

The Diversity of Designed Landscapes:
A Regional Approach c.1660-1830

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Abbreviations

English Heritage LBS	English Heritage Listed Building System
HALS	Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies
NRO	Northamptonshire Record Office
NNRO	Norfolk and Norwich Record Office

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1. Introduction

The eighteenth century saw the flowering of the English ‘natural’ style, a form of landscape design which has been called one of the nation’s most important contributions to the arts (Hussey 1975, 27). This was replicated in hundreds of landscape parks across the country, and was also exported to the continent where *le jardin anglais* became fashionable for the European nobility (Dixon Hunt 2003, 92). Both garden and landscape historians have sought to find the origins of the ‘natural’ style within earlier traditions, which, in the case of the deer park, stretch back into the early medieval period. This search for the beginning of the ‘natural’ style favoured by designers like William Kent and Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown has, to some extent, obscured the true variety of landscape design in eighteenth-century England.

Garden and landscape historians have focussed their attention on a relatively restricted range of sites and principal among these is the landscape *park*. However, even a cursory glance at many eighteenth and nineteenth-century accounts of parks and gardens, such as Thomas Whately, George Mason or Humphry Repton, shows that contemporaries did not think about landscape design in such narrow terms (Mason 1770; Whately 1770; Repton 1795; 1803; 1806, 1816). They recognised the existence of a diverse range of designed landscapes, including, but not restricted to, the park; the *ferme ornée*, the pleasure ground, flower gardens, shrubberies, kitchen gardens, town gardens, urban open spaces and commercial pleasure gardens. I will argue that some of these strands of design have been neglected, despite clear evidence of their continuing importance to many landowners. In particular, the *ferme ornée* is a style which needs re-appraisal by historians. My research demonstrates that there is much more to the *ferme ornée* than the classical inscriptions and gardens urns found at sites like the Leasowes, and that it is a tradition which is strongly rooted in the landed elites’ desire to combine beauty and utility within the landscape.

Landscape historians have drawn attention to the importance of the wider estate landscape, which could encompass farmland, woodland, settlements and industrial and mineral exploitation (Williamson 1995; Finch and Giles 2007; Wade Martins 2004). Many areas of the British rural landscape were being transformed through schemes of agricultural improvement and reclamation during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; schemes which were typically implemented by the landed elite on their own estates (Gregory 2008, 3). The same landowner,

therefore, could be responsible for laying out a landscape park and also for reorganising the surrounding countryside through enclosure. The wider estate landscape itself was also given aesthetic consideration in this period with the creation of new plantations and the construction of model farms and villages (Daniels and Seymour 1990, 491; Wade Martins 2002, 2-4). Many of these improvements also had practical benefits – new plantations, for example, provided cover for game birds, and new farm layouts allowed tenant farmers to adopt more efficient farming practices (Williamson 1995, 131; Wade Martins 2002, 5). There was no clear dividing line between the purely ornamental and the purely practical, instead the two were constantly blurred and intermingled (Daniels and Seymour 1990, 492-3; Wade Martins 2004, 9).

However, by focussing on estates and on large, well documented sites, historians have missed out a whole tier of designed landscapes in their analysis of the eighteenth-century landscape. This thesis seeks to redress that balance by examining a number of sites which were *not* attached to large landed estates, and which were comparatively small in area. As my analysis will show, in some areas, particularly in the hinterland of large urban centres, such sites were the norm, and larger landscape parks with landed estates were an *atypical* form of designed landscape. The period under consideration in this thesis, from 1660 to 1830, was a time of considerable demographic change when the population of Britain expanded at a rapid rate (Wrigley and Schofield 1989, 207-210). The divisions between the ranks of the elite were becoming blurred and landowners and members of the county gentry socialized with other members of ‘polite society’ who derived their wealth from business and trade (Langford 1989, 59). The creation of a landscape park, or other form of designed landscape, acted as an important statement of social position (Williamson 1995, 113). Where possible, I have tried to flesh out some of the biographical context of the owners discussed in detail below in order to more fully contextualise the landscapes that they created. In particular, I will suggest that in some cases owners of designed landscapes from a predominately urban background had a different vision of an idealised rural landscape from those landowners who belonged to the rural gentry.

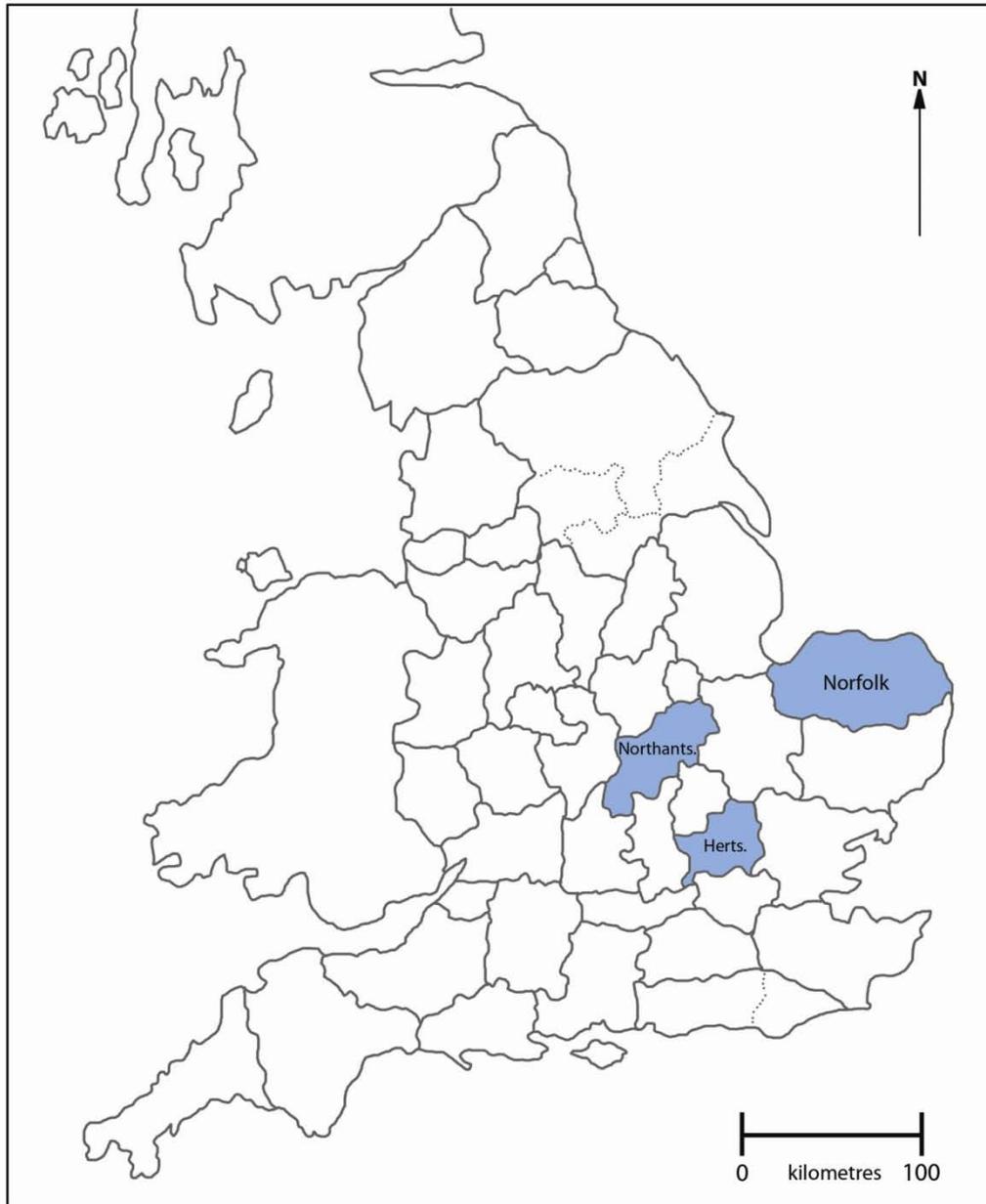


Figure 1.1. Location of Norfolk, Northamptonshire and Hertfordshire.

At its heart this thesis is a comparative regional study, which offers a re-assessment of designed landscapes using a combination of documentary and cartographic evidence, fieldwork and GIS-based spatial analysis. Three counties have been studied in depth (Figure 1.1), and within each the approach has been to focus on the changing development and character of parks and gardens and to explain this in terms of a broad range of intellectual, practical and environmental factors which influenced landowners and designers. Each chapter takes as its starting point an examination of the distribution of designed landscapes within the county, and how this changed

in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These patterns were influenced by numerous factors, including the physical environment and wider economic and social trends. The focus then shifts to a number of micro studies of clusters of sites in a smaller geographical area.

Parks and gardens were not being created in an empty landscape. Consideration had to be given to the constraints of the existing layout of the countryside, both inside and outside the park boundary. Where designed landscapes were expanding there might be obstacles in terms of the pattern of villages, farms, woods, fields and commons, as well as the estates of neighbouring landowners. Most historians, even when attempting to set a particular park or garden in its wider landscape context, often do not extend their analysis to include the relationship with neighbouring sites (Bilikowski 1983; Sheeran, 1990; Williamson, 1998; Mowl 2002). My approach has thus been to study designed landscapes not only in the context of their connection with the surrounding rural landscape, but also to examine their relationships with other elite residences in the immediate area.

In Chapter 2 I will examine and evaluate the differing approaches that historians and archaeologists have applied to the study of designed landscapes, and how such methods have shaped our views and our understanding of parks and gardens. This chapter also considers the ways in which contemporary writers and designers, such as Walpole, Whately and Repton, thought about landscape design, and in particular how they tried to classify certain types of designed landscape (Whately 1770; Walpole 1782; Repton 1795; 1803; 1806; 1816). Chapters 3 to 5 are based around case studies of the three counties in which the development of designed landscapes and the motivations of individual landowners are studied in more detail.

Chapter 3 considers the county of Hertfordshire, the smallest of the three with an area of around 630 square miles¹. Clay soils cover most of the county and in the eighteenth century Hertfordshire had a mixed pattern of land use encompassing arable cultivation and a significant amount of pasture, particularly in the south of the county (Longman 1977, 47). Much of Hertfordshire had already been enclosed by the mid-eighteenth century, so parliamentary enclosure and schemes of agricultural innovation and improvement had less impact on the landscape here than in other areas. Overall, the county is typified by ‘ancient’ countryside, with

¹ County areas have been calculated using Arc GIS 9.2 and 9.3.

a dispersed settlement pattern, early enclosed field boundaries and small woods and copses (Rackham 1986, 5). By the late-eighteenth century there were a large number of designed landscapes, due in part to Hertfordshire's proximity to London. Many were small, covering an area of less than fifty acres and owned by members of the urban elite; bankers, lawyers, naval and army officers, manufacturers and other businessmen. Such individuals chose houses that were not attached to large landed estates and which can be considered as effectively suburban in character, often laid out around a villa style residence. Their size meant that their owners had to rely on the surrounding countryside to provide an attractive backdrop to their limited grounds, but in Hertfordshire the sheer number of designed landscapes meant that these views often included neighbouring houses.

While the study of designed landscapes in one county can thus point to particular patterns and relationships which have received little attention in the past, it is also important to see to what extent such patterns are unique to any one county, or whether they might be applicable to the wider interpretation of parks and gardens at a regional or national level. Chapter 4, therefore, examines the county of Northamptonshire, which is the next smallest county to be studied with an area of around 1000 square miles. The soils of Northamptonshire are predominately heavy clays, and the landscape is now an area of classic 'planned' countryside, with nucleated villages, straight roads and field boundaries and relatively little woodland (Rackham 1986, 6). This landscape largely came into being in the post-medieval period, when the extensive open-field systems which had dominated medieval Northamptonshire were dismantled by enclosure. This provided some estates with an opportunity to expand their designed landscapes over newly enclosed fields which, crucially, was also associated with a change of land use from arable to pasture. Unlike Hertfordshire, eighteenth-century Northamptonshire had a relatively small number of suburban designed landscapes which were not attached to large landed estates. However, the ways in which elite landscapes developed here does highlight a further neglected area of study in showing the clear importance of the social and political networks which bound polite society together. Furthermore, it provides examples of the links which might exist not just between neighbouring designed landscapes, but between sites in different areas of the country that were in the hands of the same individual or family. Most importantly, as I will demonstrate, parks and gardens in Northamptonshire still had a strong connection with the surrounding landscape, but it was a connection that was closely linked to post-medieval enclosure and changing patterns of land use; a process which affected relatively few designed landscapes in Hertfordshire.

Chapter 5 considers Norfolk, which covers an area of just over 2,000 square miles, making it by far the largest county in this study. Norfolk contains a wide range of landscape regions and soil types within its boundaries, including both ‘ancient’ and ‘planned’ countryside, areas which were dominated by large estates and those which had a higher proportion of smaller estates, as well as a major urban centre at Norwich (Williamson 1998, 7). Norfolk therefore offers a valuable comparison with Hertfordshire and Northamptonshire in terms of understanding the social and landscape context of parks and gardens. Firstly, the existence of a thriving regional commercial centre meant that small grounds around villa residences were a key feature on the fringes of Norwich. Secondly, in the wider Norfolk countryside, there were a large number of older landed estates, many with owners who had a keen interest in both landscape gardening and agricultural improvement, and who made effective use of the opportunities presented by eighteenth and nineteenth-century enclosure.

The research framework adopted in this thesis allows the spatial distribution and the chronological and stylistic development of parks and gardens found in one county to be tested against the examples of other areas of the country. One of the most important themes to arise from this thesis is the sheer variety of designed landscapes in this period. This may seem an obvious point, but the historiography of landscape design is still overwhelmingly biased towards the park, even though this thesis suggests that in some areas, such sites were in the minority. This bias means that the smaller sites which form one of the main foci of the thesis have been neglected by historians, or interpreted as being merely small-scale imitations of larger sites. However, the evidence suggests that the owners of such landscapes took their inspiration from a number of different sources, not only from the landscape park, but also from urban open spaces, pleasure grounds and the tradition of the *ferme ornée*.

2. Studying Designed Landscapes

2.1 Introduction

The study of designed landscapes has generated a substantial body of literature from a number of different disciplines, including art history, archaeology, historical geography, landscape history and cultural history. Each approach has its own particular strengths, but one weakness has been a tendency to work in a disciplinary vacuum, and therefore to ignore the work of other branches of study. This thesis is firmly within the tradition of landscape history, but it also attempts to acknowledge the importance of designed landscapes as objects of material culture which embodied a number of social and cultural norms.

Despite valuable research on other aspects of landscape design in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, garden and landscape historians are still obsessed with the landscape park, as created by Lancelot 'Capability' Brown and other contemporary designers from the 1750s onwards (Hadfield 1960; Hussey 1967; Stroud 1975; Jacques 1983; Dixon Hunt 1986; Turner 1986a; Williamson 1995). Moreover this means that parks and gardens are often considered to be sufficient unto themselves, which has meant that the consideration of their wider landscape context has not been explored as fully as it might have been. Although recent research has underlined the importance of examining the wider estate (Finch and Giles 2007), this emphasis has again tended to focus attention on a well-studied and well known group of traditional rural landowners. What is missing from this picture is the variety and complexity of designed landscapes in eighteenth-century England. These were owned by an elite yet diverse social group, which included a substantial number of individuals who were not members of the landed gentry.

2.2 Garden History

The rise to prominence of the landscape park has long been a central theme in garden history. Horace Walpole's *History of the Taste in Modern Gardening*, published in 1782, established the basis for much of the teleological narrative which underpins the discipline (Walpole 1782;

Hadfield 1960; Hussey 1967; Stroud 1975; Jacques 1983; Dixon Hunt 1986; Turner 1986a; Mowl 2000). Walpole's essay contains the much quoted phrase 'he [William Kent] leaped the fence and saw that all nature was a garden', and the essay sets Kent up as the leading designer in a movement towards greater naturalism in the English garden (Walpole 1782). Walpole sought to demonstrate that the natural style of Kent, who was 'succeeded by a very able master' in Brown, was the national style of England, and that its adoption was inevitable. This Whiggish interpretation of an inevitable progression towards the perfection of garden design included the rejection of the formal garden which, along with Baroque architecture, came to be associated with the absolute monarchies and Catholicism of the continent (Williamson 1995, 42). This was rejected in favour of austere, Palladian architecture derived from the classical architecture of Italy, and the 'natural' designs of Kent and Brown (Girouard 1978, 158; 211; Williamson 1995, 42). Although some garden and landscape historians have criticised the Walpolian model of the development of designed landscapes (Williamson 1995; Laird 1999; Leslie 1999; Cowell 2009), this remains the classic 'story' of English landscape design, one which sees the development of garden design as an inevitable march towards the Brownian landscape park. However, this approach ignores the wide variety of sizes and styles that existed during the eighteenth century, as well as the overlapping chronology of change; not all formal landscapes disappeared as soon as Kent had leapt into the countryside (Williamson 1995, 34; Leslie 1999, 106).

As an historic discipline, garden history is a relatively recent creation which developed in the early twentieth century. During the nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries revivalist formal gardens were the dominant style, and publications such as Inigo Triggs' *Formal Gardens in England and Scotland*, published in 1902, both celebrated the heritage of the formal garden, and lamented their destruction at the hands of eighteenth-century landscape designers such as Brown. However, it was the development of the eighteenth-century English landscape garden and park that became the focus of many garden historians from the 1950s onwards, when the teleological narrative suggested by Walpole once again became central to the analysis of eighteenth-century designed landscapes.

Dorothy Stroud's classic biography of Capability Brown, first published in the 1950s, rehabilitated his reputation, and in his introduction Christopher Hussey suggested that the eighteenth-century landscape garden was 'a unique English contribution to the arts' (Hussey 1975, 27). Stroud, following Walpole, identified William Kent, Lancelot Brown and Humphry Repton as the three key figures in the landscape movement, and as well as assessing Brown's

work within the context of the English landscape, she noted the importance of the ‘natural style’ in a wider European and North American context (Stroud 1975). The major works on garden history between the 1960s and the 1980s all focused on elements of this ‘story’ of the English landscape garden. Miles Hadfield placed the eighteenth-century landscape within the context of a long-term history of gardening in Britain, calling the natural style ‘a revolution’ in taste (Hadfield 1960, 178). Christopher Hussey’s *English Gardens and Landscape 1700-1750* helped to cement the place of William Kent as one of the originators of the ‘natural style’ (Hussey 1967). David Jacques’ study of Georgian landscapes, focussing on the period from 1733 to 1825, did draw attention to the variety of landscaping in the eighteenth century, but nevertheless the central theme was the development of an over-arching natural style which ‘reached its zenith in the 1760s with Lancelot Brown the dominant practitioner’ (Jacques 1983, 13).

While the garden historians of the late twentieth century firmly established Walpole’s narrative in the historiography of designed landscapes, more recent work has modified the tone of this narrative, particularly in terms of the triumph of Brown as the archetypal designer of the landscape style. Mowl has suggested that Brown’s formula for laying out a landscape park (clumps of trees, perimeter belts, serpentine lake, sweeping turf) was limited in its inspiration and in its novelty, and that all the various elements were already well established in landscape design before Brown’s career took off (Mowl 2000, 149). He has also attempted to establish William Kent as ‘the greatest designer of the eighteenth century’ through a biography which highlights the creativity and variety of the early eighteenth-century designer (Mowl 2007a, xiii). Richardson has gone further, dismissing both Brown and Repton’s landscapes as being inherently ‘meaningless’, whilst acknowledging their commercial success (Richardson 2007, 7). He goes on to identify the early eighteenth-century landscape garden of Kent and his contemporaries as ‘the greatest art form ever to have been devised in the British Isles’ (Richardson 2007, 13).

As well as refining the ‘story’, garden historians have also produced a number of important publications which have focussed on more specialised themes within garden history. The horticultural perspective of garden history was the focus of Penelope Hobhouse’s *Plants in Garden History* (1992), whilst Susan Campbell has addressed the importance of kitchen gardens (Campbell 2005). Mark Laird’s comprehensive dissection of the English landscape garden demonstrated that the eighteenth-century designed landscape was much more complex than the generic features, such as clumps and belts and swathes of grassland, usually listed by historians. The importance of flower gardens, shrubberies and the careful attention paid to

planting firmly linked the eighteenth-century landscape with its more formal predecessors (Laird 1999). The strong link between the visual arts and the garden has been examined by Roy Strong (Strong 2000), building on the comprehensive catalogue of country house illustration compiled by John Harris in the late 1970s (Harris 1979). The relationship between the country house and its landscape also became increasingly important in the analysis of parks and gardens, particularly as the building or rebuilding of a house was often accompanied by changes to the grounds which surrounded them (Girouard 1978; Arnold 1998; Wilson and Mackley 2000).

The reputations of individual designers have also been reassessed in recent work, with attention paid not just to celebrated figures such as Brown (Brown et.al. 2001) but also to a range of lesser known names. Recent research has therefore sought to emphasise the importance of Brown's 'imitators' as designers in their own right (Jacques 1983, 113-121). David Brown's study of Nathaniel Richmond calculated that perhaps only five per cent of 'improved' eighteenth-century landscapes were designed by Brown, highlighting the importance of appreciating the contribution made by other designers (Brown 2000). Fiona Cowell's work on Richard Woods demonstrated that Woods was a pre-eminent landscape designer whose work, though superficially similar to Brown's, possessed a subtlety of its own, and he was well-known and highly regarded as a designer during his own lifetime (Cowell 1986; 1987; 2005). Stephen Daniels's research on Repton demonstrated that the designer was much more than Brown's self-proclaimed successor who worked on a wide range of sites and who constantly adapted himself to the needs of his varied clientele (Daniels, 1999). Douglas Chambers' *The Planters of The English Landscape Garden* (1993) sought to highlight the contributions of a wider range of gardeners, nurserymen and botanists in the formation of the natural style in the long eighteenth century, analysing the role of John Evelyn, Stephen Switzer, Lord Petre as well as lesser known gardeners such as Moses Cook (Chambers 1993). Other landscape and garden designers have also been given more in-depth biographical treatment, including Charles Bridgeman (Willis 1977), John Vanbrugh (Ridgeway 2000) and Sanderson Miller (Meir 2006). These works represent more than historical biography however, as each seeks to place the designer firmly in their cultural, aesthetic and landscape context.

Yet this focus on key designers, whilst improving our understanding of their life and work, is not without its problems. Many smaller parks and gardens, and even some larger ones, have no clear attribution to a known designer. In many cases the design of a park or garden may have been the work of a head gardener or local nurseryman. The head gardener at Holkham Hall in

Norfolk, John Sandys, was clearly responsible for much of the planting design around the park in the 1780s for example (Eburne 2003, 202; Williamson 1998, 246). Designs could also be the work of landowners themselves, as shown by a letter to the playwright Thomas Southerne in 1733, from Lord Orrery, a close friend of Alexander Pope and Jonathan Swift and cousin to Richard Boyle, the 3rd Earl of Burlington:

I am scratching out upon Paper ten thousand designs for the others parts of the Garden & my Plans commonly come to the same fate... they are flung into the Fire and forgot (HALS DE/R/Z12).

Orrery was not unique in designing his own grounds and the role of the landowner is an important one, whether they came up with their own designs or modified the plans of professional designers; Repton complained that many of his careful plans were ‘not infrequently thrown aside’ by landowners (Repton 1816, 75). Many other plans, sketches and notes which accompanied the creation of many parks and gardens in the eighteenth century probably suffered the same fate. Some sites can never be attributed to a designer, whether a professional or amateur, and this is particularly true of many smaller designed landscapes which often do not have extensive estate archives.

Throughout its development garden historians have sought to place designed landscapes within their wider cultural and political context, particularly with regard to their classical or continental influences, and their links to literature and poetry. It is clear that ‘reading’ landscapes in a literary and artistic manner was an approach adopted by some eighteenth-century landscape designers and visitors (Dixon Hunt and Willis 1975; Batey and Lambert 1990). The complex political allegory of the gardens at Stowe, for example, has been the subject of lengthy study and interpretation (Clarke 1973; 1990; 1992; Girouard 1992; Mowl 2000). Stowe was one of the most visited gardens in England during the eighteenth century, and from the 1740s a series of guidebooks were published which described the buildings and their meanings to contemporary visitors (Batey and Lambert 1990, 14). The importance of being seen to understand such allusions marked out an individual as a person of taste and intelligence, and a member of ‘polite society’. However, it is important not to place too much importance on the classical and literary allegories of such gardens, as such interpretations may only have been meaningful to a minority of contemporaries. Not every visitor would have had a sufficient

knowledge of the classics to understand every the allusion and meaning of every inscription and motif, and indeed the existence of guidebooks in themselves suggests that many visitors could not understand the complex iconographical schemes in these landscapes (Williamson 1995, 68). Leone has suggested that, in the context of eighteenth-century America, the classical statues and inscriptions used in garden design were gestures closely associated with confirming and naturalizing the ideology of the current social order, rather than with understanding the classical world (Leone 1984, 36).

Richardson has recently noted that there was ‘never a manifesto of the English landscape style’ (Richardson 2007, 6). This statement is significant, because whilst it is true and needs careful and detailed consideration from garden and landscape historians, many such historians seem to be working to Walpole’s clear manifesto of the *history* of the English landscape style. In many of the works mentioned above, and in others which are too numerous to include in a footnote, the litany of garden history runs over and over, and over, again. Switzer, Addison, Pope, Bridgeman, Kent, Cobham, Shenstone, Burlington, Walpole, Brown (and his numerous imitators), Stowe, Rousham, Painshill, Chiswick, Stourhead, The Leasowes, Twickenham, Claremont and a number of other names and places appear ad nauseum in almost every publication. This thesis does not seek to undermine the importance of these sites and individuals; clearly, some were much visited and admired houses and gardens, influential designers and theorists working on important sites. But they are well known and reappear in the literature precisely because they are atypical, innovative and associated with men and women of national importance. By the end of the eighteenth century there were, however, thousands of designed landscapes in England; and only a minority of these were designed by Kent, Brown, Repton and the other designers mentioned above. Furthermore a significant proportion of them were owned by people who were not part of the intelligentsia, or even members of the landed elite. By focussing on the same old people and places, garden historians have tended to obscure the variety and complexity of designed landscapes in eighteenth and nineteenth-century England.

2.3 Landscape History and Archaeology

Landscape history and archaeology has made a significant contribution to the study of designed landscapes. Landscape archaeologists and historians draw on the evidence from archaeological excavation, environmental archaeology, field survey, fieldwalking, aerial photography and maps as well as employing techniques of spatial analysis and digital mapping. The emphasis is often firmly on fieldwork, typologies, identification and recording (Taylor 1974; Aston 1985; Bowden 1999). The discipline also employs documentary and cartographic evidence to a greater extent, and attempt to place features and developments within a wider historical context. Landscape history itself draws on a number of different disciplines when examining designed landscapes; taking into account the physical and archaeological evidence of the landscape, as well as paying considerable attention to the art-historical and socio-economic context.

Landscape historians have acknowledged the importance of the English country house and its landscape since the discipline ‘began’ in the 1950s. W.G. Hoskins’ seminal book *The Making of the English Landscape* (1955), included a brief section on this topic, and during the 1970s and 1980s many wide-ranging landscape history studies, such as the *Making of the English Landscape* county series, contained a brief examination of designed landscapes, shaped by the historiography of garden history (Scarfe 1972; Steane 1974; Emery 1974; Dymond 1985).

The landscape archaeologist Christopher Taylor was a pioneer of the archaeological study of parks and gardens whilst a Principal Investigator at the Royal Commission for Historic Monuments. In 1968 the Royal Commission published the first substantial collection of garden earthwork plans, but it was from the 1980s onwards that landscape archaeology began to make a real impact in the interpretation of designed landscapes (RCHME 1968; Currie 2005, 1). The ‘Great Storm’ of 1987 destroyed many trees across southern England, and galvanised a new interest in the archaeological recording of parks and gardens, often prior to schemes of restoration and statutory protection (Currie 2005, 1). Perhaps one of the most important aspects of this upsurge of archaeological interest in designed landscapes was the identification of several medieval designed landscapes, such as Linton in Cambridgeshire (Brown and Taylor 1991), Cawood Castle in Yorkshire (Blood and Taylor 1994), Somersham in Cambridgeshire (Taylor 1989) and Bodiam Castle in Sussex (Everson 1996). This led to the reinterpretation of earthwork sites which has been particularly important in terms of the identification of potential

medieval designed landscapes, and to some extent, in changing our perceptions of post-medieval designed landscapes which sometimes contain the archaeological remains of earlier, relict landscapes as well as the traces of later landscaping schemes.

A particular contribution of landscape archaeology has been to highlight the role that designed landscapes have played in preserving the archaeological traces of earlier landscapes. These can include pre-parkland features, such as field boundaries and settlement earthworks, but also features from earlier garden layouts, showing that designed landscapes are a complex palimpsest of different periods and features, sometimes built up over several centuries as features are destroyed, preserved or re-used (Williamson 1998). Highclere Castle in Berkshire, for example, had an early deer park that was expanded several times over the medieval period. In the seventeenth century large formal gardens were created, and during the 1770s the park was landscaped by Brown. The different phases of this site, as well as evidence of the pre-parkland landscape, survive as earthworks within the landscape, allowing the complex multi-phase history of the site to be established from the landscape itself as well as from documentary evidence (Brown 1998, 7-12). In addition to the presence of archaeological features which predate the creation of parkland landscapes, landscape archaeologists have also pointed to the absence of such features where we might expect them to have existed. This is particularly true of medieval and post-medieval settlement earthworks in the immediate vicinity of the house, which were often carefully removed by eighteenth-century landowners (Williamson 1998, 152).

Excavation can reveal a wealth of detail about the development of individual gardens, often leading to the reconstruction of the appearance of a particular garden at a specific point in its history. Both 'hard' features, such as paths, terraces, steps and walls, and 'soft' features such as tree throws and flower beds have been found as a result of archaeological investigation (Taylor 1983; Currie 2005). The total excavation of the Privy Garden at Hampton Court Palace is an extreme example, but it provided evidence which, combined with documentary sources, allowed the detailed reconstruction of the gardens as they appeared during the reign of William III (Currie 2005, 5). Currently most garden excavations are carried out at large sites, like Hampton Court, or more recently, Kirby Hall in Northamptonshire and Kenilworth Castle in Warwickshire (Currie 2005, 5). Relatively few small designed landscapes have been investigated archaeologically however. Significant examples include Leigh Park in Hampshire, an early nineteenth-century designed landscape which was expanded in the 1820s (Currie, 1996). The excavation revealed a layer of compacted gravel; the remains of paths around the park and pleasure gardens (Currie 1996, 201-232). Perhaps more interesting was the excavation

at Gilbert White's garden at The Wakes in Selborne, Hampshire, which uncovered a number of ephemeral garden features. These included a wooden structure referred to as 'the Alcove' by White, which survived archaeologically as a single post hole; and, more intriguingly, evidence for a statue of Hercules which was essentially a painted two-dimensional figure (Currie 2005, 146). Such painted 'stage set' features may perhaps have been a common feature in some designed landscapes. In 1784 John Trusler recommended that garden buildings could be constructed out of timber, lath and plaster and painted to look like 'real' buildings when seen from a distance (Trusler 1784, 60). Other popular constructions during the eighteenth century included Turkish and Chinese style tents and other semi-permanent buildings which would only leave an archaeological footprint definable by excavation rather than non-invasive landscape surveys (Jacques 1983, 45; Dixon Hunt 2003, 55). Turner has suggested that archaeologists should refocus their efforts on recording and investigating smaller, more modest sites to balance the bias towards large, aristocratic gardens (Turner 1992). While archaeological excavation and investigation can provide large amounts of new data, this has in itself posed problems in the study of designed landscapes. Christopher Taylor has complained that garden historians have generally ignored the mass of new data and sites collected by archaeologists, while archaeologists themselves have been more preoccupied with data collection than with interpretation and analysis (Taylor 1998b, 4).

Increasingly, garden and landscape historians, consciously or unconsciously, have worked within the framework of post-processual archaeological theory when examining designed landscapes. This approach grew out of a dissatisfaction with so-called 'traditional archaeology', which emphasised the importance of empirical data and attempted to place landscapes within wider systems and structures, such as settlement, land use patterns and demographic and economic change (Thomas 1993, 26). Post-processualism is a broad church, and not without its faults, but it includes some important approaches, particularly the idea that the understanding of landscapes was, and is, shaped by experience and actions, which in turn are shaped by cultural and social activities and structures (Johnson 1999, 105). In particular, individual agency is prioritised as an important factor to consider when trying to understand the historic landscape. The sociological approach of both Giddens and Bourdieu suggests that individuals or 'actors' actively manipulate social norms and rules to both reproduce and transform society and culture rather than merely following such rules passively (Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1979). This thesis will adopt aspects of the post-processual approach, applying such ideas to the actions of individual landowners who were responsible for creating or reshaping their grounds in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

A further key element of post-processual archaeology is the idea that material culture, and the landscape, can be read like a text, both by contemporaries and by modern historians and archaeologists (Johnson 1999, 107). Each reading of the text will be different depending on the individual, who can actively manipulate their own interpretation of the text; another example of individual agency at work. However, this element of individualism means accepting that there can be no definitive answer as to what a particular historic landscape ‘means’, although it does allow generalisations to be made, for example about linked groups of people from a similar social background. This idea of being able to read the landscape like a text to inform our understanding of culture and society in the past was taken further in the 1990s by post-modernist prehistoric archaeologists, who explored phenomenological approaches towards understanding the meaning of monuments and landscapes through physical movement; therefore analysing a more active experience rather than a passive ‘reading’ of the landscape (Tilley 1994; Edmonds 1999). Phenomenology recognises that individuals have a dynamic relationship with the landscape around them; one which allows an individual to be shaped by the experience of the landscape, whilst also manipulating and changing the landscape itself. Some prehistorians have taken this approach further and have attempted to re-imagine the experience of prehistoric landscapes by using creative writing to accompany more traditional historical analysis; in Bender’s words ‘to go beyond the evidence’ (Bender 1998, 7).

For prehistoric archaeologists and historians, this is an attractive approach given the nature of the empirical evidence that they are dealing with. Although excavation and field survey has revealed huge amounts of information about the prehistoric landscape in terms of finds, monuments and environmental evidence, many aspects of prehistory, and of prehistoric cultures, will always be lost to us (Darvill 2010, 23). Conversely, post-medieval landscape historians and archaeologists have a wealth of evidence at their fingertips; as well as historic maps and plans, archaeological earthworks and aerial photographs there are letters, diaries, account books, design proposals, sale documents, legal documents, and published books and accounts; many of which can inform our understanding of how people lived, created and experienced landscapes without having to rely on our own powers of imagination.

Criticism of these ‘hyper-interpretative’ post-modernist approaches has focussed on the difficulty of drawing a distinct boundary between such narratives and empirical research and data (Fleming 2006). Such techniques have also been applied to post medieval material culture

and social history in North America by Mary Beaudry and Rebecca Yamin, who have deliberately blurred the boundaries between imaginative reconstruction and empirical documentary analysis (Beaudry 1998, Yamin 1998). In England, Matthew Johnson's *Ideas of Landscape* (2006) argued that landscape archaeologists and historians need to engage more fully with theoretical approaches to landscape history, taking forward the empirical approach favoured by many archaeologists (Johnson 2006). In response, the archaeologist Andrew Fleming has argued against such methodologies, noting that empiricism is actually a more complex approach in which historians and archaeologists have to be careful to 'read' the evidence from the landscape rather than 'writing' it, and that we should be wary of going 'beyond the evidence' (Fleming 2007, 91).

Landscape historians and archaeologists have generally been circumspect about applying such techniques to the historic landscape, although some recent studies have combined elements of phenomenological and post-processual approaches with empirical data to 'integrate the perceptions and uses of the wider landscape with the traditional reading of its features' (Finch 2004, 50; Whyte 2005; Williamson 2008). Recently, Finch has demonstrated that it is possible to successfully combine biographical narrative with a more traditional reading of the landscape in order to 're-populate and contextualise the historic landscape' (Finch 2008, 514). In his study of the designed landscape at Harewood House in Yorkshire, he uses a wealth of historical and biographical detail to present a narrative of a single afternoon in the lives of three men, William Wilberforce, Humphry Repton and Henry Lascelles. This enables the lives and concerns of these three 'characters' to be placed within a wider historical context, and in turn allows the landscape around them to be contextualised in a meaningful way, deepening our understanding of the landscape around Harewood House (Finch 2008). Richardson also places an emphasis on personal biography in *The Arcadian Friends* (2007), in which a cast of 'actors' including William Kent, Lord Burlington and Lord Cobham are placed both within the context of garden history and their own biographical narrative; particularly important for interpreting the highly political allegories of some early eighteenth-century landscape gardens (Richardson 2007).

This thesis will adopt some of these approaches and will attempt to set the development of designed landscapes within a wider historical and social context, placing the focus on agency, both in terms of individuals and groups of like-minded landowners, in creating designed landscapes, as opposed to the more abstract and overarching narratives of aesthetic development in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is essential to understand, where possible, the biographical and social backgrounds of the owners of designed landscapes in order

to understand their motivations in creating a designed landscape, and how they perceived and experienced such landscapes. It is tempting to adopt the creative, hyper-interpretative biographical narrative approaches favoured by some historians and archaeologists in interpreting individual agency, particularly for some of the designed landscapes discussed in detail below, for which the empirical evidence of letters, diaries and accounts simply has not survived, or is not available in the public domain. An understanding of the probable social and cultural milieu of individual landowners is crucial for understanding not only their designed landscapes, but also for understanding their relationships with other landowners, and in turn their parks and gardens. By examining groups of neighbouring designed landscapes, rather than considering sites in isolation, this thesis will show that there were visual relationships between groups of small designed landscapes in particular areas, which points not just to individual agency, but also to a process of joint agency between neighbouring landowners of similar social, political or financial backgrounds which articulated social relationships through the creation of their designed landscapes.

2.4 Regional studies of designed landscapes

The adoption of a regional approach towards the study of designed landscapes is critical to identifying and understanding variations in the development of the post-medieval landscape, and is widely used by both garden and landscape historians (Mowl 2002 to present; Williamson 1998; 2000a). By restricting the study area to a particular region or county, landscape historians in particular have drawn attention to the relationships between parks and gardens and other elements of the landscape, including physical variations (soil type and topographical situation for example), and also varied patterns of agricultural use, enclosure, settlement patterns and accessibility (Williamson 1995, 13). Mapping elite residences and designed landscapes reveals that their distribution is also influenced by factors such as proximity to urban centres and communication links. There are thus marked concentrations of designed landscapes in the areas around major urban centres, such as Norwich, Leeds, and in particular, London (Williamson 2004a; Ashwin and Davison 2005; Wilson 1971, Brandon 1979). Yet these landscapes, while similar in size and location, were not in the hands of a homogenous group of landowners. Some were owned by major landowners from other areas who wanted a base close to town, while others belonged to members of the growing mercantile and professional classes who wanted to enjoy the pleasures of a rural (or at least semi-rural) retreat (Brandon 1979, 172). Studying designed landscapes at a regional scale allows cultural connections between owners to be explored, revealing the extent to which various estates and landowners could be closely linked

through social and political circles, connections which also provided networks for the spread of ideas about landscape design (Brandon 1979, 127).

