upon Mary. In the 'midst of surrounding hilarity, we felt pensive. There was a forced

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 103, 109-110.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 314.

⁵⁶⁷ Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 190.

⁵⁶⁸ Sullivan, 'Sullivan's Tour', pp. 95-96.

⁵⁶⁹ Schopenhauer, *A Lady Travels*, p. 27.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid.

and melancholy contrast'. Adam continued 'we could have wept over the evanescence of beauty' and 'the depression of greatness' and asked the rhetorical question, who could 'refuse a feeling of regret for Mary, whose life was a romance' and full of the 'darker passages of romantic story'.⁵⁷¹ However, this was not always an attraction, after seeing the bedchamber of Mary Queen of Scots at Chatsworth House, the reporter for the *Topographer* stated, 'we can enter scarce any of the great houses in these parts, without hearing some tradition or some memorial of this unfortunate sufferer'.⁵⁷² This would suggest that while Mary Queen of Scots was a pivotal figure in attracting tourists she had to some degree been over capitalised upon.

Conclusion.

The stately houses and gothic and Tudor mansions of Derbyshire contributed an important cultural dynamic to the tourist itinerary of Derbyshire in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Their increasing popularity with visitors gave the towns of Buxton and Matlock Bath a greater appeal as convenient centres from which to tour the county's houses and remained an important draw for the towns throughout the period. For much of the eighteenth century it was the stately homes that were of most interest to the traveller who wished to view grand classical architectural styles and broaden their education through viewing the repositories of culture that these houses contained. In opening their doors to the tourist the owner's 'taste' was judged according to the visitors own ideals of taste, and with regard to stately houses the tourist, was perhaps most vocal in their opinions of any feature of the tourist itinerary. Chatsworth remained popular

⁵⁷¹ Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 146.

⁵⁷² Anonymous, *Topographer*, vol. 6, p. 322.

with tourists throughout the period, although its reputation rose, diminished, and began to rise again in visitor estimation. Kedleston's fame also attracted the tourist and its reputation rose in visitor estimation throughout the later eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. As such, the tourist guides were able to market the house to the visitor in terms of lavish praise that matched the tourists own observations and experience.

From the later eighteenth century, the tourist itinerary included the county's Tudor manor houses. At first it was travellers with antiquarian interests that visited these houses, but influenced by the growing popularity for the gothic and then the romanticised image of the 'olden time', Tudor manor houses became imbued with historical atmosphere that had a broader appeal to the early-nineteenth century tourist. The writers of the tourist guides for the county drew upon gothic literature and the image of 'baronial hospitality' in marketing these houses as tourist destinations. The image of the 'olden time' invested these uninhabited and mainly unfurnished houses with greater interest for the general visitor as a source of historical atmosphere. The house stimulated the tourist to indulge in melancholic reflections that contrasted its former glory with its ruinous condition. Hardwick Hall, however, was never romanticised under the image of 'Baronial hospitality' and appears to have remained the preserve of the antiquarian rather than the general tourist.

The association of several of these houses with Mary Queen of Scots provided a further attraction for the tourist and was commented upon throughout the period. As a historical figure she increasingly became the focus of a romance and tragedy for the traveller who reflected upon her fate. Her importance to these houses can be illustrated in two ways. Firstly, antiquarian research began to suggest that the rooms the tourist

viewed as Mary's could never have been hers – the present edifices at Chatsworth and Hardwick had not been built during her lifetime. The tourist guides, however, could not afford to lose such a marketable figure and suggested that her furniture had been removed from the buildings that had previously stood on the site to their present location.⁵⁷³

Secondly, the image of tragedy that was applied to her in the later eighteenth century further invested houses such as South Wingfield manor, which had little to offer the general tourist, with historical and romantic associations.

Derbyshire's stately homes and Tudor manor houses were a central attraction for the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century tourist. Topographical literature, published and unpublished accounts of travel and the early-nineteenth century tourist guides illustrate that they were viewed by, and marketed to the visitor as repositories of culture and historical atmosphere. For the traveller these houses offered the juxtaposition of modern 'taste' and romanticised ancient manners which contributed to the popularity of the wider Derbyshire tourist itinerary.

⁵⁷³ Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, pp. 192-194.

Chapter Five: Industry and Tourism.

Introduction.

William Hutton's *History of Derby* (1817) informed its readers that the town of Derby had 'crept silently through the ages without much connexion with commerce' until the beginning of the eighteenth century when 'the river, the silk mill, the porcelain &c. awakened her drowsy talents to riches, increase and notice'.⁵⁷⁴ His comments can be seen as indicative of changes in industry throughout Derbyshire as, due to early mechanised industry's reliance on water power, several new emergent technologies located themselves in the county. Eighteenth-century topographical literature portrayed Derbyshire as a centre of these new technologies. Published and unpublished tourist accounts for the period illustrate the fascination that technological and industrial development held for the tourist. Such was the visitor demand to view emergent technology that many establishments imposed strict rules of access and regulated visiting hours – for fear of industrial espionage.⁵⁷⁵ Moir has suggested that for the tourist, visiting sites of industry enjoyed the same popularity as viewing picturesque scenery and visiting country houses, and that the tourist felt a sense of patriotic pride in the new manufacturing and engineering achievements that were being made. Industry further appealed to the visitor as there was an aesthetic pleasure, influenced by the concepts of the sublime and picturesque that could be enjoyed at a visit to a mill or mine.⁵⁷⁶ With the exception of P. M Jones' recent article on visitors to Matthew Boulton's Soho works at

⁵⁷⁴ William Hutton, *History of Derby* (2nd edn. London, 1817), p. 180.

⁵⁷⁵ Esther Moir, *The Discovery of Britain The English Tourists 1540 to 1840* (London, 1964), p. 91.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid.

Birmingham, however, there are few studies in the literature of domestic tourism that have explained why new technologies achieved such popularity with travellers.⁵⁷⁷

In examining the role of industry in the tourist itinerary of Derbyshire this chapter draws the arguments of Musson and Roberts, Stewart, Jacobs and Mokyr, whose work in science and technology during the Industrial Revolution has illustrated the importance of the growth of scientific culture in the form of public scientific lectures, print culture and philosophical societies in society during this period.⁵⁷⁸ This acted as a stimulus to the technical awareness of the traveller and his or her desire to tour industrial sites. This is discussed with relation to several industrial sites and the new technologies that they embodied. Discussion then concentrates upon the culture of improvement brought about by the emergent technologies and upon the individuals responsible for their invention, which became a major theme in tourists' own accounts of the sites that they visited. In promoting the county to the tourist the early nineteenth-century writers focused particularly on the image of the self-made industrial entrepreneur and his importance in bringing improvement to the nation's economy and trade. The aesthetic appeal of industry is then examined as a contributory factor to the popularity of the county's sites of industry, also taking into account the impact that industry had upon the picturesque

⁵⁷⁷ P.M. Jones, 'Industrial Enlightenment in Practice: Visitors to the Soho Manufactory', in *Midland History*, 33:1 (2008), pp. 68-96.

⁵⁷⁸ The work of these historians has investigated the extent to which scientific knowledge contributed to the growth of technical innovation resulting in industrialisation during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They argue that the growth of a scientific culture in Britain directly appealed to the commercial and manufacturing interests through the application of science to mechanisation. Lectures, scientific literature (often simplified) and philosophical societies brought together individuals with capital and skills and an interest in the possibilities of science. Knowledge, standardised systems and theories, and a common scientific and technical vocabulary provided the pre-requisites through which industrialisation was achieved. A.E. Musson and Eric Robertson, *Science and Technology in the Industrial Revolution* (Manchester, 1969); Larry Stewart, *The Rise of Public Science: Rhetoric, Technology, and Natural Philosophy in Newtonian Britain, 1660-1750* (Cambridge, 1992); Margaret C. Jacob, *Scientific Culture and the Making of the Industrial West* (Oxford, 1997); Joel Mokyr, *The Gifts of Athena: Historical Origins of the Knowledge Economy* (Princeton, 2005).

landscape for which the county was famous. Finally, the chapter suggests that travel literature promoted Derbyshire as a region at the forefront of improvement and technological change in both its traditional and new industries which gave a broader appeal to a tour of the county and one which tourists were eager to explore.

‘Industrial Enlightenment’.

The spread of scientific and technical knowledge in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was identified by Musson and Robertson as a crucial factor in the widespread support for, and rapid acceptance, of mechanisation and industrialisation in Britain. They emphasise the importance of public opinion that had been educated to understand and appreciate the significance of scientific and technological advances. This had been achieved by public lectures, scientific literature and the growth of philosophical societies which promoted the Newtonian view of the universe and its practical applications to the ‘manufacturing arts’.⁵⁷⁹ Following on from their work, Stewart has argued that in the first half of the eighteenth century there emerged a public culture of science. Through the work, including both lecturing and publication, of men such as John Harris and John Theophilus Desaguliers, Newton’s *Principia Mathematica* (1687) was simplified and demonstrated to a wider public audience, with the result that science became no longer the preserve of the court or aristocracy and conquered public culture.⁵⁸⁰ The publication of Newtonian philosophy in a simplified form and demonstrations of its principles through experiments in public lectures revealed to the audience the general

⁵⁷⁹ Musson and Robertson, *Science and Technology*, pp. 21-41, 70-71, 88-119, 147-64.

⁵⁸⁰ Stewart, *Public Science*, p. 108.

rules of that governed the physical world.⁵⁸¹ Public lectures correspondingly meant public authority and acceptance of these principles which was reinforced by claims that the world could be improved through the knowledge of the principles of nature. This drew on the Baconian traditions of science.⁵⁸² In his *Novum Organum* (1620) and *The New Atlantis* (1627) Francis Bacon had argued that inductive method and experimental investigation should be used to extend the achievements of the 'useful arts' and indicated a time when nature's powers would be harnessed for the benefit of mankind.⁵⁸³ Public scientific lectures were presented as both morally edifying and entertaining, offering a degree of self-improvement for the audience and engaging them with claims of greater certainty in the physical rules that governed the universe.⁵⁸⁴

Stewart has suggested that these lectures and the public interest in science meant there was an increasing demand for scientific philosophers. The audience for such lectures became ever more socially diverse and began to include merchants and mechanics who sought commercial benefit from the more applicable areas of science to industry and commerce.⁵⁸⁵ The lectures themselves appeared to offer this possibility. Desaguliers sought to illustrate that scientific endeavour would make nature and art subservient to the necessities of life.⁵⁸⁶ Stewart has further suggested that it was the

⁵⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 117-118.

⁵⁸² Adler has suggested that seventeenth-century travel to the continent was in some degree informed by a 'scientific' purpose. Of particular interest to the tourist were areas of observation that pertained to mankind's welfare and prosperity or the mechanical arts. Influenced by the Baconian tradition the aristocracy were 'urged' to enter workshops to report on new technologies and production techniques which upon their return could be used to enhance the prosperity of the nation. Whilst travel had an established tradition of viewing sites of industry by the eighteenth century, her argument does little to explain the general tourist's curiosity in new technologies, which is perhaps better explained by the growing public culture of science. Judith Adler, 'Origins of Sightseeing' *Annals of Tourism Research*, 16:1 (1989), pp. 16, 19.

⁵⁸³ Peter Urbach, *Francis Bacon's Philosophy of Science* (Illinois, 1987), p. 10.

⁵⁸⁴ Stewart, *Public Science*, p. 119.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. 144-47.

⁵⁸⁶ Musson and Robertson, *Science and Technology*, p. 40.

concentration on the applications of science to industry that provided for the spread of lectures and scientific culture from London to the provinces in the later eighteenth century. By the middle of the eighteenth century, lecturers had produced a transformation in the world of natural philosophy; no longer merely entertainment and performance its practical applications were part of the vogue of scientific culture and were used to advertise the lectures to those of an industrial or commercial background.⁵⁸⁷ Itinerant lecturers that toured the country, such as Caleb Rotherham and Adam Walker, all pointed to the utilitarian uses to which science could be applied. Their lectures blended scientific principles with industrial practice, all demonstrated through the latest apparatus which included the best examples of industrial water wheels and steam engines.⁵⁸⁸

In tracing the links between the ‘scientific revolution’ and the ‘Industrial Revolution’ Margaret Jacobs agreed with Stewart that the growth of a public culture of science and technical knowledge created the pre-requisites for industrialisation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Scientific and technical print culture and lectures led to a shared common vocabulary which fashioned the ‘mental capital’ of industrialisation. Philosophical societies as well as the lectures brought together a socially and professionally diverse group of individuals in the later eighteenth century; as such science and mechanical learning reached a wider audience in which improvements to the ‘arts’ was regularly discussed.⁵⁸⁹ This would suggest that the ‘mental capital’ created by the public culture of science extended into society beyond the entrepreneurs involved in

⁵⁸⁷ Stewart, *Public Science* pp. 148, 151.

⁵⁸⁸ Musson and Robertson, *Science and Technology*, pp. 37-40, 102-106.

⁵⁸⁹ Margaret C. Jacob, *Scientific Culture and the Making of the Industrial West* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 101, 105-108, 110, 114.

technical innovation, and that the wider public's attention was particularly focused upon the 'mechanical arts'.

Joel Mokyr's research focuses upon bridging the gap between the 'scientific' and the 'industrial' revolutions. Mokyr agrees with both Stewart and Jacobs that it was the growth in new scientific knowledge from the late seventeenth century coupled with its enhanced public accessibility in the eighteenth century that stimulated and maintained the growth in the economy. He has suggested that as 'enlightenment' is used to describe growth in knowledge in many areas of eighteenth century society, the growth in the public knowledge of scientific and technical information can be described as 'industrial enlightenment'. However, the relationship was more complex than the simple premise that science leads to technology. Access to knowledge would have involved more than the formal scientific knowledge and included natural facts, or observed phenomena in a given environment, and established techniques.⁵⁹⁰ The 'industrial enlightenment' had three main defining characteristics derived from the 'scientific revolution' of the seventeenth century; these were scientific method, mentality and culture.⁵⁹¹

Method consisted of accurate measurement and controlled experiments in technology, with the communication of results through a standardised language. Method also rested upon verification of experiment so that knowledge could be both accessible and trusted, drawing upon the Baconian tradition of discovering nature's laws through experimentation which could then be catalogued and then harnessed for use. It was this that connected the scientific revolution to the industrial transformations of the eighteenth

⁵⁹⁰ Mokyr, *Gifts of Athena*, p. 36.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 36-37.

century.⁵⁹² Mentality was characterised by the faith that entrepreneurs and engineers had in the in the orderliness of nature and the predictability of phenomena, brought about by the standardisation of the experiment and theory, even if the underlying causes were not fully understood. This led to a growing use of science in engineering and technology.⁵⁹³

The third characteristic of the ‘industrial enlightenment’ was culture, and Mokyr agrees with both Stewart and Jacobs that it was the emergence of this culture that placed applied science at the service of commercial and manufacturing interests. The public culture of science and the establishment of several institutions in the eighteenth century such as the Society for the Encouragement of the Arts (1754), the Royal Institution (1799) and the Mechanics Institutes of the nineteenth century, created further opportunities for access to technical knowledge and were instrumental in creating the necessary networks to facilitate the interaction of philosophers and businessmen.⁵⁹⁴ However, it should be noted that not all members of these societies were scientists and philosophers others were members because they viewed science as part of a polite education.

In his recent research on visitors to Boulton’s Soho manufactory, Jones utilised Mokyr’s concept of ‘industrial enlightenment’ to explore the hypothesis that travel to such sites and viewing of the machinery contributed to the spread of scientific culture and technical information. He has suggested that there were three main motives behind the tourist’s interest in viewing industry, enlightenment, entertainment and espionage (mainly foreign visitors desiring to catch up with Britain’s technical innovation). As Soho held no aesthetic value for the traveller, its primary attraction was the

⁵⁹² Ibid., pp. 37-38.

⁵⁹³ Ibid., pp. p. 39.

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 41-45.

demonstration of natural phenomena harnessed to technical innovation and mechanisation. For the visitors of the ‘culture of curiosity’ this provided both ‘enlightenment’ in the technical knowledge that they received and provided a source of enjoyment to a public used to scientific ‘entertainment’ that concentrated on the ‘mechanical arts’.⁵⁹⁵

The emergence of a public culture of science and technology or, ‘industrial enlightenment’ in the eighteenth century, therefore, provides a useful hypothesis from which to investigate the promotion of sites of industry in the tourist guides for Derbyshire in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. The hypothesis also allows explanation of the huge technical detail that appeared in the tourist literature from the mid-eighteenth century as tourists were becoming ever more conversant with emerging technology and industrial practice that the ‘industrial enlightenment’ had fostered.

Technology and Tourism in Derbyshire.

The emergence of new technologies in the Derbyshire tourist itinerary began in 1720 with the construction of Sir Thomas Lombe’s silk mill at Derby with other industries being incorporated as they developed throughout the eighteenth century. Early-eighteenth-century topographical literature informed its readers that the county possessed lead, iron and coal reserves, was engaged in agriculture, and that Derby was full of corn merchants and brewers. Early tourists to the town commented upon its trade in similar terms. These descriptions reflect the early eighteenth-century traveller’s desire for

⁵⁹⁵ Jones, ‘Industrial Enlightenment in Practice’, pp. 69, 77, 85-89.

information relating to the general trade and productions of the county and nation.⁵⁹⁶

Descriptions of these industries were quickly relegated to the discussion of the town's history, as tourist attention focussed upon the new technologies that were transforming industry.⁵⁹⁷ The exception to this was the lead mining industry which began to employ water and then later steam engines in the eighteenth century, thus arousing the curiosity of the later eighteenth and nineteenth century traveller in search of emergent technologies and new industrial practices.

In his tour of Derbyshire in the 1720s Daniel Defoe, a man very much interested in the trade and commerce of the nation, described a typical lead mine, in which a narrow shaft was dug perpendicularly into the ground. The miners, by use of wooden struts embedded into the walls, climbed up and down carrying the loads of lead on their backs.⁵⁹⁸ His description reflected the interest in the traditional practices of the lead industry at this time, but his observations were soon to be replaced with descriptions of the mechanised lead industry. From the middle of the eighteenth century published and unpublished accounts of travel to the county's mines began to reflect the emerging appreciation of technology and industrial practice. The lead mines at Matlock, Castleton and the Ecton copper mine aroused the curiosity of the traveller. Touring Derbyshire in 1767, James Coldham entered a lead mine at Matlock which he thought 'curious and

⁵⁹⁶ William Camden, *Britannia* (1695, repr. Newton Abbot, 1971), cols. 490, 492; Thomas Cox, *Magna Britannia Antiqua and Nova* (London, 1730), p. 429; Mark R. Wenger (ed.), *The English Travels of Sir John Percival and William Byrd II: The Percival Diary of 1701* (Columbia, 1989), p. 157.

⁵⁹⁷ William Bray, *Sketches of a Tour into Derbyshire and Yorkshire* (2nd edn. London, 1783), p. 219-220; James Pilkington, *View of the Present State of Derbyshire*, 2 vols (2nd edn. London, 1803), ii, p. 170; Richard Warner, *A Tour through the Northern Counties of England and the Borders of Scotland*, 2 vol. (Bath, 1802), i, p. 178.

⁵⁹⁸ Daniel Defoe, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (ed.), Pat Rogers (London, 1986), pp. 460-461.

worth seeing' especially for the 'engine which pumps up the water'.⁵⁹⁹ Theodosius Forrest and his companions toured two lead mines at Matlock in 1773, a sight which was 'entirely new to them'. He was particularly 'pleased' with viewing the machinery that drained the mines of water by means of a 'pump worked by a water engine' on the river situated quarter of a mile from the mine.⁶⁰⁰ This had been achieved by supporting the drive mechanism on a series of posts from the river to the mine. Even more interesting to Forrest was the mine on the other side of the mountain where the same mechanism was employed although the drive chain did 'not move in a straight line' but had been constructed to follow the curve of the mountain, yet 'worked with same ease' as at the first mine.⁶⁰¹

The Ecton Copper mine, owned by the Dukes of Devonshire, also caught the traveller's attention. The mine was peculiar as the copper did not run in regular courses but sank perpendicularly and in the form of a bell. The copper mine turned out to be one of the richest in Europe and the Duke of Devonshire took control of the mine in 1764. According to Bray the demand for copper in 1779 and 1780 was so great, on account of sheathing the hulls of the men of war, that the duke realised £30,000.⁶⁰² By the beginning of the nineteenth century the main source of copper ore was beginning to run out and by 1820, only shallow workings existed, perhaps explaining the lack of information in the tourist guides in the early-nineteenth century. William Efford, visited the mine in 1763 with the Duke of Devonshire, and published his account in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* (1769). He described, rattling of wagons, noise of workmen

⁵⁹⁹ NRO, MC/40/103/1-3, James Coldham, 'Journal Tour in England 1767'.

⁶⁰⁰ MLSL., MS 914.251, Theodosius Forrest, 'Forrest's Tour: Diaries and memorandum of Theodosius Forrest's Tour in Derbyshire 1773', pp. 50-51.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid., p. 51.

⁶⁰² Bray, *Sketches of a Tour*, p. 147-148.

boring into the rock, and the explosions as they set off their charges.⁶⁰³ Travelling in 1789, John Byng recounted how one of the managers of the mine took them to see the water engine which drained the mine, and he was astonished at the sight of one river above them and another below.⁶⁰⁴ Byng's comments are illuminating as they were never published in his lifetime, and so offer a record of the interest that tourists showed in the mechanisation of the mining industry. This is further confirmed by Charles Hatchett's tour of the county in 1796. As a chemist and mineralogist he had a professional interest in mines and as such, his diary reflects his interest in all the latest manufacturing and mining technology; indeed his tour of Derbyshire was almost entirely composed of visiting the county's mines. At Ecton he viewed the steam engine that had replaced the water engine, and felt compelled to note that it was 'one of Boulton's' indicating that it was one of the latest and efficient designs. He then went on to describe the machinery involved in the processing of the copper ore.⁶⁰⁵ Whilst an anonymous tourist did not describe the engine at the mine when he visited in 1800, he recorded the processes used to prepare the ore – which was broken, sorted and washed– for the smelting factory, although this remained principally the work of human hands.⁶⁰⁶

Castleton's mines piqued the curiosity of the tourist who had arrived in the village to view its natural wonders and castle. The Speedwell Navigation mine – already a tourist attraction for the sublime atmosphere it embodied – due to the poor financial returns made at the mine only operated for a brief period from the 1770s to around 1800,

⁶⁰³ William Efford, 'A Description of the Famous Copper Mine at Ecton Hill in the County of Stafford' *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 39 (1769), p. 59

⁶⁰⁴ John Byng, *The Torrington Diaries* (ed.) C. Bruyn Andrews 4 vols (London, 1934), i, p. 58.

⁶⁰⁵ Hatchett also visited a lead mine outside of the small village of Ashover that employed three steam engines, two of the 'common' variety and 'one of Boulton's'. Arthur Raistrick (ed.), *The Hatchett Diary: A Tour Through the Counties of England and Scotland in 1796 Visiting Mines and Manufactories* (Truro, 1967), pp. 63, 65-66.

⁶⁰⁶ DLSL, MS 3463, Anonymous, c. 1800, pp. 127-28.

however, tourists were keen to investigate the processes involved. William Bray visited the mine in 1777 taking an interest in the whole process of mining.⁶⁰⁷ R. J. Sullivan toured the mine in 1778, noticing how the dank atmosphere was refreshed for the miners by a small boy pumping air into the mine through a pair of large bellows. James Plumptre visited the mine in the same year, where he listened with interest to the miners 'explaining the whole process of their work'; he then mined out a piece of lead ore as a memento of his visit.⁶⁰⁸

The county town of Derby became an important tourist destination for viewing the manufactories it contained. Of particular interest to the tourist for the invention and implementation of new technology were the Derby Silk Mill; Royal Crown Derby; and Brown's Marble works. In 1720 Sir Thomas Lombe erected his silk mill, designed by the engineer George Sorocold at Derby. The mill was five storeys high making it a conspicuous landmark that aroused the curiosity of the traveller. Daniel Defoe, touring Derbyshire in the 1720s thought it 'a curiosity in trade worth observing as being the only one of its kind in England' and it 'performed the work of many hands'.⁶⁰⁹ Arriving in the town in 1725, Charles Parry took note of Lombe's mill which was built of brick, 'finely sashed' and employed 400 people.⁶¹⁰ Neither Defoe, nor, Parry described the machinery of the mill and it is unclear as to whether they had gained access to the building. John Loveday found his curiosity unsatisfied when he was denied access to the mill and its 'secret practice' in 1732, but his comments illustrate an emerging interest in the

⁶⁰⁷ Bray, *Sketches of a Tour*, p. 218-219.

⁶⁰⁸ Joseph Sullivan, 'Tour through different parts of England, Scotland and Wales, performed in the year 1778', in William Mavor (ed.), *The British Tourists*, 6 vols (2nd edn. London, 1800), iii, p. 89; John Plumptre, 'A Journal of a Tour into Derbyshire in the year 1793', in Ousby, Ian (ed.), *John Plumptre's Britain: The Journals of a Tourist in the 1790's* (London, 1992), p. 70.

⁶⁰⁹ Defoe, *Tour through Great Britain*, p. 458.

⁶¹⁰ NRO, MC/150/49/625, Charles Parry, 'Journal of a Tour to the North of England, 1725' p. 40.

technology that the mill embodied.⁶¹¹ It would appear that at this date access to the mill was strictly controlled for fear of industrial espionage (in itself a distinct form of tourism). However, in 1734 Lombe's patent expired and was not renewed with the result that access to the mill became easier to obtain. From the 1740s topographical literature began to include more technical detail as to the machinery used in silk production. Their descriptions were of engines that contained 26, 586 wheels and 97, 746 movements and produced 318, 504, 960 yards of silk in twenty-four hours: the whole of which was powered by a water wheel. This remained a standard description of the machine in travel literature throughout the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries.⁶¹² The descriptions of the machinery appear fairly basic at mid-century and lack the detail that later accounts would record, but they illustrate the emerging fascination with technology. This is further reflected in traveller's own account of their experiences at the mill. James Coldham viewed the establishment in 1767; he thought it 'worth seeing' but that the machinery was 'too complicated for description'.⁶¹³ Theodosius Forrest wrote an account of his visit to the mill in his journal which illustrates not only the interest in technology in which he recorded the standard description of the engines moving parts. He also recorded the entertainment value of industry as the machinery turned in 'almost every possible direction' and afforded 'one of the most pleasing scenes that can be

⁶¹¹ Sarah Markham (ed.), *John Loveday of Caversham 1711-1789: The Life and Tours of an Eighteenth-Century Onlooker* (Salisbury, 1984), p. 137.

⁶¹² Samuel Simpson, *The Agreeable Historian or the Complete English Traveller* (London, 1746), p. 217; Thomas Read, *The English Traveller* (London, 1746), p. 208; Nathaniel Spencer *The Complete English Traveller* (London, 1771), p. 497; Bray, *Sketches of a Tour*, p. 107; DLSL, MS 3463, Anonymous, c. 1800, pp. 72-73.

⁶¹³ Coldham, 'Journal tour in England, 1767'.

imagined'.⁶¹⁴ William Gilpin thought that a traveller 'curious in machinery would be much amused by the silk-mill'.⁶¹⁵

Later eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century topographical literature reflected the spread of 'industrial enlightenment' as their descriptions of the machinery and industrial processes became increasingly detailed. This further illustrates that the tourist was conversant with, and desired a greater technical knowledge of, the silk industry. Warner, in a published account of travel, informed his readers how he viewed 'the beautiful machinery' and then gave an account of the machine and its processes in action from the raw material to finished product.⁶¹⁶ Britton and Brayley's *The Beauties of England and Wales* (1801) devoted some pages to explaining the whole process of producing thrown silk from raw material to manufactured article.⁶¹⁷ It may be the case, however, that the machinery was beginning to be seen as antiquated. Travelling through Derby in 1793, James Plumptre explained that he felt it 'needless to stop' at Lombe's mill as they were to have a better opportunity of seeing silk mills at Nottingham. He made a similar comment about Sir Richard Arkwright's cotton mill at Cromford. At Nottingham, however, he described both the cotton and silk mills as being 'curious and wonderful' despite the fact that he did not understand all their 'principles'.⁶¹⁸ His comments then, illustrate his desire to see the latest technology and improvements made in the trade that the spread of 'industrial enlightenment' engendered in the tourist. The writers of early to mid-nineteenth-century tourist guides gave less technical detail in their description of the mill

⁶¹⁴ Forrest, 'Forrest's Tour', p.51.

⁶¹⁵ William Gilpin, *Observations Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1772*, (London, 1786), p. 244.

⁶¹⁶ Warner, *Northern*, p. 113-114.

⁶¹⁷ John Britton and Edward Brayley, *The Beauties of England and Wales*, 18 vols (London, 1802), iii, pp. 369-70.

⁶¹⁸ Plumptre, 'Tour into Derbyshire', p. 61.

and concentrated instead on marketing the mill to the tourist as being the ‘first of its kind’ in England and recounting the tale of how Lombe acquired the designs for the engines (to which we will return below).⁶¹⁹

Similar patterns of the spread of scientific and technical culture that lay behind the tourist’s motive for visiting sites of industry can be traced at the Derby porcelain factory. The factory was established by Mr Duesbury at Derby in 1750 and became Crown Derby in 1775 when Duesbury was awarded a Royal charter. James Coldham included the factory on his tour of Derby in 1767, but had little to say about the manufacturing process.⁶²⁰ When William Bray toured the factory in the 1770s he gave a brief description, but was of the opinion that the porcelain produced ‘does honour to this country’ as Mr Duesbury ‘has brought the gold and blue to a degree of beauty never before obtained in England’.⁶²¹ James Pilkington’s *View of the Present State of Derbyshire* (1789) described how a very ‘rich and elegant desert service’ consisting of 120 pieces had been manufactured for the Prince of Wales, that the number of people employed was 72 and that the trade was in a ‘flourishing state’.⁶²² Warner went into greater detail about the manufacturing process in which the clay was moulded, turned, fired, painted and that each colour required a separate firing – as did Britton and Brayley who also observed that due to the increase in trade, new buildings and kilns were being erected and a steam engine being fitted and ‘many other improvements’ to increase the production, durability and beauty of the ware.⁶²³ Johanna Schopenhauer visited Derby in

⁶¹⁹ R. Ward, *The Buxton, Matlock & Castleton Guide* (6th edn. Birmingham, 1826), p. 23; Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 2.

⁶²⁰ Coldham, ‘Journal Tour in England 1767’.

⁶²¹ Bray, *Sketches of a Tour*, p. 108.

⁶²² Pilkington, *Present State of Derbyshire*, ii, p. 175.

⁶²³ Warner, *Northern*, p. 115; Britton and Brayley, *Beauties of England and Wales*, iii, pp. 370-72; R. Ward, *Buxton, Matlock & Castleton Guide*, p. 23.

1802 and described the establishment as the ‘most excellent’ of the town’s manufactories and thought that the colour, gilding and beauty of the china left ‘nothing to be desired’.⁶²⁴ Her comment was not just a typical gendered response as her observations are reminiscent of William Bray’s.⁶²⁵ Ward’s *Buxton, Matlock and Castleton Guide* (1826) gave a brief description of the china works at Derby and informed his reader that the then present proprietor Mr Blore was ‘attentive to visitors’.⁶²⁶ Given that access to manufacturing premises could be difficult this reassured the tourist that they would be able to view the factory. These accounts illustrate that the tourist had a wider appreciation of the role that technical innovation played in the production of high quality consumer goods.

The tour of manufactories at Derby also included marble works. The technology that they viewed had been invented by Henry Watson, who in 1748 established his marble mill at the village of Ashford in the Water which quickly drew the attention of the tourist. Travelling in 1757, Resta Patching visited the ‘invention’ of this ‘ingenious gentleman’ and described how the machinery, powered by a water wheel cut, sawed to size and then polished the marble slabs all in one process.⁶²⁷ William Bray gave a similar account after viewing the mill in the 1770s.⁶²⁸ Britton and Brayley’s *Beauties of England and Wales* described the mill as the first of its kind in England although, they went on to suggest that the machinery, with the exception of the sweeping mill, which could polish 80 feet of marble in one action, was the same as that employed at Derby. William Adam’s *Gem of*

⁶²⁴ Ruth Michaelis-Jena and Willy Merson (transl. and eds.) *A Lady Travels Journeys in England and Scotland from the Diaries of Johanna Schopenhauer* (London, 1988), p. 20

⁶²⁵ Bray, *Sketches of a Tour*, p. 108.

⁶²⁶ R. Ward, *Buxton, Matlock & Castleton Guide*, p. 23.

⁶²⁷ Resta Patching, *Four Topographical Letters written in 1755* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1757), p 21-23

⁶²⁸ Bray, *Sketches of a Tour*, p. 159.

the Peak (1851) gave the standard description of how Henry Watson was the inventor of the machine and how the author had been ‘exceedingly amused and delighted in beholding the process of sawing, grinding and polishing’.⁶²⁹ Despite the mill’s appearance in topographical accounts and guides, few tourists appear to have visited the mill. This, however, could be explained by the fact that they had already undertaken a tour of the marble mill at Derby and had no desire to view the same technology.

In 1750, a Mr Brown established a similar mill at Derby. Warner, included a visit to mill, on his tour of Derbyshire, although he did not go into his usual detail concerning the manufacturing process and simply recorded that one water-wheel powered the machinery which was ‘novel, simple and ingenious’.⁶³⁰ Britton and Brayley gave a detailed description of the machinery and processes involved. They described how the water wheel powered lathes for turning the marble, the tools used to do so, and the machine for cutting and polishing the marble.⁶³¹ R. Ward’s *The Buxton, Matlock and Castleton Guide* (1826), told his audience that the installation of a steam engine at the new works had improved the process of turning marble, and that the proprietor Mr Brown was ever ready ‘to gratify the curiosity of those who are desirous of viewing the different operations’.⁶³² His guide suggests that tourists were eager to view the revolutionary steam engine, which had harnessed nature’s hidden powers and the new motive force behind technological development. As with his similar comment regarding Mr Blore at the porcelain factory, this suggested that ease of access and detailed technical information was available to the

⁶²⁹ Britton and Brayley, *Beauties of England and Wales*, p. 484; Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 156.

⁶³⁰ Warner, *Northern*, p. 116.

⁶³¹ Britton and Brayley, *Beauties of England and Wales*, iii, pp. 373-74.

⁶³² R. Ward, *Buxton, Matlock & Castleton Guide*, p 23.

tourist at these establishments. These works can be contrasted with the mill at Ashford, where the main power source was still the water wheel.

There are two names that stand out in connection with Derbyshire and the implementation of new technologies and industrial practices in Derbyshire from the later eighteenth century: Jedediah Strutt, who in 1756 invented the Derby rib stocking frame, and had mills at both Derby and Belper and Sir Richard Arkwright inventor of the water frame for spinning cotton, whose main mills were located at Cromford. Access to Strutt's mills was strictly forbidden throughout the period, presumably for the fear of industrial espionage. Unable to view the machinery the writers of topographical literature and early-nineteenth-century tourist guides could provide little technical information regarding the machinery. James Pilkington could only comment on the technology involved in the most basic manner: simply that Strutt's machine was prefixed to the stocking frame and produced exactly the same stockings as those made upon the common knitting pins.⁶³³ Without any further information to offer the traveller, Pilkington could only comment that the mills were the principal cause of population growth in the town and that they employed about 600 hands principally women and children.⁶³⁴ Britton and Brayley's *Beauties of England and Wales* (1801) was no more informative on the technical processes involved and they simply said that the machinery was 'particularly ingenious' and had contributed to the 'extension of this branch of business in a very eminent degree'.⁶³⁵ Adam's *Gem of the Peak* (1851) provided one of the only descriptions of Strutt's mills at Belper. He informed his readers that the Princess Victoria accompanied by the Duke of Devonshire had visited the mills in 1832 and had

⁶³³ Pilkington, *Present State of Derbyshire*, ii, pp. 173-174.

⁶³⁴ Ibid., pp. 237-38.

⁶³⁵ Britton and Brayley, *Beauties of England and Wales*, iii, p. 365.

been ‘highly gratified’ with the sight of them.⁶³⁶ Having secured rare access to mill he described the whole manufacturing process – in which the cotton was cleaned, bleached, dyed, carded and then spun – and the machinery powered by nine water-wheels which were off the latest design. He cautioned his readers, however, not to expect access to the mill because ‘indiscriminate admission would prove a serious hindrance to the parties employed’.⁶³⁷ Despite access to visitors being denied at Strutt’s mills the descriptions of the machines and processes in the tour guides of the period reinforced the popular image of Derbyshire being at the forefront of technical innovation in this period, and went some way to satisfy the curiosity of the traveller.

Sir Richard Arkwright, with financial backing from Jedediah Strutt and a Mr Needham, built his first cotton mill at Cromford in 1771. Situated close to the spa of Matlock Bath the mill was a conspicuous landmark. James Pilkington’s *View of the Present State of Derbyshire* (1789) described the machinery, of which ‘every distinct part’ excited ‘admiration’ and the technical processes involved in the spinning of cotton. The raw cotton was first cleaned, then carded, sized, rowed, passed through rollers and the thread was given a slight twist to prevent it from ravelling upon itself, and then spun, but Pilkington thought that this last operation was too complicated to explain without ‘viewing the machine itself in motion’.⁶³⁸ Similar detailed descriptions of Arkwright’s machinery appeared in topographical accounts and early-nineteenth-century tourist

⁶³⁶ Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, pp. 17, 386-87

⁶³⁷ Ibid., p.387.

⁶³⁸ Pilkington, *Present State of Derbyshire*, ii, pp. 302-304, 308.

guides which continued draw upon the image of technical innovation to promote the mill to the tourist.⁶³⁹

For the 'industrial enlightened' tourist Arkwright's mills were an establishment that had to be viewed, although access was strictly controlled.⁶⁴⁰ Thomas Newte arrived in Cromford in 1785 and was 'allowed to examine the cotton mills' and was astounded to see the manufacturing process completed 'almost without human aid'.⁶⁴¹ An anonymous tourist of 1800 described how Mr Taylor the overseer conducted a tour of the Masson Mill, and explained all the processes involved.⁶⁴² Arkwright and the mill were commented upon even if the traveller did not view the machinery. William Bray passed through Cromford, and noted that Arkwright was the inventor of the machine for spinning cotton. Warner arrived at Cromford in 1802 and saw the mill that was noted for those 'wonderful machines' and passing the second Masson mill suggested that this contained the 'improved machinery'. Johanna Schopenhauer commented that the mill now had three spinning machines. Although, they did not tour the mill their remarks

⁶³⁹ Britton and Brayley, *Beauties of England and Wales*, iii, pp. 512-516; Stephen Glover, *The Peak Guide* (Derby, 1830), p.127-128; Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 358.

⁶⁴⁰ P.M Jones in his study of tourism to Matthew Boulton's Soho factory in Birmingham has considered the nature of access for visitors to the establishment. He suggests that as Boulton was a member of the Lunar society he felt a duty to discuss his inventions and products in the light of sharing 'useful knowledge'. As the factory produced finished goods visitors could be a source of potential clients and customers. This has important implications for the Derbyshire industries that tourists wished to visits. At Lombe's Silk Mill the patent had expired and instead of being granted a new one, parliament granted him £14, 000, but on condition that models of the machinery were taken to develop the trade throughout England: as such there was little to fear from industrial espionage and access was therefore relatively easy to obtain. For other establishments such as the Royal Crown Derby and the Marble works in the town that were engaged in producing finished goods, visitor access could mean extra sales and profitability. For the Arkwright and the Strutt not involved in producing finished goods, there was little economic incentive to grant access to the mills. Furthermore, Arkwright fought several patent battles from 1781 to 1785 finally losing the patent for his design of the carding engine: as such the concept of industrial espionage was perhaps more real in their minds, and visitors were strictly controlled or not allowed. R. S. Fitton and A. P. Wadsworth, *The Strutts and the Arkwrights 1758-1830* (Manchester, 1958), pp. 82-86; P.M. Jones, 'Industrial Enlightenment in Practice', p. 80.

⁶⁴¹ Thomas Newte, 'Tour in England and Scotland performed in 1785' in William Mavor (ed.), *The British Tourists*, 6 vols (2nd edn. London, 1800), iv, p 234.

⁶⁴² DLSL, MS 3463, Anonymous, c. 1800, p. 88.

reflect the appreciation and desire for technical knowledge and innovation that Arkwright and the mill embodied.⁶⁴³ It would appear that access to the mills for visitors remained strictly controlled, or possibly was no longer allowed in the early nineteenth century. R. Ward in his *Buxton, Matlock and Castleton Guide* (1826) informed his readers that no passes were given and offered a plea to the Arkwright family that ‘many persons who visit Matlock would be much gratified, if permission were granted to inspect the mills’.⁶⁴⁴ His comments indicate that tourists remained interested in Arkwright’s technical innovation, and the mills’ importance as a tourist attraction. In the later eighteenth and early nineteenth century Arkwright came to be seen as a pivotal figure of industrial entrepreneurship and the writers of the early nineteenth century increasingly drew upon this image in marketing the county to the traveller.

That the spread of ‘industrial enlightenment’ contributed to the tourists’ desire to view technological innovation and formed a popular and entertaining part of their itinerary can be further attested to. Joseph Sullivan hired a guide in Derby to show him the silk mill, the porcelain factory and the marble works.⁶⁴⁵ For the tourist, part of the appeal of the tour of the Peak was the concept of transformation that technical innovation in industry represented and travellers were often dismayed when they could not visit an establishment. Arriving at the Silk Mill in 1757, Resta Patching recorded wrote of his disappointment at not seeing the ‘famous silk mill’ due to the fact that it was shut for a holiday.⁶⁴⁶ John Byng was equally put out not to be allowed to view Arkwright’s mills at

⁶⁴³ Bray, *Sketches of a Tour* p. 119; Warner, *Northern*, pp. 140, 144; Schopenhauer, *A Lady Travels*, p. 24.