The most frequently used basis for regional studies of designed landscapes has been that of the county (Williamson 1998, Sheeran 1990, Steane 1977; Woodward 1982; Bilikowski 1983; Pugsley 1994, Mowl 2002; 2003; 2004; 2005; 2006; 2007b; 2008; 2009; 2010; Mowl and Hickman, 2008). Individual counties offer ready-made regions, encompassing a variety of characteristics, with the added convenience that many documentary sources are centrally located in the county record office. In 1984 the first Gardens Trust was founded in Hampshire to promote and research historic parks and gardens, as well as lobbying for their protection. There are now thirty-six such county gardens trusts, who share close links with each other and with the Garden History Society, founded with similar aims in 1966. Furthermore, the administrative structure of protection for historic designed landscapes means that research is often focussed on the county, without looking beyond its boundaries (English Heritage 1999). In 1983 English Heritage established the county-based *Register of Parks and Gardens of special historic interest in England* to protect and manage significant landscapes (English Heritage 1999). The Draft Heritage Protection Bill, published in 2008 but not yet passed, seeks to simplify the way in which the historic environment is managed and protected, and will include devolving more decision-making power from central government to local authorities – a move that will further reinforce the existing county-based structure, but as of August 2010 the future of the bill is uncertain (DCMS 2008).

During the post-medieval period the web of complex social and political networks which bound the landed classes together was not always contained neatly within the administrative boundary of a county - the owners of designed landscapes in one county could have close links with landowners and estates in neighbouring counties, or in counties at some distance. As well as these social and cultural factors, the county is not always a satisfactory unit of study from the perspective of its physical geography, although it often encompasses a range of different landscapes which can be useful when comparing clusters of designed landscapes. Whilst this is useful for making comparisons between different areas within a county, such landscape zones do not always stop at the county boundary. Designed landscapes, and landed estates, can be seen to have been influenced in their development by the type of soil on which they were located, particularly in terms of their size. For example, in areas of poor sandy soil, such as west Norfolk, the chalk downlands of southern England and the Yorkshire and Lincolnshire wolds, landscape parks were generally much larger and fewer in number, as these areas were

dominated by large estates created on marginal agricultural land in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Williamson 1995, 86). On more fertile soils, such as the clays of Norfolk and Suffolk, very large estates were not as prominent due to relatively high land values, although there were large numbers of smaller estates owned by the local gentry, and in some areas like the Fens there were few elite residences at all due both to the fertile soil, and the threat of malaria (Williamson 2004a, 20-21). Studying designed landscapes that shared similar environmental settings, such as soil types, rather than on the basis of administrative region, may be a profitable approach for garden and landscape historians to pursue in the future.

The earliest regional studies revealed the considerable variation of designed landscapes, especially in terms of their size and distribution (Steane 1977; Woodward 1982; Bilikowski 1983). Other important studies have shown that the teleological narrative of eighteenth-century landscape design discussed above cannot be applied to large numbers of designed landscapes at a regional level. Designed landscapes in Norfolk have been intensively studied by the landscape historian Tom Williamson, whose monograph *The Archaeology of the Landscape Park*, published in 1998, provides a detailed overview of many designed landscapes in the county. Williamson's approach was firmly in the tradition of landscape history and archaeology, rather than garden history, and his work has made a significant contribution to our understanding of the landscape history of parks and gardens. In particular, *The Archaeology of the Landscape Park* was underpinned by a phenomenological approach which located designed landscapes within the wider cultural and social framework experienced by the elite in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Williamson 1998, 2). Williamson's work on Norfolk has shown that the late eighteenth-century landscape park was not an inevitable product of the landscape gardens designed by William Kent in the 1730s and 1740s (Williamson 1998, 89). In Norfolk many designed landscapes, large and small, retained geometric layouts into the second half of the eighteenth century, rather than rejecting geometry in favour of naturalistic designs (Williamson, 1998 89). Therefore, the landscape park, although dominant, was not a universal style (Williamson, 1998 166). The most successful regional studies are those which have taken into account a broad range of designed landscapes, and sought to set them in their wider landscape and social context (Williamson 1998; Sheeran 1990). More typically however, regional studies have focussed on a number of already well known and well documented key sites in order to draw generalisations about the whole, such as the ongoing 'Historic Gardens' series by Timothy Mowl funded by the Leverhulme Trust, where the litany of garden history discussed above looms large without being challenged (Pugsley 1994; Mowl 2002; 2003; 2004; 2005; 2006; 2007b; 2008; 2009; 2010; Mowl and Hickman 2008).

Both Matthew Johnson and Andrew Fleming have expressed concern at the generalisations which arise from regional studies, where the statistics for one locality cannot be adequately expanded across the whole country (Johnson 2006, 122; Fleming 2007, 94). My own work risks perpetuating some of the problems of the regional approach by using the counties of Hertfordshire, Northamptonshire and Norfolk as a framework for a number of case studies. However, by taking a comparative approach this thesis seeks to avoid some of the pitfalls of county-based studies; there is little here on the ‘big’ sites which have been examined at length elsewhere in the literature, and the discussion is based upon a large sample of over 1000 designed landscapes of all shapes and sizes, mapped from mid to late eighteenth-century county maps. In particular, by comparing counties which have quite different landscape histories in terms of the development of the rural landscape, the varied pattern of designed landscapes will become clear.

2.5 The Triumph of the Landscape Park?

One of the questions that garden and landscape historians have therefore tried to address is why the landscape park became so successful as an object of material culture during the eighteenth century. A possible reason suggested for this success was its consistent appearance, with a body of water in the middle distance, sweeps of turf, belts and clumps of trees and winding carriage drives (Williamson 1995, 77-8; Mowl 2000, 149). Most of these design elements could be deployed at a variety of scales and in different situations without much regard for local topography and context. Part of the attraction for some landowners must also have been the fact that a small landscape park was cheaper and easier to create and maintain than formal gardens of a comparative scale (Williamson 1995, 107). In a similarly practical vein, the options for the owner of a small country seat were also more limited than their wealthier contemporaries, especially when constrained by a small site and the potential cost of creating water features, extensive plantations as well as the likely cost of a new or substantially remodelled house. The spread of the landscape park, and the ‘identikit’ approach to its design attracted criticism from some contemporary commentators. In 1776 Mrs Lybbe Powys complained that ‘the rage for laying out grounds makes every nobleman and gentleman a copier of their neighbour, till every fine place throughout England is comparatively, as least, alike’ (Climenson 1899, 175). The shared grammar of design which shaped landscape parks across the country meant that a

professional man, or a reasonably wealthy farmer, could lay out a similar type of designed landscape as the nobility, albeit on a smaller scale.

The creation of 'polite society' during the eighteenth century was an important factor behind the spread of the landscape park. As the strict gradations of formal, courtly society were dissolved, and the divisions between social classes became blurred, the landscape park came to represent a new, shared style of the polite (Girouard 1978; Williamson 1995, 110). However, large landscape parks could only be created by landowners with substantial estates. Many of the small parks and gardens in the urban hinterland did not have landed estates and so these landscapes remained constrained in size. Larger estates, in contrast, often took every opportunity to expand their landscape parks to cover hundreds of acres, something that was unachievable for many of the 'middle classes' who could copy elements of the style, but who could not compete with the scale of some designs; the ownership of hundreds of acres of land was, therefore, an important indicator of social status (Williamson 1998, 181).

This has two important implications. One is that designed landscapes in the 'natural style' in the eighteenth century, particularly from 1750 onwards, all stemmed from a formulaic design which could be deployed on a site of eight hundred acres or a site of eight acres. However, as contemporaries like Repton were well aware, there is a fundamental difference between eight hundred acres and eight acres in terms of the type of landscaping and planting which could be achieved at either end of the scale, the views of the landscape from a number of different points within the design, and the experience of being within either a very large, or a very small, park. Because so many sites shared a broadly similar style of design, landscape and garden historians have often been guilty of paying too little attention to the small designed landscapes which form one of the main focuses of this thesis, seeing them as scaled down imitations of larger and more well-known sites. I have defined these 'small' landscapes as those which covered an area of between ten and fifty acres. These landscapes cannot really be called *parks* because of their diminutive size. Indeed, contemporaries most often referred to them as 'lawns' or 'paddocks', demonstrating that they were aware that such landscapes were not parks (Whately 1770; Mason 1770; Repton 1803, Loudon 1822). There were, undoubtedly, many more smaller gardens of less than ten acres, but these tend to become invisible on historic maps of the type discussed at length below. This 'vanishing point' in the cartographic evidence means that these gardens disappear under our radar when investigating the distribution of designed landscapes.

The second important implication is that the owners of these small landscapes were blindly copying the design of larger landscape parks and applying the same formulae on a smaller scale. Whilst this may be true in some cases, without a detailed study of these small landscapes we cannot really say that they are just smaller versions of the landscape park; just as many historians now disagree that Woods, Emes, Richmond and others were merely 'imitators' of Brown's style (Williamson 1995; Cowell 2009; Brown 2000). Many of the small landscapes discussed below belonged not to the landed elite, but to members of the *urban* elite; merchants, lawyers, businessmen, speculators, military officers and other professionals. Many such owners continued to play an active role in their businesses and professions, and in some cases the bulk of their income was derived from investments and business rather than rents from a landed estate. In fact, many of these owners did not own a substantial landed estate, and the small designed landscapes they laid out around their houses represented the full extent of their holding. The design of such landscapes drew on a number of traditions, of which the park was only one, and as such, these sites can be seen to have had a distinct character of their own.

Social and economic historians are increasingly aware that the motivation of social emulation is not in itself an adequate explanation of the 'consumer revolution' occurring in the eighteenth century as the population and economy expanded (Weatherill, 1988, Campbell 1993; Vickery 1993; Wrigley and Schofield 1989, 207-210). The huge increase in availability and the consumption of goods such as clothes, books, china, and foodstuffs such as tea and sugar, during the long eighteenth century has been examined in depth (Brewer 1997; Bermingham and Brewer 1995; Brewer and Porter 1993). In terms of designed landscapes, the consumer revolution made a huge impact in terms of the growth of commercial nurseries, the increasing availability of garden tools and seeds, and the collecting of exotic plants and flowers, and the creation of a wealth which helped fund ambitious landscaping schemes (Laird 1999, 17; Hobhouse 1992, 196-197). As well as these more practical developments the landscape itself was an object and an experience to be consumed, whether as an owner or as a visitor. Visiting well-known country houses and their grounds had been a popular activity for the elite from the late-seventeenth century, and this intensified during the eighteenth century (Batey and Lambert 1990, 14). The country house landscape could also become an object of consumption in other ways, such as the purchase of a guidebook at popular sites like Stowe, through making appearances in travel guides and books on topography and landscape, and in the form of engravings and prints which were widely sold (Harris 1979, 154; Batey and Lambert 1990). All of these forms of consumption were crucial in spreading ideas about landscape design amongst the polite. Of course, it was not just the country house landscape that was being consumed in this way. The rural landscape itself increasingly became a target for fashionable consumption in

the form of landscape paintings, poetry and tourism, particularly in the late-eighteenth century when journeys around the Lake District, for example, became fashionable (Andrews 1989). Enthusiasm for such landscapes drew, on the influence of the Picturesque movement and writers such as William Gilpin, whose *Observations* of his tours through Scotland, northern England and along the River Wye were published throughout the 1780s and 1790s (Gilpin 1782; 1788; 1792; 1798).

The idea that the consumption of material culture is part of the emulation of one social class by those lower down the scale can be traced back to Thorstein Veblen's influential work *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, published in 1899, which has become the basis of many subsequent theories on this issue. Veblen's thesis was based on his observations of the *nouveaux-riche* in the United States in the late-nineteenth century, where he noted that the consumption of goods was strongest amongst people 'newly liberated from labour who wished to appear leisured' (Veblen 1899). These principles were applied to eighteenth-century England by Brewer, McKendrick and Plum, whose *The Birth of a Consumer Society* (1982) examined historic material culture in this context, leading them to the conclusion that England experienced the first consumer revolution. One of the explanations given for this was the motivation of social emulation as a stimulus for consumer demand, based on Veblen's theories of conspicuous consumption.

More recent work on eighteenth-century material culture has drawn back from this reliance on social emulation as an explanation, whilst still acknowledging that the consumer revolution took place; Campbell, for example, has suggested that 'behaviour which is imitative is not necessarily also emulative' (Campbell 1993, 40), and Pierre Bourdieu has also challenged a reliance on Veblen's theories, noting that social competition does not necessarily inspire imitation and that different social classes actively distinguish themselves in terms of goods and lifestyle (Bourdieu 1984). The emulation model also works on the assumption that the consumer revolution functioned purely in a 'top-down' fashion, with consumption by the nobility and gentry being filtered down the social scale. However, detailed research into the ownership of goods shows that the flow of fashions and consumption was far more complicated. Lorna Weatherill's important and detailed research on the ownership of goods in the period from 1660 to 1725 shows that merchants and other urban residents were far more likely to own objects such as paintings, window curtains, and decorative china, than the rural gentry (Weatherill 1988, 8).

If the 'top-down' functionality of the consumer revolution provided an accurate model then we might expect the landed gentry to own the newest and most fashionable goods, but Weatherill's research shows that this is demonstrably not the case (Weatherill 1988, 196). She concluded that 'the emulation model looks at the problem of expanding consumption in a very limited way because it only admits ownership of goods to have one social function' (Weatherill 1988, 196). Sidney Mintz's work on sugar in the English diet corroborates the idea that a consumable product can have more than one social meaning (Mintz 1985). Sugar imports in England rose from 1000 hogsheads in 1660 to 110,000 in 1753, demonstrating a huge rise in consumption (Mintz 1985, 39). However, rather than ascribing this rise to the lower and middle classes emulating the sugar consumption of the nobility, Mintz identifies what he calls the 'extensification' of sugar use. This process saw sugar acquire new social meanings as it became more widely used, and in different ways, for example the addition of sugar to tea was quickly adopted among the middle classes but not by the nobility (Mintz 1985, 138). The concept that forms of material culture can have multiple meanings is crucial in understanding the complexity of the consumer revolution, and by extension other forms of material culture like parks and gardens.

Applying such an analysis to eighteenth-century designed landscapes shows that a simplistic 'top-down' emulation model is an unsatisfactory one because the nature of design was so varied across the country. A comparative regional approach shows that in some areas, particularly those close to large urban centres, small designed landscapes owned by members of the urban elite were at the cutting edge of fashion, whereas in other, more provincial locations it was larger landowners with substantial landed estates who led the way. The process of 'extensification' however, can be applied to the design of small parks and gardens. Their owners took the concept of the park and applied some of its design features to their own, smaller landscapes but not necessarily with the same intentions as larger landowners. Moreover, the park was not the only type of designed landscape that inspired such landowners; they could also draw on the tradition of the *ferme ornée*, the pleasure ground, landscape gardens, urban open spaces and the wider rural landscape to create a designed landscape that was meaningful and appropriate for their own tastes and situation. As I shall argue, the owners of small landscapes were not merely emulating the landscape parks of the landed elite; they were also competing with other owners from their own social class and within a particular area.

Small designed landscapes, defined here as covering an area of between ten and fifty acres, form one of the main subjects of this thesis. Many such landscapes are found in suburban areas and were often owned by wealthy urban residents who wanted a country home close enough to the city to conduct business in person, but rural enough to form a pleasant retreat from the town. Whilst it is readily acknowledged by most historians that there were large numbers of small suburban residences in the eighteenth century, comparatively little research has been done on the designed landscapes that surrounded them (Hadfield 1960, 197; Wilson 1971, 204; Daniels 1999, 207; Williamson 1995, 114; Williamson 2004, 18-19). This neglect results partly from the patchy survival of these landscapes on the ground due to more recent suburban development, and the lack of documentary evidence for some sites. However, this thesis will demonstrate that in some areas of the country these small parks and gardens significantly outnumbered larger sites and can be shown to have been setting the pace in terms of fashionable design during the eighteenth century. Landscape historians can make a particular contribution here, by combining fieldwork with the scant documentary references to build up a clearer picture of the development and typology of these small sites. Examining such landscapes does, however, throw up problems of semantics and definitions. Thus far, I have called these sites 'designed landscapes', 'parks' and 'gardens', but what exactly do we mean by these terms, and what would contemporaries have meant by them?

2.6 What is a designed landscape?

Landscape historians and archaeologists use 'designed landscape' as a catch-all term for parks, gardens and other forms of ornamental landscape dating from the medieval period onwards. The term was first used in the late 1990s, and quickly gained currency, although Christopher Taylor, one of the pioneers of garden archaeology, preferred the term 'ornamental landscape' (Everson 1996; Taylor 1998b; Everson and Williamson 1998; Liddiard 2000; Taylor 2000). The term has been used to recognise the dual functional and ornamental nature of many features of the landscape; the use and design of water features, planting schemes and even the use of grassland was practical and useful as well as aesthetically pleasing (Williams, 1987, 86-90; Daniels and Seymour 1990, 492; Williamson 1995, 119). Many eighteenth and nineteenth-century estate landscapes contained outlying elements that were clearly designed, such as model farms, estate villages and plantations. By using the term 'designed landscapes' we can throw open our interpretation of such sites to include those elements which are outside the clearly demarcated boundary of the park or garden.

Landscape historians in particular have shifted the focus away from the park or garden to take into account the wider estate landscape (Daniels and Seymour 1990; Muir 1999; Finch and Giles 2007). Contemporaries were well aware that design extended beyond the park boundary or garden wall into the wider rural landscape, and indeed often advocated such an approach, but it is only relatively recently that historians have begun to treat the designed landscape and the estate landscape as a single entity (Whately 1770; Ruggles 1786; Williamson 2007a; Finch and Giles 2007). A typical estate landscape was composed of the mansion and designed landscape at its core, with perhaps a complex of farm buildings nearby under the control of the landowner (a home farm), surrounded by farmland leased to tenants. The farms of these tenants, the villages, roads and other rights of way, commons and other features such as plantations and woods made up the wider estate landscape (Williamson 1995). These landscapes were subject to long-term changes, for example the landscape around Castle Howard continued to be changed and augmented many years after the park and gardens were essentially complete (Finch 2007, 21). The physical structure of the estate landscape, like the park, could be rearranged on an extensive scale through schemes of agricultural improvement and enclosure (Gregory 2008). Many elements of the estate landscape could be aestheticised, through the building of model farms and cottages, the rebuilding of parish churches and tree planting outside the boundary of the park (Robinson 1983, Gregory 2008).

The development of estates was intimately connected with an ideology of ‘improvement’ that is crucial to understanding the eighteenth-century landscape. The term could be applied to a number of different types of improvement; whether agricultural, architectural, aesthetic or even moral (Borsay 2002, 186; Tarlow 2007). The rage for improvement meant that landscapes were often the product of an overlapping range of concerns and motives. The rural landscape could function as part of the aesthetic landscape of an estate, but it did not become divorced from its practical uses, and the landscape of the park itself was also a functional space, particularly in terms of timber, game preservation and grazing (Williams 1987; Williamson 1995).

However, estate landscapes show as much diversity and variation as the landscape park itself, meaning that it is difficult to assert that there was such a thing as a ‘typical’ estate. This problem has recently been acknowledged by Williamson, who suggested that landscape archaeologists can make a real contribution by establishing a typology of estate landscapes (Williamson 2007a, 2). My own research demonstrates the variety of estates in the eighteenth-

century landscape, ranging from large, well established landed estates covering thousands of acres like Hatfield in Hertfordshire, to more modestly sized estates of several hundred acres such as Ecton in Northamptonshire. Yet there were also a sizeable number of designed landscapes which were not attached to substantial landed estates, mostly those which were small in size and which were found in suburban areas.

Landscape historians, therefore, have found evidence for design outside the boundary of the park and garden, but how far can such evidence be taken? The process of design in itself implies an active engagement with the landscape, and a series of conscious decisions on the part of at least one individual, either the owner, their friends and relations, their gardener, a nurseryman or a professional designer. Liddiard and Williamson have recently suggested that landscape historians and archaeologists should be more cautious in applying concepts of an overarching design in the context of the medieval designed landscapes around Bodiam Castle and Kenilworth Castle, noting that some have been quick to find evidence of a conscious design process despite a lack of clear archaeological evidence (Liddiard and Williamson 2008, 527). Such evidence of agency is often easier to find in the post-medieval period, substantiated by the evidence of maps, plans and written documentation describing the design process. Nevertheless, for many designed landscapes of the eighteenth century, no such documentation exists.

I have argued here that the owners and designers of many landscapes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries made extensive use of the surrounding landscape as a backdrop to the grounds immediately surrounding the house. This is particularly true of smaller villa-style landscapes, but also of some larger landscapes as well. Such landscapes were, due to their size, constrained to varying degrees by the nature of the countryside around them, including land use, field patterns, the road network and the density of woodland and trees. The owners of small landscapes sometimes had no control over the appearance of the surrounding countryside that they utilised as a backdrop, therefore the element of ‘design’ in this instance is questionable, although landowners were making a conscious choice over which elements of the landscape to include in the view from their houses, and which to exclude.

Most would agree that the typical eighteenth-century landscape park would include an open area of grassland surrounded the house, with scattered trees planted singly or in clumps, perhaps with an irregular serpentine lake and either wholly or partly surrounded by a perimeter belt

plantation (Stroud 1975; Turner 1986a; Williamson 1998). This is a useful template in some ways but it cannot be applied indiscriminately, and such generalisations serve to obscure the true variety of designed landscapes in the eighteenth century which is reflected in contemporary nomenclature. Eighteenth-century writers, designers and landowners did not use the term 'designed landscape'. They referred to parks, gardens, farms, lawns, paddocks, grounds, shrubberies, riding, walks and a number of other terms which demonstrate the variety of landscape design in this period (Switzer 1718; Langley 1728; Whately 1770; Mason 1770; Chambers 1772; Walpole 1782, Repton 1795; 1816). Interestingly George Mason's *An Essay on Design in Gardening* (1770) mentions woods, walks, lawns, clumps, shrubberies, flower beds, gardens, groves and grounds. However, he never uses the word 'park' at all, even in his thinly veiled reference to the work of Brown,

The difficulty of attending this mechanical part of gardening has induced many proprietors to commit the whole of it to artists by profession, whose contracted geniuses (without the least *capability* of enlargement) have stamped an unmeaning sameness upon half the principal seats in the kingdom (Mason 1770, 38; his emphasis).

Walpole divided designed landscapes into 'the garden that connects itself with a park', which he associated with the work of Kent; the 'ornamented farm', for which he named Wooburn Farm (discussed below) as the prime example; and the 'forest or savage garden', which he defined as being almost entirely planted with firs and conifers to make 'an alpine scene' (Walpole 1782, 52). Loudon called Thomas Whately's *Observations on Modern Gardening* (1770) 'the grand fundamental and standard work on English gardening' (Loudon 1822, 251). Whately divided designed landscapes into four categories; the park, the garden, the farm and the riding, each of which had their own characteristics,

These may all indeed be parts of one place; they may border on each other; they may to a degree be intermixed; but each is still a character of such force, that whichever prevails, the propriety of all other characters, and of every species of beauty, must be tried by their conformity to this (Whately 1770, 157).

Whately also acknowledged the importance of size and scale in determining the character of a designed landscape, noting that ‘a large garden would be but a small park, and the circumference of a considerable park but a short riding’ (Whately 1770, 157). Repton likewise recognised the diversity of designed landscapes in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, noting that ‘gardening is alike applied to the park, the lawn, the shrubbery and the kitchen garden; and thus the scenery of one is blended with that of another’ (Repton 1806, 329). He also suggested that parks and gardens could be distinguished from one another in terms of their size, but also in terms of the social and financial backgrounds of their owners,

In this country there will, I hope, for ever exist different orders and degrees of society, which must generally depend on the proportion of property, either inherited or acquired by different individuals; and so long as such distinctions remain, it will be proper that the residence of each should be marked by such distinct characters as may not easily be mistaken (Repton 1795, 94)

Later in the nineteenth century, John Claudius Loudon divided up different types of designed landscape by drawing distinctions between the type and size of house that they surrounded; whether mansions, villas, cottage ornées, suburban villas and suburban houses (Loudon 1822, 1181). A mansion should be connected to a large landed estate, and was provided with stables, a kitchen garden, a pleasure ground, a park and a home farm (Loudon 1822, 1182). Cottage ornées and suburban villas on the edges of towns were surrounded with lawns and flower gardens, whilst suburban houses should have only small gardens which were usually formal in style (Loudon 1822, 1198-1201). Loudon’s definition of a villa (his second tier of designed landscapes) is particularly pertinent for this thesis,

The villa may be nothing more than a park with a house of smaller size than that of the mansion and demesne, surrounded by a pleasure-ground, and with the usual gardens. Moderate extent and proximity to other villas constitute the characteristics of this class of residences; but though adjoining lands are necessary to the character, they do not, where they exist, change it, unless their extent be considerable. Two villas joined together often mutually aid each other in effect, especially as to water and trees (Loudon 1822, 1184).

Many of the most well-known writers on parks and gardens in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries could therefore, identify many more types of designed landscapes than the park, thereby acknowledging the sheer variety of design in the eighteenth century.

2.7. Variations on a Theme: Alternatives to the Landscape Park

Many of the designed landscapes discussed in detail in the following chapters cannot be considered as landscape parks in the Brownian sense of the term, nor were they ‘Arcadian’ landscape gardens in the style of William Kent. However, both of these traditions informed their design, as well as other stylistic influences such as the *ferme ornée*, the pleasure garden and urban open spaces. As mentioned above contemporaries were well aware of the problems of defining what these landscapes actually were, often referring to them as being ‘lawns’, ‘paddocks’ and ‘park-like’ landscapes. But if they are not to be considered as either landscape parks or landscape gardens, then how can they be classified in terms of their place in English landscape design? It is crucial to understand how these traditions differ from one another in terms of their physical form, as well as the ways in which contemporaries experienced and conceptualised them.

A particularly important variation or alternative to the landscape park is the *ferme ornée*, a form of landscape garden which is often regarded as a whimsical footnote in garden and landscape history; ‘a tributary to the main stream of new garden design’ (Cowell 2005, 77). Many of the landscapes discussed in detail in this thesis incorporated arable fields, or utilised pastoral fields and meadows around the house for aesthetic effect, and others were effectively farms which had been upgraded into villa residences. Historical analysis of the *ferme ornée* has been focussed almost exclusively on a handful of key sites, and two in particular; The Leasowes in Warwickshire, owned by the poet William Shenstone, and Wooburn Farm in Surrey, owned by Philip Southcote (King 1974; Gallagher 1996, Jacques 1983; Chambers 1993; Sayre 2002; Mowl 2000; Cowell 2009). Although a handful of other examples have been recognised by garden historians, such as Dawley Farm in Middlesex and Queen Caroline’s garden at Richmond, the Leasowes and Wooburn Farm dominate any discussion of the *ferme ornée* (Jacques 1983; Chambers 1993; Mowl 2000).

Wooburn Farm (sometimes also called Woburn Farm) was created by Southcote in the early 1730s on an estate of just over a hundred acres. Southcote worked with Lord Petre, the renowned botanist, and with the garden designer Richard Woods (Chambers 1993, 157; Cowell 2009, 12). The design was focussed on a circuit walk around the estate, with wide walks planted with flowers and shrubs overlooking meadows full of grazing livestock, with various clumps and groves of trees. The circuit included a number of garden buildings such as a Gothic ruin, a grotto arch and a menagerie (King 1974, 39; Chambers 1993, 160). The Leasowes was a one hundred and fifty acre estate in Worcestershire, which was inherited by William Shenstone in the early 1740s (Mowl 2000, 131). The *ferme ornée* that he created there covered an area of thirty five acres and was similar to that of Woburn Farm, with broad walks around a circuit of fields with various garden buildings, urns and seats, although Shenstone's fields were pasture, rather than arable (Gallagher 1996; Mowl 2000, 135). Both landscapes were praised by contemporary writers such as George Mason and Thomas Whately, although Whately was somewhat qualified in his evaluation of the landscape at Wooburn Farm, noting that the simplicity of a rural farm could be easily 'lost in such a profusion of ornament' (Whately 1770, 161; Mason 1770). The Leasowes was the subject of a guidebook published by Robert Dodsley in 1764 after Shenstone's death, which gave visitors a comprehensive guide to the meaning of the Classical inscriptions and the importance of various vantage points (Dodsley 1764). Both landscapes were popular with visitors during the eighteenth century, although not all the visitors to Wooburn were interested in the intellectual background of the design; Walpole noted that 'Mr. Southcote [a well-known Catholic] was forced to shut up his garden for the savages who came as connoisseurs, scribbled a thousand brutalities in the buildings upon his religion' (King 1974, 47).

The ideas which underpinned the *ferme ornée* date back to at least the early-eighteenth century, a period when the increasing naturalisation of parks and gardens was first being advocated, albeit within a geometric framework, and when the concept of blending the garden and park into the wider countryside was first mooted (Jacques 1983; Turner 1986a; Williamson 1995). Addison's often quoted remarks in the *Spectator* advocated a closer relationship between the garden and the estate landscape,

Why may not a whole Estate be thrown into a kind of Garden, by frequent Plantations, that may turn as much to Profit as the Pleasure of the Owner? ... Fields of Corn make a pleasant Prospect; and if the Walks were a little taken care of that lie between them, if the natural Embroidery of the Meadows were help'd and improv'd by some small Additions

of Art, and the several rows of Hedges set off by Trees and Flowers that the Soil was capable of receiving, a Man might make a pretty Landscape of his own possessions (Addison 1712, 414).

Although such sentiments may superficially seem to look forward to the ‘natural style’ of Brown and other mid to late eighteenth-century designers, Addison was still visualising and experiencing designed landscapes within a strong geometric framework and not necessarily proposing a truly ‘natural’ style of gardening (Williamson 1995, 50). The gardener and nurseryman Stephen Switzer was also an important proponent of these early ideas about merging the garden and park with the wider landscape. In *Ichnographia Rustica*, published in 1718, Switzer put forward his ideas about ‘Rural or Extensive Gardening’ which he explicitly linked to the French tradition of extensive gardening in ‘the grand manner’, although with the benefit of hindsight it is easy to see his work as foreshadowing later developments,

...where a whole Estate will appear as one great Garden, and the *Utile* harmoniously wove with the *Dulci*; and I believe, I am not singular in my Opinion, if I affirm, that an even decent Walk carry’d thro’ a Corn Field or Pasture thro’ little natural Thickets and Hedge Rows, is as pleasing, as the most finish’d Parterre that some Moderns have been so fond of (Switzer 1718, vol. 3, vi)

Much of the *Ichnographia* was practical advice on the everyday business of gardening, farming and forestry and was aimed at a wide audience of rural gentry who were perhaps more interested in the management of their estates than in aesthetic theory. Switzer was particularly concerned with improving the grounds of the rural gentry who could not afford the extensive formal landscapes that surrounded the houses of the elite; by merging the garden and park more closely with the estate landscape, smaller landowners could afford to have much more extensive grounds around their houses (Switzer 1718). Switzer used the term ‘ferme ornée’ to describe this style of landscaping in the 1729 Appendix to a new edition of the *Ichnographia*, but his ideas are quite far removed from the Arcadian urns and seats that were scattered around The Leasowes and Wooburn Farm (Switzer 1729). Switzer’s ‘rural gardening’ was a style that was appropriate for the rural gentry, who had long been interested in the close relationship between practicality and beauty:

recommended to us by its Profit, in Lawns and Paddocks, for grazing in Corn Fields and Kitchen Gardens, and in little Woods, Coppices, and Hedge Rows mix'd therewith, and abounding with Pheasants and Partridges, with Hares, and all other useful Game, and stock'd with Apples, Plums, Pears and Filberts; and in short, instead of an exact nice Garden, a whole Estate, be it either 50, 60, nay sometimes of 100, or 200 Acres, strow'd all over with the afore-mentioned Conveniences, for Use, Beauty and Profit (Switzer 1718, vol. 3, 48).

'I have sprinkled the wood gently all over the Estate, and mix'd Lawns, Enclosures of Grass, and Corn Fields therewith, and this, as it is the most essential Beauty of an Estate, so likewise it looks more rural (Switzer 1718, vol. 3, 82)

The significance of Switzer's work on 'rural gardening' has not been fully explored by historians; he is one of the few important eighteenth-century designers, gardeners and writers not to have been the subject of a recent biography or monograph but his importance lies in his deliberate placing of the garden and park within the context of the estate landscape, and of the wider rural landscape.

The idea of blending the garden and park with the rural landscape, partly to create an impression of a much larger designed landscape, must have been an attractive one for many landowners, and subsequent publications recommended the use of 'rural ornament' within the park or garden, such as Batty Langley's *New Principles of Gardening* (1728) which suggested the use of 'rural enrichments', including haystacks, rabbit warrens, arable fields and piles of wood. William Marshall recommended the inclusion of the rural landscape in the prospect from parks to create the illusion that a landowner's property was more extensive (Marshall 1796, 283). Other manuals gave plans for rustic seats and buildings, such as John Plaw's *Ferme Ornéé or Rural Improvements* which included a number of designs suitable for use in 'parks, plantations, rides, walks, rivers and farms' (Plaw 1795).

During the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, contemporaries saw a strong connection between beauty and utility in the landscape; a relationship that was created by landowners, as well as influencing their experience and perceptions of the landscape. During this period the

ferme ornée continued to be an acceptable alternative to the landscape park, mentioned by writers such as the agriculturalist Arthur Young and the aesthetic writers and designers William Mason and William Chambers (Young 1796; Mason 1772-83; Chambers 1772). In particular, Thomas Whately's *Observations on Modern Gardening*, published in 1770, offered a significant analysis of the role of the farm within the designed landscape. He saw the creation of such landscapes as part of the tradition of the naturalistic English landscape garden and as part of the move away from formal designs,

The first step, therefore towards a reformation, was by opening the garden to the country, and that immediately led to assimilating them; but still the idea of a spot appropriated to pleasure only prevailed; and one of the latest improvements to blend the useful with the agreeable; even the ornamented farm was prior in time to the more rural (Whately 1770, 161).

Whately subdivided farms into four distinct types (Whately 1770, 161-182). He defined the first type, the pastoral farm, as containing many allusions to classical pastoral poetry and mythology; Arcadian landscapes like The Leasowes, which he described at length, although not without criticism of the over-use of urns and garden buildings (Whately 1770, 170). His second type was an 'ancient farm' which was 'conformable to the manners of the ancient British yeomanry' (Whately 1770, 171). Whately suggests that farms of this type contain a mixture of pasture and arable, and should have elements which appear to be the 'remains of the wild', with briars and brambles growing on the trees (Whately 1771, 172). He also suggests that the arable portion of such farms should appear to be part of an open field system, with the fields 'distinguished, as in common fields, only by different sorts of grain' and not defined by hedgerows (Whately 1770, 172). A 'simple farm' was made up of enclosed fields containing both arable and pasture, woods and trees, and buildings such as barns, dairies and outhouses, either grouped together or dispersed around the farm (Whately 1770, 175). Whately noted that 'some of the greatest beauties of nature are to be found in the fields, and attend an ordinary state of cultivation' (Whately 1770, 174). The final type of farm defined by Whately is the 'ornamented farm', which was 'the means of bringing every rural circumstance within the verge of a garden' (Whately 1770, 177). For Whately, this type of farm was exemplified by Wooburn Farm, although he notes that the style has been 'partially executed very often', and he criticises Wooburn for a 'profusion of ornament' (Whately 1770, 177; 181). This extended treatment of the farm as an aesthetic object makes it clear that the ferme ornée was about more than urns and classical inscriptions; it could also refer to much simpler 'designs' incorporating both arable

and pasture within its boundaries, as well as traditional farm buildings like barns and dairies. In the 1780s Thomas Ruggles, a London barrister with an estate on the border between Suffolk and Essex, wrote a series of short articles on 'picturesque farming' for the *Annals of Agriculture*, which placed a firm emphasis on the link between beauty and utility in the agricultural landscape. Ruggles suggested that landowners should keep a broad, irregular grass margin around the edges of their fields, much like the grassed walks around fields that are seen as a characteristic of the *ferme ornée* (Ruggles 1786, 178).

Laura Sayre has closely linked the development of the model farm, and the 'Agricultural Revolution' of the late-eighteenth century, with the continuing development of the *ferme ornée* as an aesthetic landscape (Sayre, 2002). Sayre and Robinson have both suggested that designed landscapes and estates which incorporated model farm buildings in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries are part of the tradition of the *ferme ornée* (Sayre 2002, 177; Robinson 1981, 77). During the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries there was huge interest in the practice of agriculture among the landed classes. This interest manifested itself in ambitious schemes of enclosure, the reclamation of formerly 'unproductive' lands, and investment in new crops, crop rotations, machinery and farm buildings (Williamson 2002, 1). Although this view of a so-called agricultural revolution has been challenged and refined by a number of historians, it is clear that this period was one where landed gentlemen took an interest in improving the agriculture of their estates with renewed vitality (Wade-Martins 2004; Gregory 2008). This was, in many ways, a revolution in the way that gentlemen *thought* about the agricultural landscape, as much as a revolution in the structures of the landscape itself. This is perhaps best exemplified by the Board of Agriculture reports produced for each county in the 1790s and 1800s. Although the main focus of each report is on the improvement of agriculture within each county, the authors often paid careful attention to the aesthetics of the rural landscape. This attention was focussed on the general appearance of the improved landscape as a whole, Middleton, for example, described Middlesex in terms which make it appear as one large, uninterrupted landscape garden,

The inequalities of the surface which we meet with in this district contribute to health, ornament and beauty. Here are not many dingy heaths, nor sombre-coloured woods, to offend the sight in the gay season of May; but shady groves, diversified plantations, and meandering rivers. Numerous villas, ornamented grounds, lawns and medallions of beautifully flowering shrubs almost everywhere present themselves to the view of the traveller (Middleton 1813, 21-2).

In addition, the authors of the Reports also concentrated on the impressive landscaping and tree planting schemes carried out by the owners of large landed estates, who manipulated and reorganised the appearance of the rural landscape surrounding their seats. It was on these estates that the boundaries between the purely ornamental and the utilitarian were most blurred (Gregory 2008, 31). Landscape and garden historians, then, need to have a good understanding of how these two concepts, agricultural and aesthetic improvement, relate to one another as the same landowners were often carrying out both types of improvement at the same time, and, as this thesis will show, there was often a close link aesthetically between the landscape of the park and garden and the surrounding landscape (Williamson 2000, 57; Tarlow 2007, 51; Daniels and Watkins 1991; Gregory 2008).

The *ferme ornée*, then, continued to be an important element of English landscape design into the nineteenth century. Repton was more critical of the *ferme ornée* than other writers, suggesting that William Shenstone must have found the design of The Leasowes a ‘constant disappointment’ (Repton 1803, 208). In particular he felt that it was difficult to successfully unite the landscape of the park and of the farm,

The chief beauty of a park consists in uniform verdure; undulating lines contrasting with each other in variety of forms, trees so grouped so as to produce light and shade to display the varied surface of the ground, and an undivided range of pasture... The farm, on the contrary, is for ever changing the colour of its surface in motley and discordant hues; it is subdivided by straight lines of fences. The trees can only be ranged in formal rows along the hedges; and these the farmer claims a right to cut, prune and disfigure... I am aware that, in the prevailing rage for agriculture, it is unpopular to assert, that a farm and a park may not be united; but, after various efforts to blend the two, without violation of good taste, I am convinced that they are, and must be distinct objects, and ought never to be brought together in the same point of view (Repton 1803, 208).

The key phrase here is that ‘it is unpopular to assert that a farm and a park may not be united’, suggesting that many landowners, and other landscape designers, did not feel the same way (Repton, 1803 208). Despite Repton’s opposition in theory, in practice some of his designs did try to unite the landscape of the park with farmland, most notably at Sheringham in 1812, where

a large arable field was featured prominently in the view from the dining room (Daniels 1999, 97).

Despite the clear evidence that the elite continued to integrate agricultural productivity and the wider rural landscape with their parks and gardens into the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, many garden historians see the *ferme ornée* as being a phenomenon of the early-eighteenth century (Chambers 1993; Laird 1999; Mowl 2000; Richardson 2007). In 1984 William Brogden suggested that a *ferme ornée* had to be small in area, and with a mixture of productive and ornamental elements such as meadows with grazing cattle or arable fields with attractive haystacks (Brogden 1984, 39-43). Douglas Chambers defines the *ferme ornée* as being a tradition that was closely linked to Classical ideas of rural retirement found in the writings of Pliny and Virgil, seeing them as landscapes where ‘agricultural improvement, botanical experimentation, philosophic speculation, rural retirement, and arcadian landscape come together in the recreation of an Augustan ideal’ (Chambers 1993, 11). In more practical terms, Chambers discusses the carefully disposed vistas and planting schemes employed in such landscapes, and the many explicit and implicit allusions to Classical texts that could be ‘read’ within them (Chambers 1993). Laird has pointed to the characteristic circuit walks around Wooburn Farm and the Leasowes, which were planted as ‘proto-shrubberies’ with shrubs and flowers, such as lilies, lilac, laburnum, honeysuckle, primroses, snowdrops and roses (Laird 1999, 102).

From an archaeological perspective any typology that is based on two, or even at most a handful, of sites is far from satisfactory. The *ferme ornée* is a subject that has not been closely considered by landscape historians, and has generally remained the province of garden historians who have linked it firmly with early eighteenth-century Italianate and Arcadian imagery and literature (Jacques 1983; Williams 1987; Chambers 1993; Laird 1999; Mowl 2000; Richardson 2007), but who have not sought to identify a wider range of sites which might be considered as *ferme ornées*, or to link them to developments in the rural landscape with a more wide-ranging chronological span. This thesis has identified a number of sites which could be identified as *ferme ornées*, with the inclusion not only of arable land within the boundaries of the designed landscape but also of productive pasture land. Other landscapes discussed here, particularly those which are relatively small in size, appear to draw on some elements of the *ferme ornée* tradition in their design. In chronological terms they date from the early-eighteenth to the early-nineteenth centuries, a period which incorporates a broad sweep of both horticultural and agricultural theorising from Stephen Switzer to Arthur Young.

However, there is a difference between the conscious creation of a *ferme ornée* from scratch, and the use of the existing rural landscape as a convenient and aesthetically pleasing backdrop. One of the main problems faced when trying to identify *ferme ornées*, or landscapes which have been inspired by them, is the nature of the evidence. The features most often characterised as being typical of the *ferme ornée* such as grass walks, ‘soft’ planting schemes and a mixture of productive and ornamental areas do not leave any visible archaeological trace. In addition, such features are difficult to represent cartographically on all but the most detailed estate maps and planting plans, and many of the landscapes under discussion here have little cartographic or documentary evidence of even ‘hard’ features let alone more ephemeral and elusive ones.

Other alternatives to the landscape park included pleasure grounds and gardens. Often these formed part of a wider parkland landscape, but they should also be considered as designed landscapes in their own right; writers like Whately drew a clear distinction between the garden and the park (Whately 1770, 157). Pleasure grounds of the mid to late-eighteenth century took a variety of forms, and were often placed at the side or rear of the house, a similar arrangement to the serpentine landscape gardens of the 1730s and 1740s which were often a compartment contained within a larger geometric framework (Williamson 1995, 89). They encompassed flower beds, winding paths, tree planting of various densities, shrubberies and sometimes included garden buildings, statues and seats, like those gardens shown in the detailed paintings of Thomas Robins (Harris 1978; Laird 1999). Detailed analysis of such landscapes has revealed the careful planning and attention to detail that went into their creation, particularly in terms of the selection of planting schemes, which involved decisions about colour, height, density and fragrance (Laird 1999). Recent research on individual designers (discussed above) has drawn attention to the importance of the pleasure ground in the eighteenth century; Brown turned his hand to such designs at Brocklesby in Lincolnshire in 1772, and other designers, Richard Woods in particular, were sought-after creators of pleasure grounds and gardens (Laird 1999, 7; Cowell 2009, xix).

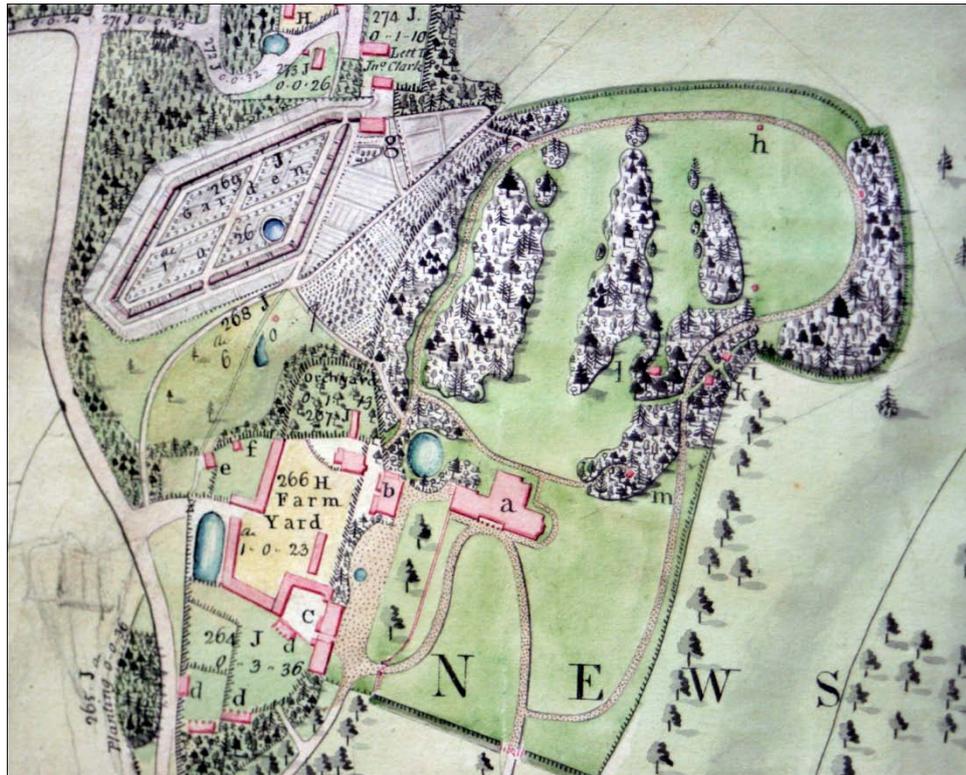


Figure 2.1. The pleasure ground around the house at Newsells, Hertfordshire, on an estate map of 1788 (HALS DE/Ry/P3).

Woods' designs for Newsells and Brocket, both of which are in Hertfordshire, include many elements which were characteristic of his subtle style such as curvilinear blocks of planting threaded with walks leading to small buildings and irregularly shaped kitchen gardens, shown in Figures 2.1 and 2.2 (Cowell 2009, 183; 221). Shrubberies were particularly important in pleasure grounds and smaller designed landscapes of a type which will be discussed at length in the following chapters. Such planting schemes were often laid out with clearly graduated planting in terms of size, height and colour, and sometimes incorporated exotic rarities (Laird 1999, 191). As a key element of the pleasure ground they formed part of larger designs by Brown at Audley End in Cambridgeshire, for example, or by Woods at Cannon Hall in South Yorkshire and Hengrave Hall in Suffolk (Laird 1999, 281; Cowell 2009, 52-58). Such planting schemes found their way into small designed landscapes; their form was suited to a variety of scales, and the purchase of exotic shrubs and flowers was in itself an act of cultural consumption that was achievable by the urban elite as well as the rural gentry and nobility (Laird 1999, 320).

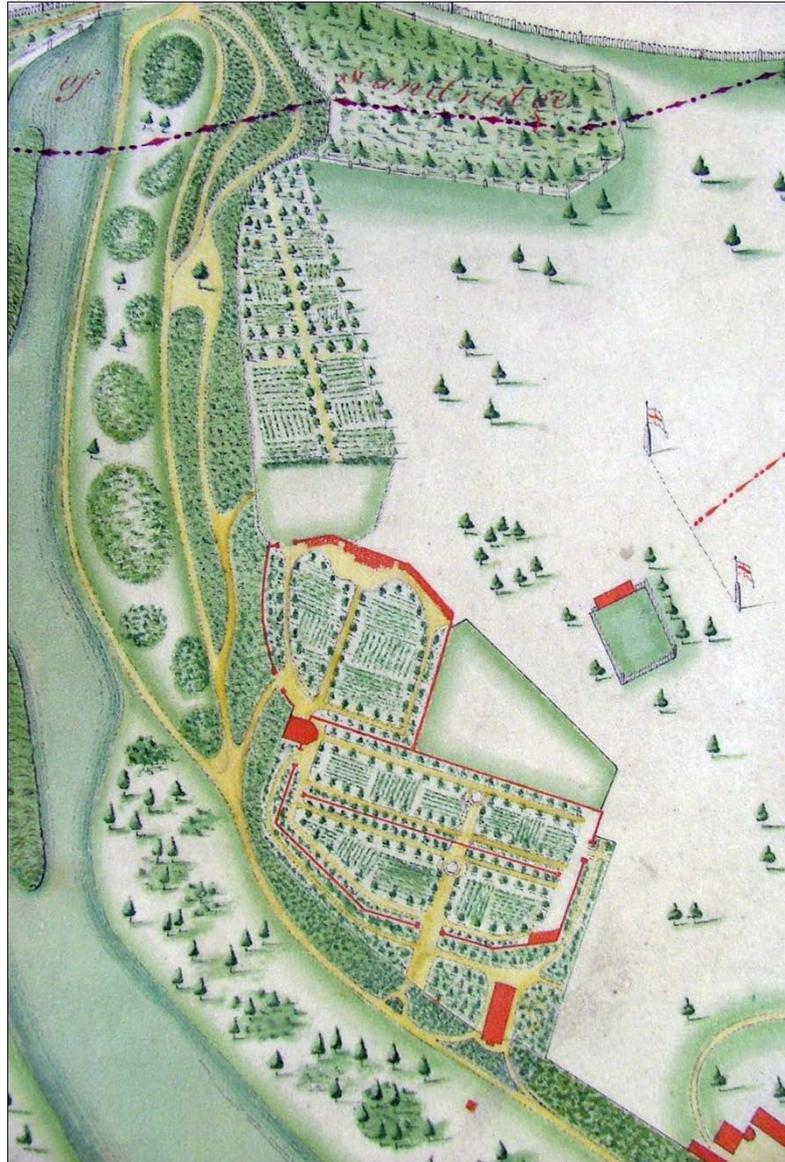


Figure 2.2. The kitchen garden and pleasure ground at Bocket Hall, Hertfordshire, on an estate map of 1793 (HALS DE/P/P15).

Many of the designed landscapes discussed in this thesis were owned by members of the urban elite; bankers, lawyers, merchants and other professionals whose primary income was not from the rentals and profits of a landed estate. Such owners were inspired to create their own grounds by a range of different styles, including the landscape of the park and the pleasure ground. Many of these owners maintained a townhouse as well as a country house, and spent much of their time living in towns and cities, so it seems reasonable that they may also have been inspired by urban gardens and open spaces (Port 1998, 125). Urban open spaces took a variety of forms, ranging from public walks for promenading like those in Exeter or Norwich, commercial pleasure gardens like Vauxhall or Ranelagh, the garden squares of London and

Bath, or the rear gardens of private houses (Wroth 1896; Borsay 1989; Longstaffe-Gowan 2001). Many town gardens were relatively small, walled spaces which often accommodated formal features, such as topiary, long after rural fashions had taken a more 'natural' course, although many did feature serpentine walks and planting schemes on a small scale (Longstaffe-Gowan 2001, 9). Garden squares, which evolved from the late-seventeenth century onwards, were also often quite formal spaces in the eighteenth century, although many were landscaped in a more naturalistic fashion during the early-nineteenth century, notably by Repton who remodelled the gardens in Russell Square in 1805 (Borsay 1989, 74-5; Longstaffe-Gowan 2001, 227). A particularly important aspect of open space within towns and cities was the concept of a shared experience, whether it was sharing a garden in a square with the other residents or overlooking neighbouring terraced gardens (Longstaffe-Gowan 2001, 63-65). Indeed, the views over the open spaces and gardens of Hyde Park, Kensington Gardens and Green Park were a key selling point for houses in Park Lane (Longstaffe-Gowan 2001, 65). It is this aspect of the urban experience that is particularly pertinent for the development of small suburban designed landscapes.

One of the major themes of this thesis is an examination of small designed landscapes, defined here as covering an area of between ten and fifty acres. In the eighteenth century Whately noted in his *Observations on Modern Gardening* that,

Many gardens are nothing more than such a walk round a field; that field is often raised to the character of a lawn; and sometimes the enclosure is, in fact, a paddock (Whately 1770, 207).

Such sites were often the subject of criticism and sarcasm from contemporary writers, despite the fact that in some areas they were the most dominant and popular form of landscaping. These attitudes are perhaps best summed up in Francis Coventry's satirical essay for *The World*, published in 1753, in which he described the villa residence and grounds of Squire Mushroom, which was in Hertfordshire, one of the main study areas of this thesis. Mushroom purchased an existing farm and rebuilt the farmhouse as a Gothic-style villa and then landscaped the grounds around it,

The triumph of his genius was seen in the disposition of his gardens, which contain every thing in less than two acres of ground. At your first entrance, the eye is saluted with a yellow serpentine river, stagnating through a beautiful valley which extends near twenty yards in length. Over the river is thrown a bridge ‘partly in the Chinese manner’, and a little ship, with sails spread and streamers flying, floats in the midst of it. When you have passed this bridge, you enter into a grove perplexed with errors and crooked walks, where having trod the same ground over and over again, through a labyrinth of hornbeam hedges, you are led into an old hermitage built with roots of trees (Coventry 1753).

The grounds also have a classical temple where Squire Mushroom cavorts ‘in vulgar love with a couple of orange wenches’ (Coventry 1753). For most commentators, it seems that the worst offence committed by the owners and designers of these landscapes was cramming in decorative details and elements which only really worked aesthetically on a larger scale, like serpentine lakes, for example. George Mason was particularly dismissive of villa landscapes,

From a general view of our present gardens in populous districts, a stranger might imagine they were calculated for a race of LILLIPUTIANS. Are their *shade*, their *ponds* or their *islands* proportionable to common mortals? Their winding walks – such as no human foot-step (except a reeling drunkard’s) could have traced. Yet these, in the eyes of the proprietors, are perfect models of the CHINESE; though the only part that can be called so, is their ridiculous style of architecture in both rails and temples (Mason 1770, 48-49).

It was not just small designed landscapes in themselves which came in for criticism, but also their urbane owners. In Cradock’s *Village Memoirs* (1775) the estate of the deceased Mr Arlington, the last member of a well-established gentry family, is purchased by a Londoner called Mr Massem (Cradock 1775). Massem commissions a professional designer, Mr Layout, to make extensive changes to the grounds, much to the disapproval of their neighbour Mr Paulet,

They talk of taste just as if it was to be bought down in a broad-wheeled wagon, and they had nothing to do but scatter it at random (Cradock 1775, 79)

Demonstrating a sense of good taste was a fundamental part of polite society, and much of the invective aimed at such owners was focussed on their perceived lack of taste, and the assumption that money could purchase taste. In Arthur Murphy's play *Three Weeks After Marriage*, first performed in 1776, the retired businessman Drugget comes under attack for his apparent pretensions towards gentility,

Have you not to do with a rich old shopkeeper, retired from business with a hundred thousand pounds in his pocket, to enjoy the dust of the Fulham road, which he calls living in the country? And you must find fault with his situation! What if he has made a ridiculous gimcrack of his house and gardens? (Murphy 1776, 146)

The small garden of Drugget's villa is filled with evergreen topiary, sundials and a duck pond rather than a serpentine lake (Murphy 1776, 146-151).

Such landscapes have not been studied in depth by garden or landscape historians, with the notable exceptions of those designed by Humphry Repton (Daniels 1999) and Richard Woods (Cowell 2009). The majority of Woods' known commissions were confined to areas of less than one hundred acres, both individual sites and areas within much larger designed landscapes, as at Brocket Hall in Hertfordshire (Figure 2.2) where Woods seems only to have worked along the banks of the river running through the park. At Copford in Essex Woods planted sinuous plantations and created a cascade on the twenty-eight acre site, later designing plans to link the grounds around the house the house with walks through narrow planting along the edges of nearby fields (Cowell 2009, 190). Similarly at Brizes in Essex, his last commission in 1788, Woods created a small park-like landscape with shrubberies close to the house and walks laid out around a number of small hedged pasture fields (Cowell 2009, 182). Cowell has termed such landscapes 'pleasure parks' based on the blurred boundaries between the landscape of the pleasure ground and that of the park (Cowell 2009, 40). The discussion in the following chapters will show that this style of landscaping was not confined to Woods' practice.

Repton worked on a number of small villa-type landscapes in the hinterland of cities like London, Norwich, Bristol, Leeds and Ipswich, commissioned both by members of the aristocracy and by professionals and merchants (Daniels 1999, 34). In 1816 Repton wrote of such sites,

These have, of late, had the greatest claim on my attention... in the neighbourhood of every city or manufacturing town, new places, as villas, are daily springing up; and these, with a few acres, require all the conveniences, comforts and appendages, of larger and more sumptuous, if not more expensive places (Repton 1816, 469).

Many of these residences were located close to other villa properties, and Repton often found it difficult to exclude neighbouring properties from the view to ensure the privacy of his clients, noting of the villa at Wembley that ‘we must, therefore, be particularly cautious that every building should appear to be an addendage or inmate of the place, and not a neighbour intruding on its privacy’ (Repton 1795, 82). However, when viewed at a distance neighbouring villas and townscapes were an interesting and varied addition to the view; at Brandsbury in 1789 Repton incorporated the distant dome of St Pauls Cathedral into the views from the gardens and shrubberies to the south of the house (Daniels 1999, 217). However, Repton’s own suburban commissions formed a minority of the small designed landscapes which surrounded London and other urban centres. His own publications make his disapproval of other small designed landscapes clear,

There is no error more prevalent in modern gardening, or more frequently carried to excess, that taking away hedges to unite many small fields into one extensive and naked lawn, before plantations are made to give it the appearance of a park... The baldness and nakedness round the house is part of the same mistaken system, of concealing fences to gain extent. A palace, or even an elegant villa, in a grass field, appears to me congruous; yet I have seldom had sufficient influence to correct this common error (Repton 1803, 127)

It is precisely this method of creating a 'designed' landscape which was employed at many of the sites discussed in detail in the chapters to follow, albeit with slightly more complexity than Repton allows them.

2.8 Conclusion

A substantial amount of academic research has been based on large, individual sites and the teleological story of garden history first put forward by Walpole in the 1780s. The techniques of landscape history, archaeology and historical geography have added to our understanding of the development of landscape design in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, alongside the more traditional historical approaches favoured by garden historians. Landscape historians have emphasised the importance of the practicalities of landscape design 'on the ground' by studying topography, soil type, enclosure, land use and landholding in relation to parks and gardens, and an understanding of such structures is essential to appreciate the challenges and opportunities faced by the creators of designed landscapes during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Furthermore, historians and archaeologists have recognised individual agency as a critical factor in understanding parks and gardens of this period; individual 'actors' interacted with the landscape in ways which embodied certain social, cultural and economic meanings that are not always clearly identifiable, but which had a considerable impact on the development of the landscape itself. The following chapters are primarily concerned with a regional study of three counties, Hertfordshire, Northamptonshire and Norfolk. By adopting this comparative approach this thesis will demonstrate the complexity of the landscape of eighteenth and nineteenth-century England, and will seek to show that there was more to designed landscapes than the sweeping turf of the park.

3. Hertfordshire

3.1 Introduction

A survey of designed landscapes in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Hertfordshire demonstrates two clear characteristics: the variety of such sites in this period, and more particularly the number of small examples. The second of these can largely be attributed to the fact that by the late-eighteenth century the south of the county had been effectively suburbanised by members of the urban elite who created rural retreats for themselves within the Hertfordshire countryside. Many of these sites, a number of which are discussed in more detail below, do not fit easily into neat categorisations such as ‘landscape park’ or ‘ferme ornée’. Although they were in part inspired by such traditions each owner applied elements of these to create landscapes that reflected their own particular social and cultural concerns. Moreover, in addition to being small in size many of the designed landscapes in Hertfordshire in this period were not attached to substantial landed estates. Yet even where landownership did not extend into the surrounding fields and farms the visual relationship with the countryside could be of key importance for these smaller sites. The boundaries between the designed ‘core’ around the house and the neighbouring rural landscape were frequently blurred, particularly in south Hertfordshire which had a mainly pastoral landscape shaped by piecemeal enclosure and a relatively high proportion of trees and woodland. Our preconceived notion of an estate landscape, with the mansion, park and estate farms, seems therefore to have been atypical in Hertfordshire, rather than the norm.

This chapter will focus on two groups of small and medium sized landscapes in south Hertfordshire, which were linked both by a pattern of clear intervisibility, and by an overarching network of social connections between the London merchants, businessmen, army officers and professionals who created them. These relationships shed important new light on how designed landscapes were created and experienced in the eighteenth century; relationships which can be easily missed by historians who focus on individual sites, or neglect to fully consider the social and biographical narratives of their owners and creators. This approach also offers the opportunity to improve our understanding of landscape design in this period by setting such sites within their wider landscape context.

3.2 Soils and Topography

To form a clear picture of how and why the historic landscape develops in any particular region it is first essential to understand the physical structures of the landscape. Patterns of drainage, relief and soil type underpin many of the antecedent landscape structures within which parks and gardens were created; field patterns, the density of trees and woodland and the location of settlements are all necessarily determined to some degree by the physical geography of the land itself (Williamson 1998, 7).

The landscape of Hertfordshire is complex and varied as the boundary of the county embraces four different landscape types, each with subtle distinguishing characteristics: the Chiltern dipslope, the Chiltern escarpment, the boulder clay plateau of the east, and the anciently enclosed clays of the south and west. The northern boundary of the county roughly follows the line of the Chiltern escarpment, whilst the eastern boundary follows the valleys of the Rivers Lea and Colne (Williamson 2000, 4). The southern and western boundaries are slightly more arbitrary, although part of the southern boundary runs along the clay interfluvium between Hertfordshire and Middlesex. In all regions the contrast between the soils of the river valleys and the interfluviums is of particular importance in the development of the historic landscape.

The north of the county is dominated by the freely draining soils of the Chiltern escarpment, part of a high chalk ridge running diagonally across southern and eastern England from Wiltshire into East Anglia (see Map 1). The dipslope of the escarpment tilts away gently to the southeast and is cut by deep, often dry, valleys (Williamson 2000, 8). The valley bottoms and sides have well drained and easily worked soils of the Charity 2 association (Soil Survey 1983, 12), whilst the wide interfluviums between these valleys are partly covered with a deposit generally referred to as 'clay with flints', a slowly permeable clay soil that contains a high number of flints and that can suffer from seasonal waterlogging (Soil Survey 1983, 12). The more amenable valleys of this northern area are thus the major focus of nucleated settlement, with sparser and more dispersed settlement found on the harder to cultivate interfluviums.

East Hertfordshire's rolling landscape is dominated by an extensive plateau of chalky boulder clay, with, again, the heaviest soils found on the interfluviums and more freely draining soils in the

valleys (Williamson 2000, 13). The plateau is dissected by the river valleys of the Rib, Ash and Stort, and along the gentle slopes of the valleys the loamy soil (Melford association) is well drained and fertile (Thomasson and Avery 1970, 11). On the interfluves between these valleys the soil is heavier and dominated by water retentive clays of the Hanslope association, but a key difference is that these interfluves are narrower than those of the Chiltern dipslope (Thomasson and Avery 1970, 11). This part of the county was more densely settled from the Iron Age onwards, and remained so throughout the medieval and post-medieval periods (Williamson 2000, 45).

Meanwhile, the south and west of the county is predominately covered by deposits of London clays (Windsor, Essendon and Beecles 3 associations); waterlogged and acidic soils which meant that this area of the county was more sparsely populated in the early medieval period (Thomasson and Avery 1970, 13). The Vale of St Albans separates the southern claylands from the Chiltern dipslope and is covered with well drained and fertile sand and gravel soils that made the valley an important focus of early settlement; the towns of St Albans, Hatfield, Hertford and Ware are all found within it (Williamson 2000, 16).

During the early medieval period the population of Hertfordshire, along with the rest of England, was expanding (Munby 1977, 106; Williamson 2003, 31). Open field agriculture was practised over most of the county, but the nature of the communal field systems exhibited distinct local variation and was intermixed with enclosed fields (Williamson 2000, 84-85). In the north of the county, around Royston and Baldock, the open fields were regular with two or three great arable fields. In this area nucleated villages and extensive arable open fields were usually found on the lighter, and more fertile soils of the river valleys, whilst on the heavier, poorly drained soil of the interfluves arable open fields were less extensive, settlement was slightly more dispersed and tended to be associated with the edges of greens and commons (Williamson 2000, 185).

Over most of the rest of the county, in the south and west around St Albans, Hertford and Watford, the open field systems were irregular in character, usually with more than three great fields and with the strips of individual owners clustered together rather than being evenly distributed throughout the arable furlongs. These irregular open field systems operated alongside anciently enclosed hedged fields (Munby 1977, 164-5; Williamson 2000, 184). In the

south and west of the county the extensive woodlands and wood pastures that existed on the high and intractable interfluves between the river valleys were gradually encroached upon as the area under arable and pasture expanded (Munby 1977, 107; Williamson 2003, 56). In the early medieval period the southern claylands had been covered with large tracts of woodland and wood pasture, as well as extensive commons on the highest ground. Although settlement expanded here in the late medieval period this area never became as densely settled as the rest of the county (Williamson 2000, 191).

In the early post-medieval period the economy of Hertfordshire remained focussed on agriculture, and large areas, particularly in the south-west of the county had already been largely enclosed (Longman 1977, 3; Thirsk 1967, 50-52). These early enclosed fields were often later rationalised producing a field pattern similar to that created during parliamentary enclosure, but overall the field pattern across most of the county was irregular (Longman 1977, 23). This created a landscape typical of many 'ancient' countryside areas; irregularly shaped fields, deep lanes, hamlets and scattered farms and villages along with a high proportion of ancient trees and woodland (Rackham 1986, 5). From the sixteenth century onwards the agrarian economy of Hertfordshire became more specialised; the north and east were focussed predominately on arable production, and in particular barley for the malting industry in Hitchin, Ware and London (Glennie 1988, 60). In the south and west, farming was of a more mixed nature, with arable crops and an increased focus on fodder crops and livestock rearing, as well as more specialised produce, such as hay grown specifically for the London market (Glennie 1988, 65). This pattern of land use meant that the south and west were more pastoral in character, with a higher proportion of grassland and meadow to the more arable focussed north and east.

Hertfordshire saw relatively little parliamentary enclosure during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, especially compared to Northamptonshire and Norfolk. Figure 3.1 shows the parishes which were affected by parliamentary enclosure acts, demonstrating that most of the county was enclosed by other forms. Most of the parliamentary enclosure which did affect Hertfordshire took place in the north, in areas which had been characterised by regular open field systems and nucleated villages (Munby 1977, 181). In many parishes where parliamentary enclosure did take place, less than 50 per cent of the landscape of the parish was affected, suggesting that many of these parishes had already been partially enclosed. In Hertingfordbury, for example, the 1801 act enclosed 424 acres, 16 per cent of the total area of the parish (2644 acres) (Tate and Turner 1978, 137-40).

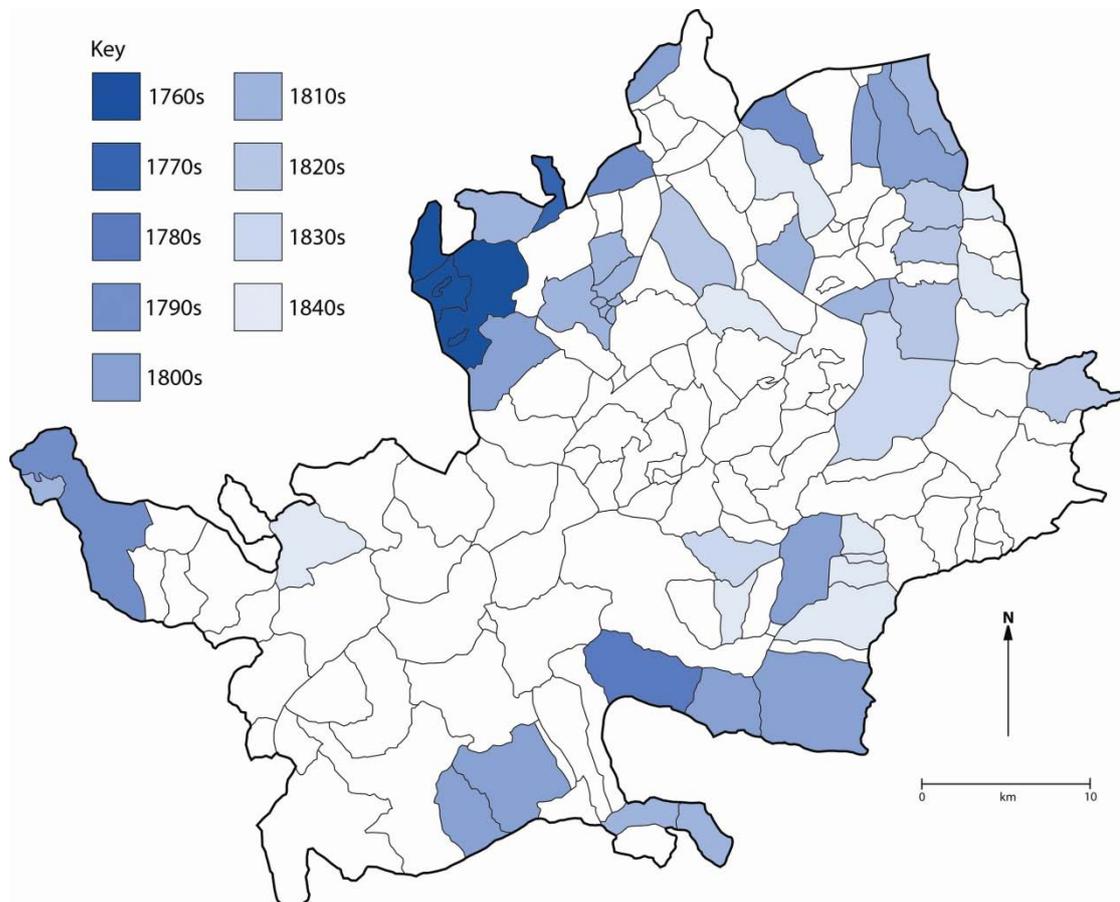


Figure 3.1. Parliamentary enclosure acts in Hertfordshire, mapped by parish and date (Data taken from Tate and Turner 1978, 137-40).

3.3 Designed landscapes in Hertfordshire before 1700

Designed landscapes in Hertfordshire have been studied in depth over the past decade, including both county-wide surveys and the study of a number of individual designed landscapes. In part, this has been due to the active research agenda set by the Hertfordshire Gardens Trust (HGT), who have produced a number of unpublished reports on the histories of sites such as Kings Waldenbury (HGT 2003), Danesbury (HGT 2004), and Temple Dinsley (HGT 2004). In 1996 the Trust published a study on gardens along Ermine Street (Bisgrove and the HGT 1996), followed by an examination of designed landscapes in west Hertfordshire (Williamson and the HGT 2000). More recently, a collection of essays published by the Trust

has highlighted the work of designers such as Richard Woods and Charles Bridgeman, as well as the role of East India Company officers in the creation of designed landscapes in the county (Rowe 2007a). A longer term study of parks in Hertfordshire has been undertaken by Hugh Prince, examining the relationship between park size and estate size, and partly inspired by the Stones' detailed examination of the elite during the post-medieval period which related social position and status to the size of houses and estates (Prince 2008, 2; Stone 1984). However, although all of these studies have been comprehensive in terms of the identification of designed landscapes and in establishing detailed histories for individual sites, others have been neglected due to the emphasis on *estate* landscapes. As this chapter will demonstrate, there were significant alternatives to the 'landscape park and estate' model used as a starting point for most other studies of the county. In addition, the focus on individual sites means that the close visual and social links that existed between some designed landscapes have been overlooked.

Sixty-six medieval deer parks have so far been identified in Hertfordshire; Ware, St Albans and Benington are all mentioned in the Domesday survey, and the number of deer parks steadily increased until a final flurry of emparking occurred in the fifteenth century (Rowe 2007b, 128; 131). There was a marked concentration of medieval parks in the north and east of the county, on the boulder clay plateau and the clay soils around Stevenage and Welwyn. Medieval deer parks are usually associated with the distribution of woodland recorded in Domesday, which in Hertfordshire was concentrated in the south and west, so this distribution represents a 'significant anomaly' (Rowe 2007b, 136). The majority of deer parks (70 per cent) were sited on clay interfluvies rather than in the more populous river valleys, which allowed these early parks to enjoy the benefits of wide views over the surrounding landscape (Rowe 2007b, 143; Rowe 2009). However, the presence of woodland or wood pasture does not seem to have been a prerequisite for emparking in medieval Hertfordshire, and instead the settlement pattern and structures of landholding appear to have been more significant factors in the siting of deer parks (Rowe 2007b, 143).

During the post-medieval period the number of parks and gardens in Hertfordshire continued to increase (Prince 2008, 10; 38). In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Hertfordshire boasted some sophisticated examples of formal gardens, including those created at Theobalds by the Cecils, Gorhambury, laid out by Francis Bacon, and Moor Park, where elaborate gardens were laid out by Lucy, Countess of Bedford, in the early-seventeenth century (Strong 1979, 51-7; Williamson and the HGT 2000, 11). The gardens and park at Cashiobury were laid out for Arthur Capel, the Earl of Essex, from the 1670s onwards by Moses Cook, the head gardener at

Cashiobury who created a large formal landscape with extensive avenues, plantations and parterres (Williamson and the HGT 2000, 17). Some landscapes in Hertfordshire, therefore, have long been at the cutting edge of trends in landscape design (Williamson 2007b, 17).

In 1700 Sir Henry Chauncy published the *Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire*, the first full length history of the county, which included engravings of twenty-seven houses and gardens by Drapentier (Chauncy 1700). These engravings give us an illuminating snapshot of the character of Hertfordshire's designed landscapes in 1700 which shows that not all were large, famous and outstanding examples of Renaissance garden design like those mentioned above (Mowl 2001). All of the houses engraved by Drapentier are shown within walled gardens and entrance courts, filled with simple grass parterres, statues, fountains and small garden buildings. These gardens were almost all owned by gentry families, and they appear to have been created in a piecemeal fashion by successive owners, each adding different decorative elements over a long period of time to produce 'an accumulation of features' (Mowl 2001, 162). Several of the engravings emphasise the strong link between agricultural and horticultural activities in this period; Aspenden (Figure 3.2), Little Offley, Brent Pelham all have busy farmyards immediately adjacent to the house and formal gardens, an arrangement which was typical at that time, but which has been slightly obscured by the tendency to clearly separate the home farm from the site of the house later in the eighteenth century. In the early-eighteenth century these more modest designed landscapes outnumbered large-scale aristocratic gardens like Cashiobury; a pattern that was to be reinforced further in the late-eighteenth century. In the years either side of 1700, therefore, many seats in Hertfordshire were surrounded with walled formal gardens, and landowners also made clear links between the practical and the ornamental in the space around their houses, with kitchen gardens and home farms given a prominent position on some estates.