⁶⁴⁴ R. Ward, *Buxton, Matlock & Castleton Guide*, p. 32.

⁶⁴⁵ Sullivan, ‘Sullivan’s Tour’, p. 82.

⁶⁴⁶ Patching, *Four Topographical Letters*, p. 41.

Cromford for the dubious reason that he might have ‘disturbed the girls’.⁶⁴⁷ The reverend John Skinner arrived at the marble works at Ashford in the Water in the winter of 1803, and was disappointed to find that the river had frozen and he was, therefore unable to view the machinery in operation.⁶⁴⁸

Improvement and the image of the Entrepreneur.

Tourist interest in the new technologies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was ultimately bound to the image of progress and improvement. Spadafora has suggested that this was a defining characteristic of the eighteenth century which the growth in scientific and technical knowledge significantly contributed to. In the debates that ensued between ancient and modern learning, the ‘moderns’ gained the upper-hand in the areas of science and technology. Baconianism and Newtonianism, so central to the emergence of public scientific culture, offered almost limitless possibilities for the future that was matched by the progressive forward leaps in technical innovation. Spadafora has further suggested that industry in particular offered contemporaries the ‘visibility of progress’ that was supported by the evidence of technical advances and the greater range of consumer goods available.⁶⁴⁹

Associated with this image of ‘improvement’ were the individuals responsible for the technical innovations and new industrial techniques. Roy Porter argued that in the latter half of the eighteenth century the entrepreneur began to occupy a pivotal position in the

⁶⁴⁷ Byng, *Torrington Diaries*, p. 191.

⁶⁴⁸ MLSL, MS 914.1, J. Skinner, ‘Sketches in Wales, Derbyshire 1803’, p. 70.

⁶⁴⁹ David Spadafora, *The Idea of Progress in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (New Haven and London, 1990), pp. 49, 51-52.

nation's image of improvement. These individuals, whether through education or their own 'genius', had raised themselves from obscurity to the highest levels of commercial importance through their inventions. The entrepreneur became a symbol of modern energy as they raised capital, reinvested profits, calculated market trends and organised production, recruitment and training. Importantly, the industrial entrepreneur had significantly contributed to the enrichment of the nation's economy. Their lives appeared in print and were offered as models of what was possible in the modern age. Porter draws particular attention to Anna Barbauld's *Evenings at Home* (1794-8) which celebrated the rise to fame and fortune of the industrialist Sir Richard Arkwright.⁶⁵⁰ Both Spadafora's and Porter's research provide a further hypothesis through which to examine traveller interest in the industries of Derbyshire and the early nineteenth-century tourist guides use of the image of the entrepreneur in marketing the county's manufactories to the tourist.

That travellers associated industry with improvement is reflected in their accounts of the industries that they encountered. In the first instance the mines and especially the new mill buildings were conspicuous landmarks that embodied technical innovation and confirmed the 'visibility' of new industrial enterprise. The preceding section has already illustrated that tourist descriptions and comments on the industries that they viewed were synonymous with progress and improvement in terms of the technology employed, production totals, employment of the poor, quality of manufactured goods and the extension of industry and the enrichment of the nation. This is suggestive of Spadafora's findings that industry in particular demonstrated the 'visibility of progress' to the contemporary and that this image was reflected in the Derbyshire tourist itinerary.

Improvement and the entrepreneur were ultimately linked in the later eighteenth century

⁶⁵⁰ Roy Porter, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* (London, 2000), pp. 431-32.

and the image of the entrepreneur and his contribution to the nation had a significant hold on the eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century mindset. This can be seen by the tourists' interest in Sir Thomas Lombe and Sir Richard Arkwright who brought improvement to the nation by clandestine means and their 'native genius' respectively.

At the Derby silk mill tourist attention started to focus upon how John Lombe, Thomas Lombe's brother, had travelled to Piedmont in Italy, whereupon he disguised himself and through subterfuge and espionage acquired the plans for the machinery for silk production from the Italian designs, and then upon his return the brothers established the trade in England. Topographical literature quickly reported this fact. T. Read and Samuel Simpson both took their information from the Act of Parliament that had awarded Lombe compensation at the expiration of his patent that stated it was with the 'utmost difficulty and hazard, and at great expense' that Lombe introduced these 'arts and inventions into this kingdom'.⁶⁵¹ Nathaniel Spencer's *Complete English Traveller* (1771) suggested that to obtain the model of the machines Lombe had 'ventured his life'.⁶⁵² These topographical accounts influenced the visitor's perspective of the industrialist Lombe. Both Theodosius Forrest and William Bray, who visited the mill in the 1770s, gave an account of how Lombe had brought the designs to England at the 'great hazard of his life'.⁶⁵³ Travelling in the same year Joseph Sullivan thought that the Silk mill was as 'famous for its machinery' as for the 'manner in which that machinery was purloined' from Italy.⁶⁵⁴

⁶⁵¹ Simpson, *Agreeable Historian*, pp. 217-18; Read, *English Traveller*, p. 208.

⁶⁵² Spencer, *Complete English Traveller*, p. 497.

⁶⁵³ Forrest, 'Forrest's Tour', p. 51; Bray, *Sketches of a Tour*, p. 107.

⁶⁵⁴ Sullivan, 'Sullivan's Tour', p. 81.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century and in the early-nineteenth century topographical literature, the writers of the tourist guides for the county began to add a chilling tale to the end of the story of John Lombe. James Pilkington's topographical guide, having recounted the usual story of Lombe's espionage, informed his readers that the Italians were so enraged at the decline in their trade, that they vowed 'vengeance' and sent over a man and a woman to assassinate John Lombe. They succeeded in poisoning him, and after a year or two of lying in agony he died. Despite the suspicion and an examination of the Italian women the evidence was not decisive and she was discharged. This story was repeated in Britton and Brayley's *The Beauties of England and Wales* (1801), and in R. Ward's *The Buxton, Matlock and Castleton Guide* (1826). Thus, the guides presented John Lombe as an industrialist who had paid the ultimate price to bring improvement to the trade and nation.⁶⁵⁵ Tourists at the turn of the nineteenth century, however, appear to have had either no information relating to the event, or were not interested in the image of Lombe that the guides were beginning to present. An anonymous tourist travelling in 1800 and the reverend Warner in 1802 gave no indication that they were aware of Lombe's assassination and simply stated in much the same manner as previous accounts had that Lombe had risked his life to obtain the design.⁶⁵⁶ This is an interesting omission, given that Lombe's story reflected wider trends in the popularity of the gothic novel such as Ann Radcliffe's *The Italian* (1797) and the *Mysteries of Uldolpho* (1794) with their themes of the vengeful, murdering and poisoning Italians. The tourist accounts illustrate that Lombe was admired for the introduction of silk production in England and the manner in which he achieved it, but his story lacked

⁶⁵⁵ Pilkington, *Present State of Derbyshire*, ii, p. 172; Britton and Brayley, *Beauties of England and Wales*, iii, p. 366; Ward, *Buxton, Matlock & Castleton Guide*, p. 23.

⁶⁵⁶ DLSL, MS 3463, Anonymous, c. 1800, p. 72; Warner, *Northern*, pp. 114-115.

the image of the self-made industrialist entrepreneur that was the increasing focus of traveller attention.

This image was reflected in the life of Sir Richard Arkwright, who at least at Cromford and in Derbyshire became an industrial celebrity. Published and unpublished accounts of travel illustrate that tourists took a significant interest in the growing image of Arkwright: early-nineteenth-century tourist guides waxed lyrical about the man and his achievements in the cotton industry in their promotion of the county to the traveller. A brief biography of his life will be useful here. Born at Preston in 1732, he was apprenticed to a barber, and later ran his own business. From the mid-1760s he began to design his carding engine and in the late 1770s his spinning machinery. In 1768 he relocated to Nottingham and applied for his first patent, which was granted in 1769. In 1770 he went into partnership with Jedediah Strutt and a Samuel Need and considering the motive force of water power he located to Cromford in Derbyshire. Expansion of his business then occurred with several mills being located in Derbyshire, notably at Matlock and Bakewell. Arkwright was knighted in 1786 and also held public office as the High Sheriff of Derbyshire in 1787. He died in 1792.⁶⁵⁷

Visiting Cromford in 1778, William Bray drew on the information that he knew about Arkwright and the figure of the self-made industrial man. He recorded that Arkwright had been ‘bred a barber’, but that ‘true genius is superior to all difficulties, even those of education’.⁶⁵⁸ He found men with ‘the spirit’ to supply the money to execute his scheme and who were ‘amply’ repaid for ‘their confidence’.⁶⁵⁹ James Pilkington’s topographical guide to Derbyshire had little to say about Arkwright’s early life and started with his

⁶⁵⁷ Fitton and Wadsworth, *Strutts and the Arkwrights*, pp. 61-64, 90-91.

⁶⁵⁸ Bray, *Sketches of a Tour*, p. 119.

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid.

invention of the carding engine, he went on to describe the partnership with Strutt and Need, the patent battles and suggested that the cotton industry had achieved ‘a degree of perfection’ that could not have been attained ‘without the invention of the cotton mills at Cromford’.⁶⁶⁰ He lavished praise on Arkwright by asking his readers to consider the rhetorical question of whether any other invention was of such ‘equal consequence to the nation’.⁶⁶¹ An anonymous tourist passing through Cromford in 1800 described how Arkwright was a ‘wonderful natural mechanical genius’ whose mills had brought the manufacture of cotton ‘to the greatest perfection’, although he had little to say about Arkwright’s life.⁶⁶² Johanna Schopenhauer gave a detailed account of Arkwright’s life, and suggested that Arkwright was ‘remarkable both for his mechanical genius and his persevering courage’ his enterprise ‘encountered many difficulties to which an ordinary man would have succumbed’. His perseverance paid off and he lived ‘long enough to enjoy the material comforts of his success’.⁶⁶³

Visitor access to the mill did not match the growing tourist interest in both Arkwright’s technical innovation and his image as a self-made industrialist. As such, the writers of the early nineteenth-century tourist guides increasingly focussed on the growing Arkwright legend to promote a tour of the county to the prospective traveller. J. Hutchinson’s *Curiosities of Derbyshire* (1810) described Arkwright as having ‘raised himself from the lowest to the highest scale of commercial importance’ and that he had ‘undeniably been’ of more service to the country than the ‘the greatest heroes of ancient or modern history’: high praise indeed, which also neatly sidestepped the thorny issue of

⁶⁶⁰ Pilkington, *Present State of Derbyshire*, ii, pp. 304-307.

⁶⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 308.

⁶⁶² DLSL, MS 3463, Anonymous, c. 1800, p. 84.

⁶⁶³ Schopenhauer, *A Lady Travels*, p. 24.

access to mill.⁶⁶⁴ William Adam went even further in his praise for Arkwright. He informed his readers of the ‘humble station’ in which Arkwright had been raised, however, the ‘native vigour of his mind’ and his ‘desire to emerge’ was not ‘extinguished by the difficulties of his position in life’. Through speculation and reflection he had formed his idea for spinning cotton from having seen a ‘red hot iron bar elongated by being made to pass between rollers’.⁶⁶⁵ Having made ‘new discoveries and improvements’ in the cotton trade he was knighted in 1786 in recognition of his achievements. Adam then considered the improvement to the nation’s economy that Arkwright’s invention had been responsible for: he estimated that the industry had been worth £200, 000 annually in the middle of the eighteenth century, but was now worth ‘fifty million’.⁶⁶⁶ Adam then lavished praise on Arkwright, as it was he who had laid down ‘the solid foundation on which the whole majestic superstructure is ultimately raised’. Furthermore, Arkwright had raised his family to such status that his son Richard had become the ‘richest commoner’ in the country.⁶⁶⁷

The Aesthetic Appeal of Industry.

For the tourist of the eighteenth and nineteenth century there was an added appeal to visiting sites of industry for the aesthetic qualities of the sublime and picturesque that they could arouse. Klingender has suggested that there existed a ‘mood of enchantment’ that existed in poetical and painted representations of industry in the eighteenth century

⁶⁶⁴ J. Hutchinson, *Curiosities of Derbyshire* (1810), p. 9.

⁶⁶⁵ Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, pp. 384.

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid., p.85.

upon which the tourist could draw upon when visiting mines and mills.⁶⁶⁸ Moir has suggested that the theories of the sublime and picturesque further informed the traveller's aesthetic response to the industrial landscape in this period.⁶⁶⁹ The location of early industry, for the mineral resources they were exploiting, or, for considerations of motive power were often located in a landscape that could be termed picturesque and led the traveller to consider the juxtaposition between industry and nature. She has further suggested that in the later eighteenth century there emerged a distinct aesthetic appeal in viewing a mill that lay in rural surroundings, where the intrusion of machinery added noise and the appearance of commerce to the picturesque landscape.⁶⁷⁰ Topographical literature, and tour guides all promoted a tour of Derbyshire to the prospective tourist through its reputation for both picturesque scenery and industry. The tourist to Derbyshire was well versed in the sublime aesthetic, and the explosions in the caverns at Castleton and Matlock were remarkably similar to what they encountered in the county's mines. As such Klingender's and Moir's theories provide a framework with which to examine the tourist response to the industrial sites that they visited.

The changing concepts of the sublime and the picturesque have already been discussed in chapter one and it is not the intention to repeat this discussion here, except to make a few pertinent remarks as to how these theories affected the tourists' perception of the scene that they were viewing. Industrial sites such as mines, mills and furnaces could evoke a menacing sense of power over the landscape and over the aesthetic response of the traveller. Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757) not only suggested that 'gloom' and noise provoked the sense of the

⁶⁶⁸ Francis Klingender, *Art and the Industrial Revolution* (New York, 1968), pp. 19, 21-24, 34-42.

⁶⁶⁹ Moir, *Discovery of Britain*, p. 99.

⁶⁷⁰ Ibid.

sublime, but also that ‘glaring brightness’ and ‘bitter tastes and stench’ stimulated the individuals emotional response.⁶⁷¹ The vocabulary of the sublime was as well-suited to describing natural scenery as for describing the new relationship between man, industry and nature. William Efford’s account of his visit to the Ecton copper mine in 1763 drew heavily on the concepts and vocabulary of the sublime to describe his experience.

Standing on a platform above the main workings of the mine, he gave a vivid description of the scene before him. There was ‘a horrid gloom, such rattling of wagons, noise of workmen boring of rocks under your feet, such explosions in blasting’ and the ‘dreadful gulph’ which had to be descended presented a ‘scene of terror’.⁶⁷² Efford added that it was a further 160 yards down to the ‘place of action – ten thousand times more astonishing than that above’, where the miners welcomed visitors to their ‘diabolical mansions’ with a salute of half-a-dozen blasts of explosive’.⁶⁷³

An anonymous tourist travelling through Derbyshire in 1800 left a vivid account of his experience of the mine in his journal, which was never published, and illustrates a tourist response to the relationship between man, nature and industry at the site. He drew on sublime vocabulary, poetical imagery and gothic literature to describe his experience and his account is worth quoting at length. The shaft was 800 feet deep and the descent from the platform was by ladders: he had to guard his descent against the ‘sudden crashings and thunderings’ that made it seem as if the ‘whole mountain was shivering to pieces’.⁶⁷⁴ He went on to describe the mine in a sublime format. The scene before him represented ‘the infernal abodes as poetically described’ and the ‘glimmering of the light’

⁶⁷¹ Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757, repr. Oxford, 1990), pp. 73-74, 78-79.

⁶⁷² Efford, ‘A Description of the Famous Copper Mine at Ecton Hill’, pp. 59-60

⁶⁷³ Ibid., p. 60.

⁶⁷⁴ DLSL, MS 3463, Anonymous, c. 1800, p. 127.

was just sufficient to ‘discover the horrid avenues and chasms’. The miners appeared and disappeared out of the gloom ‘like so many ghostly shades instead of animate corporeal bodies’. The noise of miners boring into the rock was ‘horrid and terrific’ and the ‘bowels of the mountain seemed convulsed, and all nature to shake around as if in a state of annihilation’ by the explosions that occurred every few minutes. The tourist thought the scene would ‘astonish any one’ and affected ‘the nerves’ which caused ‘a mental and bodily tremor in those unaccustomed to such terrific scenes’.⁶⁷⁵

The tourist also employed the vocabulary of the sublime to describe their experience of viewing the inside of the mill and the machinery. Visiting Lombe’s Silk mill in 1789, John Byng gave a particularly graphic impression of his visit stating that ‘the silk mill quite bewildered me; such rattlings and twistings! Such heat and stinks! That I was glad to get out’ and he concluded that he would be ‘happy’ if ‘silk worms had never been’.⁶⁷⁶ An anonymous tourist described the impression that Arkwright’s mills made upon him in similar terms, writing that upon his entrance the ‘thunderly noise of the wheels and motions occasioned by it was tremendous’.⁶⁷⁷ The traveller further drew on painted representations of industry that illustrated sublime scenes. Byng wrote that Arkwright’s Masson Mills possessed a sublime quality when illuminated at night reminding him of a ‘man of war’ and in a phrase reminiscent of Joseph Wright’s painting of *Cromford by Night* that they looked ‘luminously beautiful’. Grant, travelling at night passed the smelting works at the village of Lea near to Matlock in 1797, and thought that the scene was ‘worthy of the pen of de Louthenberg’ as the sublime qualities of the furnace glow

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁶ Byng, *Torrington Diaries*, i, p. 62.

⁶⁷⁷ DLSL, MS 3463, Anonymous, c. 1800, p. 89

reminded him of de Louthenberg's famous painting *Coalbrookdale by Night* (1801).⁶⁷⁸ Johanna Schopenhauer, again travelling to Matlock at night, gave a vivid account of the interaction of nature and industry. The high hills gained a 'certain romance' due to the 'blazing' of the brick works, which hovered in the night like 'fiery spectres': the sublime atmosphere of the scene was further heightened by the 'roaring of the torrents' by the 'precipices of the roadside' which gave way to the 'noise of the many mills and waterwheels'.⁶⁷⁹ With the exception of Grant's journey, none of these accounts were published and illustrate the immediate response of the traveller to the powerful feelings that industry could evoke.

Tourist accounts, both published and unpublished suggest that for a brief period in the later eighteenth century there was an aesthetic appeal in viewing the mill in its rural location for the commerce and activity that it brought. Commenting on Cromford in 1778, William Bray thought that everything in the village wore 'the face of industry and cheerfulness' and Warner travelling some twenty years later thought that Cromford was a 'beautiful place enlivened by the busy hum of human labour'.⁶⁸⁰ Warner's impression of the village may have been influenced by Erasmus Darwin's poetical description of Arkwright's machinery. Klingender has suggested that Darwin sought to enthuse his audience with the benefits of science, industry and the perfectibility of human affairs and used classical imagery in a new and Romantic way as a medium to do so.⁶⁸¹ Darwin's *The Loves of the Plants* (1791) gave a poetical description of Arkwright's machine (a brief technical description was also given in a footnote) which drew upon classical

⁶⁷⁸ Byng, *Torrington Diaries*, I, pp.195-96; Grant, 'Three Weeks Tour to the Lakes' in William Mavor (ed.), *The British Tourists*, 6 vol. (London 1798), v, p. 220.

⁶⁷⁹ Schopenhauer, *A Lady Travels*, p. 21.

⁶⁸⁰ Bray, *Sketches of a Tour*, p. 119; Warner, *Northern*, p. 140.

⁶⁸¹ Klingender, *Art and the Industrial Revolution*, pp. 87-89.

poetical sources for its inspiration. The nymph Gossypia, the personification of the cotton plant, was carded by Niads who culled from 'leathery pods, the vegetable wool' and 'the iron hand with fingers fine' combed 'the wider card and forms the eternal line'.⁶⁸² Darwin's poetry is notable as it gave the image that both nature and industry equalled Derbyshire. Warner quoted Darwin's poetical description of Arkwright's machinery when he arrived at Cromford. He was further delighted by Darwin who had discovered the 'unknown' art of 'clothing in poetical language and decorating with beautiful imagery, the un-poetical operations of machines, and the dry details of manufactures'.⁶⁸³ Britton and Brayley repeated Warner's observations for their readers and also quoted the passage by Darwin as did Stephen Glover's guide to Derbyshire.⁶⁸⁴

The charm that Arkwright's mill gave Cromford through commerce and activity did not impress all visitors and even detracted from the picturesque scenery for some. James Pilkington thought the mill was a 'large handsome building', but the 'improvements of art' had considerably 'injured the natural beauty of the dale', informing his readers that those who admired picturesque scenery would 'wish' they could have been placed in another 'situation'.⁶⁸⁵ Although he had admired the sublime qualities of Arkwright's mills at night, John Byng described how 'these vales have lost all their beauties; the rural cot has given place to the lofty red mill' he continued 'the stream perverted from its course by sluices, and aqueducts, will no longer ripple and cascade – Every rural sound is sunk in the clamours of cotton works'.⁶⁸⁶ He concluded that 'the intention of retirement is much lost here; and the citizen or tourist, may soon seek in vain for quiet, and wild

⁶⁸² Erasmus Darwin, *The Poetical Works of Erasmus Darwin*, 3 vol (London, 1806), i, pp. 87-89.