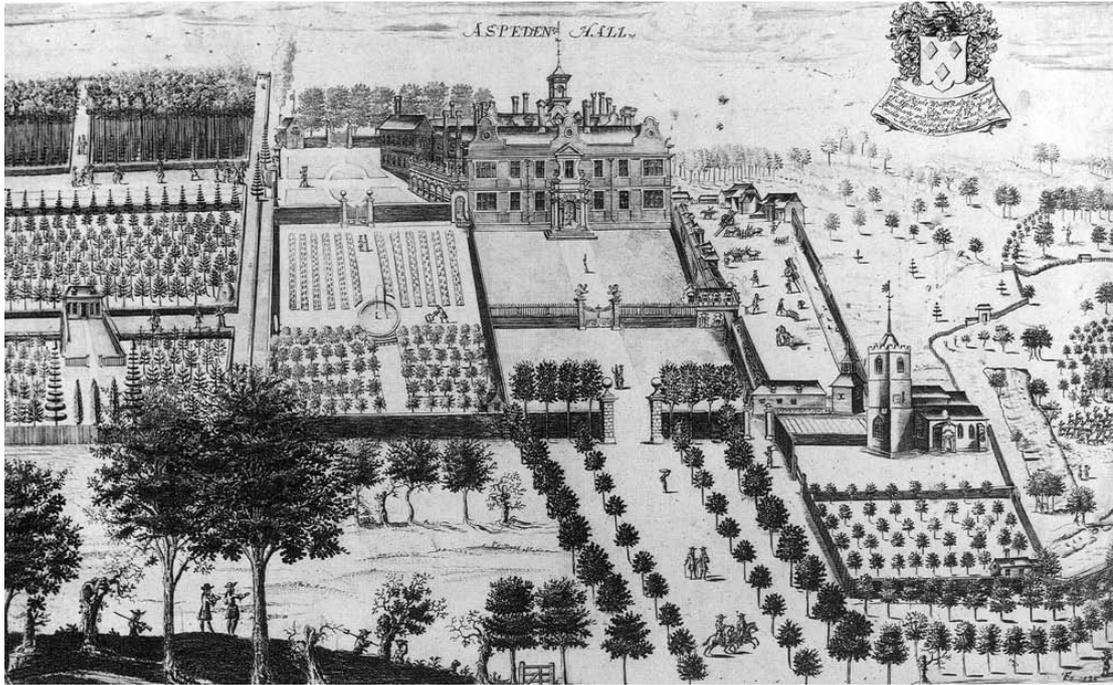


Figure 3.2. Aspenden Hall engraved by Drapentier for *Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire* (1700) by Henry Chauncy.

3.4 The distribution of designed landscapes in Hertfordshire

As early as the end of the sixteenth century John Norden was able to remark that Hertfordshire was well known for being ‘replete with many parks’, as well as having many ‘sweete and pleasant dwellings’ (Norden 1598). As well as the number of elite residences, the general character of the Hertfordshire landscape (discussed above) gave it the appearance of being a large designed landscape, something noted by Defoe in the early-eighteenth century,

The inclos’d corn fields made one grand parterre, the thick planted Hedgerows, like a wilderness of labyrinth, divided in Espaliers; the villages interspers’d, looked like so many noble seats of gentleman at a distance. In a word, it was all nature, and yet look’d all like art (Defoe 1962, 389).

The ‘grand parterre’ was added to during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when the number of parks, gardens and gentleman’s residences grew substantially, and contemporaries

were well aware of this increase². In 1813 Arthur Young opened the *General View of the Agriculture of Hertfordshire* with the observation that

Property in Hertfordshire is much divided: the vicinity of the capital, the goodness of the air and roads, and the beauty of the county, have much contributed to this circumstance, by making this county a favourite residence, and by attracting great numbers of wealthy persons to purchase land for building villas: this has multiplied estates in a manner unknown in the more distant counties (Young 1813, 18).

This growth in the number of polite residences and landscapes, particularly villas which were surrounded by small grounds, was strongly influenced by the county's proximity to London. The south of the county in particular underwent a process of what was, in effect, suburbanisation in the late-eighteenth century. The variety of the designed landscapes which developed here raises interesting questions about the complex and ambiguous aesthetic relationship between 'designed' landscapes and 'natural' landscapes, and the blurred boundaries between the two.

3.4.1 Dury and Andrews' Map of Hertfordshire, 1766

Detailed analysis of the distribution of parks and gardens in Hertfordshire from eighteenth and nineteenth-century printed maps provides illuminating evidence for their development over this period. The first detailed large-scale county map was published in 1766 by the surveyors Andrew Dury and John Andrews, although it was surveyed some years earlier (Ruston 2004). Both men were based in London and their partnership also produced county maps of Kent, Wiltshire and Berkshire. Dury and Andrews split the county into two halves divided by the Great North Road; Andrews surveyed the west whilst Dury and his assistants took on the east (Ruston 2004). The maps sold well, and were still being listed by the London-based cartographer William Faden in 1822, nearly forty years after their publication, when many details of the map would have been fairly out of date (Ruston 2004). In the study of designed

² See also H. Chauncy, *The Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire* (1700), A. Young, *General View of the Agriculture of Hertfordshire* (1813) and D. Hughson, *London: being an accurate description and history of the metropolis and its neighbourhood* (1809).

landscapes in Hertfordshire Dury and Andrews' map is a crucially important source, providing a detailed snapshot of the number and style of parks and gardens in the county in the late eighteenth century. In addition, in many cases the map provides the earliest cartographic evidence for some of the designed landscapes discussed here.

Dury and Andrews portrayed a county of small, irregular fields covered by a dense network of hedgerows and tree lined roads, interspersed with villages, hamlets and clusters of individual farms. Small woods mingle with larger plantations, and in places it is difficult to distinguish designed landscapes from other elements of the rural landscape. Parks which contained deer are shown with a tiny, spiky pale around their boundaries; an intrusively artificial feature in a landscape where almost all the other boundaries shown are sinuous and softly rounded with trees.

Analysis using this type of map is therefore problematic when it comes to identifying designed landscapes. Most surveyors during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries delineated parkland in some way to distinguish it from the surrounding countryside, and Dury and Andrews showed deer parks with a pale, and other areas of parkland (which did not contain deer) with stippled shading. In addition, some parks and gentlemen's residences are identified with the name of the occupier. However, even a cursory examination reveals that not all designed landscapes shown on the map are identified by stippled shading or a named owner, even if they are depicted in some detail. Digswell House in the Mimram valley, for example, is shown without a pale, and is unshaded, but an area of informal parkland is clearly depicted next to the formal gardens around the house. This raises the problem of what eighteenth and nineteenth-century surveyors defined as a 'park', a term which is now applied by historians fairly indiscriminately. This is particularly pertinent with reference to Dury and Andrews' map; a vital source for understanding the nature of Hertfordshire's designed landscapes at a time when many were undergoing considerable changes. In this case, it is clear that the surveyors depicted parks with a pale if they contained deer. Most of the paled parks shown on Dury and Andrews' map are medieval or early post medieval deer parks, such as Ashridge, Bennington and Knebworth (Rowe 2007; 2009). However, to further confuse matters, some early deer parks are shown on Dury and Andrews' map without a pale, such as Aspenden Hall where a deer park was first recorded in an estate survey of 1556 (Prince 2008, 9). An engraving of Aspenden published in 1700 (Figure 3.2) clearly shows deer roaming the park beyond the walled gardens, and an 1810 estate map shows the park pale still in place (Chauncy 1700; HALS D/EH/P3).

Those designed landscapes recorded without a pale are often relatively small, covering an area of less than 50 acres. Some of these sites could perhaps be considered as landscape gardens rather than landscape parks, and a more detailed consideration of the characteristics of these sites shows that their owners were inspired by a number of traditions. Many of these small landscapes were surrounded by pasture fields well stocked with trees, a combination which provided a visual approximation of a parkland backdrop. They seem, on Dury and Andrews' map at least, to sit more comfortably within the existing landscape than the large, paled deer parks which immediately leap off the sheets of the map, and which must have had a similarly strong visual impact in the landscape. In contrast, the smaller landscapes are much harder to identify at first glance, and emerge only slowly out of the patchwork of fields and hedgerows through close examination; the boundaries between the 'designed' and the 'natural' were, and indeed are, blurred and difficult to define.

The very smallest sites recorded in this thesis cover an area of roughly ten acres. Smaller gardens are visible on the map, associated with farms and other large houses but many do not belong to a named subscriber of the map, and it is not clear whether they formed part of larger designed landscapes (Figure 3.3). This thesis has excluded such gardens from its discussion; although an interesting subject in their own right, they are difficult to map at this scale and thus represent the 'vanishing point' of easily identifiable designed landscapes on maps of this type.



Figure 3.3. Totteridge in south Hertfordshire, shown on Dury and Andrews’ map of 1766. The village contains a number of gardens covering an area of ten acres or less, the ‘vanishing point’ on maps of this scale. Those which belonged to named owners have been included in this distribution map.

Dury and Andrews dedicated their map to the Earl of Bute, the Earl of Essex, and Sir Lawrence Dundas. Essex and Dundas were prominent members of the Hertfordshire landed elite and their involvement in the production of a large-scale, accurate map of the county is unsurprising. John Stuart, the Earl of Bute, was briefly the first Tory Prime Minister from 1762 until his resignation in 1763 (Wolfgang-Schweizer 2007). After he left office the Earl concentrated his energies on his newly acquired estate at Luton Hoo, just over the county border in Bedfordshire. The huge new mansion was begun in 1767 to a design by Robert Adam, whilst Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown was engaged at the same time to landscape the newly enlarged park (Stroud 1957, 133). Bute was a well-known patron of the arts as well as being an enthusiastic botanist so it was no coincidence that his encouragement of Dury and Andrews led to Luton Hoo being surveyed and drawn in some detail on the published map, even though it lay over the county boundary. Similarly, two parks in neighbouring Buckinghamshire are also shown in some detail. Wilton Park was owned by the Capel family, the Earls of Essex, whose main seat was at

Cashiobury near Watford, and although the early eighteenth-century mansion and park at Wilton were leased it still merited inclusion on the Hertfordshire county map (Pevsner 1977, 616-619). Shardeloes, meanwhile, was completed in 1766 by Robert Adam for William Drake, a local MP whose family was entwined into Hertfordshire society through a number of marriages (Eland 1947, 130). The Earl of Bute's patronage of the map and the consequent inclusion of Luton Hoo, as well as other parks belonging to influential members of the local elite, are reminders that the social and political life of a county did not always respect its administrative borders; another reason why the fairly arbitrary use of counties as discrete study areas in landscape and garden history is potentially misleading.

Dury and Andrews clearly had a stock library of images that they used for depicting designed landscapes, such as simple geometric beds within walled gardens and curvilinear walks through shrubberies or wildernesses. However, it is unlikely that the surveyors would have entirely fabricated the overall design of most of the parks and gardens depicted, simply because it was the owners of those landscapes who were most likely to purchase the map as subscribers. The variety of formal and informal designs shown on the map means that Dury and Andrews must have had a reasonably detailed knowledge of the grounds included, although whether they were actually surveyed or replicated from existing estate maps, or even from intended designs, is unknown. For some of the designed landscapes discussed below, Dury and Andrews' map is the earliest cartographic source, so it is vital to establish the date and accuracy of the map in terms of its depiction of designed landscapes.

A comparison of contemporary estate maps with Dury and Andrews' suggests that the latter is reasonably accurate in its depiction of parks and gardens. A small map of Digswell Rectory, surveyed in 1766 (the same year that Dury and Andrews' published their map), shows the walled garden focussed on a short avenue. Dury and Andrews' map show the same layout, and the roads and woodland around the Rectory correspond almost exactly with those shown on the estate map (HALS /P34/3/2) (Figure 3.4).

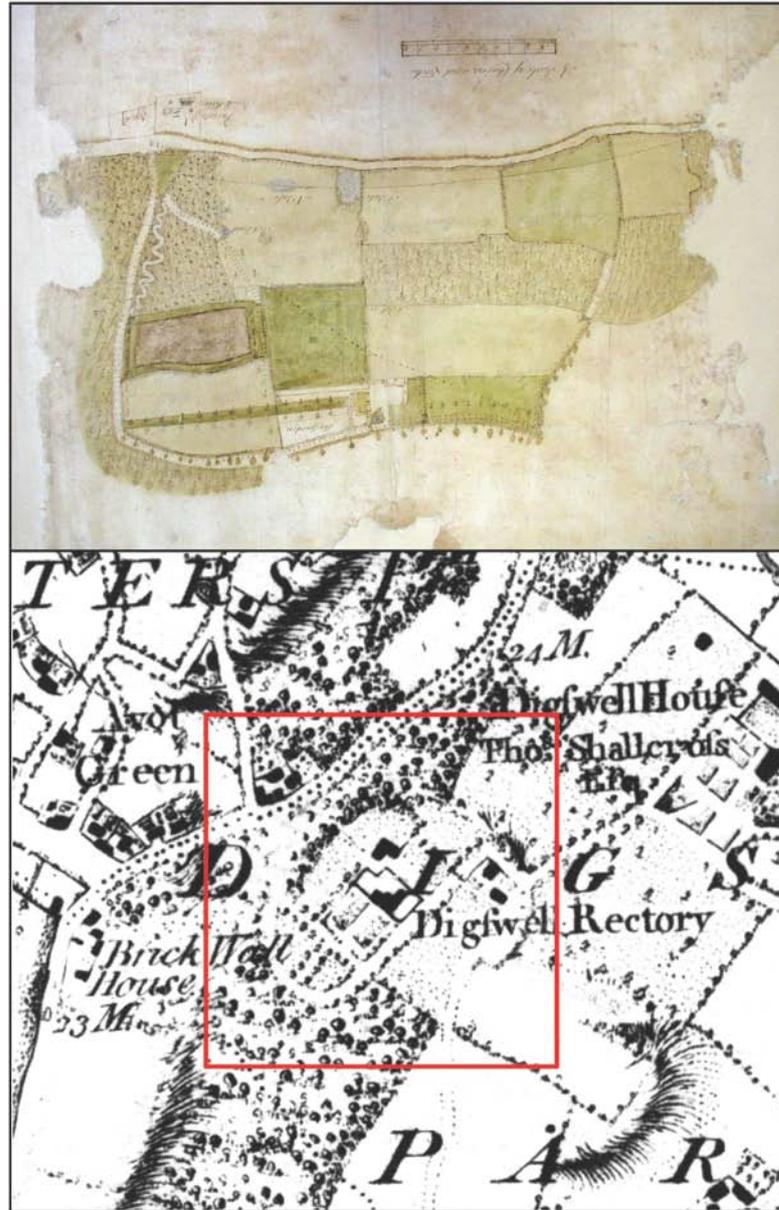


Figure 3.4. A 1766 estate map of Digswell Rectory, compared with Dury and Andrews' map (HALS /P34/3/2).

In 1762 an estate map of St Margaret's Farm, near Hoddesdon, was produced for Bibye Lake, the Governor of the Hudson Bay Company (Rich 1959, vol. 2, 819). The estate map shows the small landscape garden created on either side of the 'New River', which included serpentine walks through clumps of trees, a small bridge over the river, and a number of garden buildings hidden in the trees. Next to the house was a more formal garden with a circular pond and a canal (HALS D/ECh/P11). Dury and Andrews show the house and gardens, shown in Figure 3.5, in a more schematic style than the estate map, reducing the serpentine clumps of trees to

dark, geometric blocks. However, the size and configuration of the gardens, including details such as the small circular pond, are reproduced with a considerable degree of accuracy.

An estate map of Wormleybury, surveyed in 1753, shows the house and associated buildings next to a canal terminating in a circular pond. Dury and Andrews again depict the position of the water feature and buildings in exactly the same configuration, even down to the course of the boundary between the pleasure grounds and the park (HALS D/EWb/P1). In addition, the formal gardens at Roxford, near Hertford, also demonstrate the accuracy of Dury and Andrews' map, showing the shape of the garden with its apsidal ends, and the location of the ornamental ponds, corresponding almost exactly with the surviving earthworks (Bagenel 2007, 79). These brief examples show that designed landscapes were mapped by Dury and Andrews with a reasonable amount of accuracy, making this a vital and largely reliable source for mid eighteenth-century Hertfordshire. They are also representative of the wide variety of designed landscapes in Hertfordshire - the small grounds around Digswell Rectory with an avenue, formal garden and pastoral fields, the serpentine river walk dotted with garden buildings at St Margaret's Farm, the small formal garden at Roxford, and the grand formal landscape at Wormleybury. Furthermore they highlight the overlapping chronology of design in this period, with both 'formal' and 'informal' landscapes in existence at the same time.

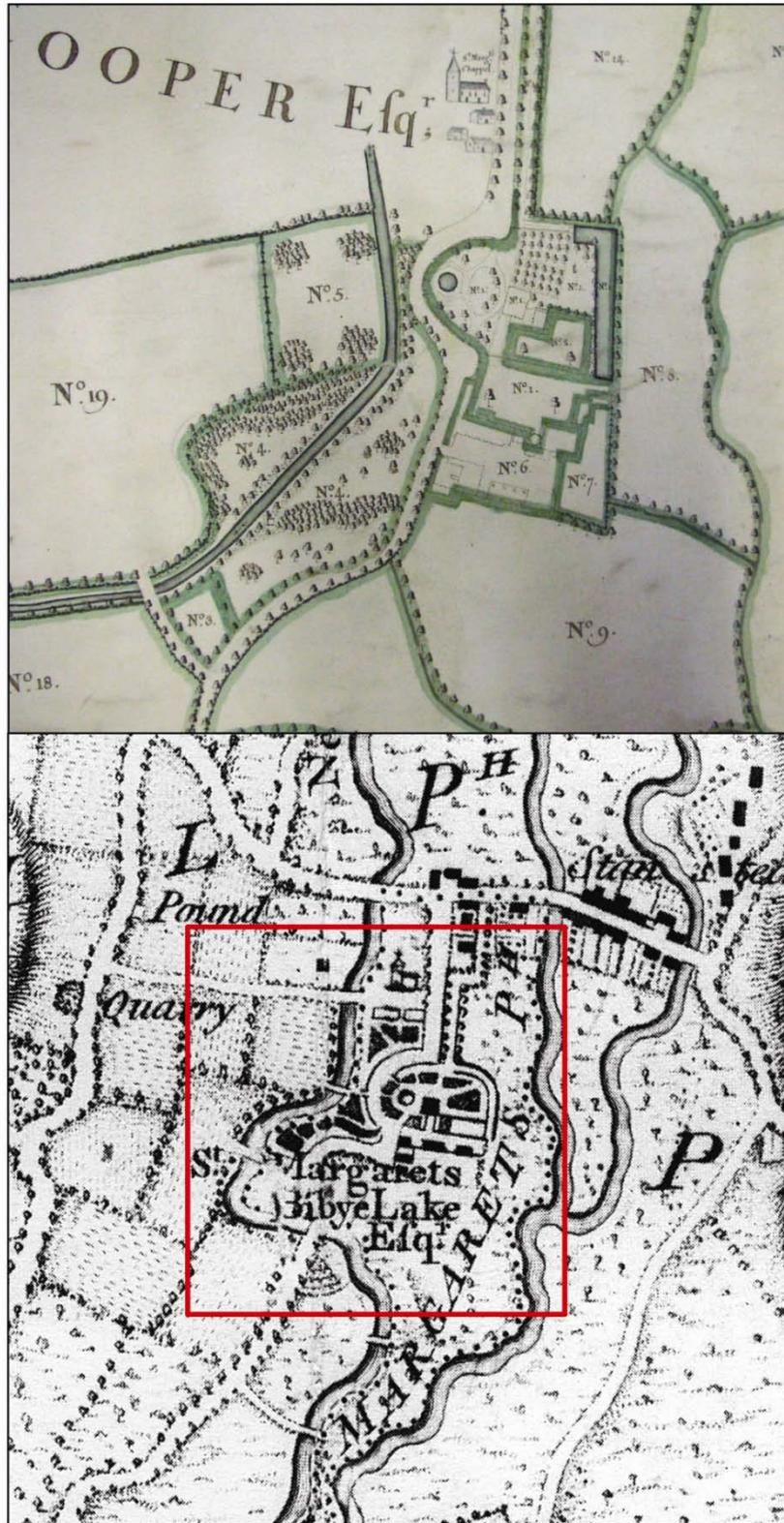


Figure 3.5. A 1762 estate map of St Margaret's Farm compared to Dury and Andrews' map of 1766 (HALS D/ECh/P11).

Although the map was published in May 1766 (*Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* (London), Thursday, May 1, 1766; Issue 11 587), a critical point is to establish when the survey for the map was carried out in order to help date those landscapes for which the map is the earliest cartographic evidence. Two estates in particular provide clear evidence for dating the survey of the map; Bayfordbury, close to Hertford, and Moor Park near Rickmansworth.

Moor Park is shown by Dury and Andrews as a large paled park, with the house surrounded by an extensive network of avenues (Figure 3.6) laid out by Charles Bridgeman for Benjamin Styles, who also commissioned Giacomo Leoni to rebuild the house in 1720 (Stroud 1957, 69). In 1754 the owner of Moor Park, George Anson, commissioned Brown to landscape the park (Stroud 1957, 70). Anson was First Lord of the Admiralty, and had had a celebrated naval career after circumnavigating the globe in the early 1740s (Roger 2004). He was the younger brother of Thomas Anson, who commissioned 'Athenian' Stuart to remodel his house and grounds at Shugborough Hall in Staffordshire in the 1750s; contemporary with Brown's work at Moor Park (Jacques 1983, 50). Following George Anson's death in 1762 the estate was bought by Sir Lawrence Dundas, and it is his name appears on the map, suggesting that it may have been surveyed during his ownership (Stroud 1957, 70). However, Dury and Andrews' map shows Moor Park as a large-scale geometric landscape that has few features associated with a typical Brownian landscape park, such as clumps or belts. This raises the possibility that the survey of the map was carried out before Brown's improvements in the 1750s, and that Dundas' name was added just before publication. Detailed estate accounts for Moor Park have not survived, leaving the extent of Brown's work unclear, but an examination of the existing evidence about his activities there may shed some light on the date of Dury and Andrews' survey.

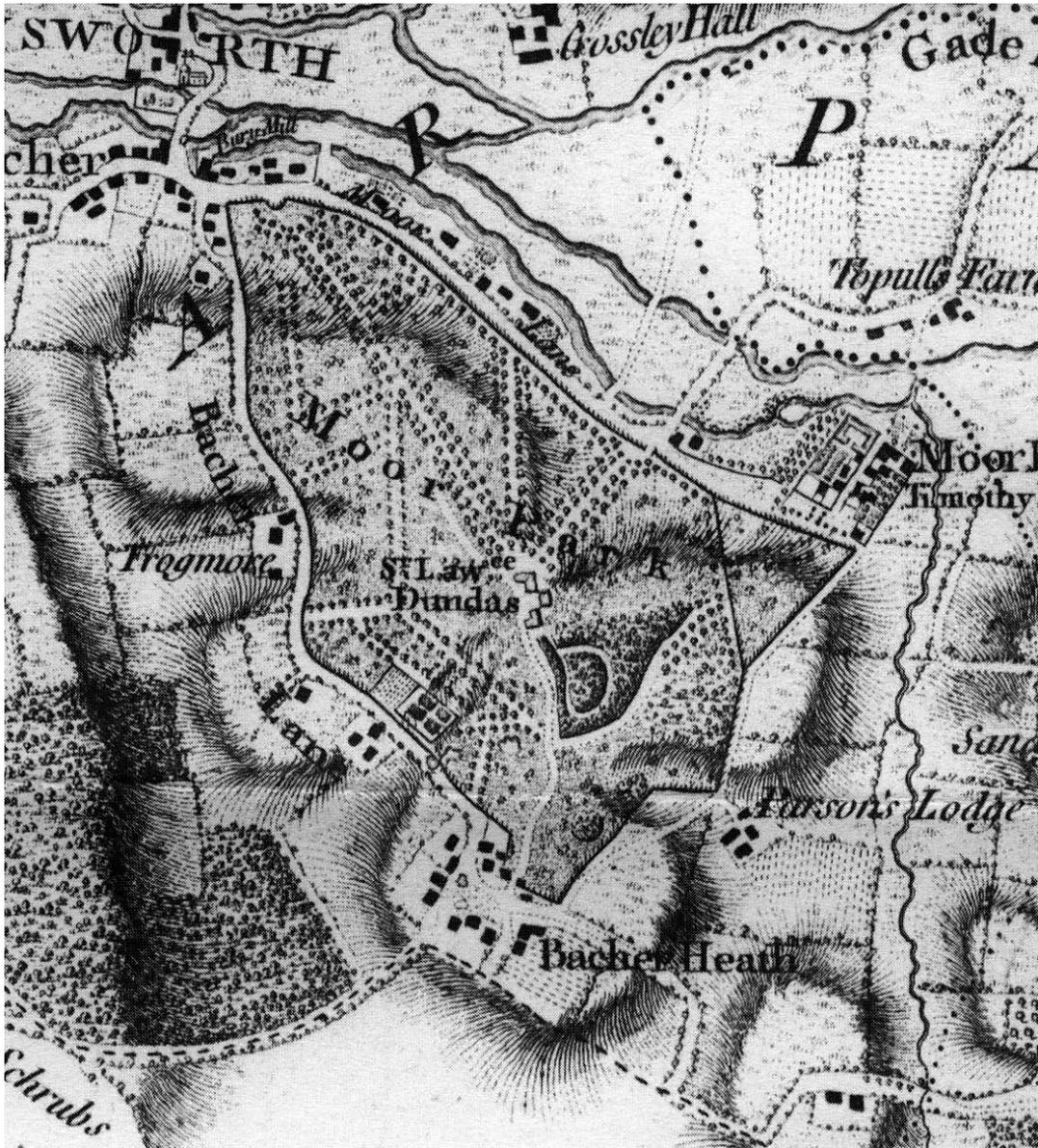


Figure 3.6. Moor Park shown on Dury and Andrews' map of 1766.

Brown worked closely with Nathaniel Richmond at Moor Park, with Brown making regular payments to Richmond for labour and materials between 1754 and 1759 (Williamson and the HGT 2000, 42). Horace Walpole, meanwhile, noted that Anson had spent £6,000 on the improvements carried out by Brown (Walpole 1928, 24). He visited Moor Park in 1760, writing that,

I was not much struck by it, after all the miracles I had heard that Brown performed there. He has undulated the horizon in so many artificial molehills, that it is full as unnatural as if it was drawn with a rule and compass (Walpole 1941, 285).

Thomas Whately, the author of *Observations on Modern Gardening*, published in 1770, described how the house was set on a 'flat lawn' surrounded by rising ground planted with 'open groves' and 'straggling clumps'. He goes on to describe, in more complimentary terms, the hard landscaping carried out by Brown and Richmond,

The other side and the end were originally the flat edge of a descent, a harsh, offensive termination, but it is now broken by several hillocks, not diminutive in size, and considerable by the fine clumps which distinguish them. They recede one beyond another, and the outline waves agreeably amongst them. They do more than conceal the sharpness of the edge; they convert a deformity into a beauty, and greatly contribute to the embellishment of this most lovely scene; a scene, however, in which the flat is principal; and yet a more varied, a more beautiful landskip, can hardly be desired in a garden (Whately 1770, 6).

Neither writer mentions the avenues shown on Dury and Andrews' map, and their comments suggest that Brown and Richmond had made extensive changes to the landscape of Moor Park in the 1750s and early 1760s. The crucial question for establishing the date of Dury and Andrews' map, therefore, is whether Brown and Richmond would have left such an extensive network of avenues in place, especially taking into consideration the large amount of money expended.

Further evidence for the landscape created by Brown comes from three paintings of the estate by Richard Wilson, commissioned by Dundas and painted between 1765 and 1767 (Constable 1953, 181). One shows the front of the house, with Dundas in a small carriage. The house sits on the 'flat lawn' described by Whately, with clumps of trees scattered down the slopes of the higher ground surrounding the house – Whately's 'straggling clumps'. The other two paintings both show views of the edge of the park, looking out into the surrounding landscape. One shows a group of labourers having a break from renewing the park fences on the north-western edge of

the park, overlooking the spire of Rickmansworth church. The other is the view from the north-eastern boundary, looking towards Cassiobury and Watford. Neither of these paintings show any real details of the landscape of Moor Park itself, and instead focus on the landscape outside the park boundary (Constable 1953, 81)³. Also, none of the paintings show any formal features within the park, with Wilson focusing on the flowing lines and soft planting. The viewpoints of the paintings may, however, have been deliberately chosen to exclude any sign of remaining avenues or other geometric features; they certainly give the impression of being within a 'natural' landscape.

However, there is evidence that Brown did not, in fact, remove Bridgeman's avenues. In 1769 James Bucknall Grimston visited Moor Park and wrote in his journal about the 'very beautiful wood, through which there are some avenues cut to have a prospect of Watford and Cashiobury' (HALS D/EV/F14). A map which accompanies the 1827 sale particulars shows a number of avenues still in existence within the park (HALS D/EX/132/Z1), although the planting appears to have been softened close to the house. Moor Park is not unique in being a Brownian landscape in which geometric features survived. In 1762 Brown suggested removing an avenue to the southeast of Kimberley Park in Norfolk, but the avenue survived his improvements (Williamson 1998, 257). Grimston's comments, and more conclusively the 1827 map, confirm that not all the geometric features were removed by Brown, so the geometric landscape depicted by Dury and Andrews could plausibly postdate Brown's involvement in the 1750s and Dundas' purchase of the estate in 1762. The example of Moor Park also demonstrates the problems with attempting to categorise eighteenth-century designed landscapes as being principally 'formal' or 'informal'; should Moor Park be categorised as a 'naturalistic' landscape park because it was partly a Brownian landscape, even though a network of impressive formal avenues survived from the early-eighteenth century?

Another estate which provides corroborative evidence for the date of the survey is Bayfordbury, near Hertford. The estate belonged to William Baker, and a map of 1758 shows the landscape at Bayfordbury *before* Baker built a new house and laid out a new park (HALS D/EX/33/P1). Work on the new mansion began in 1759, and the park was laid out at the same time (Smith 1992, 117). Dury and Andrews clearly show the house and park (Figure 3.7), providing further evidence that the map must have been surveyed after 1759. Unlike Moor Park, there are detailed records relating to the creation of the new landscape at Bayfordbury which help to

³ The three paintings of Moor Park are in the collection of the Marquess of Zetland at Aske Hall in Yorkshire, and are reproduced in W.G. Constable, *Richard Wilson* (1953).

establish the date of the survey more closely. By 1762 the house was finished and the park enclosed, and in 1763 two large shrubberies were created on either side of the house (John Innes Centre SS1 A2). By 1765 the whole garden had been surrounded by a large circular ha-ha, and the focus shifted to planting a large belt around the outside of the park, which was completed by 1767 (John Innes Centre SS1 A2). Dury and Andrews' map clearly depicts the two shrubberies on either side of the house within the ha-ha, but does not show any indication of belt planting. This dates the survey of the map to between 1763 and 1765, which is also a plausible date for the depiction of Moor Park.

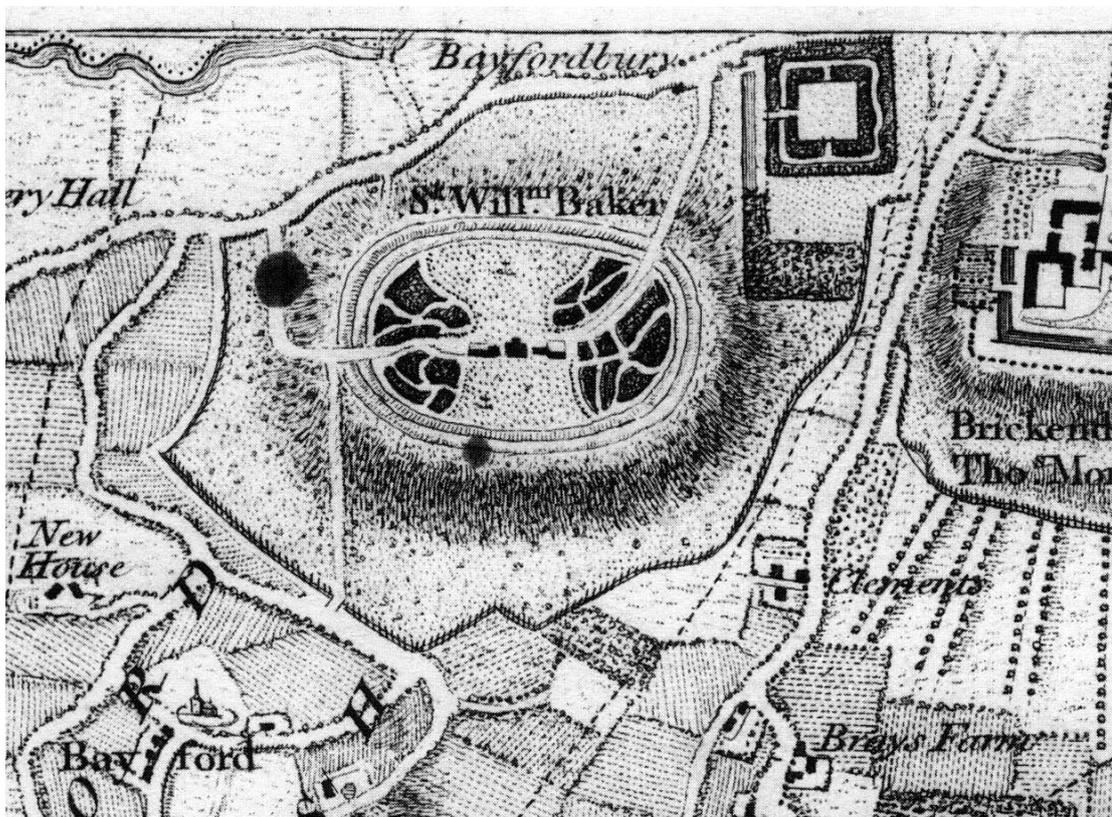


Figure 3.7. Bayfordbury shown on Dury and Andrews' map of 1766.

When attempting to establish the date of the survey, it is also important to consider how long the survey might have taken, as well as the process of engraving and publishing the map itself. Dury and Andrews next joint venture was a survey of Kent, advertised to potential subscribers in 1766 and published in 1769; a period of three years between survey and publication. The Society of Arts, who offered cash prizes and medals for accurate county maps, initially stipulated a two year timescale for completion in order to be eligible for a prize, although this rule was often relaxed (Macnair and Williamson, forthcoming). Joseph Lindley's map of Surrey

(1792) was surveyed in just nine months, although Lindley plagiarised much of the map from earlier surveys. Somerset, surveyed by Day and Masters and published in 1782, took seven years to complete, and Benjamin's Donn's map of Devon (1765) took five and a half years (Macnair and Williamson, forthcoming). If the Hertfordshire survey took place between 1763 and 1765, as discussed above, that allows for a period of between one and three years for the engraving, printing and publication of the map. Dury and Andrews were both based in London, and the proximity of Hertfordshire to the capital may have allowed the survey to take place more quickly than one located in a more distant county.

The distribution of designed landscapes shown on Dury and Andrews' were mapped to produce Map 2. Each individual landscape was identified on the original map and entered into a database, reproduced as Appendix 1, which also notes the name of the owner if shown, whether the landscape was shown with a pale, and an approximate size in acres. The designed landscapes were then mapped in classes of size as shown in the key to Map 2. Mapping each individual site in terms of its relative acreage would have resulted in a more accurate map, but mapping them by class simplifies the data whilst still allowing the broader picture of the distribution of designed landscapes to be presented clearly. As mentioned above, the smallest designed landscapes mapped here cover an area of around ten acres; smaller 'gardens' are shown on the map but not in any great detail, meaning that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between a small garden surrounding a gentleman's residence (the type of owners who are the focus of this chapter) and a garden surrounding a more modest residence, without conducting further documentary and cartographic research on each site.

The resulting distribution map (Map 2) shows a liberal sprinkling of parks and gardens across the county, with a number of distinct concentrations around the very large parks of Hatfield and Cashiobury, and close to the county town of Hertford. A number of designed landscapes are strung out along the river valleys and the dry valleys of the Chiltern dip slope, presumably to take advantage of the excellent views of the rolling countryside offered by a site perched on the edge of a valley but also reflecting much earlier patterns of elite settlement dating back to the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Williamson 2000, 200-203). Unsurprisingly there are more designed landscapes in the south of the county and close to the major routes out of London.

Hugh Prince's recent survey of parks and gardens in Hertfordshire identified 79 designed landscapes on Dury and Andrews' map, divided into those parks shown with pales and immediately identifiable landscape gardens shown without pales (Prince 2008, 108-110). My survey of the same map has identified 184 designed landscapes, a discrepancy which has arisen due to the issue of size. The smallest landscape included in Prince's survey is Hitchin Priory, at thirty acres (Prince 2008, 108). The majority of the parks and gardens identified in his list, however, are over 100 acres. For this thesis my own survey has included all but the very smallest landscapes, those covering an area of less than ten acres. As already noted, these landscapes can be difficult to identify on maps of this type due to the size and scale of the map. This means that their extent is often unclear, especially due to the nature of small designed landscapes, which often utilised the surrounding fields as a semi-ornamental backdrop. Such designs are difficult to represent and identify cartographically, even on larger scale estate maps.

Mapping the distribution of sites at a county level, and starting from a basis of ten acres, immediately highlights the large number of small designed landscapes which existed, the majority of which have been neglected by other historians.

Acreage	Number of designed landscapes
10 to 50 acres	88
51 to 100 acres	30
101 to 250 acres	42
251 to 500 acres	16
501 to 750 acres	6
More than 751 acres	2

Table 3.1. Acreages of designed landscapes shown on Dury and Andrews' map.

Acreage	Number of designed landscapes
10 to 25 acres	48
26 to 50 acres	40
51 to 75 acres	15
76 to 100 acres	15

Table 3.2. Designed landscapes of under 100 acres shown on Dury and Andrews' map.

Of the 184 designed landscapes identified on Dury and Andrews' map, 118 covered an area of less than 100 acres, over half (64 per cent) of all the designed landscapes mapped in the county. This category can be broken down even further: 88 of those small landscapes are less than 50 acres in size (Table 3.2.). This means that 47 per cent of all the designed landscapes identified in Hertfordshire for this thesis covered an area of less than 50 acres; a significant proportion of the total number.

3.4.2 Bryant's Map of Hertfordshire, 1822.

In 1822 a new county map of Hertfordshire was published by Andrew Bryant, the first of thirteen county maps that he produced during the 1820s and 1830s (McNair and Williamson, forthcoming). With a scale of 1 mile to 1.5 inches there is slightly less detail than on Dury and Andrews' map, but Bryant's map is still a useful source for tracing the development of designed landscapes in Hertfordshire in the early-nineteenth century. Bryant's map depicted planting schemes to a fair degree of accuracy when compared with contemporary estate maps; the planting at Marden Hill and Panshanger in the Mimram valley, shown on estate maps of 1800 and 1810, for example, are shown in detail (HALS D/EP/E38 and HALS D/EP/P20). Map 3 shows the distribution of designed landscapes shown on Bryant's map, and was produced using the same methodology described above (see Appendix 2). The most noticeable change in the forty years since Dury and Andrews' map was published is the dramatic increase in the number of designed landscapes, particularly in the south and west. As before, many of these landscapes are small, covering an area of 50 acres or less.