⁶⁸³ Warner, *Northern*, p. 143.

⁶⁸⁴ Britton and Brayley, *Beauties of England and Wales*, iii, p. 512; Glover, *Peak Guide*, p. 127.

⁶⁸⁵ Pilkington, *Present State of Derbyshire*, ii, p. 312.

⁶⁸⁶ Byng, *Torrington Diaries*, i, pp. 195-96.

scenery'.⁶⁸⁷ Just as the concepts of the sublime had influenced traveller's response to industry, so to, did the later theories of the picturesque. Uvedale Price's *Essays on the Picturesque* advised that in a picturesque composition the 'works of man' should be avoided as they lacked charm unless they were old and ravaged.⁶⁸⁸ He could not entertain the new mills in the picturesque landscape as they lacked the appeal of roughness and variation of ruins. He singled out Arkwright's mills and condemned the buildings for 'disbeautifying an enchanting piece of scenery'.⁶⁸⁹ For Pilkington, Byng and Price the intrusion of industry into the romantic scenery of Matlock ruined the picturesque appeal of the dale.

Price's theories on the picturesque influenced the writers of the early nineteenth-century tourist guides, who on the one hand praised Arkwright's life and technical innovations, but followed Price on the other and lamented about the intrusion of his mills at Matlock. Ebenezer Rhodes *Peak Scenery* (1824) described how the weir near the cotton mill might have been, in another location, a 'pleasing object' but at Matlock where 'every artificial interference is offensive' it was 'incongruous and out of place'. A. Jewitt's *Matlock Companion* (1832) went further when presented with the view of the cotton mills at Matlock, informing his readers that they must 'bid adieu to picturesque beauty' for nature had been disfigured by the manufactories.⁶⁹⁰ As Matlock was held high in both the author's and visitors' estimation the intrusion of industry on the scene was particularly pronounced and unwelcome. Other sites of industry fared better. Jewitt

⁶⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 196.

⁶⁸⁸ Uvedale Price, *Essays on the Picturesque, as Compared with the Sublime and Beautiful*, 3 vols (London, 1810), i, p. 198.

⁶⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁹⁰ E. Rhodes, *Peak Scenery or the Derbyshire Tourist* (London, 1824), p. 251; A. Jewitt, *The Matlock Companion* (Duffield, 1832), p. 14.

also described an excursion from Cromford to the small village of Bonsall along a route known as the Via Gellia, named after Mr Gell who had built the road, in which the succession of scenes had no parallel. He described how a number of lakes had been formed one above the other for the purpose of working a number of small manufactories. The combination of the mills, wheels, and dams powered by the mountain rill, the high rocks and rough stony mountains covered with a variety of foliage set the 'imagination at work' in deciding whether 'the beautiful or sublime' most predominated at the scene.⁶⁹¹

Conclusion.

Sites of industry formed an integral attraction in the tourist itinerary of Derbyshire in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. The concept of 'industrial enlightenment' has proved a useful model through which to explain the tourist interest in the county's mines and mills. Topographical literature, published and unpublished accounts of travel were all informed by the public culture of science and technology which spread through the country in the eighteenth century. The descriptions of the county's industries has demonstrated that travellers were conversant with, and desired to see, the latest technological innovations; this is further illustrated in the technical detail that they gave in their accounts. In the early nineteenth century the writers of the tourist guides presented an image of Derbyshire as being at the forefront of technological development. It should be noted, however, that some tourists may well have visited an industry, which were established features on the tourist itinerary, out of curiosity and for novelty. Tourist interest was not just confined to the technology being employed, but increasingly began

⁶⁹¹ A. Jewitt, *Matlock Companion*, p. 41.

to focus upon the industrialists themselves. Early-nineteenth-century tourist guides attempted to utilise the image of the entrepreneur and his contribution to the nation, particularly that of Arkwright, in the promotion of these sites to the tourist. Industry also held an aesthetic appeal to the traveller, informed by the theories of the sublime and the picturesque and painted and poetical representations of industry. This appears to have been a double edged knife, inside the mills and mines, the sublime dominated and travellers responded favourably to the experience. The location of industry, however, in a place with a reputation for picturesque beauty such as Matlock was for the tourist an unwelcome intrusion and one that the writers of the tourist guides, usually keen to promote industry as a tourist attraction, appear to have agreed with.

The concept of 'industrial enlightenment' has provided a useful methodology that has highlighted the neglected role of industry in domestic tourism. Musson, Stewart, Jacobs and Mokyr have all argued for the slow spread on scientific culture from London to the provinces in this period. Both Jones' study of tourism at Bolton's Soho manufactory and the findings of this study, suggest that the provinces played a role in the spread of scientific culture and technical innovation and knowledge through tourism. Indeed, in Derbyshire tourists were viewing the mines and mills of county as examples of technology from the mid-eighteenth century, a period when scientific culture is traditionally viewed as being confined mainly to London. Sites of industry enjoyed a popularity in the tourist itinerary of Derbyshire akin to that of the visiting the county's picturesque scenery or stately homes in this period. As such they gave a broader modern cultural appeal to the tour of the Peak and contributed to the development of Buxton and Matlock Bath as tourist resorts.

Chapter Six: Growth, Leisure and Complementary Tourism in the Tourist Towns of Derbyshire 1700-1850.

Introduction.

The Derbyshire tourist itinerary was based on a wide range of cultural attractions in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries that was successful in encouraging travellers to the towns of Buxton and Matlock Bath. As centres for tourism these towns provided a range of entertainments that drew upon urban culture and leisure activities, and services that contributed to the local economy. For J.H. Plumb one of the most striking features of the growing affluence of eighteenth-century society was the commercialisation of leisure and the growth of leisure towns.⁶⁹² Plumb has suggested that much of the commercialisation of leisure was based upon entertainment, although he is quick to point out that leisure time could be and was often employed for self-education, improvement and cultural pursuits.⁶⁹³ Indeed, travel itself was not only fashionable and supported by the burgeoning print culture of the eighteenth century but often justified as an educational and morally improving use of leisure time.⁶⁹⁴ The preceding chapters have illustrated the importance of 'polite' travel to the tourist itinerary of Derbyshire and that individuals chose to spend their 'leisure time' viewing the county's picturesque scenery, country houses, antiquities and industries. Thus far, it has been suggested that these towns served as both centres for health and as a convenient base from which to tour

⁶⁹² J. Brewer, N. McKendrick and J.H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society* (London, 1982).

⁶⁹³ J.H. Plumb, 'The Commercialisation of Leisure' in J. Brewer, N. McKendrick and J.H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society* (London, 1982), pp. 265-67.

⁶⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 265-67.

the 'Peak'. This chapter explores further the role of the town within the tourist itinerary of Derbyshire and the provision of 'leisure' amenities and services for the tourist.

The chapter examines the role of tourism in the growth, provision of leisure facilities and luxury retailing in the towns of Buxton, Matlock Bath, Bakewell, Ashbourne and the village of Castleton. Discussion then draws upon comparative research between leisure provision in towns during the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries to illustrate the similarities and differences between the Derbyshire tourist centres. The focus then turns to the intra-urban relationship between the towns and the importance of niche marketing to their success or failure in attracting visitors. Finally, the chapter suggests that these towns developed a complementary relationship within the tourist industry during the period under study.

The Commercialisation of Leisure and Urban Growth.

The main focus of Plumb's research was on the commercialisation of entertainment and leisure facilities in which he suggested that leisure became less private and elitist and more public and democratic in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁶⁹⁵ The driving force behind the spread of leisure, he proposed, was the increased affluence of society, the prosperous gentry and the middling sorts who sought to participate in these cultural past times. Social emulation of what had been aristocratic leisure activities and consumption was made possible by public subscription. The growth of the theatre and assembly rooms in towns where the social elite and middling ranks could attend plays and meet for music, dancing, and improving lectures are indicative of greater public

⁶⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 274.

consumption and expenditure on leisure. This in turn encouraged the entrepreneur to exploit and invest in the expansion of the market, which was epitomised in the growth of the specialised spas and leisure towns. While the visitor may have given health as the reason for their visit, it was for their amusement and entertainment in the new urban provision of leisure that they travelled.⁶⁹⁶ However, as the case of tourism in Derbyshire illustrates urban entertainments formed only one part of a culturally diverse array of attractions for the tourist.

The commercialisation of leisure was ultimately linked to urbanisation and urban improvement and had become widespread throughout the urban hierarchy by the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, bringing a range of towns into the sphere of polite society.⁶⁹⁷ Phyllis Hembry's *The English Spa* (1990) charts the provision of leisure facilities described by Plumb in spa towns in England in this period, where wealthy visitors in addition to the resident gentry, professionals and middle ranks encouraged investment.⁶⁹⁸ These facilities were of crucial importance in determining whether a spa town prospered or declined and for small centres such as Buxton and Matlock Bath, which lay on the fringe of urban/rural status, it was the provision of these facilities that qualified them as towns.⁶⁹⁹ Such urban improvement was linked to the 'cult of politeness' and its associated leisure facilities that promoted social harmony, order and

⁶⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 282-84.

⁶⁹⁷ Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town 1660-1770* (Oxford, 1989); Phyllis Hembry, *The English Spa 1560-1815* (London, 1990), p. 312; Peter Borsay, 'Health and Leisure Resorts c.1700-c.1840' in Peter Clark (ed) *CUHB 1540-1840* (Cambridge, 2000), ii, pp. 880-81; Jon Stobart, 'In Search of a Leisure Hierarchy: English Spa Towns and their Place in the Eighteenth-Century Urban System' in Peter Borsay, Gunther Hirschfelder and Ruth E. Mohrmann (eds.) *New Directions in Urban History: Aspects of European Art, Health, Tourism and Leisure since the Enlightenment* (Munster, 2000), pp. 19-20.

⁶⁹⁸ Hembry, *English Spa*.

⁶⁹⁹ Hembry, *English Spa*, p. 132; Borsay, 'Health and Leisure Resorts', p. 885; Stobart, 'In Search of a Leisure Hierarchy', pp. 19-20.

civilisation in urban society. Sweet has suggested that urban improvement and the development of leisure facilities conferred a 'polite' status to a town, which became an increasingly important image for the writers of urban histories and travel guides to exploit in advertising and attracting visitors.⁷⁰⁰ For inland watering places and coastal resorts, whose economies were dependent upon leisure provision for tourists, 'polite' status and an image of sociability was something which they could not do without. This forms a hypothesis from which to examine growth and the development of leisure facilities in the tourist towns of Derbyshire.

A number of studies of Buxton have been published, but less has been written about the overall history and development of either Matlock or Bakewell in this period. Heape's *Buxton under the Dukes of Devonshire* provides an overall survey of the various Dukes' investment in the town and the development of the town's leisure facilities. Hembry examined the growth of both Buxton and Matlock, concentrating on the development of the towns' leisure facilities. Both concluded that Buxton's expansion was fairly limited in the late eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Langham's *Buxton: A People's History* surveyed the town's growth in the period but devoted much of the book to later Victorian development. Brighton, who devoted a chapter to the growth of Buxton, Matlock and Bakewell in *Discovery of the Peak District*, suggest that investment in both the health and leisure industry in these towns was indicative of

⁷⁰⁰ Rosemary Sweet, 'Topographies of Politeness', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6:12 (2002) pp. 355-56.

increased competition for visitors in this period. However, his conclusions remain vague as to the exact nature and extent of this competition.⁷⁰¹

For much of eighteenth century, Buxton remained a small town whose economy was based upon a mix of agriculture and visitors to the town. Despite Buxton's reputation as a watering place, urban growth and improvement remained limited until the 5th Duke of Devonshire's investment in the 1780s. Until the middle of the eighteenth century the principal accommodation was the Old Hall hotel and from 1730 a number of lodging houses had emerged to cater for visitors.⁷⁰² Early-eighteenth-century observations confirm these findings. T. Cox and T. Read noted the Old Hall hotel and other accommodation that befitted the 'quality' of the individual, but offered little information as to the extent of entertainments on offer in the town. Charles Parry arrived at Buxton in 1725 and gave no account of the services on offer to the visitor, although he only stayed two nights.⁷⁰³ From the middle of the century there was increasing development, albeit limited, in the services on offer to the tourist. By 1768 two further large inns, the Eagle and White Hart had been established, and by 1776 the White Hart had a ball room. Leisure amenities existed but were limited: there was the ball room, a modest theatre in an old barn had been opened by 1776 and there were a few walks and promenades for the visitors. The social life of the town focused upon the Old Hall hotel and the inns and entertainments consisted of musicians playing at meal times, dancing, billiards and

⁷⁰¹ R. Grundy Heape, *Buxton under the Dukes of Devonshire* (London, 1948); Hembry, *English Spa*; Mike Langham, *Buxton: A People's History* (Lancaster, 2001); Trevor Brighton, *The Discovery of the Peak District* (Chichester, 2004).

⁷⁰² Hembry, *English Spa*, pp. 216-18.

⁷⁰³ Thomas Cox, *Magna Britannia Antiqua and Nova*, Six vols (London, 1730), i, p. 437; NRO, MC/150/49/625, Charles Parry, 'Journal of a Tour to the North of England, 1725', p. 28; T. Read, *The English Traveller* (London, 1746), pp. 228-29.

playing cards.⁷⁰⁴ Visitors to Buxton were aware of the limitations. Resta Patching visited the town in 1755 and left ‘disappointed’ in his expectation of finding Buxton a ‘grand and brilliant place’.⁷⁰⁵ However, Resta went on to suggest that with seeing the sights of the county, bathing, shooting, fishing and an assembly room, there was no ‘want of diversions’, although he complained about the walks and lack of company.⁷⁰⁶ Meadow Taylor Cambridge who stayed in the town in 1775 recorded in his journal how he had ‘attended a ball at the hall’ and a play at the theatre.⁷⁰⁷ Others wrote of the ‘dullness’ of Buxton in both the town’s appearance and social life. The Earl of Mornington stayed in the town in 1787 and recorded that it was not a ‘lively resort’.⁷⁰⁸ When compared with the emergence of Bath’s new town and the rise of Cheltenham in this period, Buxton fell far short of being a fashionable spa. However, such growth that did take place prior to 1780 confirms that the town could not be ignored as a resort due to the medicinal qualities of its waters and its convenience as a base to explore the attractions of the county.

Under the patronage of William Cavendish, the 5th Duke of Devonshire, Buxton was transformed into a small elegant spa town. Its growth in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is illustrative of Borsay’s argument that investment in leisure, in the absence of other avenues for investment such as industry, provided the economic base for urban growth.⁷⁰⁹ The Duke had seen the success of Bath’s redevelopment and leisure facilities when he visited it in the 1770s and was aware of spa development on the

⁷⁰⁴ Hembry, *English Spa*, pp. 217-18.

⁷⁰⁵ Resta Patching, *Four Topographical letters Written in 1755*, (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1757), p. 41.

⁷⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁷⁰⁷ NRO, MC257/59, Meadow Taylor Cambridge, ‘Tour 1775 and 1781’.

⁷⁰⁸ Earl of Mornington 1787, quoted in Hembry, *English Spa*, p. 217.

⁷⁰⁹ Borsay, ‘Health and Leisure Resorts’, pp. 888-92.

continent from his travels there.⁷¹⁰ Inspired by this he sought to create the image of a 'polite' and fashionable spa and gave a greater role to urban leisure amenities through which to attract visitors to Buxton. Cavendish's patronage, estimated at £120,000 created the town's Crescent and stables, executed in a neo-classical style providing the latest examples of fashionable architecture.⁷¹¹ They were designed by John Carr of York and completed in 1784. Carr, to whom Cavendish had been introduced by the Earl of Rockingham, was one of the most talented and influential architects of his day and a member of the exclusive Architects Club founded in 1791. His work included Harewood House and several public buildings throughout the north of England.⁷¹² His employment at Buxton sent a powerful message about the aspirations of the town's new found fashionability. Around the Crescent, the Hall bank (1798), the Square (1806) and the new Spring Gardens road were constructed, designed to look elegant, provide both public and private lodgings and importantly new shops. New baths, also designed by Carr, were constructed in a Grecian style and St Anne's Well was re-covered in the same style. New walks and plantations were laid out in front of the Crescent called St Anne's terraces and a new Serpentine walk was laid out near the river which offered the chance for social display. Accommodation for visitors was paramount in the Duke's mind and the Crescent contained three hotels as well as private lodgings - he was also involved in

⁷¹⁰ Hembry, *English Spa*, p. 221.

⁷¹¹ The records of the Devonshire Buxton Estate illustrate the return that the Duke of Devonshire received on his investment. The Estate owned significant holdings in Buxton and the accounts for 1798 show a return of £3, 940 in annual rents. This remained much the same until 1807, when Philip Heacock esquire completed a new assessment of the estates holdings, resulting in a considerable increase in rental income. Langham, *Buxton*, pp. 10-11, 19.

⁷¹² Brian Wragg, *The Life and Works of John Carr of York* (ed.), Giles Worsley (York, 2000), pp. 1, 23-24, 33, 121.

improving several of the inns as well as the new buildings along the square and spring gardens.⁷¹³

Cavendish's investment in the town extended the provision of leisure facilities for the visitors. The Crescent contained a new and purpose-built assembly room, after the style of Robert Adam (whose interiors would be known to those who had seen Kedleston hall), the room may have been modelled on that of Bath, but its columns of Derbyshire marble made it local in physicality and differentiated it from other assembly rooms. The Crescent also contained a subscription newsroom and a coffee house. Bands of musicians played at various times of the day at the Duke's expense. Finally the Duke rebuilt the theatre but this was a fairly modest building.⁷¹⁴ Charitable institutions also contributed to the image of a polite town and the operation of the Buxton Bath Charity gave the town a further hint of urban civility and politeness.⁷¹⁵ The success of leisure and tourism in stimulating urban growth in the absence of any industrial development is evident in the quadrupling of the town's population from 238 inhabitants in 1789 to 934 in 1811 and the 71 houses in the village had become 186 for the same period.⁷¹⁶

Cavendish's investment appears to have stimulated the production of tourist guides for the county. The writers of the guides quickly seized upon the opportunity to use the new fashionable identity of the town as a medium through which to advertise the town to the potential visitor. This reflects Borsay's and Sweet's findings that a 'polite' identity was instrumental in attracting tourists to a town: as the writers of the tourist guides concentrated their descriptions on the new buildings and leisure amenities on offer.

⁷¹³ Grundy Heape, *Buxton*, pp. 28-30, Hembry, *English Spa*, p. 221.

⁷¹⁴ Grundy Heape, *Buxton*, p. 31; Hembry, *English Spa*, pp. 221, 224.

⁷¹⁵ Jon Stobart, 'Leisure and Shopping in the Small Towns of Georgian England: a Regional Approach', *Journal of Urban History*, 31:4 (2005) p. 483.

⁷¹⁶ Hembry, *The English Spa*, p. 222

William Bott's *A Description of Buxton* (1792) informed his readers that the Crescent's 'beauty' and 'magnificence' exceeded any other buildings 'in this part of the country' and he thought the stables were the 'grandest in Europe'. He continued by describing the new assembly-room and that plays were held in the town with other entertainments consisting of cards, a coffee house, and a circulating library.⁷¹⁷ Jewitt's *History of Buxton* (1811) used a more subtle mechanism to market the town to the tourist. Having informed his readers about the new buildings he included a letter from an anonymous tourist to her sister about her stay at Buxton, although one can not discount that it was written by Jewitt himself. The letter described a week long stay at the town, where she attended two balls at the assembly rooms, three plays at the theatre and a music concert. She spent her time promenading along the walks and took out a subscription at the library. The rest of her time was spent in viewing the county's tourist attractions.⁷¹⁸ The writers of the early-nineteenth-century tour guides continued in much the same vein describing the 'fashionable' appearance of the resort and the entertainments on offer.⁷¹⁹

Visitors to the town were equally enthusiastic. James Plumptre arriving in 1793 thought the Crescent a 'grand house' for the accommodation of visitors and that in general the accommodation and amusements in the town made it very 'agreeable'.⁷²⁰ He attended a ball at the Assembly rooms finding them 'very handsome and well lighted up' and recorded that the company 'appeared very good'.⁷²¹ William MacRitchie thought the Crescent the most 'beautiful building I have anywhere seen' and acknowledged that it

⁷¹⁷ W. Bott, *A Description of Buxton and the Adjacent Country*. (Manchester, 1792), pp. 4-5, 15, 79-81.

⁷¹⁸ A. Jewitt, *The History of Buxton* (London, 1811), pp. 51-69, 135-49.

⁷¹⁹ Ebenezer Rhodes, *Peak Scenery or the Derbyshire Tourist* (London, 1824), p. 102; Daniel Orme, *The New Buxton Guide* (Derby, 1825), p. 30.

⁷²⁰ Plumptre, 'A Journal of a Tour into Derbyshire in the year 1793', in Ian Ousby (ed.), *John Plumptre's Britain: The Journals of a Tourist in the 1790's* (London, 1992) pp. 64, 66.

⁷²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

was the work of the ‘great architect Carr of York’ and the assembly room was perhaps the ‘most splendid’ in Britain.⁷²² An anonymous tourist of 1800 attended a theatrical performance of *Pizarro* in which all the ‘actors seemed to exert themselves and to do their up-most to please’ and he left ‘well satisfied with their performance’.⁷²³ However, the new Buxton was not to everyone’s taste: John Byng, found the Crescent ‘a laboured quarry’ and bemoaned the loss of ‘small lodging houses and snug stables’ that were more comfortable in his opinion than ‘ill-contrived grandeurs’.⁷²⁴ He found that the piazzas and promenades too narrow and the theatre was a mean, dirty, boarded thatched house that could not accommodate many people (his visit in 1790 was before the theatre was rebuilt in 1792). His only point of praise for the town was for the ‘great and fine Assembly Room’.⁷²⁵ Byng was, of course, a perennial complainer. S. N. Rudge who arrived in the town in 1830 recorded in his journal that Buxton was ‘of all vile places’ the ‘vilest’. He thought the Crescent was externally ‘handsome’ but the interior was badly planned and full of ‘intricate passages and small steep staircases’.⁷²⁶ He only stayed one night in the town and his comments illustrate that opinions of a town could be hastily made by the traveller.

Buxton, however, was to stagnate in terms of both urban growth and improvement from the 1820s to the 1850s. In part this stemmed from a lack of any further investment in the town from either the 6th Duke of Devonshire (beyond continuing to lay out further plantations and improve the walks) or local inhabitants. The 6th Duke was primarily concerned with new building work at Chatsworth and several other estates and the local

⁷²² William MacRitchie, *Diary of a Tour through Great Britain in 1795* (London, 1897), pp. 54-55.

⁷²³ DLSL, MS 3463, Anonymous, c. 1800, p. 111.

⁷²⁴ John Byng, *The Torrington Diaries*, 4 vols (ed.), C. Bruyn Adams (London, 1934), i, pp. 167

⁷²⁵, 186, 188.

⁷²⁶ MLSL, MS 914.251CAS,,S.N. Rudge, ‘Journal of a Tour to the Lakes in July and August 1830’, p.10.

inhabitants preferred to concentrate on the leisure provision already in existence.⁷²⁷

Furthermore, the town faced increased competition from new centres such as Harrogate and Cheltenham and the increasing fashion for coastal resorts and, with the end of the Napoleonic wars, travel on the continent. By 1841, the town's resident population had only increased to 1,200. During the 1840s assemblies ceased to be held but this was a trend affecting all assemblies in towns as they became increasingly déclassé towards the middle of the nineteenth century. However, tourism had been the driving force behind urban growth in this period and had elevated Buxton to urban status despite its small size.

For much of the eighteenth century Matlock, like Buxton, remained a small town whose economy was based on a mixture of agriculture and lead mining as well as visitors to the town. In the 1770s Sir Richard Arkwright erected several cotton mills in the area and the newly enlarged lead mines contributed further to the town's economy. The influence of both tourism and industry can be seen in the town's rapid population growth from 1,469 people in 373 houses in 1789 to 2,354 people in 492 houses by 1801.⁷²⁸

Tourism, therefore, contributed to the town's overall economy but it was less dependent on tourism for its urban growth than Buxton. The discovery of the medicinal springs in 1699 opened an opportunity for investment in the leisure industry at a time when industry in the town was mainly conducted on a small scale. Although the town was situated further from the original seven wonders of Derbyshire, the growth of other attractions in the Peak during the eighteenth century combined with the its medicinal waters meant that the town could not be ignored as a convenient base for tourists. However, it exhibited little growth until the later eighteenth century. Early-eighteenth-century topographical

⁷²⁷ Phyllis Hembry, *British Spas from 1815 to the Present* (eds.), L. Cowie and E. Cowie (London, 1997), p. 116.

⁷²⁸ Hembry, *The English Spa*, p. 228

literature did not include Matlock Bath and tourists remained equally quiet. John Loveday stayed one night at Matlock Bath in 1735 recording in his journal that there were 'large new buildings to this Bath' although he gave no indication as to the other amenities available to the tourist.⁷²⁹

In 1756 a new turnpike road from Derby to Sheffield passed through Matlock/Bath making the town more accessible to visitors. Resta Patching visiting the town in 1757 recorded that the Old Bath house had a 'large and commodious' assembly room; terraces provided the opportunity for promenading and social display, there were several other walks among the picturesque scenery and recreational activities such as bowls. At meal times a band of musicians performed for the company and in the evening there was dancing and card playing. Patching thought the spa idyllic for those 'that love a peaceful solitude, or would divide there time between that and agreeable society'.⁷³⁰ As Patching's tour was published this would have gone some way to promoting the town's facilities. At mid-century there appears to have been little difference between Buxton and Matlock Bath, which suggests that in catering for the visitor they were developing a fairly standardised package of urban entertainments. Indeed, these entertainments became increasingly widespread throughout the urban system during the eighteenth century which suggests that they were part of a national formula of entertainment.

The increasing reputation of the town for its picturesque scenery and the greater influx of visitors in the later eighteenth century provided opportunities for investment in the town which began in the 1760s. The town lacked a single patron like Cavendish at Buxton and investment was made by several entrepreneurs who sought to exploit the

⁷²⁹ Sarah Markham (ed.), *John Loveday of Caversham 1711-1789: The Life and Tours of an Eighteenth-Century Onlooker* (Salisbury, 1984), p. 192.

⁷³⁰ Patching, *Four Topographical Letters*, pp. 43-47.

growing tourist market. In 1768 new springs were discovered and the handsome New Bath House hotel was erected. In 1786 a third spring and bath were added and a Mr Maynard who held a large share in the Old Bath establishment erected the Temple Hotel. Built on terraces it gave magnificent views of the picturesque valley. In the 1780s the Great Hotel was constructed by speculators, but it only remained open for four years, suggesting that they over estimated the market and the building was converted into a range of museums and luxury retailing establishments and a subscription newsroom known as museum parade.⁷³¹ Several smaller lodging houses were also in operation. In the 1790s extra accommodation was provided for visitors with the extension of both the Old Bath and New Bath hotels, the provision of new stabling and the construction of several other new hotels and lodging houses.

With no overall plan for development by a single patron Matlock Bath lacked the uniform appearance of Buxton, nor was there any building of equal stature to the Crescent. The writers of the early-nineteenth-century tour guides made a virtue of the heterogeneous appearance of the town in attracting the tourist J. Hutchinson's *Curiosities of Derbyshire* (1810) considered that the appearance of the 'neat white cottages' with the surrounding picturesque landscape was productive of the 'most novel sensations'. Similarly, Ward's *Buxton, Matlock and Castleton Guide* (1826) described the setting of the buildings and gardens amongst the picturesque scenery of the dale for his readers.⁷³² Visitors were equally enthusiastic about the appearance of Matlock Bath. Schopenhauer recorded in her journal that 'nowhere else had we seen the wild simple beauty of nature more happily combined with civilisation than here on the banks of the

⁷³¹ Hembry, *English Spa*, pp. 228-229.

⁷³² J. Hutchinson, *Curiosities of Derbyshire* (London, 1810), pp. 13-14; R. Ward, *Buxton, Matlock and Castleton Guide* (6th edn. Birmingham, 1826), pp. 30-32.

Derwent' and described the appearance of 'friendly cottages, perched high on the banks, surrounded by little gardens and meadows, with handsome houses' below.⁷³³

In terms of leisure amenities there were both similarities and differences between what was offered at Buxton and Matlock Bath. The town held assemblies, had several promenades and walks, bands of musicians, a newsroom and a library, but it lacked a theatre. This again suggests that urban entertainments were fairly standardised in the later eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Matlock Bath, however, made much of its setting amidst picturesque scenery, with boat rides available upon the river Derwent. The town also had several show caverns of geological interest and several industries that appealed to the traveller. Matlock Bath then had an identity of a picturesque yet polite resort that differed from the image of fashionable Buxton, but one that was no less successful in attracting the tourist.

There were further similarities between the two towns in their exploitation of the tourist market. Borsay has suggested that spas were characterised by a special social environment which was the product of the pursuit of sociability on the one hand and social difference on the other. Mechanisms were sought to engage the visitors in sociability: the daily routine and payment for the use of facilities such as assemblies by subscription pressurised visitors to participate in the polite forms of social interaction; the convention of the company dining together reinforced the notion of a relaxation of social norms as dining together was not based upon rank, but upon the order of the arrival of the guests at their lodgings.⁷³⁴ This was the case at both Buxton and Matlock Bath. Writing in 1825, Daniel Orme informed his audience of the 'pleasing' practice as 'sociability

⁷³³ Ruth Michaelis-Jena and Willy Merson (trans and ed,) *A Lady Travels Journeys in England and Scotland from the Diaries of Johanna Schopenhauer* (London, 1988), p. 23.

⁷³⁴ Borsay, 'Health and Leisure Resorts', pp. 792-794.

appears to be the great aim of the visitors of this truly fashionable and beneficial watering place'.⁷³⁵ James Plumptre gave a rare insight to the practice during his stay in the town in 1793. He recorded in his journal the conversation that took place between the guests. He listened to an account of one guest who was enthusiastic about his visit to the Peak cavern at Castleton including the prices they had been charged, although he remained doubtful as to the amount of gunpowder that had been used in producing the blasts, which in his opinion would have disabled the party.⁷³⁶ The communal dining at both Buxton and Matlock/Bath was not to everyone's taste. The ever misanthropic Byng shunned all aspects of these towns' sociable activities, preferring private dining in his room at Buxton and avoiding the hotels of Matlock for a lesser inn at Cromford on his travels in Derbyshire in 1789 and 1790.⁷³⁷ From the 1820s onwards, however, there was change in the sociability of these towns. Communal dining began to decline as visitors sought to socially differentiate themselves from one another. This suggests a diverse social clientele and is reflected in the visitor lists of the 1840s. This occurred at both Buxton and Matlock. William Adam told his readers in 1851 that although visitors were more numerous to Matlock the 'practice of dining together' had been 'given up for private rooms'.⁷³⁸

For the Dukes of Rutland the increase of tourism which prompted the growth and improvement in both Buxton and Matlock Bath towards the end of the eighteenth century was a market which they could potentially exploit in the town of Bakewell. After all Bakewell had an old bath house and mineral springs, the river Wye which flowed near

⁷³⁵ Orme, *New Buxton Guide*, p. 32.

⁷³⁶ Plumptre, 'Journal of a Tour', p. 65.

⁷³⁷ Byng, *Torrington Diaries*, i, pp. 39-40, 187.

⁷³⁸ William Adam, *Gem of the Peak* (5th edn. 1851, repr. 1973), p. 55.

the town was a favourite resort of anglers, the ancient church attracted visitors with an antiquarian leaning and importantly Haddon Hall was within close proximity to town. Furthermore, all the other attractions of the Derbyshire tourist itinerary were easily accessible. Bakewell had, with the development of the 1759 turnpike road, become an important coaching stop for post chaises, but much of the town's increase in population and trade had been provided by industry, in particular Sir Richard Arkwright had erected a cotton factory just outside of the town.⁷³⁹ Travellers' accounts of the later eighteenth century indicate, however, that Bakewell was far behind the improvements that were being made in both Buxton and Matlock. J. Lowe described the inconvenience of the 'narrowness' of the 'dirty' streets into which ramshackle shop fronts projected in the *Royal Magazine* in 1765. Byng wrote of the 'dirt and dullness of Bakewell' and complained bitterly about the accommodation at the White Horse Inn in 1790.⁷⁴⁰ The 5th Duke of Rutland was well aware that for Bakewell to compete against these rival spas investment was needed to modernise the town. Around the turn of the nineteenth century the Duke began to improve Bakewell. The White Horse was pulled down and the Rutland Arms, a larger and finer inn was erected in its place and by 1804 a new market place known as the Square had also been built. The old bath house was refurbished and in 1817 consisted of a bath and two pump showers. The Duke also established the bath house gardens with several walks and promenades between the bath and the Rutland Arms⁷⁴¹.

⁷³⁹ Brighton, *Discovery of the Peak District*, p. 118.

⁷⁴⁰ J. Lowe *Royal Magazine* 1765 quoted in Brighton, *Discovery of the Peak District*, p. 118; Byng, *Torrington Diaries*, i, p. 196.

⁷⁴¹ Brighton, *Discovery of the Peak District*, p. 120.

Tourist guides in the nineteenth century were keen to promote the changes in Bakewell to tourists. In 1824, Ebenezer Rhodes informed his readers that the Duke was ‘progressively extending the many accommodations it affords to travellers and is increasing the respectability of its appearance’ as old houses were being replaced with ‘neat modern erections’ along a ‘neat and uniform plan’.⁷⁴² Rhodes thought the Rutland Arms a ‘noble inn’ and one of the best in the county for the ‘choicest viands and the best wines’ He described the bath as ‘capacious’ and noted that a newsroom had been established. The gardens were a ‘delightful promenade’ between the inn and the baths.⁷⁴³ Daniel Orme wrote that Bakewell had been ‘much improved of late years’ as the Duke of Rutland had ‘laid out considerable sums of money in building accommodations for visitors’.⁷⁴⁴ William Adam’s *Gem of the Peak* recorded much that Rhodes had already described but added that there was a stationers and many other ‘good shops’ which Adam thought ‘desirable in a town of great resort for company’.⁷⁴⁵

Despite ducal patronage Bakewell never established itself as a true rival against both Buxton and Matlock Bath as it failed to create a distinct identity for itself. Chapter one showed that Bakewell was unsuccessful in promoting itself as a centre for health. Improvements to the town when compared with Buxton or Matlock were small and it would appear that the Duke of Rutland was not prepared to invest further in the town to provide other amenities and leisure facilities.⁷⁴⁶ Accommodation for visitors was limited to the Rutland Arms and one lodging house owned by the proprietors of the inn.⁷⁴⁷

⁷⁴² Rhodes, *Peak Scenery*, pp. 130-131.

⁷⁴³ Ibid., pp. 130-131.

⁷⁴⁴ Orme, *New Buxton Guide*, p. 68

⁷⁴⁵ Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 158.

⁷⁴⁶ At the time of writing it was not possible to view any records relating to the Duke of Rutland’s involvement in the town, due to the re cataloguing of the private collections at Belvoir castle.

⁷⁴⁷ Pigot & Co’s, *Commercial Directory for Derbyshire* (1835, repr. Matlock, 1976), p. 30.

Entertainments were also lacking, no assemblies appear to have been held, there was no theatre and the walks were limited. Communal dining does not appear to have been practised at the inn and the town lacked the more sophisticated mechanisms that encouraged the tourist to participate in social entertainment. In 1835 White Watson, a mineralogist and owner of geological museum and spar shop, died and his establishment closed and removed what had been an important tourist attraction for the town. The town also lacked local initiative in the development of the tourist industry as no separate guide was written for the town, unlike at Buxton and Matlock Bath where those with a vested interest saw a guide as a medium through which to encourage patronage. Given its development as a spa it was never going to be a serious rival to either Buxton or Matlock Bath and served a more complementary role within the overall tourist itinerary of the county. Bakewell, was, however, less reliant on tourism to further growth given the presence of other industries in the town.

Despite Ashbourne's proximity to certain features of the tourist itinerary, tourism played an insignificant role in its development. The town lacked the important mineral springs which were essential in encouraging initial investment in the tourist industry and there is no evidence to suggest that local entrepreneurs sought to exploit the market. Ashbourne prospered on the basis of a mixed economy of trade, small scale manufacturing and service industries in the eighteenth century. However, Ashbourne presents a case of a small town participating in the wider demand for, and the spread of the commercialisation of leisure in the eighteenth century. Adrian Henstock's research on Ashbourne in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries suggests that the town developed a winter season of urban leisure activities and facilities supported by the local population.

The town held assemblies in a room in the Blackamore's Head inn and occasional balls at the Green Man inn from the 1770s until the 1820s when they ceased to be fashionable. The town lacked a purpose built theatre, although performances were held in a converted warehouse, with plays being commissioned by one particular family. The social life of the town was often centred on private residences as particular families took it in turns to hold social gatherings.⁷⁴⁸ Ashbourne also developed, as will be discussed below, a significant luxury retail and service sector in its economy, but as with the town's leisure activities this was mainly supported by the local gentry and more prosperous local inhabitants.

Although the town was to attract some visitors, most notably Dr Samuel Johnson who stayed in the town on several occasions, Ashbourne served more as a day centre for tourists wishing to view the ever popular picturesque scenery of Dove dale. Beyond the convenience of the town as a staging post from which to view either Dove dale, the town's church, Oakover and Illam Halls, the writers of the tourist guides did little to promote the town to the traveller, giving their readers no information on the town's leisure facilities or retailing establishments. Ashbourne presents a picture of a small town's 'polite' society in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and as such will be used as a 'control' town through which to examine the more specialised and sophisticated nature of both Buxton and Matlock's tourist economies.

Castleton was a well known destination in the tourist itinerary of Derbyshire. With the Peak cavern, Peverel Castle, Mam Tor, Speedwell navigation mine, Odin mine and Blue John mine and the sublime scenery of Winnat's pass all in its immediate vicinity, it

⁷⁴⁸ Adrian Henstock (ed.), *A Georgian Country Town: Ashbourne 1725-1825*, 2 vol. (Nottingham, 1989), i, pp. 70-72, 77-78.

had much to offer to the visitor. Yet it remained a village into the mid-nineteenth century. With no mineral springs it attracted little investment beyond an inn or two for the refreshment and accommodation of travellers and a number of specialist spar museums and shops where Blue John flour spar and other geological specimens were sold to collectors and souvenir hunters.⁷⁴⁹ Castleton served simply as a popular destination for a day or two days excursion from the county's spa towns, with its attractions giving a significant boost to the village economy of agriculture and mining.

Leisure Provision and Hierarchy.

The previous section has shown that the resorts of Buxton and Matlock Bath centres invested in broadly similar leisure facilities to one another from the mid-eighteenth century. This reflects Plumb's, Hembry's and Borsay's findings and suggests that the provision and consumption of urban leisure and entertainments was no less an important factor in attracting tourists to Buxton and Matlock Bath as other spas and resorts. The main focus of the tour of the Peak may have been focused upon Derbyshire's cultural attractions, but, as the previous section has illustrated, both long stay and short stay visitors to the towns of Buxton and Matlock expected to find and participate in a range of urban entertainments. Hembry's research upon the growth and development of spa towns examined both Buxton and Matlock Bath from the perspective of their provision of urban entertainments, from which she concluded that Matlock Bath was unable to match or compete with Buxton.⁷⁵⁰ Trevor Brighton in his *Discovery of the Peak District* (2004)

⁷⁴⁹ Sir George Head, *A Home Tour through the Manufacturing Districts of England* (London, 1836), p. 106.

⁷⁵⁰ Hembry, *English Spa*, pp. 227, 231.

has suggested, however that Matlock Bath emerged as a serious rival to Buxton in this period.⁷⁵¹ What is needed, therefore, is a comparative analysis of the tourist centres of Derbyshire to establish whether Buxton truly dominated the leisure market, or whether there was competition within the intra-urban relationship of the two towns for the nascent tourist industry. Jon Stobart's research, which examined leisure and its spread through the urban system in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, provides a methodology from which to explore this hypothesis.⁷⁵² Stobart comparative analysis of the spread of leisure provision through the urban system in the eighteenth century was based upon a hierarchy consisting of assemblies, walks and promenades, circulating libraries, quarter sessions, and the built environment from which each town received a leisure score.⁷⁵³ Stobart's list has been adapted for the purpose of this analysis as none of the tourist towns held quarter sessions and the built environment and the differences between the towns has already been discussed. To the list has been added, museums, newsrooms and show caverns which reflect the leisure provision for tourists in these towns. The leisure hierarchies cover the period 1818 to 1850 and have been constructed from trade directories and the more comprehensive guides published close to the years covered in the trade directories. The *Universal British Directory* (1793-1798) has not been included in the analysis, as its coverage of the Derbyshire resorts does not include Matlock Bath. Local trade Directories of Derbyshire from the 1790 to 1810 also lack the coverage required to provide an analysis between the towns.⁷⁵⁴ The leisure hierarchy score has been derived by recording the number of facilities, or as in the case of assemblies and

⁷⁵¹ Brighton, *Discovery of the Peak District*, p. 104.

⁷⁵² Jon Stobart, 'Leisure and Shopping in the Small Towns of Georgian England: a Regional Approach', *Journal of Urban History*, 31, 4 (2005), pp. 479-497.