Bryant denotes designed landscapes with stippled grey shading, and includes a wide variety of landscapes ranging from the smallest around rectories and villas to large deer parks like Ashridge or Hatfield. Many of the new designed landscapes shown on Bryant are rectories, a few are unnamed, and a handful of others bear the name ‘cottage’, such as Tilmore Cottage near Stevenage. In the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century some villa residences were built in a ‘cottage’ style, such as Endsleigh in Cornwall which Repton described as a cottage, and other architects and designers such as Robert Lugar and John Claudius Loudon offered advice on building in the cottage style (Lugar 1805; Repton 1816, 586; Loudon 1833, 858). The size and the scale of such ‘cottages’ and their grounds, which were large enough to be depicted on maps like Dury and Andrews, raises them above the level of local labourer’s cottages and identifies them as elite residences. The clustering of designed landscapes in small groups that is evident on Dury and Andrews’ map is even more pronounced on Bryant’s, such as the cluster around Totteridge, or in the area around Rickmansworth and Watford.

Three hundred and twelve designed landscapes have been identified on Bryant’s map and Table 3.3 shows the breakdown of these landscapes into size by acreage. Therefore, 70 per cent of the designed landscapes in Hertfordshire in the 1820s were under 100 acres. Again, this category can be broken down further. Of the 221 designed landscapes under 100 acres, 172 were under 50 acres, 55 per cent of the total of designed landscapes overall. So, in the early-nineteenth century almost half of the designed landscapes recorded in this survey contained between ten and fifty acres.

Acreage	Number of designed landscapes
10 to 50 acres	172
51 to 100 acres	49
101 to 250 acres	71
251 to 500 acres	14
501 to 750 acres	3
More than 751 acres	5

Table 3.3. Designed landscapes in Hertfordshire shown on Bryant’s map of 1822.

Acreage	Number of designed landscapes
10 to 25 acres	91
26 to 50 acres	81
51 to 75 acres	28
76 to 100 acres	21

Table 3.4. Designed landscapes under 100 acres shown on Bryant's map of 1822.

Studying the distribution of designed landscapes in the county clearly shows that the dominant type of designed landscape in Hertfordshire in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was relatively small in scale and often surrounded a villa-type residence. Contemporaries recognised the existence of smaller designed landscapes, in the late-eighteenth century Whately noted that 'a large garden would be but a small park' (Whately 1770, 157). By the nineteenth century designers were more explicit in their identification, and Loudon wrote very clearly about such landscapes, noting that villas 'may be nothing more than a park with a house of smaller size' (Loudon 1860, 1184). This chapter will move on to consider the importance of these designed landscapes in terms of their aesthetic and social contribution to the Hertfordshire landscape, and to examine how and why their form developed.

3.5 Designed landscapes in Hertfordshire

3.5.1. Introduction

The close proximity of Hertfordshire to London was a key factor in the creation of a large number of designed landscapes in the county, and the dense packing of smaller landscapes in the south of the county was replicated in other areas closer to the capital, such as Twickenham and Richmond (Miele 1999, 35). The area around London is an extreme example of a pattern that was repeated across the rest of England, where small villa-type residences and their

grounds are often found close to regional urban centres, such as Norwich or Exeter, rather than in more isolated rural locations (Spooner and Williamson, forthcoming).

Hertfordshire lies on the path of several main routes of communication and travel radiating out from London en-route to the Midlands and the North. During the eighteenth century fifteen turnpike trusts were created in the county, improving the speed and frequency of coach services from London, as well as private travel (Branch Johnson 1970, 105). In February 1702 Lord Fitzwilliam, of Milton Hall in Northamptonshire, wrote rather angrily to his steward that a friend had not taken a letter to his daughter at Hertingfordbury:

She lived upon the roade up to towne and nothing could have been a more specious pretence then for him as he came up to make her a short visit and so have brought us a true account of the state of her health. It's just miles out of the roade which could not have taken him up much time... My daughter lives at Hertingfordbury Park, within a mile of Hertford, within four miles of Welwyn on the carrier's road, within four miles of Ware on the post road (Hainsworth and Walker 1990, 100).

The significance of this quotation lies in Fitzwilliam's description of his daughter's house within the context of its distance from the main road network, and the assumption that it would be a relatively short and easy trip to Hertingfordbury from a number of different routes. In the early-nineteenth century the artist Joseph Farington thought nothing of travelling the nineteen miles from London to his friends house, Money Hill, 'a pretty cottage house', near Rickmansworth. He wrote in his journal in August 1813 that he left London at three o'clock, arriving at half past six, in time for dinner and a walk in the garden (Farington 1984, 4410). Elsewhere in his journal he noted that 'a passenger must allow an hour from the time he gets into the coach before he will feel that he is quitting London'; the suburbanisation of villages to the north of the City, such as Hampstead, was progressing rapidly throughout this period (Farington 1984, 4177).

This relative ease of travel meant that wealthy City men could have a country residence as well as maintaining their businesses in London in person. Some houses were kept purely for their convenient distance from London, for example, Lord Marchmont and Lord Napier were both

Scottish landowners who kept up Marchmont Hall (near Hemel Hempstead) and Dacre Hall (near Barnet) respectively, purely for their proximity to the capital (Stone 1984, 133).

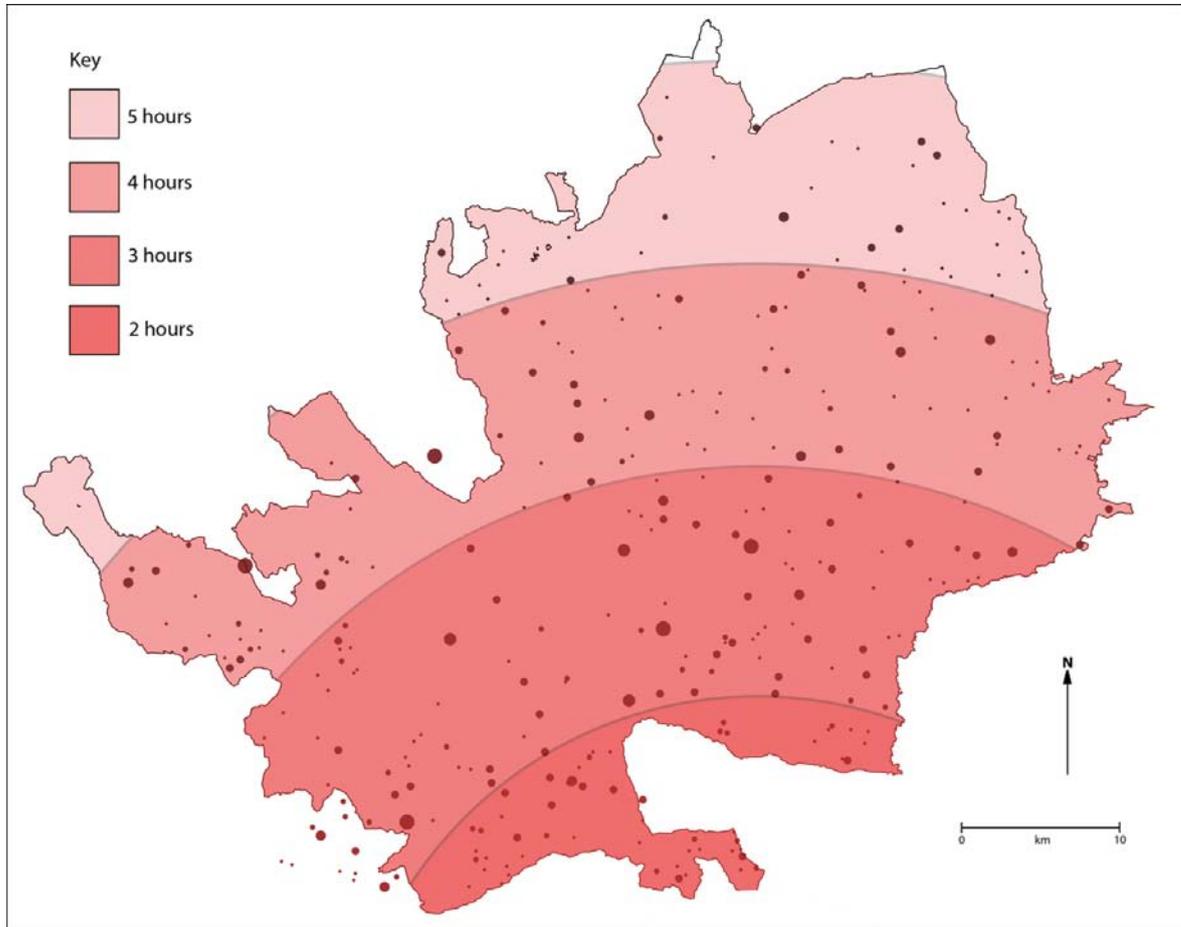


Figure 3.8. Approximate journey time in hours from central London into Hertfordshire in the mid 1830s (based on data from Bates 1969). The distribution of designed landscapes is from Bryant's map of 1826 (Map 3).

Figure 3.8 has been produced using Alan Bates' comprehensive directory of stage coach services from London in 1836 (Bates 1969). A total of 74 coaches stopped in Hertfordshire on their journeys, including many that continued to the Midlands and the North. By calculating the distance of their journey and the estimated times of departure and arrival, the average speed of such coaches was 7.98 miles per hour (calculated from figures in Bates 1969). 'The Regulator' took four hours to cover the 23 mile journey between High Holborn and Hertford, stopping at Waltham Cross, Hoddeson, Ware and Hertford (Bates 1969, 28). 'The Express' stopped in St Albans on its way to Liverpool, a journey of 218 miles that took 26 hours (Bates 1969, 32). The

journey time depended on the route taken, and the number of stops, and Bates notes that this was a period of ‘intense competition and rivalry’ between coach proprietors to achieve the fastest journey times (Bates 1969, 1). Figure 3.8 has been drawn based on a series of concentric bands radiating out from a central point on High Holborn, the departure point for many coach services. Each band measures eight miles, and represents an average hour of journey time.

Figure 3.8 shows that by the 1830s the very southern edge of the county could be reached within two hours from the centre of London, and the far north of Hertfordshire in five hours. The dense distribution of parks and gardens in the south of the county is thrown into sharper relief when compared to journey times from London; a significant proportion of designed landscapes were less than four hours from the centre of the capital. The number of designed landscapes noticeably decreases further away from London, suggesting that proximity to the capital was a major attraction of a residence in Hertfordshire.

Another factor which may have influenced this clustering of designed landscapes in the south of the county is the heavy clay soils which cover this part of Hertfordshire, meaning that this was an area generally unsuited to arable cultivation, and one that was sparsely settled and heavily wooded during the medieval and early post-medieval periods (Thomasson and Avery 1970, 13). The designed landscapes which clustered in the south of the county were taking advantage of the attractively wooded, pastoral landscape and dispersed settlement pattern which had developed partly as a result of the heavy clay soils, and which offered the opportunity to purchase isolated farmhouses which could be replaced with more desirable residences.

Hertfordshire society had a comparatively high proportion of wealthy newcomers from the early-eighteenth century onwards, who both leased and purchased estates for themselves. In several cases, these estates were centred on farms which were upgraded in status to become gentleman’s residences, especially smaller ‘villa’ properties (Stone 1984, 363). In more provincial counties, such as Northamptonshire or Northumberland, the number of new families who entered the highest ranks of county society was small and peaked in the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Stone 1984, 182). In their pioneering study of movement between social classes, the Stones defined the ‘highest ranks’ of county society as people who owned a certain size of house, rather than by the extent of a landed estate (Stone 1984, 441). The main cut-off point in the Stones’ view was between the so-called ‘parish gentry’ and the ‘county gentry’,

although in Hertfordshire, as we shall see, many owners could be considered as ‘new money’ rather than as members of the landed gentry (Stone 1984, 441). In Hertfordshire the number of new owners taking up residence in the county peaked in the years between 1760 and 1820, the period when the number of designed landscapes in the county also increased dramatically (Maps 2 and 3) (Stone 1984, 183). These men, who appear to have been so influential in the development of designed landscapes in Hertfordshire, were mostly self-made with wealth derived from business and from positions in the armed forces and the East India Company. No less than eleven members of the East India Company purchased estates in Hertfordshire, and at least twenty wealthy bankers made their home in the county, compared to just two in Northamptonshire (Stone 1984, 204; Harwood 2007, 50).

The idea of the *landed* estate, big or small, as being the pinnacle of every wealthy gentleman’s aspirations does not always ring true in Hertfordshire or in other areas close to urban centres (Wilson 1971, 3). Some of the residences, discussed at length below, changed hands at least once within a generation, while others were bought and sold again within the space of a few months. Although large sums of money were invested in improving the architecture of the house and its immediate surroundings, this was rarely accompanied by attempts to build up a consolidated landed estate. These properties were not necessarily acquired with a long-term view of estate improvement for the benefit of future generations in mind. Instead, they were sometimes seen as short term investments that, once rebuilt and improved, could be lived in for a few years, sold on for a profit or leased to tenants.

A good example of this type of speculative investment is the estates owned by Charles Bouchier, the former Governor of Madras, who bought a property near St Albans called Marshalswick in 1789. He invested heavily in the small estate, enlarging and updating the house and extending the grounds to around seventy five acres. He renamed his new creation Sandridge Lodge and subsequently leased it to tenants before selling it on in 1802 (Harwood 2007, 63). Bouchier’s principal residence was the hundred-acre estate at Colney Chapel House which he bought in 1778 for £6,500. He was reputed to have spent £53,000 building a new house and improving the grounds here before selling the house only fifteen years later (Stone 1984, 167). After its sale in 1795 Colney Chapel was bought and sold a further eight times before the end of the nineteenth century (Stone 1984, 167).

In the 1780s Woolmers, near Hertford, was owned by brewer Samuel Whitbread, whose main seat was at nearby Bedwell Park. Whitbread initially leased the house and grounds, but in 1801 the estate was sold for £15,000 by his son to the Duke of Bridgewater, who used it as a temporary residence during the extensive building work being carried out at Ashridge (Stone 1984, 169). In 1803 the estate was sold again to Sir John St Aubyn, a Cornish landowner who used the house as a base for his trips to London. In 1821 the estate was bought for £35,000 by Sir Gore Ousley, a former merchant and the ambassador to Persia. Ousley enlarged the house and spent another £35,000 on improvements to the estate before selling it to Captain George Hotham in 1836. In 1842 Hotham sold the estate, only six years after he had purchased it from Ousley (Stone 1984, 169). Thus Woolmers had six different owners in a period of just over forty years, not including the different tenants that the house was leased to by Whitbread.

The various different owners of Woolmers are perhaps typical of late eighteenth-century Hertfordshire society; a brewer, a naval officer, a merchant and a landowner from another part of the country who required a residence close to London. All of these owners, despite their broadly similar social and financial backgrounds, utilised the house and grounds in different ways. Whitbread, the brewer, was building up a large landed estate in several counties and leased Woolmers to tenants (Mathias 2004a). St Aubyn used the estate as a base close to London but had a much larger family seat in Cornwall at Clowence House (Lysons and Lysons 1814, 67-76). Ousley spent a large amount of money on the house before selling it, and such improvements may have been made with a view to making a profit from the outset (Stone 1984, 169). Hotham, who was later made a Rear Admiral, only owned the house for six years, most likely using the house as a rural retreat close to the capital. He appears never to have owned a substantial landed estate, moving to Woolmers from a property in Brighton and dying in Bath in 1856 (Guildhall Library MS 11936/533/1125098; *The Gentleman's Magazine* 1856, 781).

Such examples show that although many wealthy members of the urban elite wanted to have a rural residence, albeit one that was still close to London, in many cases there seems to have been little desire to establish a family seat with a landed estate. However the landholding pattern and land values in south Hertfordshire would, in any case, have made it difficult to establish large estates. In the early-nineteenth century Arthur Young noted that farm sizes were relatively small in the county, at an average of between 150 and 400 acres, although he noted that 'there are many much smaller' (Young 1804, 23). This meant that an estate of any size would have to be the result of a large number of property purchases, and average land values were relatively high compared to other English counties, at fifteen shillings an acre per year

(Young 1804, 26-28). The value of good quality pasture was much higher in some areas, particularly those close to London which were supplying hay to the capital; grassland on the southern clays could fetch an annual rent of forty shillings per acre (Young 1804, 28). Such values did not make building up a large landed estate prohibitively expensive for wealthier families, but the landholding pattern of small farms would have made the process drawn-out and inconvenient, especially when factoring in the cost and time needed to manage a large estate effectively.

There seems also to have been an element of speculative investment in desirable residences in the county from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards. Several Hertfordshire estate owners invested in their own estates before selling them on for a large profit. These residences and estates suited members of a sophisticated urban elite who wanted a rural retreat but who did not want to be saddled with the responsibilities, costs and obligations that went with running a large landed estate. Indeed some of the designed landscapes and houses discussed below had 'estates' of less than 50 acres. For example, the estates of Birds Place and Essendon Place, discussed below, extended to just a few fields around the house and grounds. This trend was familiar enough for Robert Lloyd to satirise it in his poem 'The Cit's Country Box', published in 1756, which mocked the efforts of a 'wealthy Cit grown old in trade' to gain 'a prospect two fields' distance' for his new villa a few miles outside London (Lloyd 1756). Short-term leasing was an important aspect of the social landscape in late eighteenth-century Hertfordshire, and with a high turnover of tenants the character of society in any particular neighbourhood was in a near constant state of change. Leasing offered the opportunity to enjoy all the benefits of owning a small park and convenient house without attending to the day-to-day necessities of running an estate, and without the responsibility of maintaining and adding to that estate for future generations (Stone 1984, 169).

Designed landscapes in Hertfordshire were part of larger networks of parks and gardens in close proximity to one another, and complex inter-relationships developed in terms of the views shared between them. Both garden and landscape historians have missed these relationships because most regional studies are either based on a county-wide analysis, or on a series of individually significant sites, rather than on *groups* of neighbouring designed landscapes (Williamson and the HGT 2000; Rowe 2007a; Prince 2008). My approach has been to examine a microstudy of two clusters of designed landscapes, which makes it possible to interpret these sites in a much-needed wider context, that of the surrounding rural landscape and neighbouring residences. Studying groups of designed landscapes in detail draws attention to these

relationships, and demonstrates how reliant some owners were on both the aesthetic choices of neighbouring owners and the appearance of the surrounding landscape. For the owners of some designed landscapes this was a resource to be exploited and embellished rather than screened from view.

3.5.2 Designed landscapes in Essendon and Hatfield

As discussed above, even in the middle of the eighteenth century Hertfordshire had a high proportion of small designed landscapes, a proportion that grew during the nineteenth century. Landscape and garden historians have generally failed to examine small designed landscapes in any detail, with the exception of well-known villa landscapes along the Thames, such as Chiswick or Twickenham (Batey 1994; Mowl 2000), and those created by well-known designers such as Humphry Repton (Daniels 1999). This neglect is partly due to the lack of detailed documentary evidence for many of these small sites, which are frequently not as well recorded as larger parks for which comprehensive estate archives survive. However, there are other forms of evidence available to landscape historians where substantial documentary records have not survived, including the study of printed county maps like Dury and Andrews, the field archaeology of individual sites including surviving historic planting, and GIS-based spatial analysis. Furthermore, a detailed study of these designs challenges the assumption that, in stylistic terms, they were merely imitations of larger landscape parks. Rather, such landscapes were inspired by a number of traditions, elements of which were cherry-picked by the owners and designers of small residences to suit the grounds surrounding their houses. Such landscapes were being created by the wealthy members of the urban elite who were not necessarily purely concerned with imitating established landowners; they were creating their own style of landscaping that was appropriate for their lifestyle and resources, and, in some cases, treating such landscapes as disposable objects of material culture.

A detailed examination of a cluster of small designed landscapes illustrates the social and aesthetic importance of these previously overlooked sites. This particular group is located in the south of the county between the medieval deer parks of Hatfield and Bedwell, and includes Camfield Place, Essendon Place and Birds Place, as well as a number of other small sites. Though each can be regarded, and studied, as an individual entity, this group of landscapes also formed part of a wider, shared aesthetic landscape. Furthermore these small landscapes also

stood in stylistic contrast to the older and larger landscapes of Hatfield and Bedwell nearby. A small residence close to a larger park was useful in terms of social aspiration; namedropping your nearest neighbours as being the Earls of Salisbury at Hatfield for example, as well as having more practical uses. Incorporating a well developed parkland landscape as a backdrop to a small, newly designed landscape gave the prospect from the house the appearance of instant maturity, much like the common practice of retaining suitably gnarled and ancient hedgerow trees within an otherwise newly landscaped park.

The documentary evidence for this group of parks is sparse, and much of the following discussion is reliant on documentation generated by the frequent sales of these residences. There are a few clues in various late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century maps mostly relating to road closures, as well as printed maps, such as Dury and Andrews', and nineteenth-century Ordnance Survey maps. However, there are no mid eighteenth-century maps from the decades when these small parks were being created, so the following discussion of their original designs is necessarily based on a synthesis of the documentary and landscape evidence.

The area in question has a varied and attractive topography, defined by a ridge of high ground to the south, cut by a number of small valleys, which forms part of the watershed between Hertfordshire and Middlesex (Williamson 2000, 126). The terrain is rolling and varied, with spot heights varying by as much as sixty metres over the space of a kilometre. On the northern side of the ridge the small designed landscapes hug the edges of the contours, allowing expansive views to the north, as shown in Figure 3.9. The exceptions are the two oldest and largest parks within this cluster, Hatfield and Bedwell. Hatfield House is perched on a small ridge of high ground, with its large park stretching away both down the ridge and up the slopes to the south. Bedwell is situated on the eastern side of a spur of land projecting from the ridge, with its park extending steeply down the east facing slope into an adjacent valley. Camfield Place, Birds Place and Essendon Lodge benefit in particular from the views down the central valley shown in Figure 3.9, forming a contiguous area of parkland near the head of the valley. All of the houses within this cluster, with the exception of Hatfield, are close to the highest boundary of their parks with the rest of their designed landscapes falling away down the slopes in front of them, and with clear views of the surrounding countryside.

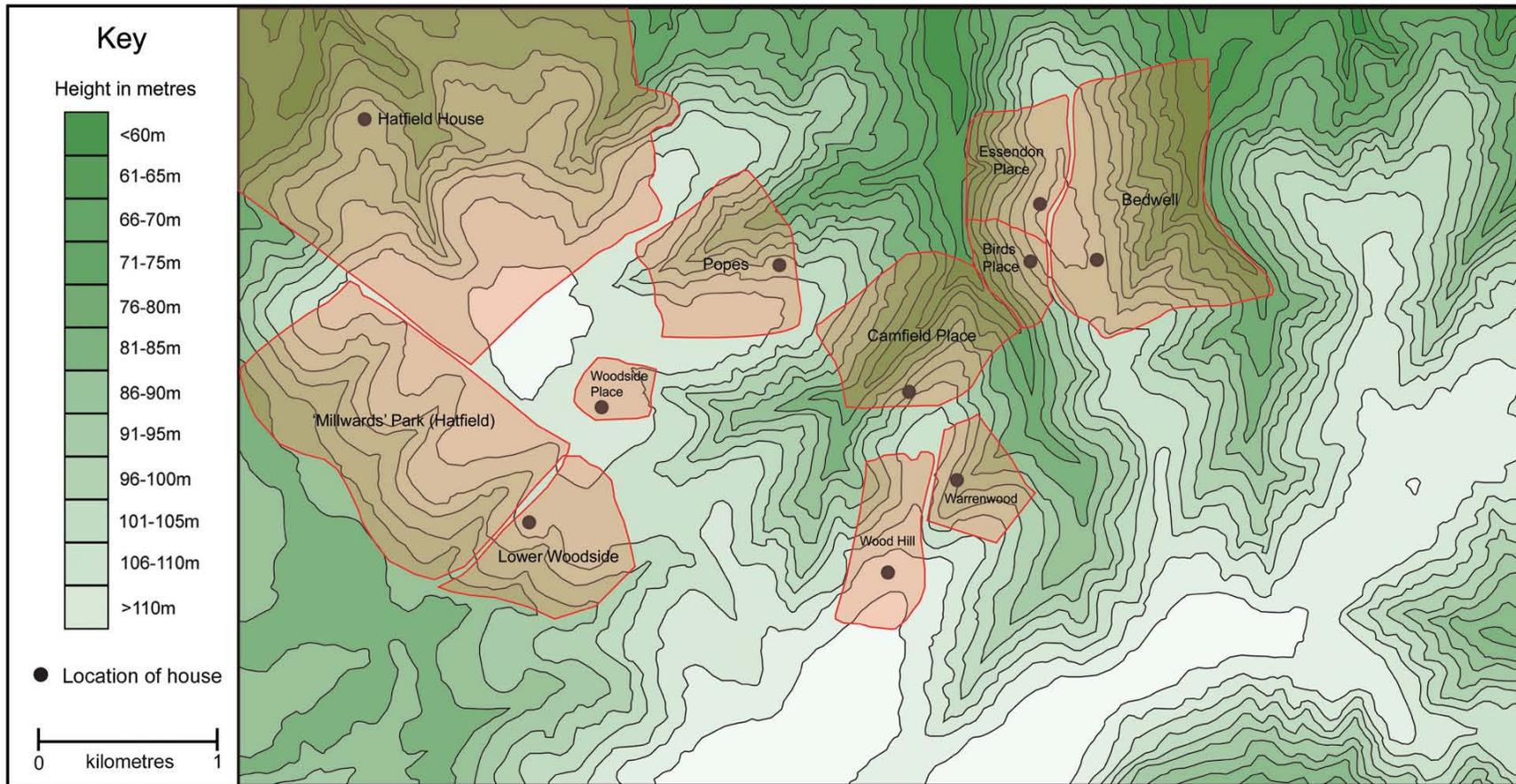


Figure 3.9. Designed landscapes in Essendon (area of parks shown in red) and the local topography.

This cluster of small designed landscapes is situated on soils of the Windsor and Essendon associations, both flinty clay-loam soils which are prone to seasonal waterlogging and are easily compacted (Hodge 1984, 184-6; 358-61). The clay interfluves in this area were not a focus of early settlement, probably due to the intractable soils, and appear to have been quite densely wooded during the early medieval period (Williamson 2000, 127). The parishes of Hatfield and Essendon were particularly well wooded, and in the early thirteenth century a tract of 1,000 acres in Hatfield was referred to as the ‘Great Park’ (Williamson 2000, 128). By the seventeenth century the area was known as the ‘Great Wood’, and Figure 3.10, a tracing of a seventeenth-century map, shows the extent of this area of woodland which stretched from Essendon down to Newgate Street (HALS DEX2/12).

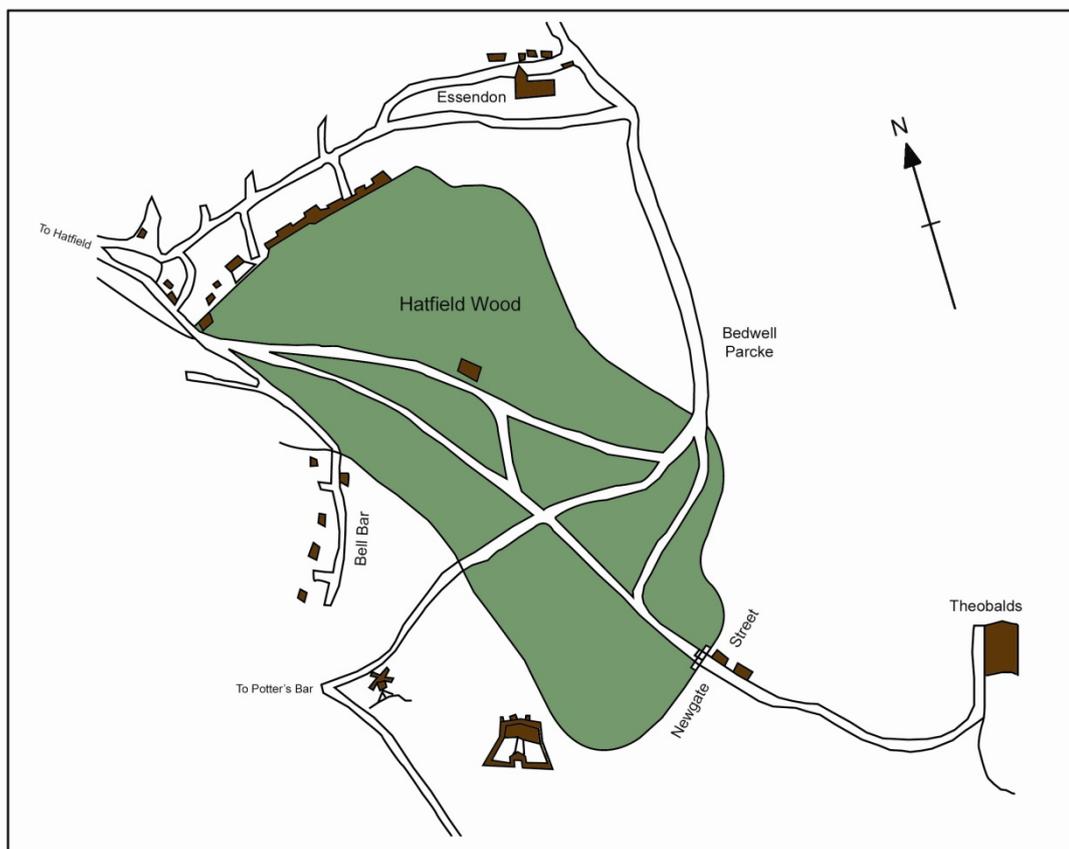


Figure 3.10. Digital tracing of a nineteenth-century copy of a seventeenth-century map of Hatfield Great Wood (HALS DEX2/12).

The ‘Great Wood’ was managed as an area of wood pasture with predominately oak, hornbeam and beech trees (Williamson 2000, 128). Indeed, the lanes and hedgerows around this cluster of parks still contain a high number of hornbeams. Small sections of this large wood or wood

pasture had been gradually assarted over the course of the late medieval period, and in 1611 the remaining area of the 'Great Wood' was enclosed and converted to agricultural use (Williamson 2000, 129; Rowe 2009, 113). The field pattern around this cluster of parks is mostly small and irregular, with a fairly even mixture of arable and pasture uses today. For eighteenth-century landowners the attractiveness of the topography of this small area was enhanced by its historic use as an area of woodland or wood pasture (which provided a number of mature trees), and by the irregular nature of the seventeenth-century field pattern, both of which lent a suitably 'bosky', and indeed park-like appearance to the surrounding landscape; the 'grand parterre' noted by Defoe in the 1720s (Defoe 1962, 389).

The earliest parks in this cluster are Hatfield and Bedwell. The Abbey of Ely held three deer parks at Hatfield which covered the largest area of parkland in the county at 1,650 acres (Rowe 2007b, 133). In the thirteenth century the three parks comprised the 'Great Park' or 'Great Wood' of 1000 acres (described above), 'Millwards' or 'Middle Park' of 350 acres and a smaller park of 100 acres called Innyings (Rowe 2007b, 133). In 1406 John Norbury received a licence to empark 800 acres at Bedwell, close to the edge of Hatfield Great Park (Rowe 2007b, 131). By 1542 a park had been created at Popes, a medieval manor formerly known as Holbeaches (Page 1912, 103; Prince 2008, 22). In the early-seventeenth century Hatfield was exchanged by James I for Robert Cecil's palace at Theobalds. The new gardens laid out at Hatfield by Cecil and his team of gardeners, which included Mountain Jennings, John Tradescant and Salomon de Caus, were among the most famous Renaissance gardens in the country (Strong 1979, 106-110). However, the estate was neglected during the eighteenth century by the 6th Earl of Salisbury, and few changes were made to the park and gardens (Cecil 1973, 184). By 1700 several other properties in the area around Hatfield had become the residences of London gentlemen, and the creation of an aestheticised rural landscape was underway. By the 1830s and 1840s this landscape was well established, and is illustrated particularly well on the tithe map for Essendon (HALS DSA4/37/2). The most striking element is a sweep of contiguous parkland that includes Bedwell Park, Essendon Lodge, Birds Place and Camfield Place; the three smaller parks sharing their boundaries and separated from Bedwell Park by a road (Figure 3.11).

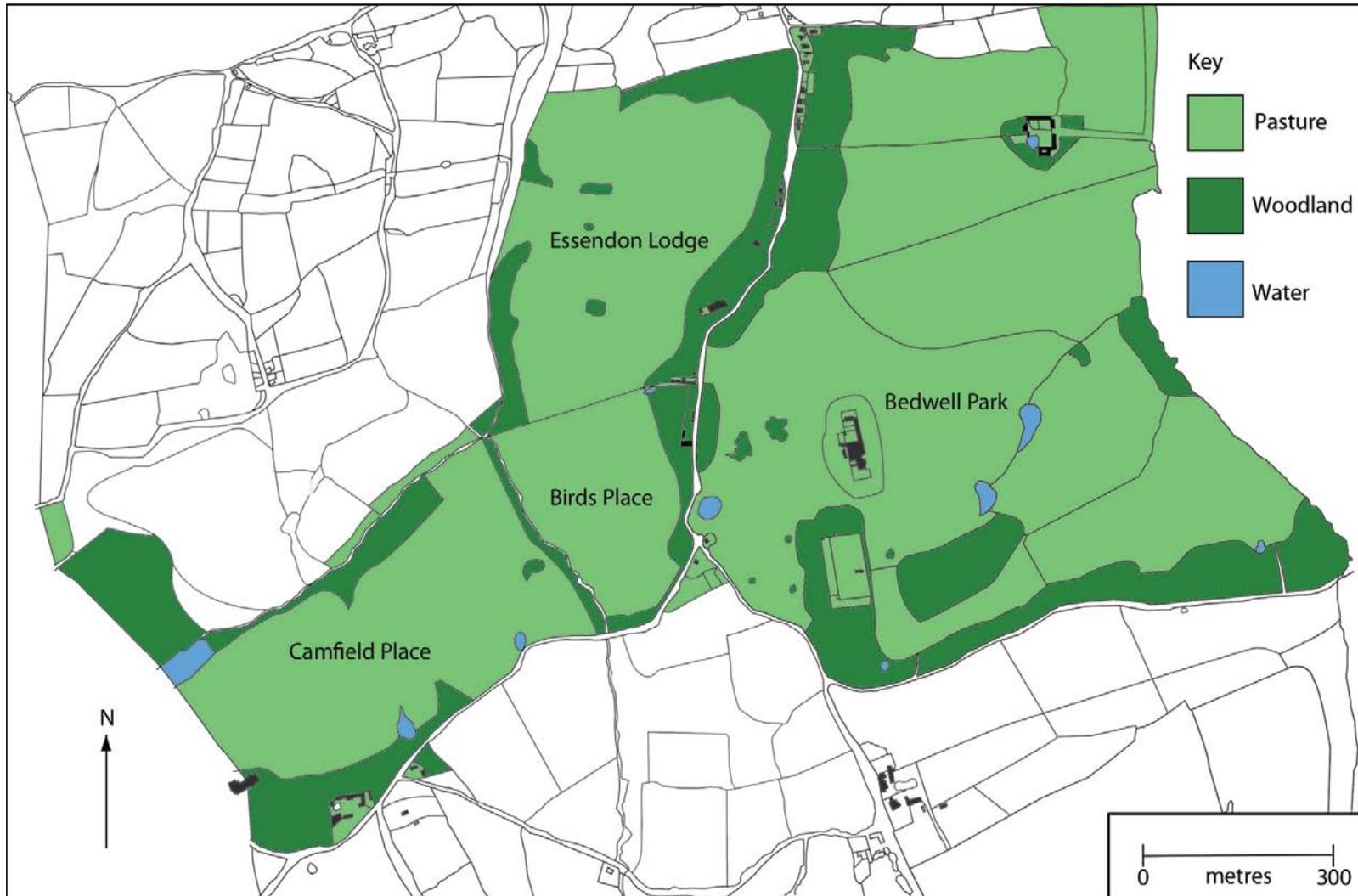


Figure 3.11. Digital tracing of part of Essendon tithe map, showing the locations of the designed landscapes near Bedwell Park in 1838 (HALS DSA4/37/2).

Rather than functioning individually as socially exclusive landscapes with belts and plantations around their perimeters, the three small parks appear to have been experienced by their owners and visitors as components of one large designed landscape with shared views into each individual landscape. Indeed, the views into neighbouring grounds were often used as a selling point on the frequent occasions that these residences changed hands. In 1809, for example, Essendon Lodge was described as ‘seated on an eminence, on the verge of Bedwell Park’ (HALS DEH685), while as late as 1866 the sales particulars for Birds Place could boast that the park had extensive views over the surrounding landscape with ‘Camfield Place, with its undulating Park and woodlands, forming the foreground’ (HALS DEL2331-2332). However, the neatly landscaped parkland around Bedwell shown on the tithe map does not reflect the aesthetic landscape of the park which existed in the mid-eighteenth century.

Bedwell was emparked in the early-fifteenth century, and the present house, on the site of its medieval predecessor, dates mainly to the 1860s, though with some elements of the earlier seventeenth and eighteenth-century houses surviving (Rowe 2007b, 131; English Heritage LBS 158309). During the sixteenth century the estate was owned by William Potter, who sold Bedwell to the Atkins family (Chauncy 1700, 544). In 1707 the house and park were sold to Richard Wynne, a Lincolnshire gentleman who lived and worked in London, in Charter House Yard (HALS DE/F/426). The estate remained in the Wynne family until 1765 when it sold to Samuel Whitbread for £8,000 (HALS DE/F/437).