⁷⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 484

⁷⁵⁴ Philip Riden, (ed.), *Derbyshire Directories 1781-1824* (Chesterfield, 2006).

theatres by the number of balls and performances held each week and multiplying these scores by the total number of leisure facilities that each town provided.

Table 5: Leisure hierarchy 1818-1821.

Town	A	T	W	CL	M	NR	SC	LS
Ashbourne	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	9
Bakewell	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	4
Buxton	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	91
Castleton	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	8
Matlock Bath	3	0	3	1	1	1	3	72

Key: A= Assemblies, T= Theatre, W= Walks, CL= Circulating Libraries, M= Museums, NR= Newsroom, SC= Show Caverns, LS= Leisure Score.

Table 6: Leisure Hierarchy 1835.

Town	A	T	W	CL	M	NR	SC	LS
Ashbourne	1	1	0	2	0	1	0	20
Bakewell	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	4
Buxton	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	91
Castleton	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	8
Matlock Bath	3	0	3	1	2	1	5	96

Table 7: Leisure Hierarchy 1850.

Town	A	T	W	CL	M	NR	SC	LS
Ashbourne	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	12
Bakewell	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Buxton	0	3	3	4	1	1	1	66
Castleton	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	8
Matlock Bath	0	0	3	1	2	1	5	60

The results of the leisure hierarchies illustrate that Buxton occupied first position in leisure provision over the thirty year period from 1818 to 1850. However, with a leisure

score only twenty points higher than that of Matlock Bath's in 1835, Buxton's relative position in the hierarchy can hardly be classed as dominance. This suggests that both towns were providing similar levels of leisure provision for their guests, and this is further confirmed by the similar loss of leisure score that both towns suffered in the 1840s when assemblies became *déclassé* and then ceased to be held. The position that Buxton held over Matlock Bath is mainly attributable to the town's theatre, and in the 1840s the emergence of three new circulating libraries. Ashbourne occupied third position in the hierarchy, although its overall leisure score may be inflated by the inclusion of assemblies, as the frequency with which they were held was less than once a week. A similar case can be made with the inclusion of the town's theatrical performances. The urban entertainments of offer at Ashbourne reflect Stobart's findings which suggested that by the nineteenth century even small towns participated in the widespread demand for urban leisure.⁷⁵⁵ With a population size similar to that of Buxton and Matlock Bath and Bakewell, Ashbourne serves then as a control town which illustrates the difference in the demand and consumption of urban leisure facilities between its resident population and the visitors to the resorts of Buxton and Matlock Bath. Bakewell held fourth position overall in the hierarchy, and the results illustrate that the investment in the town's urban leisure facilities was small as it held no assemblies and lacked a theatre. However, given the town's proximity to Matlock Bath, some four miles, it could be suggested that a profitable return on investment in similar facilities was unlikely. This would further confirm that Bakewell possessed its own micro economy within the overall tourist market of Derbyshire. The loss of leisure score from 1835 was due to closure of White Watson's geological museum further reflects the town's

⁷⁵⁵ Stobart, 'Leisure and Shopping', p. 483.

dependence on a few specialised tourist attractions. The village of Castleton occupied fifth place in the leisure hierarchy, which reflects the lack of investment in the village beyond a few geological museums of interest to the tourist.

The leisure hierarchies also illustrate the lack of overall growth within the towns' urban entertainments during the period 1818 to 1850. If competition within the tourist market was a factor in the intra-urban relationship of Buxton and Matlock Bath, one would expect to find a jostling of position within the hierarchy between them, with each town investing more in leisure provision. The results illustrate that this is not the case, which suggests that each town sought to exploit a niche market within the overall tour of the Peak. The inclusion of show caverns in the hierarchy, as a quantifiable means to reflect the wider nature of cultural tourism in Derbyshire, illustrates the point; as the growth in the number of these caverns at Matlock Bath in this period suggests that the town was seeking to exploit the cultural attractions that lay in its immediate vicinity, rather than invest in further urban entertainments, such as a theatre, that would have brought the town into direct competition with Buxton. Returning to R.W Butler's *Tourism Area Life Cycle Model*, the period 1818 to 1850 is when both Buxton and Matlock Bath were in the *consolidation* and entering the *stagnation* phases of their development. The hierarchies confirm that both towns were consolidating their niche positions within the tour of Derbyshire.

Luxury Retailing and Hierarchy.

Jon Stobart has suggested that research into urban leisure during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with regard to the built environment and recreational facilities, has

neglected an important feature of urban leisure, that of shopping and the growth of retailing. Retailing was a dynamic and sophisticated sector of the urban economy, and luxury shops not only contributed to the 'polite' image of the town but also offered a viable route to a town's prosperity.⁷⁵⁶ Cox and Stobart argue that shopping became a leisure activity in its own right, a part of the social round to see what was new and fashionable and was most manifest in spa towns and other fashionable resorts which attracted the wealthy customer.⁷⁵⁷ Luxury retailing became increasingly sophisticated in the later eighteenth century: the shop front decorated in fashionable architecture reflected upon the fashionability and quality of stock; the glazed window was important for display, attracted customers and offered the shopkeeper an opportunity to sell to a captive audience secluded from the street; and there was new concentration by retailers on ambience, interior display and the profitability of attentive service, knowledge and advice about the latest fashionable goods and comfort for the customer, which appealed to the wealthy patron.⁷⁵⁸ Furthermore, shopping and promenading became interwoven leisure activities.⁷⁵⁹ Stobart has suggested that Buxton prospered in the eighteenth century without inducing large-scale growth and luxury trading, but from the early-nineteenth century such growth did occur.⁷⁶⁰ These observations provide a hypothesis from which to examine the growth of luxury retailing and its importance in attracting the visitor to the tourist centres of Derbyshire.

⁷⁵⁶ Jon Stobart, 'Leisure and Shopping', pp. 481, 486, 495.

⁷⁵⁷ Nancy Cox, *The Complete Tradesmen A study of retailing, 1550-1820* (Aldershot, 2000), p. 90, 92-97, 143; Jon Stobart, Andrew Hann and Victoria Morgan, *Spaces of Consumption Leisure and Shopping in the English Town, c.1680-1830* (London, 2007), p. 83.

⁷⁵⁸ Stobart, 'Leisure and Shopping' pp. 487, 493; Stobart, Hann and Morgan, *Spaces of Consumption*, p. 83.

⁷⁵⁹ Cox, *Complete Tradesmen*, p. 143; Stobart, Hann and Morgan, *Spaces of Consumption*, pp. 59, 83.

⁷⁶⁰ Stobart, 'In Search of a Leisure Hierarchy', p. 34.

Urban improvement, such as the Crescent building at Buxton and the Museum parade at Matlock Bath created new shopping spaces and new retail opportunities. One such highly specialised trade that illustrates the increasing sophistication of luxury retailing is the establishment of museums and spar shops that dealt in the Derbyshire Blue John Stone. The trade had humble beginnings and tourist accounts reveal that ‘petrifications, spar, ores and fossils’ were sold outside Poole’s hole and the bath-house by the ‘poor’ inhabitants of both Buxton and Matlock Bath respectively.⁷⁶¹ New technologies and techniques brought improvement to the range and quality of the manufactured Blue John goods which made investment in the new business establishments of spar museums and shops commercially viable and profitable. The spar shop also appears to have been a basic indicator of a centre’s participation in the tourist economy as all except Ashbourne developed this retail facility. The writers of the late eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries tourist guides promoted these establishments (one can not discount that the owners may have paid to be advertised in the guide) to encourage the prospective tourist to the tourist centres. These business establishments were picked for their ability to provide ‘polite amusement’ to the tourist, through the knowledge of the proprietor, the range and quality of the goods and the ‘taste’ employed in their display.⁷⁶² The number of shops within the individual towns would suggest that all were trying to capitalise on this luxury market. At Castleton the museum and spar shop was the only form of luxury retailing provided and beyond the income derived from guiding its cavern attractions, was the only contribution that tourism made to the village economy. The museums and shops in the towns and the village of Castleton appear to have sold a similar range of spar

⁷⁶¹ Patching, *Four Topographical Letters*, pp. 35, 40; Thomas Qunicey, *A Short Tour of the Midland Counties of England; Performed in the summer of 1772* (London, 1775), p. 57.

⁷⁶² Stephen Glover, *The Peak Guide* (Derby, 1830), p. 1; Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, pp. 163, 303, 355.

marbles manufactured into ‘handsome’ chimney pieces, tables, ornaments, ‘rings, broaches and various articles of jewellery’ and geological collections.⁷⁶³ A distinctive local specialism in luxury goods was carried out at Matlock Bath. In the *Gem of the Peak* (1851) Adam described the new technique of engraving the black marble of the county with pictures. The contrasting black of the marble and white of the engraving produced a ‘moonlight sketch’ of a scene. Egyptian obelisks and marble tables were engraved with classical scenes from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. In this they catered to elite tastes that were familiar with classical and Egyptian themes either through their education or travel abroad. The ‘moonlight sketches’, in which buildings and landscapes were ‘strikingly represented’ included many scenes from the Derbyshire tourist itinerary, such as Chatsworth house and Matlock dale.⁷⁶⁴ These goods were aimed at not only the elite but also the middling sorts whose experience of travel and education was perhaps less cosmopolitan. Johanna Schopenhauer described two ‘elegant shops’ at Matlock Bath which sold ‘urns, vases and fireplaces’ that were ‘beautifully finished and of good design’ in her journal in 1803.⁷⁶⁵ The mineral productions of the Peak were not to everyone’s taste, however. Predictably, John Byng would not be buying as he had ‘seen more perfection in many shops in London’.⁷⁶⁶ There was also a danger that the large number of establishments selling the Blue John goods in the towns of Derbyshire would exceed tourist demand. Sir George Head visited Castleton in 1835, and noted that if there was ever ‘an over-stocked market’ for these goods then it was within this village; the

⁷⁶³ Rhodes, *Peak Scenery*, pp. 104, 131; Glover, *Peak Guide*, p. 1; Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, pp. 163, 303, 355.

⁷⁶⁴ Adam, *Gem Of the Peak*, p. 367.

⁷⁶⁵ Schopenhauer, *A Lady Travels*, p. 24.

⁷⁶⁶ Byng, *Torrington Diaries*, iii, p. 46.

‘windows of every small shop’ were crowded with the mineral productions.⁷⁶⁷ The existence of this type of shop, the selling of Blue John jewellery and ornaments as well as geological collection illustrates that the landscape of Derbyshire was turned into a luxury commodity.

The tourist guides of the nineteenth century illustrate that the museums and spar shops provided a luxury shopping experience for the consumer which catered to the fashionable interest in geology. Admission to the establishments was ‘gratis’ and proprietors encouraged browsing, repeated visits and conversation about the goods before a purchase was made. All of which are indicators of ‘polite’ shopping habits.⁷⁶⁸ The display of the goods on offer was another important tool used to attract the customer. Messers. Bright and Co, Mr Hall’s, Mr Crowder’s and Mrs Bower’s shops at Buxton were described in the guides as ‘elegant’ repositories and praised for their ‘excellent’ displays which were considered ‘worthy’ of the attention of those visiting the town.⁷⁶⁹ At Matlock Bath Mr Mawe’s, Mr Vallance’s and Mr Buxton’s museums were similarly described for their display of goods.⁷⁷⁰ White Watson’s museum at Bakewell contained a display of the strata of the county worked in samples of the relevant stones and Mr Woodruffe’s ‘handsome’ shop exhibited the inlaid tables that he had been commissioned to make for the Great Exhibition of 1851.⁷⁷¹

The proprietors’ reputation for expert knowledge and attentive service also played an important role in luxury retailing. At Matlock Bath the museum owned by Mr Mawe, author of the *Mineralogy of Derbyshire*, attracted much comment in the tour guides of

⁷⁶⁷ Head, *Home Tour*, p. 106.

⁷⁶⁸ Rhodes, *Peak Scenery*, p. 131.

⁷⁶⁹ Glover, *Peak Guide*, p. 1; Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 303

⁷⁷⁰ Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 64.

⁷⁷¹ Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 163

Derbyshire. Ebenezer Rhodes' *Peak Scenery* (1824) acknowledged Mawe's scientific knowledge and taste. Sir George Head could not sing the proprietor's praises sufficiently highly, commenting on the 'deference and respect' he showed his customers and on examining the statues for sale, Mawe would pour forth 'a torrent of classical information' about them.⁷⁷² Rhodes thought the shops at Buxton were a great source of 'amusement and delight'.⁷⁷³ White Watson's knowledge on the subject of mineralogy would have been an important source of both geological information and polite amusement for those visiting his museum at Bakewell. Similarly, at Castleton, Rhodes picked out Mr Needham's museum as he claimed that Needham had made mineralogy his life's study and 'information and amusement' was to be obtained in this shop.⁷⁷⁴

The museums and shops at both Buxton and Matlock contributed further to the tourist economy as they sold a diverse range of luxury goods. Daniel Orme's *New Buxton Guide* described Messer Bright and Co. shop at the Crescent as 'the resort of all the fashionable company' who visited the town.⁷⁷⁵ The shop sold valuable and fashionable jewellery, plate and plated goods and they had piano fortes for hire as well as selling music and other articles.⁷⁷⁶ This suggests that they were catering for more than passing trade and for those that chose a longer stay in the town. William Adam informed his audience that Messer Bright and Sons establishment contained a 'costly display' of all that could 'adorn the brow and grace the neck of beauty' all forms of jewellery, watches and the best cutlery.⁷⁷⁷ The writers of the tour guides emphasised that goods were imported from

⁷⁷² Rhodes, *Peak Scenery*, p. 255; Head, *Home Tour*, pp. 123-24.

⁷⁷³ Rhodes, *Peak Scenery* bid., p. 104

⁷⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 131.

⁷⁷⁵ Orme, *New Buxton Guide*, p. 32

⁷⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁷ Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, p. 302

abroad, not only at Buxton where Bright and Sons offered fancy foreign articles of ‘the choicest description’ for sale, but also at Matlock Bath where Mr Mawe’s, Mr Vallance’s and Mr Buxton’s museums all sold imported Italian goods.⁷⁷⁸ Hembry has been critical of some of these establishments such as Bright and Sons at Buxton, who also had premises at Leamington Spa and Sheffield, and others who came from London as they only operated during the season and were not native businesses, on the grounds that they increased competition for local traders engaged in the tourist economy.⁷⁷⁹ While this is true, the promotion of such establishments in the tour guides of the nineteenth century suggests that these businesses enhanced the overall reputation of the town. This was also the case at Matlock Bath where the tourist guides informed their readers that Mr Vallance also owned a shop, which featured the Derbyshire Blue John ornaments, in London.⁷⁸⁰

Luxury goods with direct relevance to the Derbyshire tourist itinerary were marketed to the visitor at Buxton and Matlock Bath. Art works which portrayed various scenes of the county were on sale at both towns. Mr Mawe’s museum at Matlock Bath contained a gallery exhibiting the works of the ‘ingenious’ Mr. Henry Moore of Derby. The paintings and engravings of ‘every interesting scene in the neighbourhood’ wrote J. Hutchinson in his guide *Curiosities of Derbyshire* (1810) added a ‘valuable treat to the connoisseur and admirer of nature’.⁷⁸¹ The Saloon at Matlock Bath not only sold newspapers and books but also lithographic engravings of the views of Derbyshire, suggesting that the art works and engravings for sale were designed to suit the pocket of a

⁷⁷⁸ Rhodes, *Peak Scenery*, p.255; Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, pp. 64, 302.

⁷⁷⁹ Hembry, *British Spas*, p. 117.

⁷⁸⁰ Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, pp. 64.

⁷⁸¹ Hutchinson, *Curiosities of Derbyshire*, p.18.

wide range of visitors.⁷⁸² Daniel Orme's art gallery provided a similar amenity at Buxton. Furthermore, the artists at both these towns offered instruction of drawing and sketching the local scenery, with the necessary art materials being sold in the shops.⁷⁸³ These shops, however, were not to everyone's taste. Arriving in Buxton in 1790, Byng complained that 'the shops exhibit no temptation, like those of Tunbridge'.⁷⁸⁴ For Byng it would appear that the small towns of Derbyshire lacked fashion and could not compete with London or the larger spas: although, luxury retailing within the town may have improved during the early-nineteenth century.

Stobart has identified a number of luxury trades – booksellers, cloth dealers, apothecaries, doctors, clockmakers, grocers and tea dealers, tobacconists, lawyers, goldsmiths, jewellers, hair dressers, music teachers, artists and glass and china dealers – in trade directories which he used in his comparative analysis of luxury retailing in the urban hierarchy.⁷⁸⁵ By multiplying the number of luxury trades by the numbers engaged in the business a luxury retail score can be derived, allowing comparisons to be drawn between towns. His methodology has been employed to examine and compare luxury retail provision in the Derbyshire tourist centres. However, it can be suggested that some of the services, particularly lawyers, identified Stobart had little to do with the tourist economy in these towns and have been removed from the analysis. Luxury trades such as toy dealers, confectioners, surgeons and fishing tackle makers have been included to reflect the nature luxury retail provision within the tourist economy of the centres under

⁷⁸² A. Jewitt, *The Matlock Companion* (Duffield, 1832), pp. 50-55.

⁷⁸³ Orme, *Buxton Guide*, pp. 80-81.

⁷⁸⁴ Byng *The Torrington Diaries*, iii, p. 186.

⁷⁸⁵ Stobart, 'Leisure and Shopping', p. 488.

study. The following tables have been constructed using Pigot and Co trade directories for Derbyshire in 1818-21 and 1835 and Slater's *Directory of Derbyshire* 1850.⁷⁸⁶

Table 8: Luxury retailing hierarchy 1818-21.

Town	CD	AP	DR	CM	T	BS	GS	JE	HD	MT	AR	GCS	TD	CF	SU	FT	SP	RS
Ashbourne	2	2	0	4	1	5	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	4	5	1	0	280
Bakewell	0	2	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	45
Buxton	0	2	0	2	0	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	3	1	5	0	5	184
Castleton	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Matlock Bath	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	8	36

Key: CD= Cloth Dealer, AP = Apothecary, Dr= Doctor, CM= Clock Maker, T= Tobacconist, BS= Book Seller, GS=Goldsmith, JE=Jewellers, HD=Hair dresser, MT=Music Teacher, AR= Artist, GCS= Glass and China Dealer, TD= Toy Dealer, Cf= Confectioner, FT= Fishing tackle maker, Sp= Spar Museum/shop, RS= Retail Score.

Table 9: Luxury retailing hierarchy 1835.

Town	CD	AP	DR	CM	T	BS	GS	JE	HD	MT	AR	GCS	TD	CF	SU	FT	SP	RS
Ashbourne	3	2	0	6	3	5	0	0	3	2	0	2	1	5	9	1	0	504
Bakewell	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	1	1	72
Buxton	0	2	1	2	0	1	0	1	3	2	1	0	2	2	3	0	9	348
Castleton	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Matlock Bath	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	3	1	9	126

Table 10: Luxury retailing hierarchy 1850.

Town	CD	AP	DR	CM	T	BS	GS	JE	HD	MT	AR	GCS	TD	CF	SU	FT	SP	RS
Ashbourne	2	3	0	4	1	5	0	0	3	1	0	4	1	3	6	1	0	408
Bakewell	0	2	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	60
Buxton	0	4	4	2	0	1	0	1	3	1	0	0	1	1	5	0	10	363
Castleton	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	5	21
Matlock Bath	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	4	1	9	180

⁷⁸⁶ Pigot & Co's, *Commercial Directory for Derbyshire*, 1818-1821, 1835, Slater's *Directory for Derbyshire* 1850.

The results of the luxury hierarchy confirm Stobart's findings that small towns, whether specialising in the leisure industry or not, were participating in the spread of luxury retailing, however, due to their small size, none of the Derbyshire centres supported the full range of luxury services. The results illustrate that there was significant growth in luxury retail provision over the thirty year period from 1818 to 1850 at Ashbourne, Buxton and Matlock Bath. Ashbourne's score virtually doubled from 1818 to 1835, although there was a loss of businesses by 1850. Buxton's score doubled over the period and Matlock Bath's score grew six-fold in the same period. Bakewell saw little growth during this period as did the village of Castleton. The hierarchy, however, does not take into account the consumer base that created the demand for these establishments. Stobart has suggested it was the neighbouring gentry, urban professionals and the growing wealth of the middle classes who supported luxury retail establishments in towns.⁷⁸⁷ Slater's *Directory of Derbyshire* (1850) lists 57 resident gentry and clergy for Ashbourne, 47 for Bakewell, 44 for Matlock, 27 for Castleton and only 21 for Buxton. The number of professional individuals and middle class status trades were also higher in Ashbourne and Bakewell than Buxton, Castleton and Matlock. This suggests that whilst Ashbourne occupied first place in the hierarchy during this period, it was the larger numbers of residents who could participate in shopping for leisure that sustained a large luxury retailing sector. However, one can not discount that visitors who passed through the town on their tour of the Peak took the opportunity to browse in the shops and contributed to the overall economy of the town. For Buxton, which occupied second place in the hierarchy, but which had the lowest number of residents that could support such retail establishments; its position was sustained by the

⁷⁸⁷ Stobart, 'Leisure and Shopping', pp. 498, 492.

visitors to the town. Whilst Matlock Bath achieved third position in the hierarchy by 1835 and had the third largest resident consumer base, the overall growth in the retail sector suggests that it was the visitors to the town who increasingly contributed to the town's economy. For both Bakewell and the village of Castleton the limited range of services and growth in this period suggests that resident consumption was limited and that visitors contributed to the micro tourist economy in these centres.