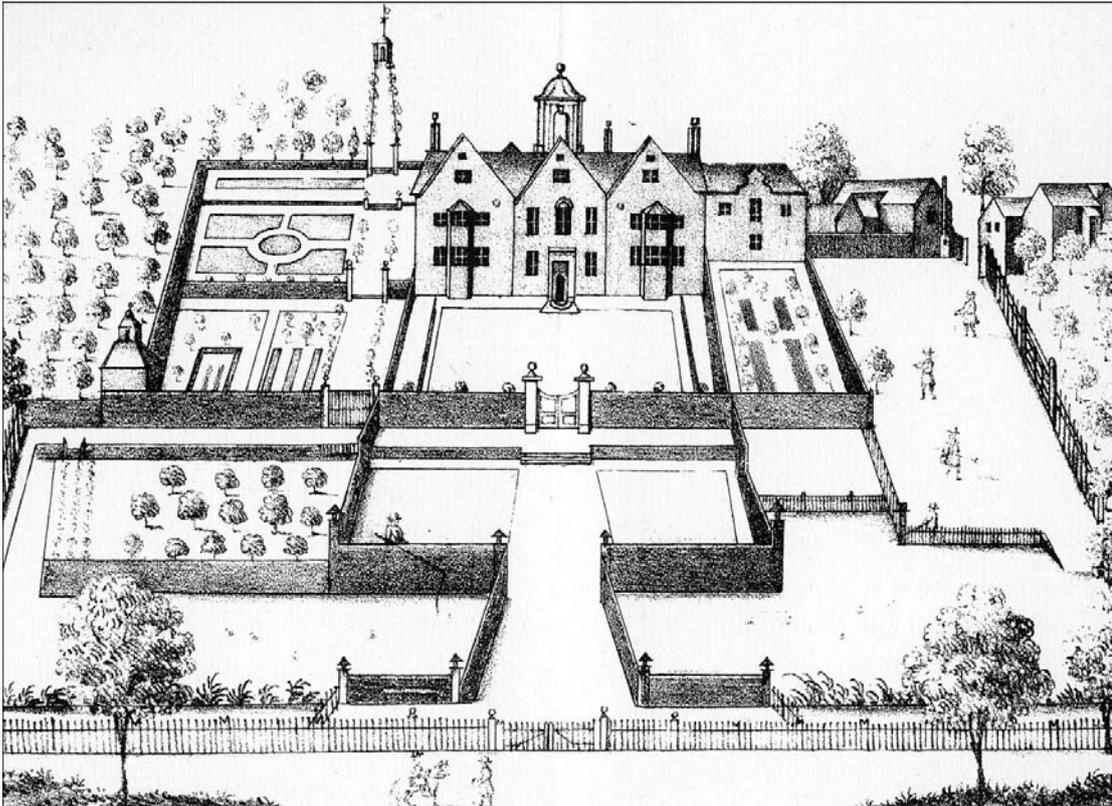


Figure 3.12. Bedwell Park by Drapentier, illustrated in *Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire* (1700) by Henry Chauncy.

An engraving by Drapentier of Bedwell Park appeared in Chauncy's *Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire* showing the seventeenth-century house surrounded by a series of walled gardens, with a short avenue leading to a garden building in the park (Chauncy 1700) (Figure 3.12). Chauncy noted that the then owner Thomas Atkins 'has much adorned and beautified this Seat with pleasant Gardens' (Chauncy 1700, 544). Mowl has attributed the avenue and the temple-like garden building to the late-seventeenth century, and notes how the new vista has been cut through the old walled enclosures close to the house (Mowl 2001, 161). The creator of these formal gardens, Thomas Atkins, died in 1701 (Page 1912, 458-462) and the following year, in 1702, William Cowper wrote to his wife after a visit to Bedwell describing the gardens and the house,

I was yesterday to Mr Atkins house, where the gardens are mightily gone to ruine, and indeed there are about them a great many odd things, as railles and steps and doors and benches and sluices and conveyances of water, which want continual repair or else they go much out of order. As for the house I think it within the most dismal I ever saw, dark,

low and old fashioned and not at all bettered by the furniture, if I should attempt to live in it without rebuilding, I should die of the spleen (HALS D/EP/F81).

Cowper's letter shows that the gardens created by Thomas Atkins were clearly in a state of decay after Atkin's death, only two years after the Drapentier engraving had been published. As Cowper's letter makes clear, such gardens were costly and time consuming to maintain, and with the death of the owner there was obviously little impetus to keep the gardens at Bedwell in a state of good repair, and within the space of a year they were 'mightily gone to ruine' (HALS D/EP/F81).

A map of the park surveyed in 1765, the year that Whitbread purchased the estate, shows the messy late geometric landscape that existed by the mid-eighteenth century (HALS 64333) (Figure 3.13). It seems likely that the designed landscape extant in 1765 was the result of gradual, cumulative change over the course of the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The house is surrounded by a network of avenues and geometric plantations, none of which are aligned directly on it. The walled gardens shown on the Drapentier engraving have disappeared, although the short avenue focussed on a garden building still existed behind the house within a walled garden planted as a wilderness. Another walled garden is set at an angle to the house, and may have been the kitchen garden. Within the area of the park are a group of fishponds and lines of trees have been drawn in along each boundary of the park that follows a road. These trees run along the lines of the perimeter belts that were planted later in the eighteenth century, but it is unclear whether they had already been planted in 1765, or whether what is shown on the map indicates the proposed line of a new belt (HALS 64333).

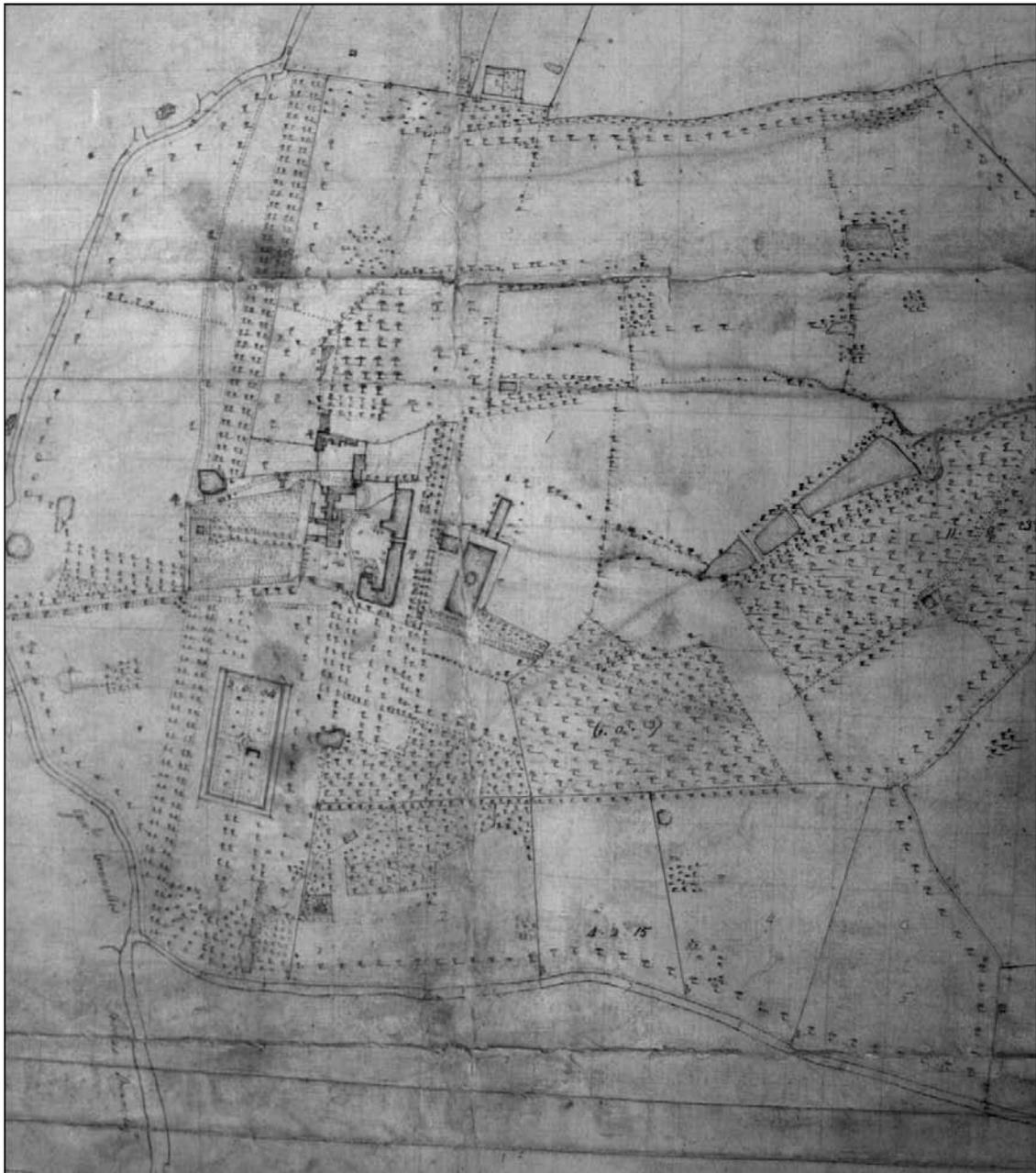


Figure 3.13. An estate map of Bedwell Park, 1765 (HALS 64333).

This then, is the slightly confused and disorganised landscape that existed when Whitbread purchased Bedwell in 1765. Overall the various elements of the gardens and park lack the cohesion and strict geometry that characterises more aesthetically successful late-geometric layouts; perhaps as the result of a cumulative design process made by successive owners rather than a landscape laid out in one stroke. The Ordnance Survey drawings, drawn to a scale of two inches to the mile rather than the one inch scale they were later published at, were produced for the Essendon area in 1805. They show that by this date Bedwell had been comprehensively

landscaped in the 'natural style' (British Library Maps OSD 149) (Figure 3.14). The Tithe Map of 1838 (Figure 3.11) shows that some elements of the formal landscape were retained and softened, including two of the three geometric ponds, one of the walled gardens (which was surrounded by thick planting and turned into the main kitchen garden), and one of the plantations shown on the estate map of 1765. Elsewhere the design had been simplified, creating a larger area of open parkland, while the lines of trees next to the roads shown on the 1765 map had been thickened into perimeter belts (HALS HALS DSA4/37/2).

The exact date of this re-landscaping is unknown, but it seems most likely that it was the work of Samuel Whitbread after his purchase of the estate in 1765, and before his death in 1796. The lack of surviving estate records for Bedwell mean that it is impossible to know exactly what changes Whitbread made, but it seems highly unlikely that a rich owner, such as Whitbread, would not have made any landscape improvements during the thirty years of his ownership. The estate was sold by Whitbread's son to Sir Culling Smith in 1807 (HALS DE/F/446), who commissioned Humphry Repton to carry out some changes to the grounds. It is unclear what changes Repton proposed or whether they were carried out, but in 1808 Repton wrote to his son William that he had been paid 20 guineas for a visit to Bedwell, an amount which suggests several days' work (Daniels, 1999, 261; Carter, Goode and Laurie, 1982). However, the Ordnance Survey drawings show that Bedwell had already been landscaped by 1805, before the sale of the estate to Smith, which points to Whitbread as the instigator of the improvements (Figure 3.14) (British Library Maps OSD149).

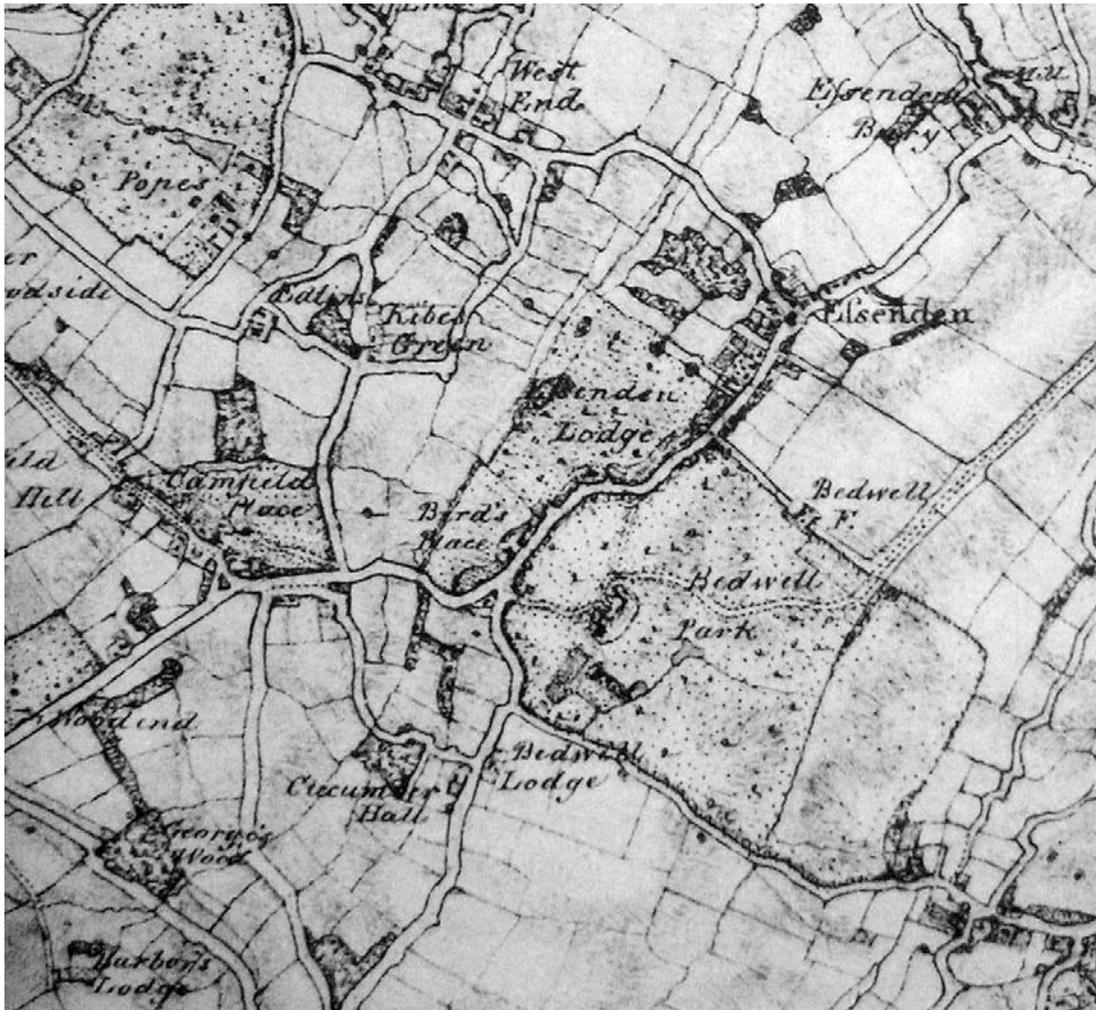


Figure 3.14. Essendon and Hatfield on the 2 inch to the mile drawings made by the Ordnance Survey in 1805 (British Library Maps OSD149).

Samuel Whitbread was a phenomenally successful businessman and by 1765 had bought out his partners to become the sole owner of his brewing business. The business expanded rapidly during the early 1760s, enabling Whitbread to continue investing his considerable fortune in land. In addition to buying land in Cardington, Bedfordshire, the village where he was born, Whitbread invested in several London properties, as well as purchasing Bedwell Park and Woolmers in Hertfordshire (Mathias 2004a). In 1769, just a few years after his purchase of Bedwell Park, Whitbread married Lady Mary Cornwallis, a younger daughter of the Earl of Cornwallis and a relation of Whitbread's nearest neighbours at Bedwell, the Cornwallises of Birds Place (Mathias 2004a). Whitbread was a self-made man, and it seems likely that the impetus for the re-landscaping of Bedwell in the 'natural style' came from Whitbread.

Dury and Andrews' map shows a formal landscape at Bedwell in 1766, the year immediately after Whitbread's purchase of the estate. Interestingly, the smaller landscapes immediately adjacent to Bedwell, Birds Place, Essendon Lodge and Camfield Place, are not depicted with any formal features on Dury and Andrews' map (Figure 3.15). Fieldwork has also demonstrated the lack of any surviving formal planting or earthwork evidence of formal layouts, and there is no evidence of surviving formal planting on either the Ordnance Survey 6 inch or 25 inch maps. Dury and Andrews' map does, however, show detailed layouts of other formal landscapes of a similar size, such as Little Cannons or Gobions, suggesting that had similar features existed in the landscapes around Essendon then they would have been shown. The documentary evidence for these smaller landscapes is poor, with the earliest map evidence coming from Dury and Andrews' county map. Although there are no surviving contemporary estate maps for the small landscapes around Bedwell, what evidence there is confirms that they were naturalistic landscapes from at least the 1750s, if not earlier. These more modest landscapes would therefore have been in direct aesthetic contrast with the geometric landscape created by the Atkins and Wynne families at Bedwell.

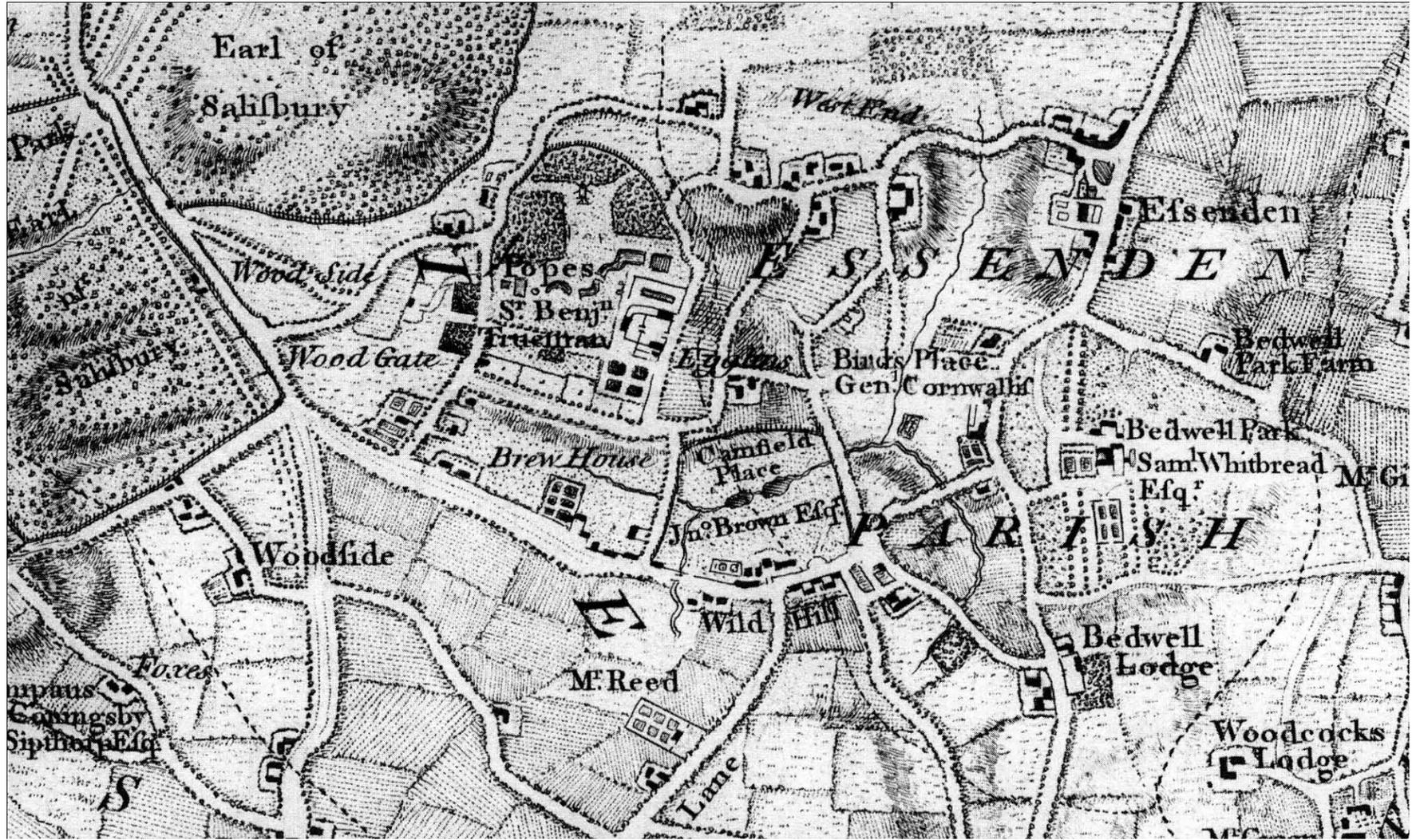


Figure 3.15. Essendon and Hatfield shown on Dury and Andrews' map of 1766.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century Birds Place was a farm rather than a gentleman's residence, but by 1812 it had been turned into

a spacious, substantial family residence, standing on a lawn of about thirty acres, ornamented with timber trees, containing every essential convenience for a numerous family ... a most desirable estate of about thirty acres, adapted in every respect for the residence of a Gentleman of Fortune, or Merchant of Eminence (HALS D1049).

In the 1730s or 1740s the farm had been bought by Richard Ives, a London merchant who purchased the property with the intention of upgrading it into a gentleman's residence. A small estate of about thirty acres was created by the gradual, piecemeal purchase of various pasture fields around the farmhouse from other local farmers (HALS H663). During the 1740s a new house was built, described in 1749 as being 'lately erected and built near the said farmhouse', making it clear that this was a new building rather than the improvement of the existing farmhouse (HALS H691). The building of the house in the 1740s also provides a probable date for the laying out of the grounds, which was often a concurrent process (Wilson and Mackley 2000, 282-283). After Richard Ives' death the house and small estate were sold by his widow Ann in 1749. The buyer was Mary Townshend, who agreed to pay an annuity of £84 to Ann Ives for the remainder of her life (HALS H691).

Mary Townshend was the unmarried younger daughter of Charles Townshend, owner of Raynham Hall, in Norfolk. She may have purchased Birds Place as a country home close to London, where she also had a townhouse on Bruton Street (Norfolk and Norwich Record Office WAL 1592, 291X6). Mary married late in life, and continued to live at Birds Place with her new husband, General Edward Cornwallis, after their marriage in 1763 (Oliphant 2004). Cornwallis was away with his regiment in Minorca and Gibraltar for most of the 1760s and 1770s, but Mary remained at Birds Place until her death in 1777, when she was buried in the churchyard at Essendon (Oliphant 2004).

Dury and Andrews' map names General Cornwallis as the owner of Birds Place, and shows the new house close to the edge of the grounds, next to a small walled garden which was

probably a kitchen garden. The rest of the grounds are empty of typical parkland features, such as clumps of trees or belts. The lease and release of 1749, describes the immediate surroundings of the house as pasture and meadows (HALS H663), so its appearance would have been somewhat park-like; an open area of grassland dotted with some suitably gnarled hedgerow trees retained from earlier field boundaries, a common practice in many eighteenth-century landscapes (Rackham 1986, 129). The present landscape at Birds Place still includes at least two large pollarded oaks, probably the remains of former hedgerows.

In 1779 Birds Place was sold for £4,000 to Christopher Clitherow, the younger son of a well-known and wealthy family of London merchants (HALS H663). Clitherow died in 1807 and the estate was subsequently sold to John Currie for £14,000 (HALS H663). As well as the rise in inflation during the Napoleonic Wars this considerable rise in value may reflect the improvements made to Birds Place by the Clitherows, described in a set of sales particulars from 1812:

The House stands on an eminence, opposite Bedwell Park, at the entrance of the picturesque village of Essendon, commanding extensive and varied prospects in every direction. The Pleasure Grounds consist of a handsome circular Lawn, with a carriage sweep, forming the approach to the house, entered from the High Road by folding gates, Extensive shrubbery walks, embellished with Evergreens, and thriving Plantations of timber trees. The Land consists of rich meadow and pasturage, receding in gentle undulations from the House and the whole form together a most desirable estate of about thirty acres, adapted in every respect for the residence of a Gentleman of Fortune, or Merchant of Eminence (HALS D1049).

The 'shrubby walks', 'circular lawn' and 'carriage sweep' are all typical and recognisable elements of eighteenth-century designed landscapes, similar to those designed by Richard Woods, Humphry Repton and other designers who worked on a small scale, where the use of detailed planting and walks drew attention away from the diminutive size of the garden itself (Daniels 1999, 80; Cowell 2009, 108). Such elements were clearly inspired by the pleasure grounds found in larger landscape parks, landscape gardens and urban pleasure gardens discussed in Chapter 2, but were here refracted into a smaller space. The sales particulars do not refer to the landscape around Birds Place as a 'park'; nor is it defined as a park with a pale on

Dury and Andrews' map. Contemporary documents described such landscapes as 'pleasure grounds' or 'paddocks' rather than as parks. What distinguishes Birds Place from being merely a garden is the use of the surrounding pastoral landscape as part of the wider designed landscape, which is within the tradition of the *ferme ornée*, or Switzer's 'rural gardening' (Switzer 1718), thus combining the aesthetic appeal of a pastoral landscape with the practicality of a working landscape, albeit a non-estate landscape.

To the north of Birds Place lies Essendon Place, another example of a farm converted into a neat villa in a broadly classical style, and surrounded by a pleasure ground. It is unclear exactly when this happened, though it seems likely to be roughly contemporary with similar developments at Birds Place. In 1755 Essendon Place was owned by Charles Barnes, a London lawyer, who later sold the house and grounds to Samuel Whitbread in 1781 for £1,400 (HALS H660). By this time the grounds covered an area of just sixteen acres, including a shrubbery and a pleasure garden which were probably laid out by Barnes. Given that Whitbread owned neighbouring Bedwell he may have acquired Essendon Place with a view to combining the two. However Essendon remained a distinct and separate property and it is unclear exactly what Whitbread did with it – perhaps it was leased to tenants or used as a dower house. The estate did not remain in the possession of the Whitbread family though, and was sold in 1802, after Samuel Whitbread's death, to Thomas Tait for £2,000 (HALS H660). Tait sold it on again after just two years to John Hodgson, a London merchant who paid over £4,000 for the property (HALS H660). Hodgson owned Essendon Place for four years before selling to John Currie in 1808 for almost £6,000 (HALS H688). It was Currie who bought neighbouring Birds Place in 1812 and absorbed it into his own grounds at Essendon Place.

Like Birds Place, the grounds of Essendon Place are not shown in any detail on Dury and Andrews' map, but the deeds that accompanied the sale in 1781 mention a shrubbery and pleasure grounds on the small sixteen acre site (HALS H660). The 1808 sales particulars give a more detailed indication of the appearance of the grounds, which included a walled kitchen garden and a 'paddock' of about twenty-seven acres (HALS H685). They describe the estate as being 'situated on a beautiful eminence, commanding rich and extensive prospects over a beautifully diversified country' (HALS H685). When the estate was sold again in 1829 the sales particulars describe the grounds as a 'park-like paddock', and the 'lawn', rather than as a park, showing that contemporaries were well aware of the potential confusion and ambiguity over the identity of these small landscapes (HALS H902-3).

During the early years of the nineteenth century Currie made a number of alterations to the house and gardens, including the addition of an ice house and a large conservatory (HALS H902-3). Between 1808 and 1812 the road that ran between Essendon Place and Bedwell Park was diverted some twenty feet away from the front of the house (Figure 3.16) (HALS H838). The small distance between the main public road and the house was probably irksome for Currie, but given the proximity of Bedwell Park the road could not be diverted very far. Currie therefore settled for shifting the road away by about twenty feet, a shorter distance, but enough to give a small degree of extra privacy (HALS H838). However, the very act of diverting and closing roads was an important part of park-making at this time, regardless of the success of the diversion in terms of seclusion and privacy (Williamson 1995, 104-105). This is significant because even though Currie could not claim to own a landscape ‘park’, he used similar processes to those being carried out on much larger estates in order to create his own designed landscape. The house itself is shown in simple elevation on the sketch map drawn up for the road diversion (HALS H838) (Figure 3.16). It was a modest, three storey box, perhaps close in appearance to its nearest neighbour at Birds Place. The 1808 sales particulars describe a very similar plan to that of Birds Place; a large drawing room and dining room, both with bow windows, on the ground floor, along with a billiard room, and bedrooms on the floors above (HALS H685). As before, Essendon Place appears to have been a typical villa-type residence of the mid-eighteenth century surrounded by a small designed landscape with park-like elements.

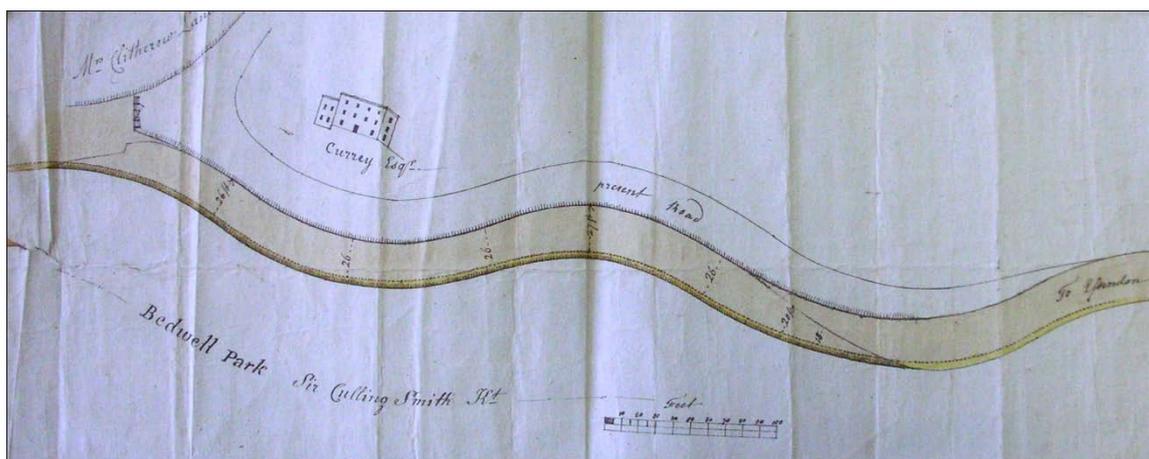


Figure 3.16. Early nineteenth-century road order map showing the house at Essendon Place, and the course of the new road in yellow (HALS H838).

The Ordnance Survey drawings made in 1805 show more details of the planting at Birds Place and Essendon Place (British Library Maps OSD 149). Both houses are screened from the nearby road by a thin belt of trees, with more trees scattered across the grass paddocks on the slopes in front of the houses (Figure 3.14). The plan attached to the sales particulars of 1829 gives more details of the landscape around Essendon Place in the early-nineteenth century (Figure 3.17) (HALS H902-3). The thin plantation along the road had been broken up in places to create a long, thin shrubbery-type walk, with paths leading north to the walled kitchen gardens. Immediately in front of the house was a lawn, separated from the rest of the grounds by a fence. The paddocks contained various clumps of trees as well as lines of trees, presumably retained from former hedged field boundaries. A footpath ran along the northern edge of the grounds, in front of the plantations surrounding the kitchen garden. Curiously, given the effort put into moving the road by twenty feet, one of the stipulations of the sale was to keep this footpath open, even though it was in full view of the house (HALS H902-3).

John Currie bought Essendon Place in 1808, and went on to purchase Birds Place in 1812. Currie remained living at Essendon Place, however, and seems to have divided the park at Birds Place in two, subsuming half into his own park at Essendon Place and selling or leasing the other half, which contained the house, to Robert Parnter of Popes, the owner of yet another park in this cluster (HALS H663). By the 1830s the remainder of the Birds Place estate was in the hands of Baron Dimsdale, the owner of neighbouring Camfield Place. In 1833 Dimsdale sold Birds Place to his brother, Charles Dimsdale, who by that time was the owner of Essendon Place. Charles Dimsdale demolished the house and incorporated the remaining area of parkland into his own park at Essendon Place, creating a large sweep of parkland that shared a boundary with his brother's newly expanded park at Camfield (HALS D1055).

In the 1750s and 1760s then, Birds Place and Essendon Place shared a boundary and appear to have been very similar in appearance, both in architectural and landscape terms. Both were originally farms, upgraded into genteel residences for men and women from London who wanted a comfortable country retreat close to the capital. Neither landscape warranted the name 'park', although both seem to have been 'park-like' in their appearance, and contained elements taken from other forms of designed landscape; pleasure grounds, landscape gardens and parks blurred together to create a landscape suitable for a suburban villa. Both were created out of pre-existing meadows in an area of former wood pasture, giving them a source of mature trees and an instantly sylvan appearance.

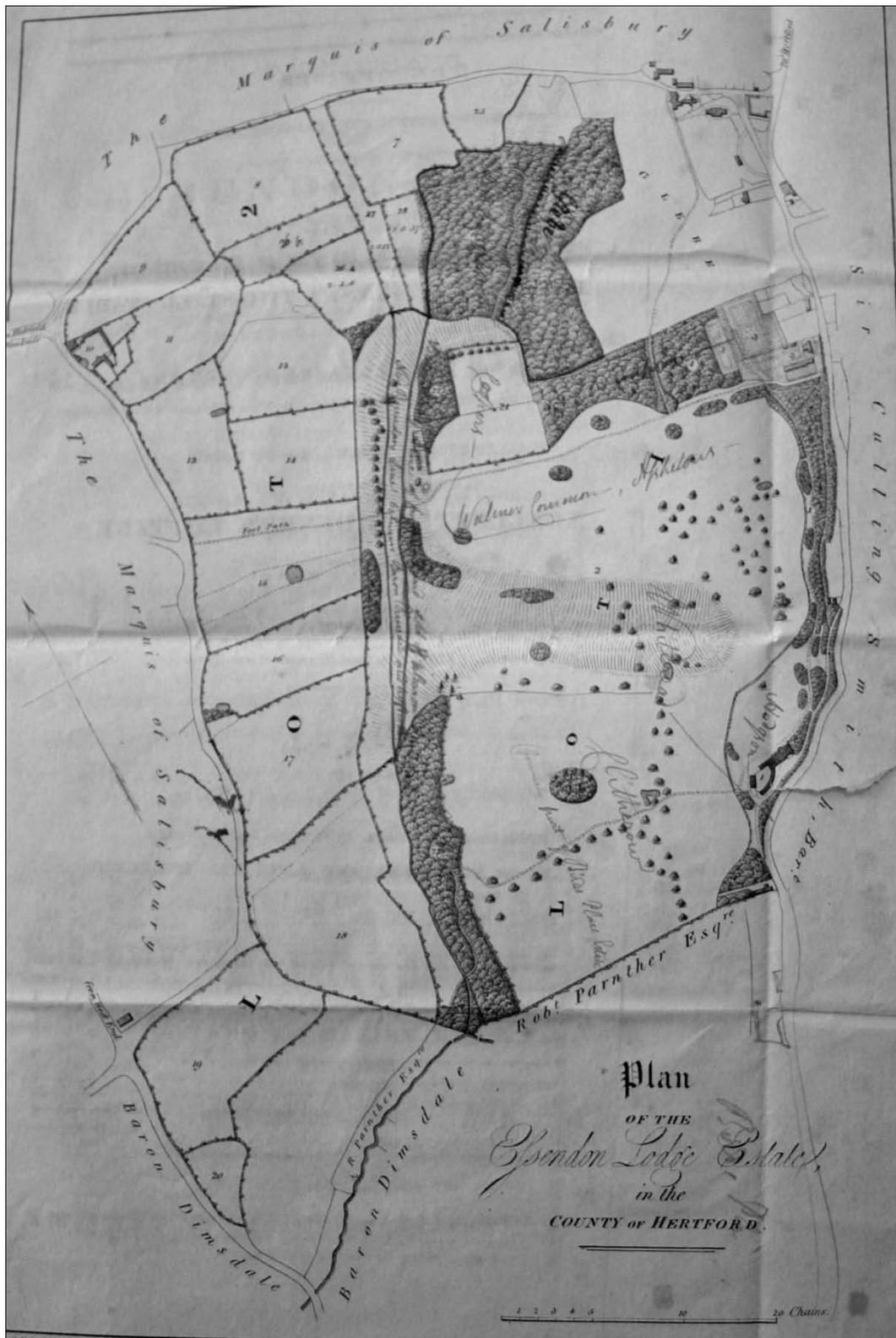


Figure 3.17. A plan of the designed landscape around Essendon Place, 1829 (HALS H902-3).

The house at Camfield Place is older than both Birds Place and Essendon Place, dating back to at least the sixteenth century (Page 1912, 458-62), and the house is depicted in one of the engravings by Drapentier for Chauncy's *Historical Antiquities* (Figure 3.18).

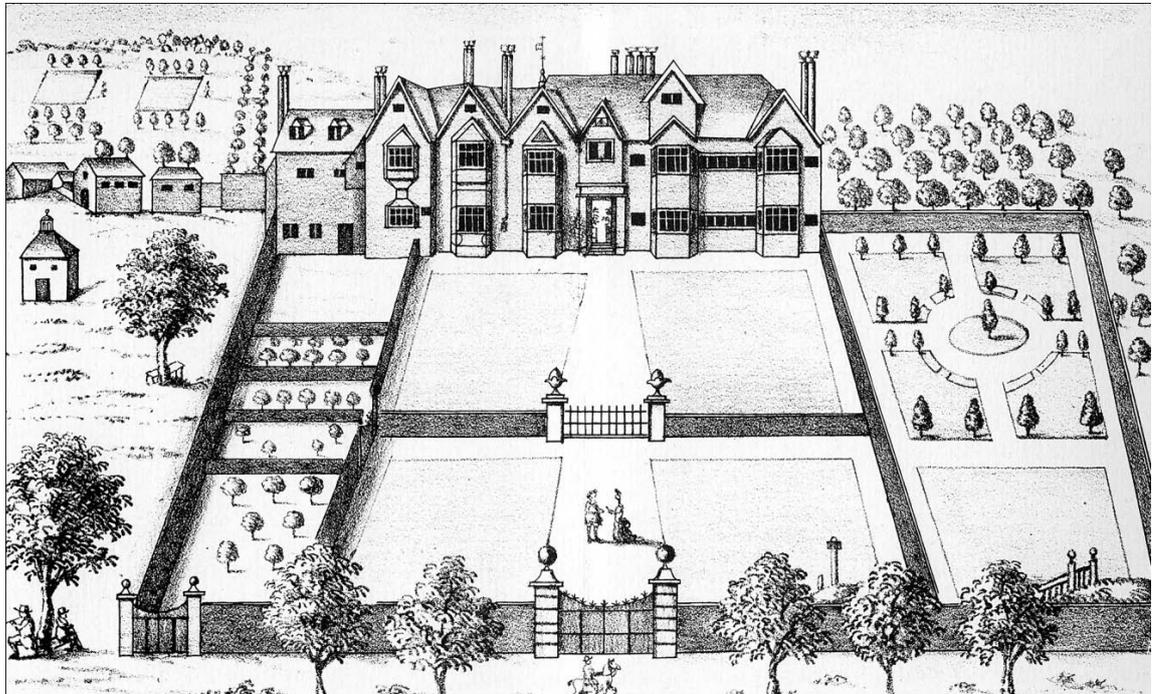


Figure 3.18. Camfield Place by Drapentier, illustrated in *Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire* (1700) by Henry Chauncy.

The engraving shows the old house as it existed at the end of the seventeenth century, surrounded by a number of walled enclosures. The landscape beyond the formal gardens is not shown in any great detail, but Drapentier includes two square ponds, both of which still present in the mid-nineteenth century when they were included on the tithe map, a dovecote and an avenue of trees, of which there is now no sign (Chauncy 1700; HALS DSA4/47/1-12). The designed landscape that surrounded the house was laid out in the seventeenth century, when two successive owners of the property, William Priestley and Thomas Priestley, served as sheriff of Hertfordshire (Chauncy 1700, 544).

By the middle of the eighteenth century, when the landscapes at Birds Place and Essendon Place were being created, Camfield Place was owned by Thomas Methwold, a nephew of the last member of the Priestley family to own it (Page 1912, 458-62). In 1760 the estate was

bought by Thomas Browne, a resident of Bartlett's Buildings in Holborn. Browne died in 1780, leaving his London property to his wife and Camfield Place to his son, the Reverend William Browne (HALS F71-2).



Figure 3.19. Camfield Place by John Charnock (National Maritime Museum PAF2912).

An undated late eighteenth-century drawing by John Charnock shows the structural changes made to the house, probably carried out by Thomas Browne after his purchase of the estate in 1760 (National Maritime Museum PAF2912) (Figure 3.19). The gabled roofline of the earlier house was removed, and sash windows replaced the casement windows shown in the Chauncy engraving. The style is similar to that of Essendon Place; plain and classically proportioned, and the same was probably true of Birds Place. The house was surrounded by grass lawns, with neat post and rail fences and planting which incorporated a number of evergreen fir trees. All the planting visible in the sketch appears to be relatively young, there are no former hedgerow trees visible in the area around the house. Dury and Andrews' map provides the best visual evidence for the appearance of the landscape at Camfield Place in the mid-eighteenth century. Again, no formal features are shown and there is no physical evidence surviving in the landscape today to

suggest any residual formal planting. The early eighteenth-century formal gardens had probably been removed by Thomas Browne in the early 1760s to create a more open, and more ‘natural’ landscape, similar to that of his neighbours and more appropriate to the style of the rebuilt house. As at Bedwell, the drive towards greater ‘naturalisation’ within the landscape was being led by someone from an urban background, and within the context of social competition with his nearest neighbours. Social emulation was occurring here within a group of people from a similar social and cultural background, competing with each other rather than with the landed elite or other groups above them in the hierarchy of polite society.

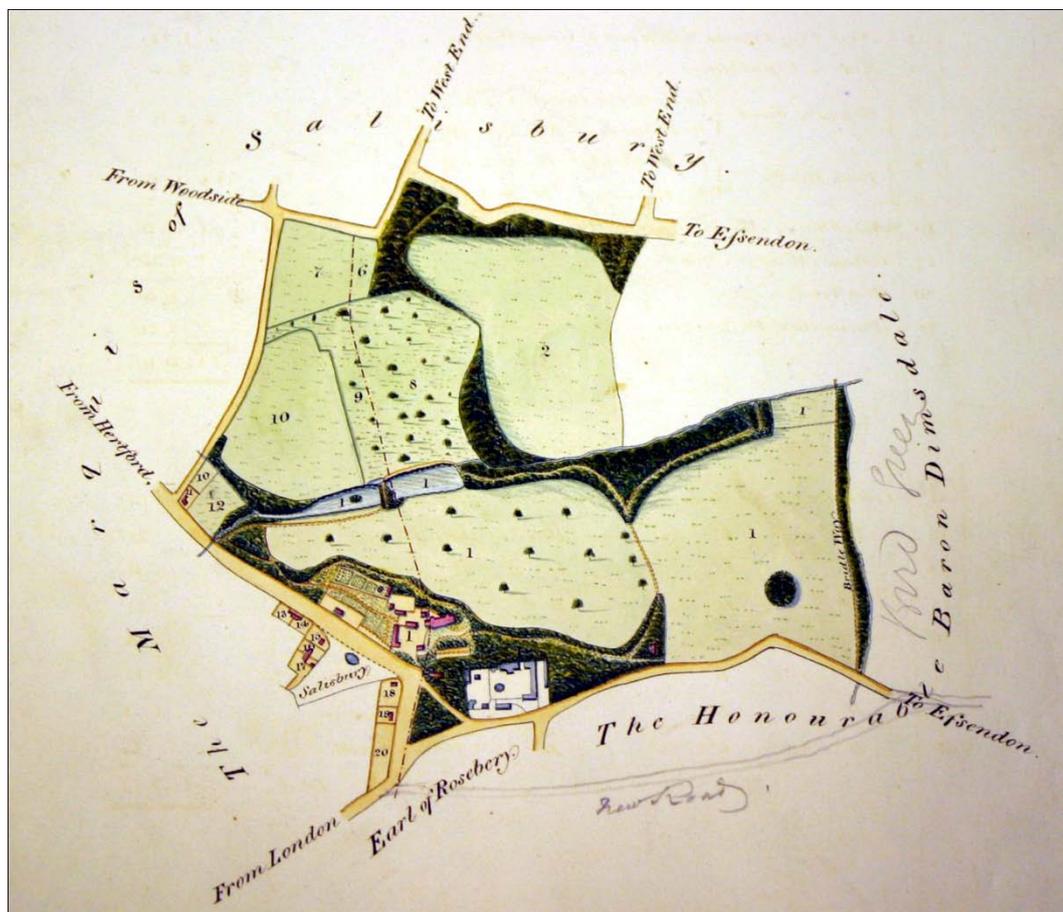


Figure 3.20. Camfield Place shown on an estate map of 1833 (HALS DEGm370).

By 1825 Camfield Place was owned by Robert Dimsdale, Baron of the Russian Empire, a title inherited from his father Thomas Dimsdale, who received it after successfully inoculating Catherine the Great against smallpox (Kebbell 2004). An estate map of 1833 (Figure 3.20) shows the designed landscape as Dimsdale would have known it. The house and gardens are flanked by plantations along the road, which have winding walks or drives through them

leading around the edge of the park. The road itself had been diverted away from the house in 1806 (HALS DEGm370). The windows of the house look down grassy slopes covered with scattered trees to the ponds in the middle distance and then into more meadows, with another view towards the neighbouring parks of Birds Place and Essendon Lodge. In the early 1830s Dimsdale expanded his park at Camfield Place to include a large pasture field called Calves Croft Green, which lay between the boundary of Camfield Place and that of Birds Place (HALS D1171A). Dimsdale closed the road which ran south from Kibes Green along the eastern boundary of Camfield Place and took Calves Croft Green into the park (HALS DP37/29/8). The two designed landscapes were now joined at the boundary, which was planted with a thin plantation.

The boundary between Birds Place and Camfield Place runs almost exactly along the lowest contour line between the two parks. From the high ground on either side the line of the boundary is naturally hidden by the contours (Figure 3.21). The view from Birds Place and Essendon Place into Camfield Place, and vice versa, looked *over* the boundary giving the appearance that the park sloped downwards into the valley and then straight back up the opposite slope without a break in the middle. Even after the boundary was planted with trees in the 1830s the illusion of a continuous area of parkland would have been maintained. The view is still clearly visible even though the trees planted along the boundary have become rather overgrown. Along the boundary between Birds Place and Camfield Place are some stretches of nineteenth-century ornamental iron fencing, with matching gates on either side of the footpath that divides the two parks; aesthetic unity between the two landscapes was clearly visible well into the nineteenth century when the two landscapes were owned by the Dimsdale brothers.

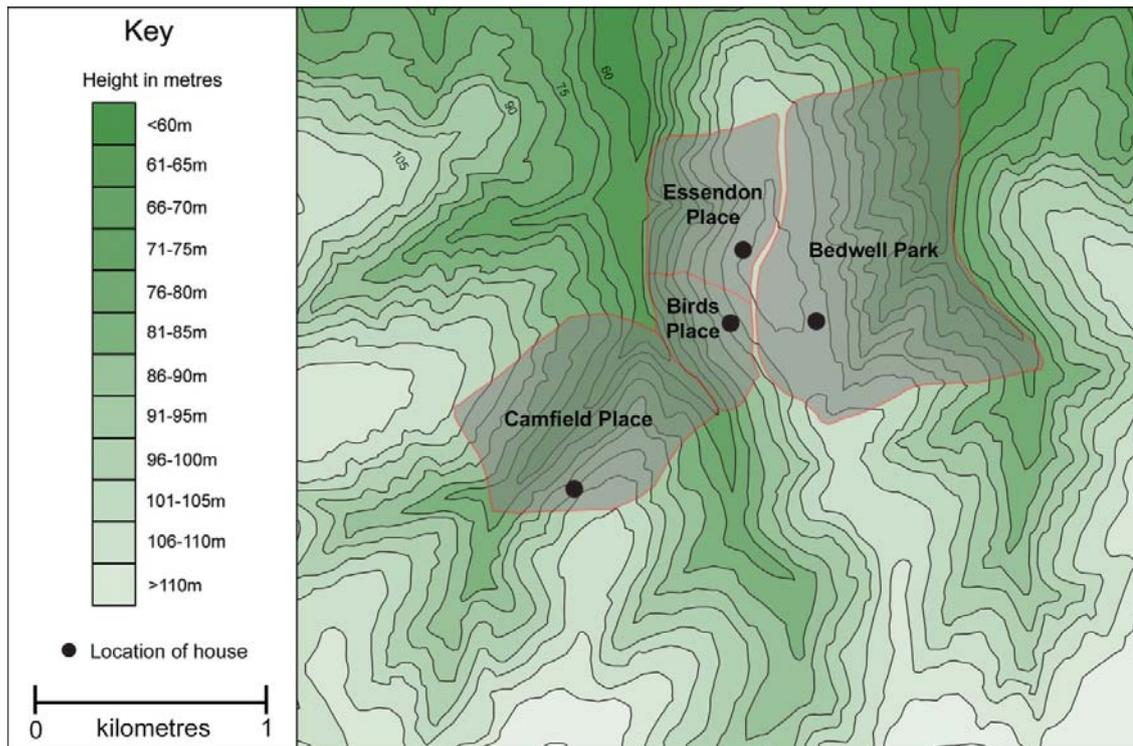


Figure 3.21. Designed landscapes in Essendon shown against the topography of the immediate area.

In the eighteenth century the view from Birds Place and Essendon Place across into the park at Camfield Place was interrupted by Calves Croft Green. Rather than screening out the view of adjoining fields, however, the eighteenth-century view embraced them as part of the aesthetic landscape of the park. The old enclosed pasture fields in this area were an appropriately sylvan backdrop and could happily be incorporated into the prospect, creating the illusion of a much larger area of parkland. In the 1830s the grounds around Camfield Place were expanded to include Calves Croft Green, which was then incorporated into a more clearly defined area of parkland. The three houses were clearly visible to each other, but rather than obscuring these views, the eighteenth-century residents of this part of Hertfordshire embraced and appropriated their neighbours' houses and gardens into their own aesthetic landscapes (Figure 3.22).



Figure 3.22. The view from Camfield Place towards Birds Place (the site of the house is on the right of the photo) and Essendon Place (to the left). Photographed May 2008.

These visual relationships can be more clearly studied with the use of Geographic Information Systems⁴. The use of GIS in landscape history has become more widespread in recent years, but it has seldom been applied to the detailed analysis of designed landscapes (Chapman 2006). In this particular instance, viewshed analysis is particularly useful in determining the shared views between different designed landscapes. A viewshed is created using a Digital Terrain Model (DTM), composed of a grid of cells which each hold a value for the average height of land within an area of 10m². A viewpoint can be set using known co-ordinates, and an offset applied to represent the height of that viewpoint above ground level. Performing a viewshed analysis produces a new raster grid, in which each cell is assigned a value of either 1 (visible) or 0 (not visible) from the viewpoint. This output can then be overlaid onto historic and modern maps and aerial photographs. A viewshed can also be created using multiple viewpoints, in which case values are assigned based on how many viewpoints are visible from each cell of the DTM. Figure 3.23 is a viewshed analysis of the landscape around Birds Place, taken from the approximate location of the house and using an offset height of two metres above ground level. The viewshed shows, interestingly, that little of the grounds belonging to Birds Place were actually visible from the location of the house, but almost the whole of the landscape around neighbouring Camfield Place, as well as a large proportion of the immediately surrounding

⁴ All GIS analysis was carried out using ESRI's ArcGIS 9.2 and 9.3 software.

landscape, was clearly visible from that vantage point. Similarly, the view from Camfield Place took in only some of the grounds around the house, but included clear views of nearby Essendon Place, Birds Place and into Bedwell Park (Figure 3.24). From Essendon Place the residents had clear views of the grounds of Camfield Place as well as the fields in the surrounding countryside (Figure 3.25). This GIS analysis has been confirmed by the field evidence, although it is not without its limitations. For example, these simple viewsheds do not take account of how views change as the observer moves around the park, nor do they take planting schemes and tree heights into account. For viewsheds covering large areas a correction needs to be introduced for the curvature of the earth, although this was not necessary in this example as the sites are so close together that any degree of error introduced will be minimal.

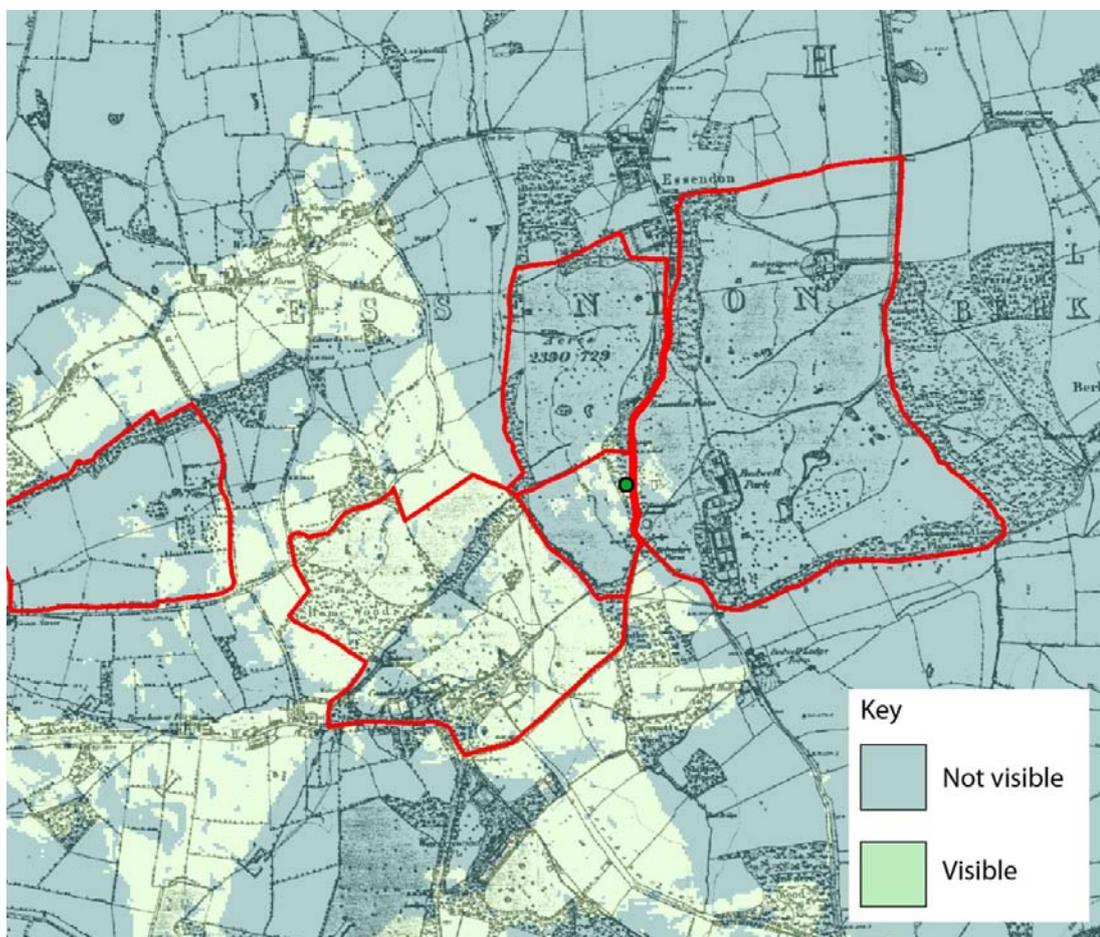


Figure 3.23. Viewshed analysis of the landscape around Birds Place, overlaid with the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map (1880s). The house is shown with a green dot.

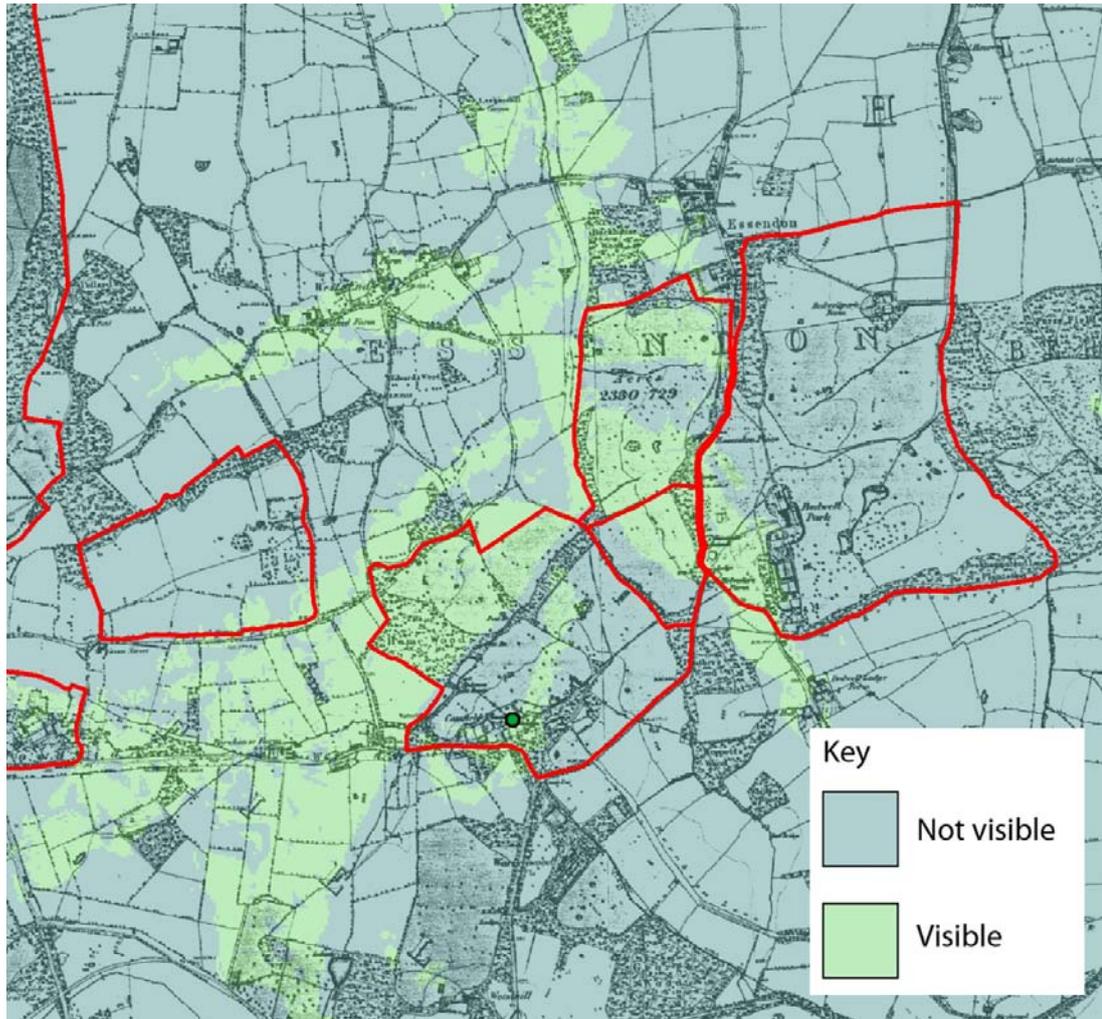


Figure 3.24. Viewshed analysis of the landscape around Camfield Place, overlaid with the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map (1880s). The house is shown with a green dot.

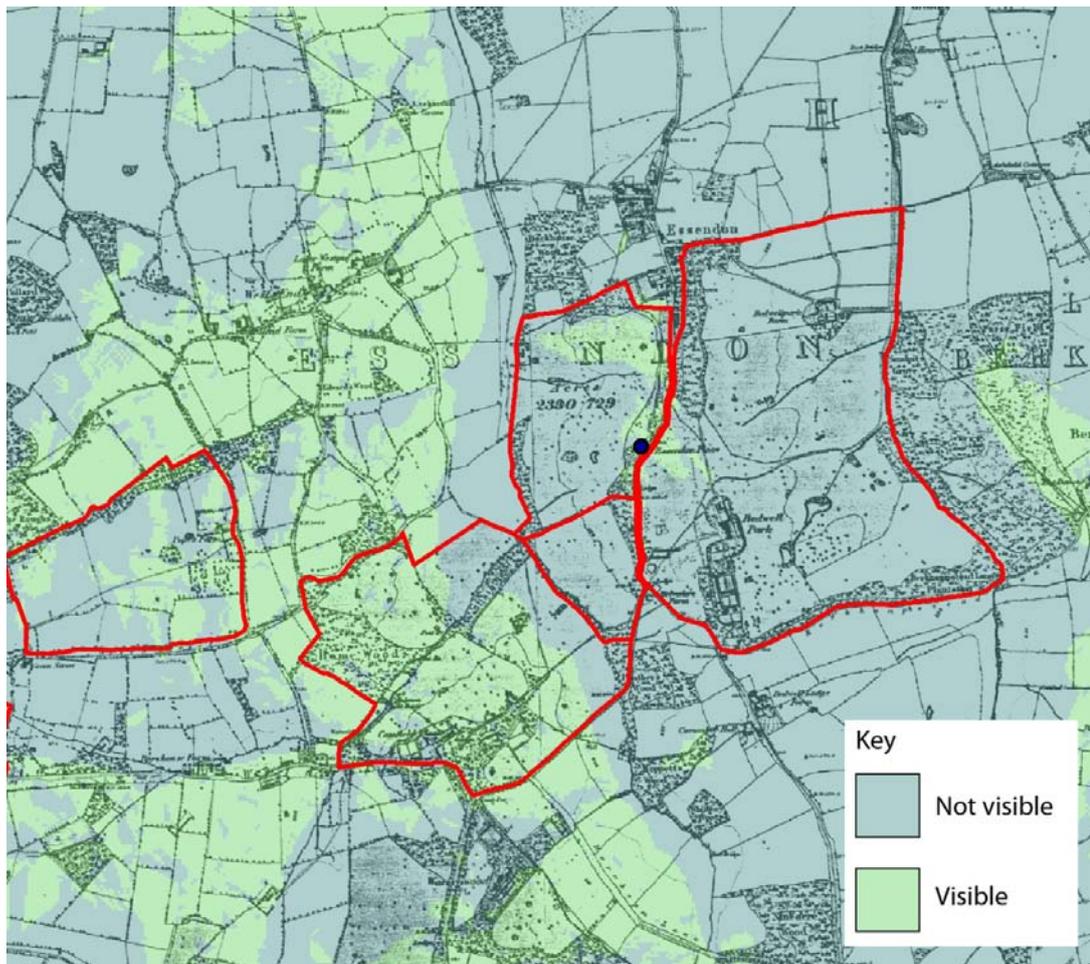


Figure 3.25. Viewshed analysis of the landscape around Essendon Place, overlaid with the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map (1880s). The house is shown with a blue dot.

In the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries then, the three designed landscapes at Essendon Place, Birds Place and Camfield Place were not large enough to be called parks by contemporaries, but certainly included elements of park-like design, such as belt plantations along the Essendon road and sweeping grassland and shrubberies close to each house. Some of these design features were diminutive versions of larger-scale designs, for example the thin strips of planting along the edges of the roads are nowhere near as substantial as the plantation belts around the larger neighbouring landscape of Bedwell Park. However, rather than merely copying the style of the larger parks in the area, the owners of these small residences were also interacting with each other, a factor that was particularly important as the gardens around each house were clearly visible to their neighbours. These shared views, and the dependence on the immediate surroundings (which may not have been held by the owner), combined with the use of more familiar elements like shrubberies, are part of a style of landscaping that appears to have been strongly associated with these small villa residences. The owners of larger landscape

parks were also engaging with the surrounding landscape, but it is important to note the distinction here – larger landscape parks had a relationship with the wider *estate* landscape, whereas the smaller landscapes under discussion here were often not part of a large landed estate.

Two other sites nearby also had an interesting relationship with one another during the eighteenth century, Woodside Place and Popes on the southern boundary of the park at Hatfield. The development of Woodside Place follows the familiar Hertfordshire pattern of a farm being upgraded into a gentleman's residence. In 1772 the estate was owned by the Church family, who purchased it from Robert Mackey, a banker and merchant from Cheapside, who was speculating in Hertfordshire property between the 1760s and 1780s (HALS D/EP/T2447b; D/EX55/1). Mackey built up the small estate at Woodside, adding a cottage and a farm of about twenty-five acres to the existing estate of about two hundred acres (HALS D/EX55/1). Dury and Andrews' map shows no gardens around the house, which in 1766 was still little more than a substantial farmhouse (Figure 3.15). By 1772 Mackey had sold the estate to John Church, who built a new house at Woodside Place (HALS 54095). A field book from 1778 notes the 'very good dwelling house five rooms on a floor', as well as various farm buildings and 'two new built garden walls and a garden containing an acre and a half of ground well planted with great variety of young fruit trees and a green house' (HALS D/EX55/E1). In 1780 Church paid his near neighbour, William Browne of Camfield Place, £135 for a blacksmiths shop and cottage that stood opposite his new house 'in order to remove them to some more convenient spot within his own estate' (HALS 54095).

As at the other properties discussed above, the landscape that surrounds Woodside Place is park-like but covers an area of just nine acres. In the 1770s the field that surrounded the farmhouse was a meadow known as the Great Mead (HALS D/EX55/E1), and this was later converted into a small landscape garden, probably at the same time that Church was constructing the new house. The Ordnance Survey drawings of 1805 show the house in the centre of its tiny landscape, separated from the much larger park at Hatfield by a road (Figure 3.26) (British Library Maps OSD 149).

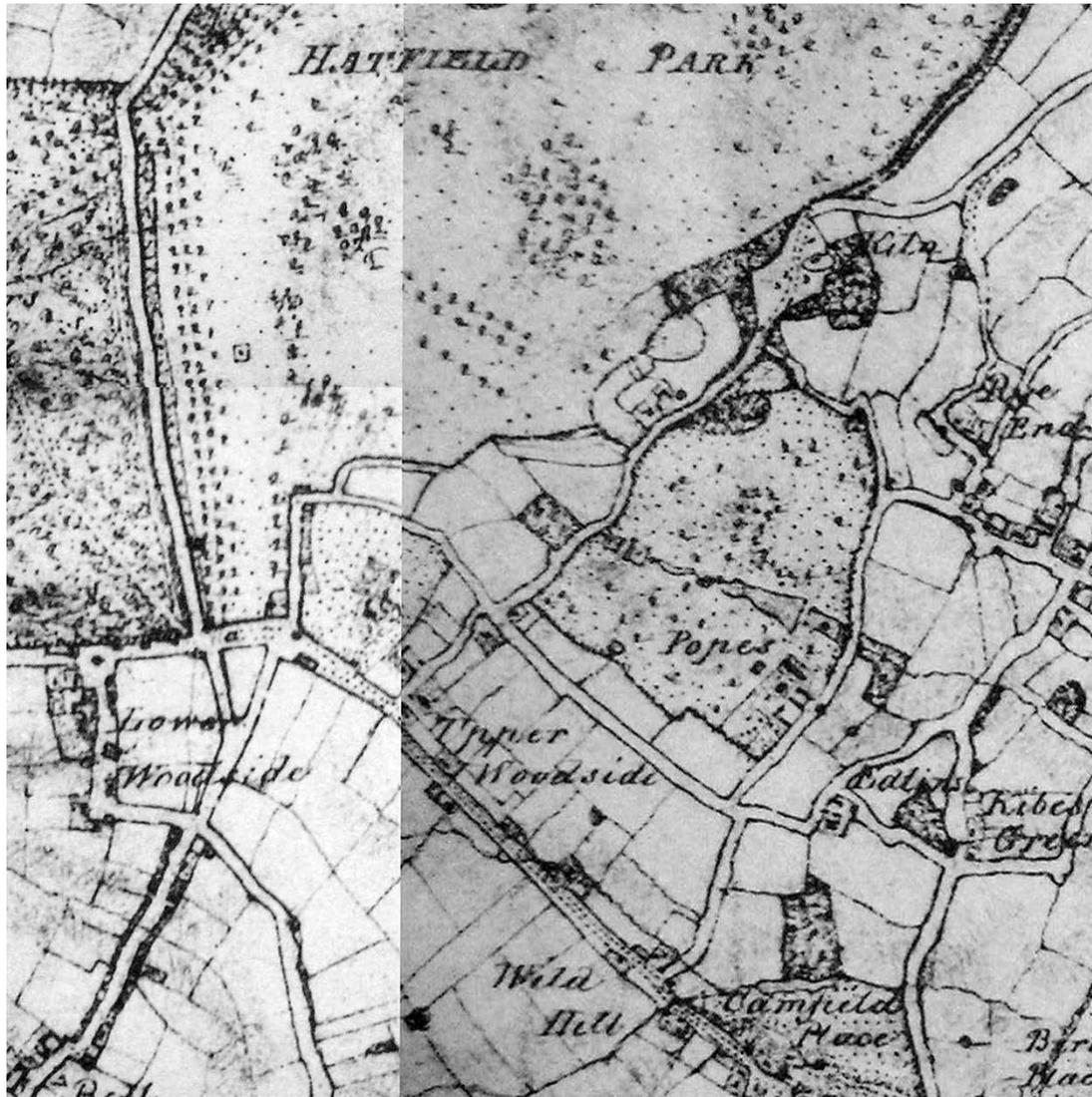


Figure 3.26. Woodside Place, Popes and Hatfield Park shown on the Ordnance Survey 2 inch to the mile drawings, 1805 (British Library Maps OSD149). Woodside Place is the small site shown above 'Upper Woodside'.

Behind the house was the late eighteenth-century walled garden and the farm buildings mentioned in the 1778 field book, and surrounding the house was an area of grassland and a neatly planted shrubbery. The house itself is set almost in the centre of its grounds and the visitor would have seen almost all the grounds from the entrance drive. These features are clearly shown on an estate map of 1868 (Figure 3.27) (HALS D/EX/55/P1). However, most of the surrounding landscape was pasture or meadow, so the visitor would also have looked beyond the boundary into a landscape remarkably similar to that of the garden itself, therefore blurring the boundaries between the designed and vernacular landscape.

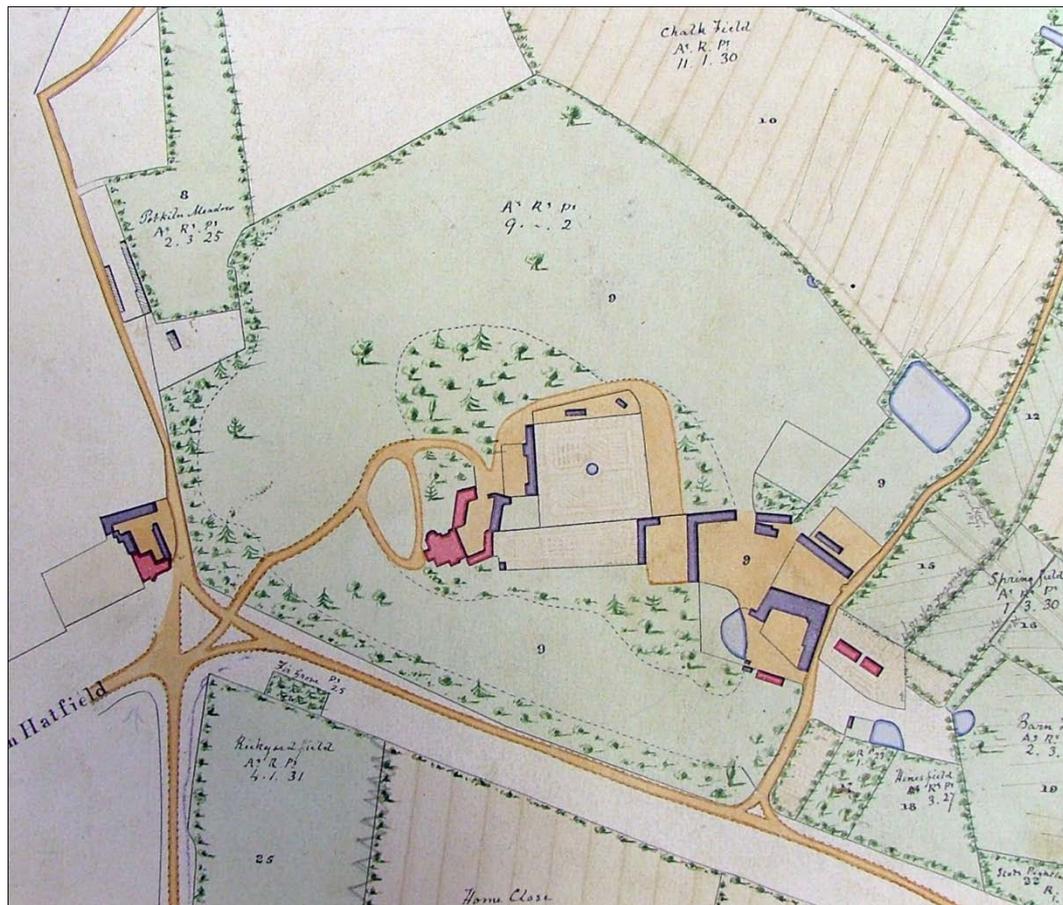


Figure 3.27. Woodside Place on an estate map of 1868 (HALS D/EX/55/P1).

Although the illusion of being within a larger designed landscape is perhaps not as strong at Woodside Place as at the sites discussed above, there was still a powerful element of using the surrounding countryside to augment and embellish the garden itself, as well as sharing those views with immediate neighbours. Further evidence of this can be seen in John Church's field book of the mid 1770s, which records the annual payment of £1 from Sir Benjamin Truman 'for leave to erect a temple in Pickbones Field – this is a view cut thro' Quails Wood from Popes Walk & like to be a standing Rent so long as any Gentleman lives there' (HALS D/EX55/E1). Pickbones Field was one of a group of pasture fields to the north of Woodside, next to Quails Wood which shared a boundary with Popes. The temple and vista are shown on Dury and Andrew's map of 1766; a small square building is the focus of a view cut through two square plantations (Figure 3.15). The temple is not shown on the Ordnance Survey drawings of 1805 (Figure 3.27), suggesting perhaps that the agreement with the owner of Popes had ended and that the building had been dismantled (it may never have been a very substantial structure). The

Church family enjoyed the benefits of the same view, looking north from their own house into the meadows around the temple.

Popes was the Hertfordshire home of Sir Benjamin Truman, the owner of the Black Eagle Brewery in Spitalfields whose success as a London brewer was only surpassed by his near neighbour Samuel Whitbread. Popes was Truman's country home, pleasantly rural, but close enough to the capital for him to keep a personal eye on his business. His London home was the grand Director's House on Brick Lane situated right next to the brewery itself. Truman was a wealthy man, and left a personal estate of £180,000 at his death in 1780 (Mathias 2004b). This enormous sum of money would have been more than enough to buy a much larger *landed* estate, but Truman chose instead to buy a *non-landed* estate with a relatively small designed landscape.

Popes was originally a manorial site, formerly known as Holbeaches (Page 1912, 91-111), and there is very little surviving documentary evidence relating to it, less than for any other landscape discussed in this chapter. By 1542 a deer park had been created near the manor house at Popes, but it is unclear whether this was still in existence by the eighteenth century, and if so, what form it took (Page 1912, 91-111). Truman was certainly in possession of the house and grounds by the 1760s, and is shown as the owner on Dury and Andrews' map (Figure 3.15). The old manor house had been destroyed by fire in the mid 1740s, and it is possible that the new house built on the site may have been built by Truman (Page 1912, 91-111). John Charnock sketched the house from the road in the late-eighteenth century (National Maritime Museum PAF2909) (Figure 3.28). The sketch shows a simple three-storey, seven bay box with a balustraded roof and a pedimented doorway; typical architecture for the period, but larger than slightly later houses like Essendon Place. The house is flanked by two service ranges, one of which is clearly the stables. To one side is a dovecote, perhaps a remnant of the old manorial site. This arrangement corresponds exactly with the layout of the buildings shown on Dury and Andrews map of 1766, suggesting that the house can be dated to at least the early 1760s.

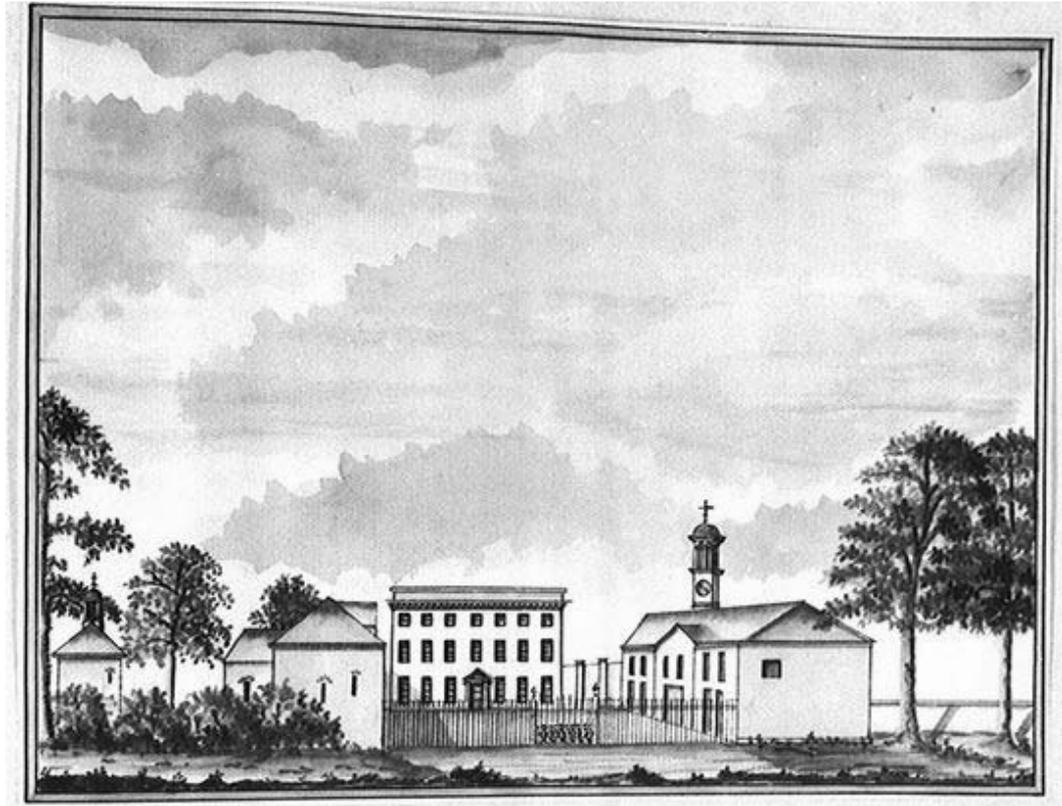


Figure 3.28. Undated late eighteenth-century drawing of Popes by John Charnock (National Maritime Museum PAF2909).