Whilst the hierarchies have provided a good indication of luxury retail provision within the centres for visitors, they are perhaps lacking in two important respects under representation of businesses and diversification in the range of goods sold by an establishment. Daniel Orme, artist and resident in Buxton did not appear in the trade directories until 1835, but his guide to the town, written to promote his business was published in 1825 and he was possibly active in the town before then.⁷⁸⁸ For these small centres which could not, perhaps support a specialised outlet for certain luxury goods, diversification in the range of items sold by individual shops was an essential feature of retailing. For example, the trade directories record that Ashbourne, Bakewell and Matlock Bath all supported a fishing tackle shop to provide for those who wished to pursue this activity on the river Dove, Wye or Derwent, but no such establishment is recorded at Buxton. Bright and Sons at Buxton, however, also sold or rented out fishing rods and tackle meaning that the town did not lack this provision for visitors.⁷⁸⁹ At Matlock Bath Mr Mawe's museum also sold fishing rods and tackle and the Saloon not

⁷⁸⁸ Pigot & Co's, *Commercial Directory for Derbyshire*, 1835; Orme, *New Buxton Guide*.

⁷⁸⁹ A. Jewitt, *The Matlock Companion* (Duffield, 1832), p. 58.

only sold newspapers, books and lithographic engravings of the views of Derbyshire, it also contained a perfumery.⁷⁹⁰

Buxton, with a retail score double that of Matlock Bath's in 1850, far outpaced the latter town in terms of luxury retail provision. Whilst this suggests that Matlock was unable to compete with Buxton in this area of leisure activity, Buxton's higher position in the hierarchy reflects more on the overall economies of both towns. Buxton's economy was simply more dependant upon tourists, and as such, one would expect to find that the town occupied a higher position in the hierarchy. Matlock's economy was more diversified than Buxton's and tourism coexisted with both the lead and cotton industries. However, the overall growth in both Buxton's and Matlock Bath's retail score in this period illustrates that luxury retailing played an increasingly important role in the economy of these towns. This is interesting, as the period 1818 to 1850 represents the *consolidation* and *stagnation* phases of both towns' resort development and one in which investment in other urban entertainments was limited, or even declining. This suggests that luxury retailing remained a vibrant leisure activity in this period, and that investment in retail establishments and diversification in the range of goods sold, offered a potential route to both towns' continued prosperity as a tourist destination.

Complementary Tourism:

Buxton, Matlock Bath, Bakewell and Castleton all emerged as centres of tourism in Derbyshire in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and displayed similar leisure facilities, luxury retail outlets and provided access to the wider tourist itinerary of the

⁷⁹⁰ Ibid, pp. 51-56.

county: this raises the question as to the nature of their intra-urban relationship and whether there was urban competition or co-operation between them for the patronage of visitors. Borsay has suggested that the market for commercialised leisure was a competitive one which encouraged rivalry between towns as they vied with one another for the patronage of visitors. Competition was strong and niche marketing, comparison to others, and promotion of special local features, were all to be found in the tour guides. The tourist guide was a powerful image making tool that provided its readers with a physical and psychological map of their new surroundings and shaped the cultural experience of the tourist. Borsay has further suggested that in this competitive market a resort's greatest asset was its capacity to generate and attract positive images of itself. Rivalry could, however, also lead to co-operation and complementary seasons emerged to exploit the visitor market, as at Bath and Tunbridge Wells which had a spring and autumn, and a summer season respectively.⁷⁹¹ Due to the climate of the Derbyshire, the 'season' was mainly confined to the summer and autumn months and as such the option of developing complementary seasons was not viable for the tourist centres. One would expect to find, therefore, competition between the county's tourist centres. Hembry has suggested, however, that Matlock was a less important spa than Buxton and in her view was not able to seriously compete with the older established centre. Brighton has suggested that Matlock emerged in the later eighteenth century as a serious rival to Buxton for the tourist market in the county. Their findings, however, are inferred and offer no real conclusions as to the nature or extent of this competition.⁷⁹² What is needed,

⁷⁹¹ Borsay, 'Health and Leisure Resorts', p. 784.

⁷⁹² Hembry, *English Spa*, p. 227; Brighton, *Discovery of the Peak District*, pp. 104, 109, 116.

therefore, is a model of urban competition or co-operation from which to assess the urban interaction between Buxton, Matlock Bath, Bakewell and Castleton.

Stephen Caunce's recent research into industrial towns in Northern England allows such a model to be extrapolated for the tourist towns of Derbyshire. Having examined the north of England, a region noted for its image of regional and urban rivalry, he has suggested that there was a remarkable amount of urban co-operation between these towns in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Taking the example of the textile towns of Leeds, Bradford Halifax and Huddersfield, he shows how, despite their proximity, each developed a specialist product. Thus, these towns were not in direct competition with one another and Caunce further suggests they had more to fear from competition from more distant rivals that took trade away from the region.⁷⁹³

As Caunce has described a model of co-operation in the interaction of these towns, a model of competition would be one in which the towns increasingly specialised in the same industry and manufacturing practices, targeting the same markets in direct competition with and to the possible detriment of one another. Applying this theory to the tourist centres of Derbyshire would mean that Buxton, Matlock Bath, Bakewell and Castleton would actively have sought to invest in the commercialisation of leisure to out-perform one another. Given the redevelopment of Buxton in the 1780s, competition between the towns would have manifested itself in investment in public buildings in the latest architectural style, the development of leisure facilities and amenities and luxury retailing in all the towns. Joyce Ellis has observed rival spa towns were not above promoting their own waters and facilities to attract visitors by denigrating those of others

⁷⁹³ S.A. Caunce, 'Northern English Industrial Towns: Rivals or Partners?', *Urban History*, 30, 3 (2003), pp. 342-47.

as did Bath and Scarborough in the 1730s; we might therefore expect to see similar one-upmanship amongst competing Derbyshire spas.⁷⁹⁴ A model in which interaction between Buxton, Matlock Bath, Bakewell and Castleton was co-operative, however, would see investment in all the towns to a greater or lesser extent in leisure facilities, but at the same time each of the centres would exploit a niche market that the others did not. Furthermore, a town would promote itself and its facilities in guides to attract tourists, but not necessarily to the detriment of the others in the county.

There is little evidence, in fact, to suggest that there was significant competition between the Derbyshire spas for the tourist market during this period. For much of the eighteenth century these towns were perhaps too small for competition to be a particular factor in their interaction with one another. Rather, as we have seen, each centre developed in distinct and complementary ways. The complementary nature of urban interaction between these towns can be traced in the tourist guides of the later eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. It is no coincidence that tourist guides with a particular focus upon either Buxton or Matlock became more diverse and widespread from the late eighteenth century, as both towns were investing in urban improvements and the tourist market. Local initiative, in the form of writing and printing tourist guides, was an important driving force behind the promotion of these towns and one that has been overlooked in other studies of the towns. Writing a tourist guide, even if heavily plagiarised from other sources, required an investment of time and energy and they were often written by those with a vested interest in promoting their businesses in the town. The complementary nature of tourism is clearly expressed in several of the guides written

⁷⁹⁴ Joyce M. Ellis, 'Comparison, Competition and Civic Identity in Eighteenth-Century England' *Urban History*, 30, 3 (2003), p. 334.

in the late eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. William Bott's *A New Description of Buxton* (1792) swiftly followed the redevelopment of the town in the 1780s. Bott owned the stationers and booksellers, ran a circulating library, 'accommodated the company' and kept horses for hire.⁷⁹⁵ As such he had a vested interest in encouraging visitors to the town for their patronage and saw a tourist guide as a medium through which to advertise. His guide, however, did not just promote Buxton and he included a description of both Castleton and Matlock Bath in his account.⁷⁹⁶ Daniel Orme, a portrait and landscape painter resident in Manchester attended Buxton during the season. His account of the town *The New Buxton Guide* (1825) was designed to promote his own business, informing readers that an 'eminent artist from London' undertook portraits and 'instruction in drawing' and he also ran an art gallery on the Hall Bank. Orme also described the attractions of Castleton and Matlock Bath in his guide.⁷⁹⁷ Whilst both Bott's and Orme's guides heavily promoted Buxton they did not do so at the expense of other centres of tourism in the county. They sought to guide the tourist to use Buxton as a base from which to explore the 'Peak' rather than other centres, whilst at the same time they acknowledged and provided information on the county's wider attractions.

Early-nineteenth-century tourist guides, written from the perspective of using either Buxton or Matlock Bath as a base from which to tour the 'Peak' further illustrate the complementary urban relationship between the centres under study. T.J. Page was a resident physician at Buxton and his guide *A Month at Buxton* (1828) was designed to increase the business of his medical practice. J.B Chambers owned the Toy and Fancy Repository and he also ran a lodging house in Spring Gardens; his guide the *Beauties of*

⁷⁹⁵ Bott, *Description of Buxton*, p. 81

⁷⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 21-23, 29-34.

⁷⁹⁷ Orme, *New Buxton Guide*, p. 82

Buxton (1839) was again written with the intent of increasing trade in both his business concerns.⁷⁹⁸ At Matlock Bath local inhabitants followed suit. Henry Moore, a resident of Derby, was a portrait and landscape painter and instructor in drawing. The Royal Museum in Matlock housed a collection of his landscape paintings and engravings of the Derbyshire landscape. His *Stranger's Guide* (1827) was designed to encourage visitors to the town and increase the sales of his artworks.⁷⁹⁹ The Reverend Richard Ward, curate of Cromford chapel and resident in Matlock Bath, wrote the *Buxton, Matlock and Castleton Guide* (1826). Although he had no business in the tourist economy his guide would have benefited his fellow inhabitants. Finally, there was William Adam who was an agent for Mr Mawe's museum establishment before becoming proprietor himself. His *Gem of the Peak* was written to attract visitors to the Peak and his museum at Matlock. These guides all included descriptions of Bakewell, Buxton, Castleton and Matlock Bath even if promoting one town above another. William Adam saw no harm in not only describing his and other spar museums at Matlock Bath, but also the luxury retail shops at Buxton and Mr Needham's museum at Castleton.⁸⁰⁰ The mutually advantageous relationship of complementary tourism in which towns gained from both their own attractions, and those of others, was clearly recognised by the authors and business owners of the towns of Buxton and Matlock Bath.

Urban co-operation was essential to the tourist trade at the town of Bakewell and the village of Castleton. The local initiative in producing a guide to stimulate tourism was not seen in Bakewell, despite the Duke of Rutland's investment in the town. The local

⁷⁹⁸ Orme, *New Buxton Guide*, p. 33; T.J. Page, *A Month at Buxton* (13th edn. Bakewell, 1828); J.B Chambers' *Beauties of Buxton* (Buxton, 1839).

⁷⁹⁹ H. Moore, *The Stranger's Guide* (Derby, 1827).

⁸⁰⁰ Adam, *Gem of the Peak*, pp. 64, 302.

printer John Goodwin produced a guide entitled *A Description of Buxton* (1833). But Bakewell itself received little attention, beyond the mention of new accommodation, fly fishing and the bath which created a sort of micro economy within the tourist market of the Peak.⁸⁰¹ Given the descriptions of the town that appeared in other guides of the period Goodwin would not have lacked information about the town's attractions. The lack of a guide or any medical literature on its waters confirms that it was struggling to differentiate itself clearly from either Buxton or Matlock Bath. Although the Castleton acquired its own guide, J.M Heidegger's *Castleton* (1795), this was primarily a geological account of the area, and Castleton relied on its inclusion in guides for Buxton or Matlock Bath to attract visitors.⁸⁰²

Conclusion.

The Derbyshire towns of Ashbourne, Bakewell, Buxton, Matlock Bath and the village of Castleton provide a regional picture of small towns participating in the wider demand for the commercialisation of leisure as it spread through the urban system in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The chapter has demonstrated that the growth of Buxton and Matlock Bath in this period can be seen in the wider national trends of the development of spa towns with their capitalisation upon health and urban leisure. That these towns achieved urban status can be demonstrated by their cultural and social life and provision of urban entertainments which exceeded that of other small towns in the county. Buxton and Matlock Bath also possessed a vibrant luxury retail sector which

⁸⁰¹ John Goodwin, *A Description of Buxton* (Bakewell, 1833) p. 22.

⁸⁰² J.M Heidegger, *A Short Description of Castleton* (6th edn. Derby, 1801).

again was comparable, even if highly specialised, with other small towns in the county. Tourism then fuelled the growth of these two spas.

There were, however, qualitative differences between them, which led to the creation of niche identities within the tourist market. Buxton's development in the 1780s saw the town exploiting the image of a fashionable urban pleasure resort with its wide range of entertainments. In contrast, Matlock Bath's development retained the rustic, but ultimately successful, appeal of the spa. For Buxton, with few attractions in the immediate area, it was a logical step forward to capitalise upon urban leisure. Matlock Bath provided a degree of urban leisure, but capitalised on its location amongst picturesque scenery and nearby tourist attractions. The most striking feature of these tourist centres is their interdependent relationship. The complementary relationship between these towns is also borne out by the tourist guides, whose authors, despite their own vested interest in promoting their own town, described the attractions and businesses of one another. This enabled a complementary relationship to exist, in which the towns could exploit trends in tourism to their mutual advantage. It also reflected the nature of tourism in Derbyshire, in which tourists desired to view the cultural attractions of the county. As such, the towns' success was built upon creating their own identity as a centre from which to tour the Peak.

Tourism in the period 1700 to 1850 did much to establish the reputation of Buxton and Matlock Bath as inland resorts and laid the foundation for their more accelerated growth and development from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. Trends in leisure, culture and tourism that the towns had capitalised upon were already changing by the end of the period under study. Changing fashions had already brought about the decline of

the assemblies and possibly other forms of urban leisure at the towns. The special social environment that characterised these resorts was again changing under the influence of a new type of wealthy patron. From the mid-nineteenth century the railway would also have a dramatic effect on patterns of tourism opening these towns to the weekend visitor. Further research is needed to investigate both continuity and change within the tour of the Peak and whether the changes in the tourist market altered the complementary relationship between the tourist centres of Derbyshire.

Conclusion:

The publication of Charles Cotton's *The Wonders of the Peak* (1681) marked the emergence of Derbyshire as a tourist destination which continued, with significant expansion in the number of the county's attractions, to the end of the period under study. The county had much to offer the late seventeenth to early nineteenth-century-tourists, who, motivated by their health and/or to satisfy their curiosity, desire for knowledge, novelty and entertainment undertook the tour of the Peak. Much of the appeal of Derbyshire as a tourist destination lay in the key theme of transformation, which was reflected in the regions attractions, marketing of the county and traveller's own accounts of their journeys. Derbyshire was perceived as region of transformation by the tourist, due to the restorative powers of its mineral waters, the geological forces that had created its landscape and the technical innovation in industry. At the heart of the tour of Derbyshire was a network of tourist centres that sought to capitalise upon the nascent tourist industry during this period. The relative success or failure of these centres was dependent on two significant factors which contributed to each individual centres' relative performance within the tourist industry. Firstly, that each centre was able to create a niche identity based upon its own attractions and at the same time remain synonymous with the wider attractions in the tour of the Peak. Secondly, the development of a complementary relationship with the other centres in the network that enabled individual centres to avail themselves of the others' attractions. The towns' respective development in this period led to further differentiation in their representation. Buxton's redevelopment in the 1780s aspired to give the town the veneer of 'polite' and

fashionable society particularly represented by the Crescent and stable buildings and the creation of new streets. At Matlock Bath the erection of new buildings remained in tune with the rustic appeal of the spa. Both Buxton and Matlock Bath developed a range of urban leisure facilities, although the comparative analysis illustrated the qualitative differences between the two.

The period 1700 to 1850 is a unique period in the evolution of tourism in Derbyshire. Wider trends in culture and leisure led to the development of the county's unique portfolio of attractions and played a vital role in stimulating tourism to the region and the resort towns of Buxton and Matlock Bath. By the mid nineteenth century the county and its resort towns attracted a significant amount of tourists on an annual basis, and as such must be seen as a popular tourist destination, which due to its range of attractions had a national appeal. The eighteenth and early nineteenth-century tour of the Peak, however, had been built upon a certain medical understanding of mineral waters and constrained by a particular mode of transport. Changes in the structure of the tour, new travel facilities and the type of visitor they brought, as well as changes in medical treatments, broke down the traditional pattern of tourism in the region that had emerged under the wealthy, leisured tourist whose cultural 'tastes' had been reflected in the marketing of the county's attractions. For example, the emergence of hydrotherapy as a medical treatment, pioneered by Vincent Priessnitz, altered the relationship between mineral waters and health. His theory was conventional, remaining within the medical understanding of the role of water in treating disease. He differed, however, in that he suggested that any 'pure' water could be used. This removed the connection between the chemical and therefore medicinal benefits of the waters that the towns had drawn upon throughout the

eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In 1853, John Smedley, a wealthy hosiery manufacturer, opened the first hydro at Matlock Bath. The success of his venture stimulated a wave of hydro building in the town and by 1895 there were 21 separate establishments.⁸⁰³ This was a logical step forward for the town: not as reliant as Buxton upon promoting the medicinal contents of its waters, much of the town's image as a centre for health, had been based upon the combination of waters, exercise and surroundings, all of which were considered an essential part of the hydrotherapy treatment. Buxton, however, was slow to respond to changing fashions in health care. The number of medical professionals, whose reputation and business was dependent upon the knowledge of the chemical properties of the water, had little to gain from promoting a 'pure' water treatment and may account for the slow acceptance of the hydro at the town. By 1905 the town had only five such establishments.⁸⁰⁴ This would suggest that the development of the hydro at Matlock Bath altered the town's traditional role within the health market with the result that Buxton felt an increasing need to compete with Matlock Bath in the later nineteenth century.

The tour of the Peak was further altered as the popularity of viewing sites of industry declined in the nineteenth century. In the first instance it is probable that Derbyshire's industries and the technology they embodied became antiquated in comparison with the technological innovation that relocated with industry into the Northern towns. More significantly Jones has suggested that the spirit of 'industrial enlightenment' which had led to industrial entrepreneurs to show their inventions and premises ended. The sons of the eighteenth-century entrepreneurs who inherited the business saw little of value in the

⁸⁰³ Hembry, *British Spas*, pp 176-178; Kelvin Rees, 'Water as a Commodity: Hydropathy in Matlock', in Roger Cooter (ed.), *Studies in the History of Alternative Medicine* (London, 1998), pp. 28-42.

⁸⁰⁴ Hembry, *British Spas*, p. 179; Langham, *Buxton*, pp.115-131.

shared, public scientific culture and the admittance of visitors. Combined with the threat of industrial espionage they put a stop to the practice of touring their premises. This was true of Richard Arkwright Junior at Cromford Mill. Jones further argues that interest in such places declined as tourists wished to view the great inventors themselves, rather than their descendants. As such industrial tourism was no longer seen as a 'polite' mode of enquiry and its relevance to the tour of Derbyshire declined.⁸⁰⁵

The arrival of the railway at Matlock from Derby in 1849, and two lines at Buxton from Derby and Manchester in 1863 and 1864 respectively, also had an impact on the tour of Derbyshire. The rapid growth of both Buxton and Matlock Bath in the later nineteenth century suggests that the railways and the visitors they brought significantly contributed to their growth. The railways, however, brought a new type of tourist to the towns: the day and weekend traveller. A hypothesis raised here is that this less leisured type of tourist, whilst contributing to the overall tourist economy of the town, would have had little time to undertake the tour of the Peak. However, this could have significant benefits for the town as the example of Buxton's Well-dressing festivals demonstrate. Originating in the village of Tissington, located near to Ashbourne, and several other features of the tourist itinerary the custom aroused little comment in contemporary travel literature in the eighteenth century. Touring Derbyshire in 1750, Nicholas Hardinge gave a rare account of the well-dressing in a letter to his friend Mr Barnet. The springs were adorned with garlands of flowers, tablets inscribed with rhymes, and religious ceremonies were held to mark the occasion.⁸⁰⁶ Hardinge offered

⁸⁰⁵ P. M. Jones, 'Industrial Enlightenment in Practice: Visitors to the Soho Manufactory', *Midland History*, 33:1 (2008), pp. 91-94.

⁸⁰⁶ Nicholas Hardinge, *Poems, Latin, Greek and English* (London, 1818), pp. 185-186.

no opinion as to the origin of the custom and as his letters were not published for some seventy years after his death in 1758, his account did little to bring the festival to the attention of the wider reading public. Despite the continued growth of tourism in the county, the well-dressing and its origins remained relatively unknown to tourists. An anonymous author, identified by the initials F.J, gave another rare description of the event in an article in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1794).⁸⁰⁷ However, his article was more of an appeal to other readers of the periodical for further information regarding the origin of the custom. Stimulated by antiquarian literature, which popularised the history of English manners and customs,⁸⁰⁸ there was an emerging interest shown in origin of the Tissington well dressing festival in the early-nineteenth century. R.R Rawlins account of the origins of the custom appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1823). He perceived the festival to be a relique of ancient pagan beliefs and practices. The druids, had held springs as sacred as had the ancient Greeks and Romans who had held the *Fontinalia*, a festival in which they had decorated sacred springs in honour of there gods. These ancient practices had been incorporated into Christianity at a later date and springs with healing properties, ascribed to a particular saint, had been decorated in their honour.⁸⁰⁹ As the Tissington springs possessed no medicinal properties and that there were no well-dressings held at Buxton at this time, his suggestions remained purely speculative. However, his explanation of the origins of the custom was quickly incorporated into the tour guides and antiquarian literature of

⁸⁰⁷ F.J, 'Tissington well-dressing' in *The Gentleman's Magazine* vol. 75 (1794), pp. 114-15.

⁸⁰⁸ Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries* (London, 2004), pp. 331-333.

⁸⁰⁹ R.R Rawlins, 'Tissington well-dressing' in *The Gentleman's Magazine* vol. 134 (1823), pp. 293-95.

the period, which brought the custom to the attention of the wider tourist market.⁸¹⁰ Edward Brayley's *Graphic and Historical Illustrator* (1834) covered similar ground, but he was the first to suggest a new origin for the Tissington festival. There had been a drought which had affected the county, except for the springs at Tissington and the villagers held their well-dressing as a celebration of the continued water supply.⁸¹¹ The *Buxton Herald* reported upon the well-dressing festivities in 1843. The decorations of the well consisted of religious mottoes and various fanciful decorations which included the Duke of Devonshire's arms, a sea horse and a bowl decorated with fossils in which sat an artificial duck which squirted water. The Duke of Devonshire's band then played, followed by Morris dancing and a procession.⁸¹² Numerous visitors attended the festivities and the *Herald* declared that the well-dressing would be the theme of much conversation amongst the visitors.⁸¹³ These festivities, however, lacked the overall religious character of the Tissington well-dressing, which suggests that due to the greater interest that was being shown in the custom and the fact that it was unique to Derbyshire, it was another potential medium through which to attract visitors to the town. This can be further demonstrated as the event was held at the end of June which corresponded with the main tourist season of the town. The festival had significant success in the later nineteenth century. The arrival of the railway to Buxton in 1863 opened the well-dressings to a new market of weekend and day-trippers and some

⁸¹⁰ Ebenezer Rhode's *Peak Scenery* (1824), pp. 315-16; Anon. *History and Topography of Ashbourne and the Valley of the Dove* (1839, repr. Buxton, 1978), pp. 119-20.

⁸¹¹ Edward Brayley (ed.), *The Graphic and Historical Illustrator* (London, 1834), pp.30, 283-84.

⁸¹² *Buxton Herald*, 29 June 1843.

⁸¹³ *Buxton Herald*, 29 June 1843.

20,000-30,000 attended the event in this year.⁸¹⁴ More tourists visited in one week than had been seen during the entire season previous to the coming of the railway.

A study of later nineteenth-century tourism would also have to take into account the nature of working-class tourism and day trip excursions. This would have further affected patterns of tourism in Derbyshire as the attractions of the Peak became the focus of a day trip rather than being integrated with a stay at Buxton or Matlock Bath. The cultural meanings of sites such as Chatsworth house may have changed, no longer being viewed by members of the propertied classes, but by a much broader social spectrum, and accordingly assessed according to very different criteria and values. Further research would need to be undertaken to examine whether the changes to the tour of the Peak and the nature of visitors reflected wider changes in the cultural impetus and motives for viewing the county's attractions in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Many of the features that were established in the tourist itinerary of the Peak in the period 1700 to 1850 remain attractions today, but modern tourism to Derbyshire bears little relation to the earlier tour. One of the most obvious differences is that both Buxton and Matlock no longer function as spa and health centres. At Buxton, however, there is a resurgence of interest in reviving the urban spa and the town is seeking to revitalise its heritage as a centre of both eighteenth-century elegance and healing. Investment in the town is seeking to restore and preserve its architectural legacy and capitalise upon the market for mineral water therapies with the opening of the Buxton Thermal Spa Hotel

⁸¹⁴ Peter Naylor and Lindsey Porter, *Well-Dressing* (Ashbourne, 2002), p. 53.

within the restored Crescent building. The project is estimated to cost £32, 000,000 and is funded by a Lottery Heritage Grant, Councils and private companies.⁸¹⁵

As sites of industrial heritage the county's mills have made a resurgence in the modern tourist itinerary of Derbyshire as visitors view 'the birthplace of the Industrial Revolution'. The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) awards World Heritage Status (WHS) to sites of cultural or natural significance that transcends national boundaries and that are of interest to present and all future generations of humanity. In 2001 UNESCO award the Derwent valley mills WHS for their importance in technical innovation, water powered technology, the communities constructed to house the workers and the introduction of the modern factory system – themes that would have been familiar to the eighteenth-century tourist. WHS applies to a fifteen mile long site that includes Arkwrights Cromford mills, Strutt's Belper mills and the Silk Mill at Derby. Arkwright's mills have seen significant investment in their refurbishment as an industrial museum, business conference centres and provides new retail establishments. Further investment is planned and WHS is seen as a vital to stimulating the wider county economy in attracting both tourists and businesses to the region.⁸¹⁶

The advent of mass personal motorised transport has had a significant effect on modern tourism to Derbyshire. Attractions that once formed part of the tour of the Peak and contributed to the appeal of a visit to Buxton or Matlock Bath are now destinations in their own right. Dove dale remains an important and popular attraction

⁸¹⁵ *Buxton Advertiser*, 25 October 2006; *Buxton Advertiser*, 21 May, 2009; *Buxton Advertiser*, 10 September 2010.

⁸¹⁶ *Derby Evening Telegraph*, 08 February 2011; www.unesco.org.uk; www.derwentvalleymills.org.uk; www.arkwrightsociety.org.uk.

for tourists to the county, yet visiting Dove dale no longer requires the necessity of staying at either Buxton or Matlock Bath. The county's country houses are also day destination attractions, although their function has significantly changed. They fulfil a heritage role, but tourism today is a matter of income generation for the houses' survival rather than demonstration of the owners taste. The attractions of Castleton – Peverel castle, the Devils Arse and Speedwell caverns, the Blue John mine and the towns Blue John souvenir shops and Mam Tor – still draw the tourist, but the town is a day trip centre in its own right and no longer reliant on visitors from Buxton or Matlock Bath. A similar case can be made for Bakewell which draws the tourist eager to taste its famous pudding. A striking feature of modern tourism in Derbyshire is the spread of the county's well dressing festivals. Having declined around the turn of the twentieth century, they were seen as instrumental in stimulating tourism in the aftermath of the First World War. Buxton town council realised the potential behind the well-dressing festival as a stimulus to the tourist industry of the town and re-established well-dressing as an annual event in 1923.⁸¹⁷ Much of the modern phase of well-dressing in Derbyshire was established after 1950 and Matlock Bath held its first well-dressing in 1978.⁸¹⁸ The advent of the day-tripper to the Peak District has seen an increasing number of towns and villages adopting the custom with the view of increasing tourism to them through invented rural tradition.⁸¹⁹ In 2001 some eighty-nine towns and villages, including Bakewell, Buxton and Matlock participated in these events.⁸²⁰

⁸¹⁷ Naylor and Porter, *Well-Dressing*, pp. 20, 40.

⁸¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁸¹⁹ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983).

⁸²⁰ Peter Naylor and Lindsey Porter, *Well-Dressing* (Ashbourne, 2002), p. 47.

The thesis has examined tourism in Derbyshire through a cultural and tourist-centric approach, and as such offers a framework that could be utilised to further our understanding of domestic tourism more widely in this period. One of the broader themes developed through this study is the importance of the relationship between print culture and tourism. Print culture informed and stimulated the traveller's journey, contributed to the significance of the sites they viewed and was used in the marketing of tourist centres and attractions. Related to this is the significance of the shorter stay tourist who travelled from town to town, ticking off the attractions of their itinerary as they went. Previous studies of domestic tourism to areas such as the Lake District, North Wales and the Wye valley have traditionally explored these regions through 'picturesque tourism'.⁸²¹ The approach taken in this study would allow for an analysis of the role of wider range of attractions in these areas to be considered rather than focussing on a single factor: tourists, as this thesis has shown, were generally highly eclectic in their interests and rarely followed a single agenda of sight-seeing. Contemporary accounts of travel reveal how far reaching a journey could be, often taking in several counties. This suggests that further research needs to be undertaken in examining the areas and the places that the tourist visited en route to destinations such as the Peak of Derbyshire, the Lake District and urban centres such as Bath.

The emphasis on the importance of culture urban in shaping the tourist's itinerary of Derbyshire offers a different framework through which to conceptualise regional tourism in this period. Studies of spas and coastal resorts have traditionally focused upon the interaction of health and the development of commercialised leisure that attracted the

⁸²¹ Esther, Moir, *The Discovery of Britain 1540 to 1840* (London, 1964), pp. 123-38, 139-156; Ian Ousby, *The Englishman's England* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 100-151; Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque 1760-1800* (Aldershot, 1990), pp. 85-196.

longer stay tourist. The thesis then offers an approach through which to reevaluate these centres by exploring their growth and function as interdependent centres from which to explore the wider attractions of the surrounding area. One such county that could be researched from this perspective is Yorkshire. Scarborough was both a spa and sea-bathing resort throughout the period. Harrogate flourished as a spa in the later eighteenth century and there were a number of surrounding springs in centres such as Knaresborough. The county has picturesque scenery, antiquities – particularly a number of famous monastic ruins – and was richly endowed with stately homes. As such it offers the potential from which to further examine the relationship of the urban tourist centre and the wider county. The towns of Scarborough and Harrogate and other centres in the county could be examined further to discover whether complementary relationships were caused by proximity to one another as in the case of Derbyshire or whether distance encouraged competition for visitors.

The thesis has demonstrated through a regional approach in Derbyshire that domestic tourism evolved as a culturally dynamic and popular activity in the period 1700 to 1850. The urban growth of both Buxton and Matlock Bath was respectively wholly and partly based upon their capitalisation upon the nascent tourist industry. The growth of both towns can be partly explained in terms of the national development of such centres which exploited a combination of health and commercialised urban leisure. We have seen, however, that an explanation of both Buxton and Matlock Bath's growth as resorts in this period must place a greater and more significant emphasis the role of the tour of the Peak in sustaining their popularity as tourist destinations. The tour – and its culturally diverse array of attractions – was an important marketing medium utilised by the towns to further

enhance their reputation with the visitor and secure their position as tourist centres within the wider tourist market. The countywide nature of the tour of the Peak and the towns' proximity to one another must be seen as significant factors in the development of their interdependent relationship. Distinct identities provided the towns with a base from which to attract the visitor to them: neither Buxton nor Matlock Bath, due to the relatively small levels of investment in them, was able to dominate the tourist market and co-operation ensured a fluidity of travel between them and other centres in the tour to their mutual advantage. In utilising a culture and tourist-centric approach the thesis raises further avenues of research – with regard to the motivation and stimuli for travel, the influence of print culture on tourist trends, the wider relationship between a centre and the surrounding area and the nature of urban relationships between centres. The thesis then offers a holistic approach to the study of domestic travel through which to examine the participation of other urban and regional centres within the wider trends of leisure, culture and tourism in this period.

Appendix:

Visitors and where they travelled from.

Place	Number of visitors
Aberdeen	3
Accrington	1
Ackworth	2
Alesdon	1
Alfreton	1
Allerton	1
Almondsbury	2
Altrincham	3
Ambergate	2
America	1
Anglebury	1
Anglesea	1
Ardwick Green	2
Arwick	1
Asby	1
Ash Hall	1
Ashbourne	10
Ashford	1
Ashover	1
Ashton	15
Ashton under Lyme	9
Aslington	1
Astley Hall	1
Aston	1
Attercliffe	1
Aylesbury	1
Aylsham	1
Bacup	1
Badsworth	1
Bakewell	9
Barnsley	13
Barrowby	1
Barton	3
Barton under Needwod	1
Baslow	2
Baston	1
Bath	3

Bedford	1
Bedsworth	1
Belfast	2
Belfast	5
Belper	6
Benford	1
Berkshaw	1
Beverley	1
Bibby	1
Bideford	1
Bingley	3
Birchwood	1
Birmingham	22
Blaby	1
Blackburn	5
Blackheath	2
Blackpool	1
Blackwell	2
Blakeley	1
Blythe	5
Bollington	10
Bolton	42
Boroughbridge	1
Boulden	2
Bourne	2
Bowden	1
Bradford	19
Brewood	1
Bristol	2
Bromley	1
Brookfield	2
Broughton	2
Bubnall Hall	1
Buckinghamshire	1
Buckwell	1
Burnely	6
Burslem	8
Burton	10
Burton upon Trent	8
Bury	36
Cadishead	3

Calver	1
Cambridge	2
Canada	1
Capesthorpe	1
Carlise	1
Castle Donnington	1
Castleton	2
Cavendish Bridge	1
Caverswall	1
Chapel en le Frith	5
Chapelton	1
Chatsworth	1
Cheadle	11
Cheetham Hill	1
Chelford	1
Cheltenham	5
Cheshire	12
Chesterfield	20
Chorley	1
Cleckheaton	2
Clues	1
Cockermouth	1
Colishill	1
Collingham	2
Collon	1
Colridge	2
Congleton	5
Cork	2
Cornwall	1
Cottingham	1
Coventry	3
Crarling Hill	1
Cressbrooke	2
Cromford	3
Croyton	1
Cubley	2
Darley House	2
Darwin	1
Deanhurst	1
Deans Moor	1
Denby	1
Denton	1
Derby	52
Dewsbury	2
Didsbury	1

Doncaster	3
Dorchester	1
Dorset	2
Dronefield	1
Droylesden	1
Dublin	33
Duckenfield	3
Dunstable	1
Durham	4
Dyke	1
East Bridgeford	2
Eccles	7
Edgely	1
Edinburgh	8
Elland	1
Endcliffe	1
Endon	2
Etruria	1
Everton	2
Exeter	1
Exwick Park	2
Farnsfield	1
Farnsworth	1
Fenton	3
France	2
Fullwood	1
Fulneck	1
Gainsborough	2
Germany	2
Gibraltar	1
Glasgow	2
Glossop	2
Grantham	2
Grassmoor	2
Great Howton	1
Green Hays	2
Groundslow	2
Hackonby	1
Hackworth	1
Haford (wales)	1
Halifax	20
Halton	1
Handley	1
Handsworth	1
Hanley	14

Hardwick	1
Harputney	1
Harrogate	1
Harslow	1
Hartington	1
Hasclorm	1
Haslington	2
Hasselgrove	2
Hathertone	1
Hawley	1
Haworth	6
Hayfield	4
Haywood	1
Hazelgrove	2
Headley	1
Hedon	2
Heworth	1
Heywood	1
High Ackworth	1
Highgate	1
Hilton	1
Hindley	1
Hindley Hall	1
Hofferton	1
Holbrook	1
Holden	2
Holme	2
Holmefirth	5
Holyhead	1
Hooling Hill	1
Hope	2
Hornsea	1
Hornsforth	2
Horsforth	1
Hosterland	2
Howden	1
Hoyland	4
Huddersfield	32
Hull	23
Hulme	2
Hurst	1
Hyde	12
Invergorie House	1
Ireland	27
Isle of Man	3

Islington	1
Jackson Bridge	1
Jamacia	1
Kedlestone	1
Keele	2
Kent	2
Keywood	1
Kieghly	6
Kingscross	1
Kirkdale	1
Laing Cross	1
Lambeth	1
Lancashire	10
Lancaster	3
Lane End	1
Langley	2
Langston	2
Lawton	1
Lea Hall	1
Leadenham	1
Leamington Spa	1
Leeds	48
Leek	21
Lees	7
Leicester	6
Leicestershire	3
Lenton	2
Lichfield	7
Lincoln	15
Lincolnshire	10
Lingdale	1
Lisbourne	1
Little Park	1
Littlewood	1
Liverpool	141
Liversedge	1
London	79
Longnor	3
Longston	1
Longstone	1
Longton	2
Longwood	1
Loughborough	1
Ludlow	1
Lumb	1

Lyme park	1
Lymn	1
Lysons	1
Macclesfield	115
Madeley	1
Malta	1
Maltby	1
Malton	1
Manchester	444
Mansfield	16
Mapperley	1
Mappleton	1
Mapton	1
Market Drayton	7
Marple	1
Marsden	1
Mashborough	1
Mashbro Hall	1
Matlock	1
Meltham	1
Mesham	2
Middleton	4
Monaincha	1
Monsal Dale	1
Monton	2
Moreton Hall	1
Morpeth	3
Moseley	5
Mottram in Londendale	1
Muir	1
Nantwich	15
New Mills	1
New South Wales	1
New York	1
Newark	3
Newcastle under Lyme	1
Newcastle upon Tyne	9
Newhall	1
Newport	1
Newton	1
Newton Heath	1
Newton Villa	1

Noilint	1
Norland	2
North Wingfield	1
North Wood	2
Northampton	4
Northhamptonshire	1
Northshields	1
Norton Green Hall	1
Norton Heath	1
Norton Hill	1
Norton House	1
Nottingham	35
Nottinghamshire	3
Oakfield	1
Oakover	1
Okeover	1
Oldfirth	1
Oldham	41
Ormaskirk	2
Oxford	4
Oxon	1
Oxon Hall	1
Park House	1
Parkview House	1
Pendlesbury	1
Pendleton	13
Pennistone	1
Pentrich	1
Peterborough	1
Philedelphia	1
Pilling	3
Pilsbury	1
Plymouth Grove	1
Podridge	1
Poldbank	1
Pole Bank	1
Polebank	1
Porridge	1
Portarlington	1
Potteries	3
Presbury	1
Prescot	14
Prestwich	1
Ratcliffe	1
Redford	1

Redfourn	1
Retford	4
Richley	1
Richmond	1
Ridding	1
Rochdale	63
Rock Ferry	2
Rotherham	10
Rottenstall	1
Rugby	6
Rutland	2
Saddleworth	3
Saldesby	1
Salford	14
Sandbach	2
Sandbeck	1
Saxony	1
Scarcroft	1
Scotland	3
Seacombe	1
Sheffield	220
Shelton	2
Shilton Villa	1
Shirland	1
Shorbury	1
Shrewsbury	19
Shrigley	5
Shropshire	9
Silsden	1
Skelenby	1
Skipton	2
Sleaford	3
Sommerset	1
Southport	1
Southshields	1
Southwell	3
Sowerby Bridge	1
St Helens	3
St Ives	1
St Neuts	1
Stafford	11
Staffordshire	7
Stamford	1
Stand	1
Standby	2

Stanton	1
Stapleford	2
Stayley Bridge	9
Stockport	93
Stoke	2
Stove	1
Stratford	1
Stretford	2
Stubbin	1
Stunningley	1
Style	2
Sudbury	1
Sunderland	1
Surrey	3
Sutton	2
Sutton Coldfield	1
Sydney Hall	1
Syke House	2
Syndhope	1
Tadcaster	1
Taddingtonfield	1
Tamworth	1
Tenestall	1
Thornbridge	1
Thornhill	1
Thurgoland	1
Tickhill	1
Tintwhistle	3
Todmanslow	1
Todmorden	11
Torkard	1
Tottmanslow	1
Tuland	1
Tunstall	4
Twickenham	2
Ulverston	1
United States	1
Uttoxeter	1
Valporaso	1
Wakefield	14
Wales	5
Walkerington	1
Walsall	2
Walton	2
Warmingham	1

Warrington	31
Warwickshire	1
Watered Mill	1
Waterloo	2
Waverley	1
Wavertree	1
Weldgeston	2
Whalley	1
Whiston	1
Whitchurch	3
Whittington	2
Whitton	1
Wigan	6
Wilford	1
Wilmslow	2
Wilsden	1
Wingfield	1
Wirksworth	2
Wisbeach	3
Wistanston	1
Woburn	1

Woburn Abbey	2
Wolsick Hall	1
Wolverhampton	6
Woodbottom	2
Woodhouse	1
Wooler	1
Woolton	1
Woolwich	1
Wormhill	1
Worthing	2
Wortley	1
Wrath upon Deane	2
Wratham	1
Wymondham	1
Wynerham	1
Yiddersley House	1
York	14
Yorkshire	14
Youlgreave	2

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