Dury and Andrew's map offers the only clues as to the appearance of the mid eighteenth-century landscape at Popes (Figure 3.15). The map clearly shows the view cut through 'Pope's Walk' towards the temple in Pickbone's Field. There were walled gardens on either side of the house, and a series of ponds winding through the park. To the north of the house were three curvilinear blocks of planting surrounding, intriguingly, a windmill. The landscape does not appear to have any strongly geometric features, as existed at Bedwell Park for example, but may instead have been a landscape garden in the tradition of Stephen Switzer or William Kent rather than a late geometric or Brownian style landscape. Tantalisingly a portrait of Benjamin Truman, painted by George Romney in the 1770s, may depict the landscape at Popes (Figure 3.29). Romney painted Truman seated in a classical garden building, with a view towards a country house in the distance. In the middle distance of the view are two areas of water, perhaps two of the ponds shown on Dury and Andrews' map.



Figure 3.29. Benjamin Truman by George Romney, c.1770s (Private Collection).

The elusive Arcadian landscape shown on Dury and Andrews' map had disappeared by the early-nineteenth century. The windmill, plantations and walled gardens are absent on the Ordnance Survey drawings of 1805, although the string of ponds was still in existence (Figure 3.26). Truman died in 1780, leaving all his wealth and property to his two young grandsons (Mathias 2004b). Despite having had his portrait painted at Popes in the manner of a rural squire, he stipulated in his will that all his paintings from Popes should be removed to the Director's House near the brewery in Spitalfields, which was to be kept in good condition until his grandsons reached their majority (Sheppard 1957, 116-122). By the mid 1790s Popes was no longer in the Truman family and was owned by William Mills, a member of the prominent banking family. In 1798 it changed hands again and was bought by Culling Smith, who subsequently bought and moved to Bedwell after Samuel Whitbread's death in 1801 (HALS DE/Z/120/44294 and DE/F/498). In 1813 the owner of Popes was Robert Parnter, a London

attorney, who also bought the remainder of Birds Place from John Currie (HALS H663). It is unclear exactly when the landscape garden shown on Dury and Andrews' map was dismantled; the alterations could have been made by Truman before his death, or by subsequent owners such as Mills or Smith. The house at Popes was demolished in the 1820s, and Bryant's map of 1822 shows the property as 'Pope's Farm' with no clear details about the house or grounds. The Hatfield tithe map shows the entrance range and the grounds as a number of large fields and bounded on the north side with plantation belts (HALS DSA4/47/2) (Figure 3.30).

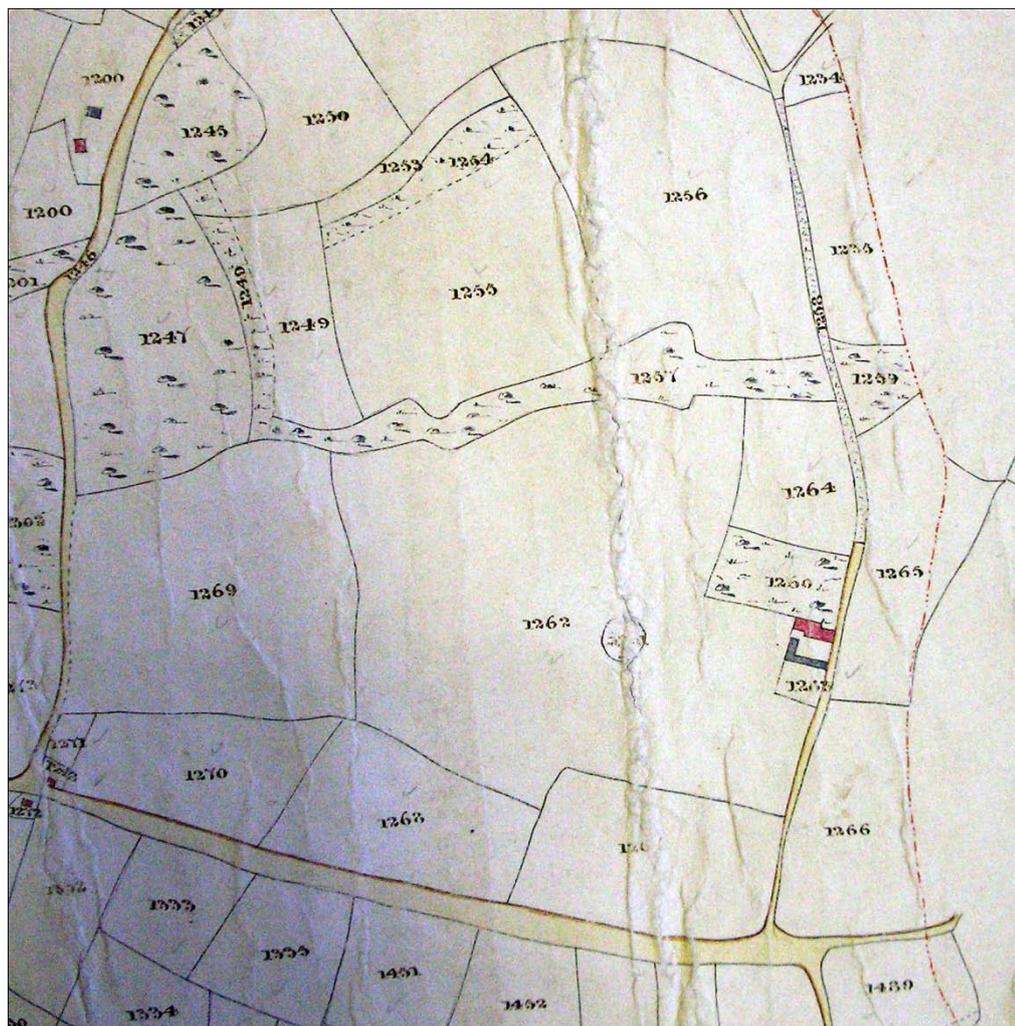


Figure 3.30. Popes shown on the Hatfield tithe map, 1838. Unusually for a tithe award, the apportionment does not record land use (HALS DSA4/47/2).

The relationship between Woodside Place and Popes is another excellent example of the shared views that were carefully managed by urban owners in villa-type residences in Hertfordshire.

As well as the surrounding rural landscape, the two parks also enjoyed a close proximity to the ancient park at Hatfield, with its veteran trees and associations of antiquity and gentility. Viewshed analysis was also carried out on these two landscapes, using the same methodology described above. That for Woodside Place shows that the house enjoyed views of the surrounding fields, including those where the temple was constructed in the 1770s (Figure 3.31). However, the view from the house at Woodside Place did not afford any views in the large park of Hatfield itself. The viewshed of Popes (Figure 3.32) shows that the view from the house was most expansive to the north, and that the landscape around Essendon Place was visible from Popes, although the likely amount of tree cover between the two landscapes may have meant that this view was probably more restricted than it appears here. The viewshed shows that much of the gardens around Popes itself was not visible from the house, including the field where the temple was constructed, perhaps suggesting that this was a landscape that was to be experienced through exploration on foot or horseback rather than one which could be appreciated from a static viewpoint at the house. Like the examples in nearby Essendon, discussed above, these two landscapes although close to a much larger landscape park (Hatfield in this instance, Bedwell for those in Essendon) shared views with other small designed landscapes rather than their larger neighbours, suggesting that their owners were interested in engaging with members from a similar social and cultural sphere.



Figure 3.31. Viewshed analysis of the landscape around Woodside Place, overlaid with the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map (c1880s). The house is shown with a brown dot.

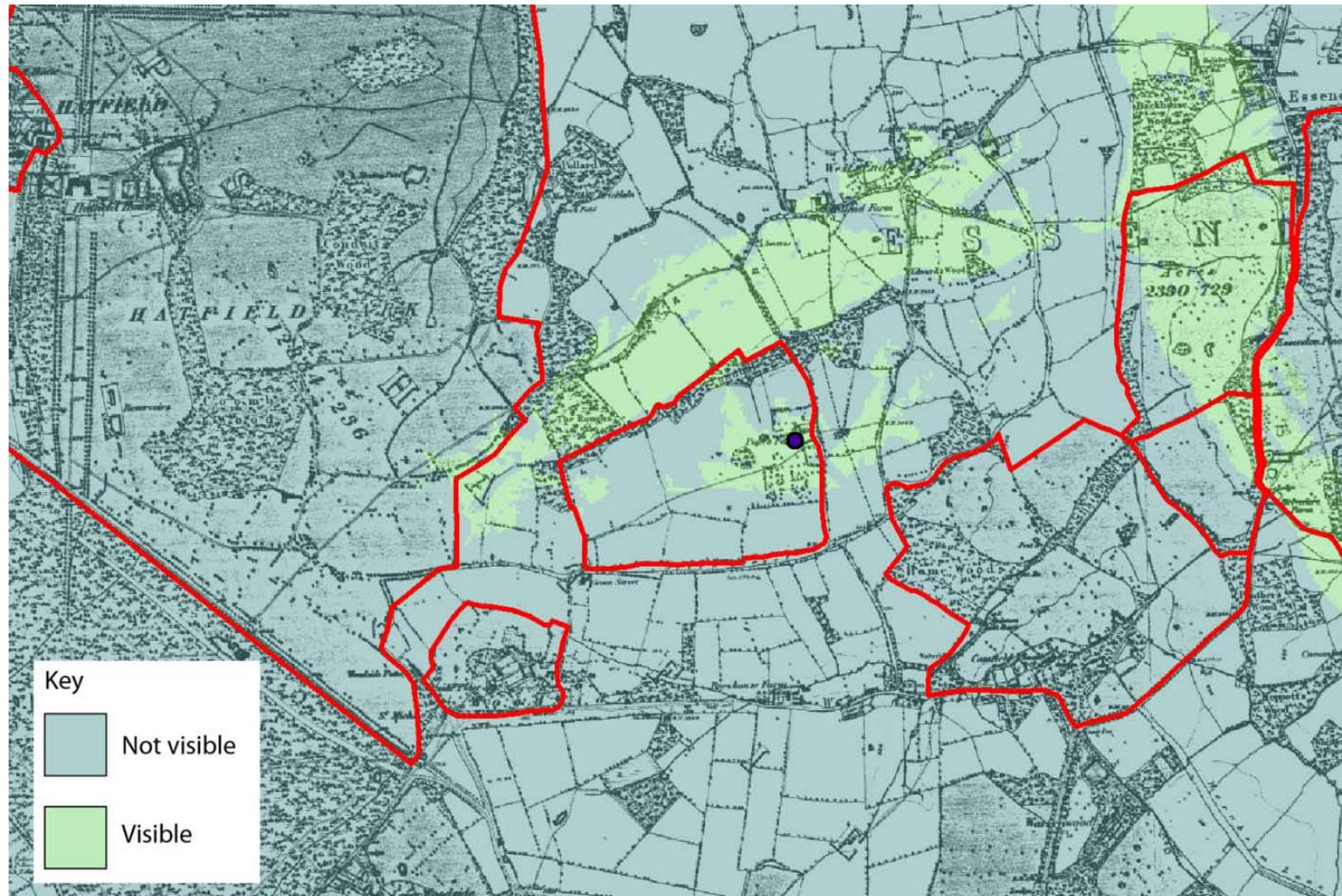


Figure 3.32. Viewshed analysis of the landscape around Popes, overlaid with the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map (c1880s). The house is shown with a blue dot.

The privacy and seclusion of the landscape park has been emphasised in many studies of the eighteenth-century landscape, with a focus on the importance of belts, lodges, the appropriation of distant views and the careful screening of undesirable views (Williamson 1995, 102). However, it was privacy from the local, rural population that was being sought, rather than seclusion from polite and urbane neighbours of a similar social status. Sharing views of adjacent landscape gardens, as well as the surrounding landscape, helped to coalesce the members of polite society in south Hertfordshire, many of whom were relative newcomers to the county. These new residents were mostly from London where green space was at a premium, and was often shared by a wide cross section of society. Those living in the west end of London enjoyed access to the large open spaces of the Royal Parks of Green Park and St James', as well as a number of other public walks and gardens. In addition to these public spaces, some wealthy residents had access to the private gardens laid out in the middle of London's squares, such as Grosvenor Square, St James' Square or Soho Square. In the mid-eighteenth century the layout of these garden squares, and of small private town gardens, were often relatively formal, with grass plats and gravel walks. Planting was carefully managed to ensure that the views from each house in the square were not obstructed (Longstaffe-Gowan 2001, 200).

Many members of polite society spent up to six months of each year in London, but the links between the setting of their townhouses and their country seats have generally been ignored by those studying landscape parks and gardens (Port 1998, 117). Mary Townshend (later Cornwallis) of Birds Place had a London residence in Bruton Street, next to Berkeley Square (NNRO WAL 1526, 291X2). Richard Horwood's map of London, published in the 1790s, shows the private gardens behind the terraced houses in Bruton Street, backing onto the stables and coach-houses in Bruton Mews (Figure 3.33). Although the exact house has not been identified, all the houses along the street had private rear gardens so as well as enjoying her own back garden, Townshend would also have had views over her neighbours' gardens, and nearby was the large open space of Berkeley Square, with an open vista down towards Devonshire House on Picadilly, which, in turn, overlooked Green Park.

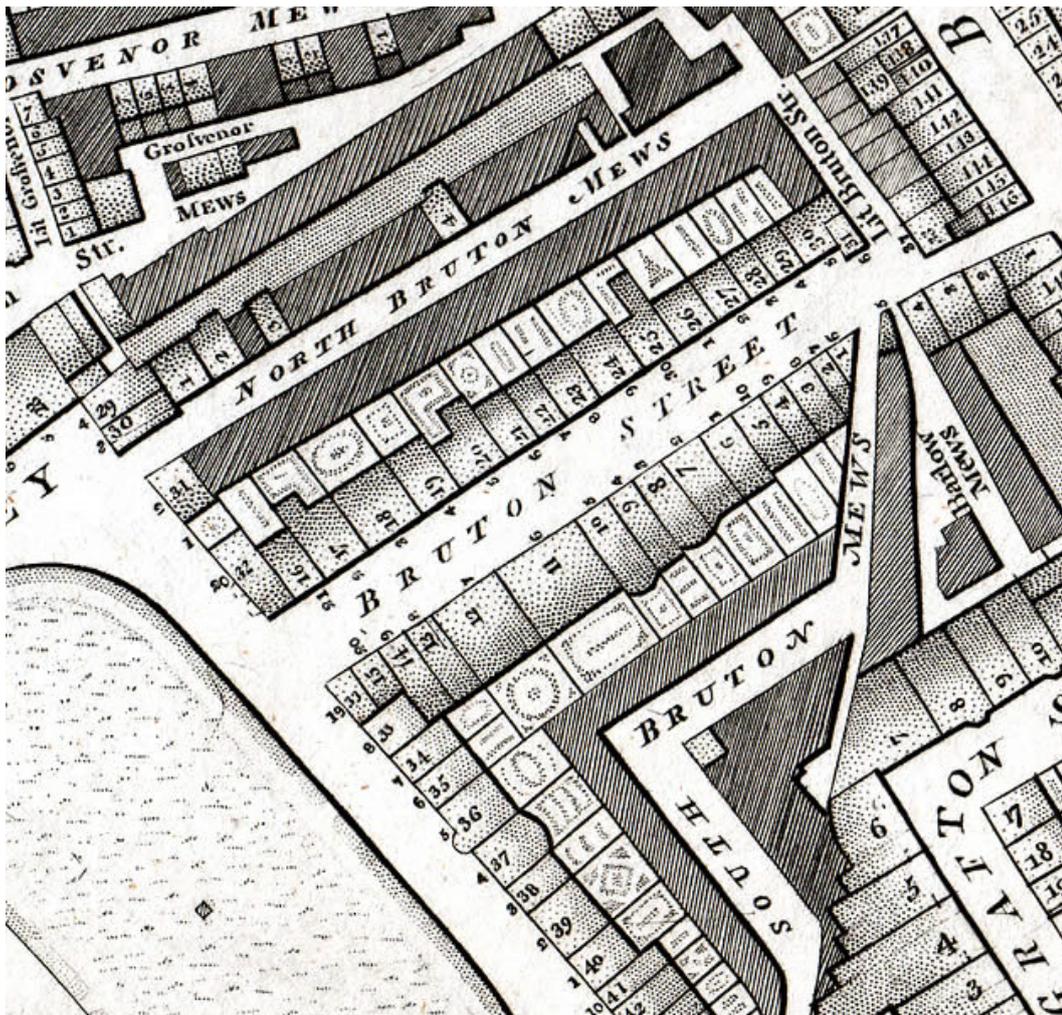


Figure 3.33. Bruton Street, the London home of Mary Townshend (later Cornwallis), close to Berkeley Square and Green Park, on Richard Horwood's map of London, 1792-99.

Charles Barnes, the owner of Essendon Place in the 1750s, was a lawyer at Grays Inn, where the seventeenth century Walks were a popular public open space. Samuel Whitbread, the owner of Bedwell Park from 1765 onwards, had a large house next to his brewery in Chiswell Street but also owned townhouses in St Albans Street, overlooking Carlton House and St James' Park, and in Portman Square, which had a private garden for the squares residents (Mathias 2004a) (Figure 3.34). However, not all urban residents had easy access to shared green spaces.

Benjamin Truman, who, like Whitbread, was a wealthy and successful brewer, built and lived in the Directors House near the Black Eagle Brewery (Figure 3.35) (Sheppard 1957, 116-112).

The house still survives; it's long brick facade with Venetian windows fronting onto the narrow street of Brick Lane in Spitalfields, shown on Horwood's map as being surrounded by a dense network of terraced streets, although then still only a few streets away from the fields on the edge of the city. Truman was clearly a businessmen who took the personal supervision of his

business very seriously, choosing to live next to his brewery, rather than in an elegant west-end square like Whitbread.

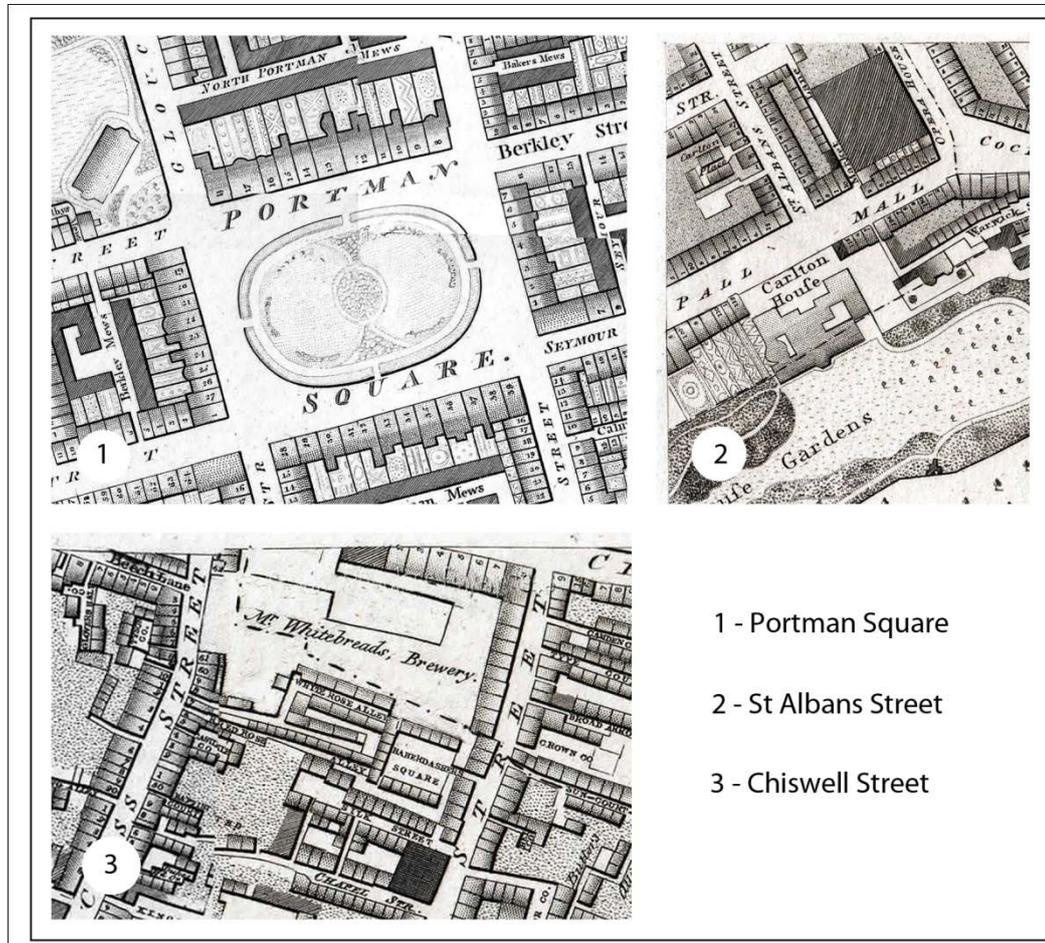


Figure 3.34. Samuel Whitbread's London properties, shown on Richard Horwood's map of London, 1792-99.



Figure 3.35. Truman's brewery and house on the corner of Black Eagle Street and Brick Lane, shown on Richard Horwood's map of London, 1792-99.

Thomas Browne, the purchaser of Camfield Place in 1760, lived in Bartlett's Buildings in Holborn, not a particularly fashionable area of the city. Horwood's map shows Bartlett's Buildings in a densely built-up area, without any gardens or nearby green space – the landscape of Camfield must therefore have provided a welcome contrast to Browne's London life (Figure 3.36). With some exceptions then, the experience of shared public spaces in London was mirrored for these people in their rural Hertfordshire residences, where views of both the rural and designed landscape were shared between this group of small landscapes. A thirty acre garden seems relatively small in the context of large landscape parks, but if, instead, we think in terms of an urban or suburban context these small designed landscapes can be seen to have been quite extensive, particularly when compared to the urban experiences of their owners.

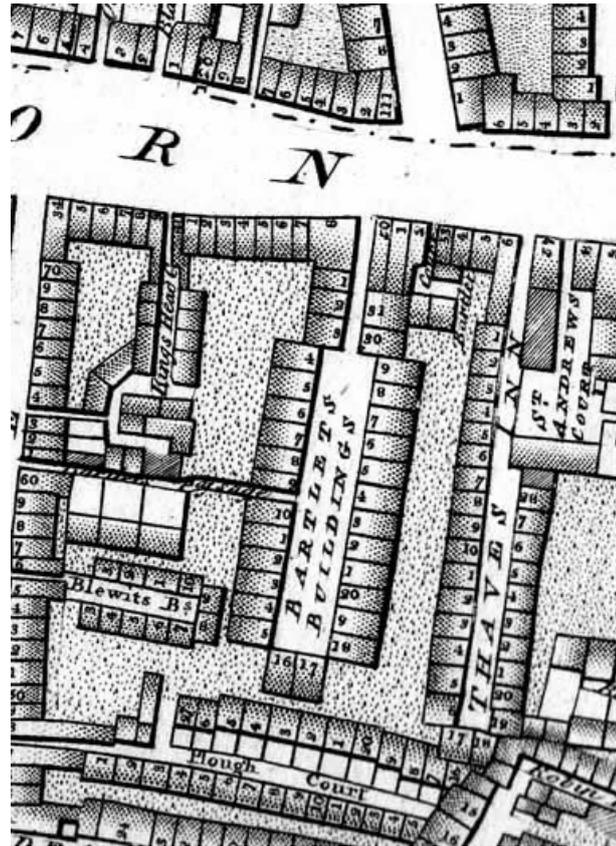


Figure 3.36. Bartlett's Buildings, shown on Richard Horwood's map of London, 1792-99.

This cluster of small designed landscapes provides an illuminating example of how modest villa-type landscapes of the mid-eighteenth century related to the surrounding rural landscape, and equally importantly, how they related to other designed landscapes in the immediate area. But are these relationships unique, or can they also be found between other, larger designed landscapes in Hertfordshire?

3.5.3 Designed landscapes in the Mimram valley

As the examples above illustrate, small designed landscapes, often without an associated landed estate, were a particular feature of the landscape of Hertfordshire during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Although small in size, they were owned by members of a wealthy and sophisticated urban elite, and were often found in clusters, sharing views over the surrounding rural landscape, and using each other as a backdrop to subtly increase their perceived extent. However, it was not just the smallest landscapes that exhibited these traits. Larger designed

landscapes, often associated with established landed estates, also shared some of these characteristics, especially when owned by wealthy members of the urban elite rather than by members of the local landed gentry. A string of such landscapes lies along the valley of the River Mimram, near Hertford. The landscape histories of these sites are closely entwined, and each landscape in the group has a strong relationship with its neighbours; relationships and networks that can be easily missed by historians studying individual landscapes. This cluster came to be dominated by the Panshanger estate, which lies at the south-eastern end of the river valley. This estate, owned by the Cowper family in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, gradually expanded along the valley, absorbing the smaller estates that surrounded it, estates which have therefore been given less consideration.

The soils in this stretch of the Mimram valley are of the Ludford Association; well drained, loamy soils on the slopes of the valley which overlie extensive sand and gravel deposits (Hodge 1984, 237-241). This part of Hertfordshire was densely settled in the medieval period, with less woodland and a higher proportion of arable cultivation than the London clays around Essendon (Munby 1977, 107; Williamson 2000, 133). Irregular open fields survived here until the nineteenth century, existing in tandem with large areas of enclosed ground created by piecemeal enclosure in the post-medieval period. The settlement in this area is dominated by a pattern of villages scattered between small greens, with isolated churches such as Tewin and Digswell (Munby 1977, 165; Williamson 2000, 187).

This cluster includes the nucleus of the Cowper estates, Panshanger and Cole Green, as well as the smaller estates of Marden, Tewin House, Tewin Water, Lockleys and Digswell. Nearby are other well-known designed landscapes, such as Brocket and Hertingfordbury, and the links between these outlying estates and the main cluster will also be examined here. As with the properties discussed in Essendon, there are relatively few early estate maps, and in many cases the earliest visual record of these landscapes is Dury and Andrews' 1766 county map (Figure 3.37).

large windows and a hipped roof (Figure 3.38) (HALS DE/P/P5). The interior of the house had a formal plan, with a large central hall containing the main staircase and symmetrical pairs of rooms on either side (Girouard 1978, 145) (HALS DE/P/P5).

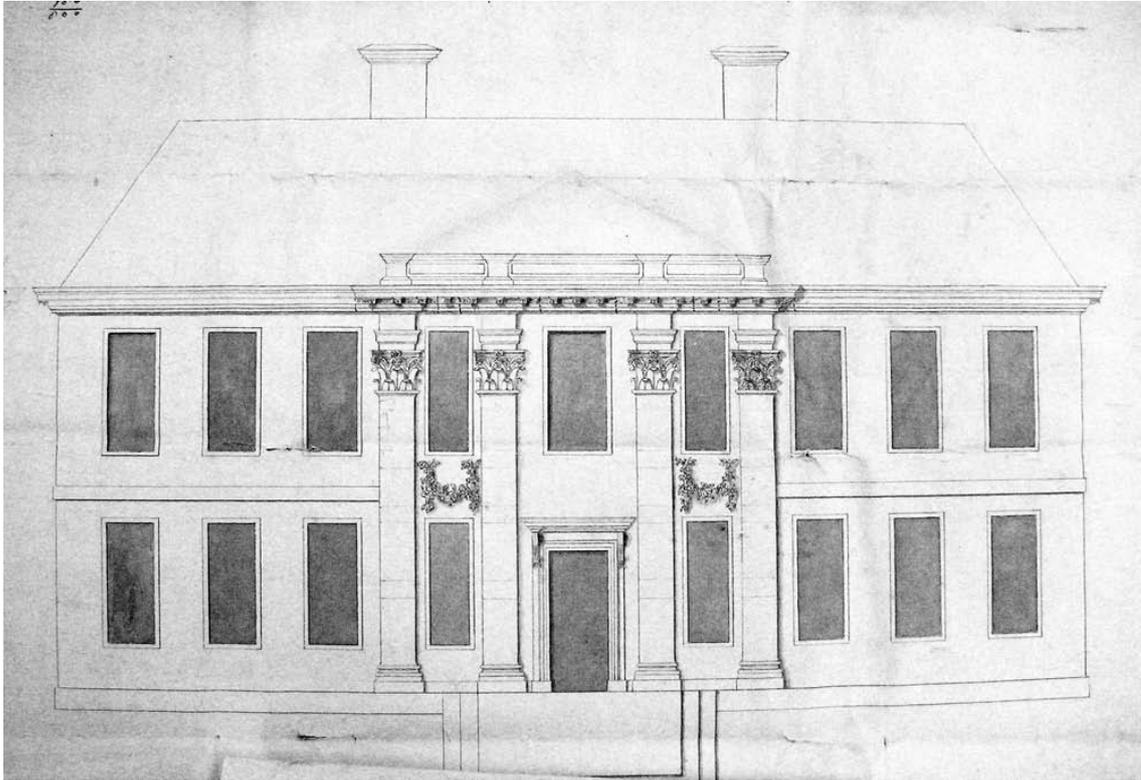


Figure 3.38. The design for the new house at Cole Green, 1705 (HALS DE/P/P5).

An early eighteenth-century estate map shows the new house in some detail. The house on the map matches that shown on the contracts, with the addition of two pavilions connected to the house with curving walls (HALS DE/P/P4). As with many other early eighteenth-century houses these probably contained the services, such as the kitchens (Heward and Taylor 1996, 43). The map shows a large formal garden behind the house, with broad gravel walks and elaborate parterres (Figure 3.39). The garden is surrounded by a fence, and overlooks a number of pasture fields. A wide avenue, focussed on the entrance façade of the house, stretches away over the surrounding enclosures. The gardens shown on the map may only be a proposal for the eventual design, but it does clearly show the landscape that existed around the site of the new house in 1704; the landscape of the farm belonging to Mr Roobin. It was this network of small woods, hedgerows and pasture fields that formed the basis of the park created the Cowpers around the new mansion in the early-eighteenth century.



Figure 3.39. Early eighteenth-century map of the estate of William Cowper, showing Cole Green house and garden surrounded by a number of pasture fields and woods (HALS DE/P/P4).

The gardens and park at Cole Green were being laid out at the same time that the house was constructed. In August 1704 the Cowper's steward wrote to Cowper's wife, Judith, to apologise that the paling around the perimeter of the park had not yet been completed, and showing that the Cowpers were establishing a more defined area of parkland from the pasture fields which initially surrounded the house (HALS DE/P/F81). The area of the park included the fields around the house shown on the estate map, and initially covered an area of around one hundred acres (HALS D/EP/E343). In 1708 a further field, Corkfield or Cock Field, was added to the area of the park (HALS D/EP/E343). Plans for expansion continued to be considered, and in the 1730s a memorandum of possible purchases to further enlarge the park was drawn up, which made a brief note of a 'road to be turned' (HALS D/EP/E20). The memorandum went on to describe the effects of this enlargement:

If these things are compleated ye Park at Cole Green may be enlarged and a very pretty farm made round it which if paled out any Game may be preserved and ye Farm laid out with Walks & planted & water may be found in ye meeds to make a pretty effect (HALS D/EP/E20).

This tantalising hint at the landscape of Cole Green in the 1730s suggests that the Cowpers were creating some kind of ornamental farmland in the tradition of the *ferme ornée* alongside the park itself and the formal gardens next to the mansion. The creation of carefully planted walks around a farm is typical of the *ferme ornée* style, a style which can be closely linked to the work of Stephen Switzer, who wrote that ‘an even decent Walk carry’d thro’ a Corn Field or Pasture thro’ little natural Thickets and Hedge Rows, is as pleasing, as the most finish’d Partarre that some Moderns have been so fond of’ (Switzer 1718, vol. 3, vi). Such landscaping is difficult to represent cartographically, and ‘soft’ features such as grassed walks, hedgerows and shrubbery style planting simply do not survive archaeologically.

The 2nd Earl, also called William Cowper, had inherited Cole Green in 1723, and was responsible for these enlargements to the park, as well as the creation of new formal gardens close to the house. A plan of the gardens from the 1730s or 1740s shows that the formal parterres created when the house was built had been replaced by a simpler garden with a lawn in front of the house flanked by a kitchen garden and an area with winding, serpentine paths (Figure 3.40) (HALS D/EP/P2). The house had also been enlarged by this point, with two more rooms added on either side of the main block. In front of the house was an open lawn planted with a scatter of individual trees and clumps either side of a central vista. On one side on the lawn was a large walled kitchen garden, and on the other a wilderness with serpentine paths and a central grove. The lawn itself was separated from the park by a wide ha-ha, but this plan gives few hints about the *ferme ornée* landscape that the other documentary evidence shows was being developed in the park (HALS D/EP/P2).

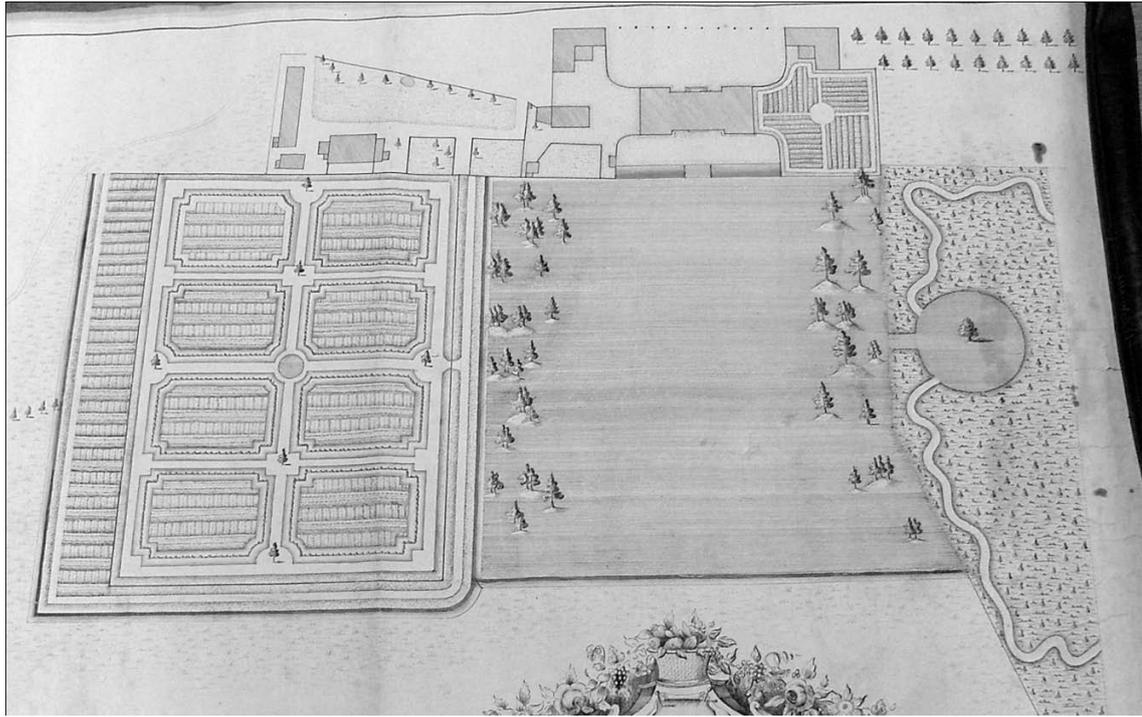


Figure 3.40. The house and gardens at Cole Green in the 1730s or 1740s (HALS D/EP/P2).

This garden has broad similarities to one of its near neighbours. The garden at Hertingfordbury was probably created in the 1740s by William Cowper, the nephew of the 1st Earl, who inherited the estate in 1740 (Page, 1912, 462-468). An estate map from 1773 shows a lawn in front of the house, with a vista funnelled down the lawn by clumps of trees. The lawn terminates in a ha-ha, and is framed on both sides by planting with winding, serpentine paths (Figure 3.41) (HALS D/EP/P12). Although this style of landscaping is perhaps typical of the 1740s, a period when the rigidity of the formal garden was being lightened with serpentine curves, it is interesting to find two similar designs being created at roughly the same time, on neighbouring estates owned by the same family. This is a striking example of how the social ties that bound the landowning class together helped to spread new ideas in aesthetic design.



Figure 3.41. An estate map of Hertingfordbury, 1773, showing the house and gardens created by the Cowpers from the 1740s onwards (HALS D/EP/P12).

Some other details of the gardens at Cole Green can be gleaned from a short memorandum by the 2nd Earl, headed 'Father's directions in his farming affairs', and containing some information about the gardens, including notes about the kitchen gardens (HALS DE/P/E8). Most interestingly the memorandum includes this instruction,

The hedge in Old-Field on each side the seat trimmed and the weed in the slips mowed or stabbed up (HALS DE/P/E8).

Old Field is shown on the early eighteenth-century estate map, outside of the area of the original park (Figure 3.38), and the avenue shown on the map runs from the house across Old

Field, terminating at the boundary (HALS DE/P/E4). Hedged seats with carefully weeded and mown grass paths were typical of the *ferme ornée*, as well as more general rural embellishments found in gardens of this period. Switzer advised placing seats on walks with ‘shady arbours and recesses’ (Switzer 1718, vol. 2, 167), whilst Batty Langley particularly recommended lime as a hedging plants for ‘shady walks and arbours’ (Langley 1740, 143). The popularity of such features continued into the late-eighteenth century, William Marshall suggested that landowners should make sure that seats on their estates were ‘united with the wood, lawn and walk that lie around it’ (Marshall 1796, 264). This type of feature is typical of those which on other sites are very difficult to pin down with such specific documentary evidence.

Cowper employed Lancelot Brown at Cole Green between 1755 and 1764, and the surviving account books from the estate record six payments over this period to Brown, totalling £654 (HALS DE/P/A8). Cole Green was Brown’s third commission in Hertfordshire; he also worked for Sir John Sebright at Beechwood Park in 1753, and at Moor Park for Lord Anson between 1754 and 1759. He later went on to work for the Dukes of Bridgewater at Ashridge in 1759 (Prince 2008, 94). His work at Moor Park and at Ashridge is therefore contemporary with that at Cole Green, and at all three sites he worked on a relatively small area of the landscape, an important reminder that his work did not always involve the wholesale removal of earlier landscape features. At Moor Park, discussed in detail above, Brown confined his attentions to an area close to the house, and at Ashridge he focussed on the ‘Golden Valley’ to the east of the house (Prince 2008, 96). It seems likely that at Cole Green Brown also only worked on part of the park, leaving the avenues shown Dury and Andrews’ map of 1766 intact, as he had at Moor Park.

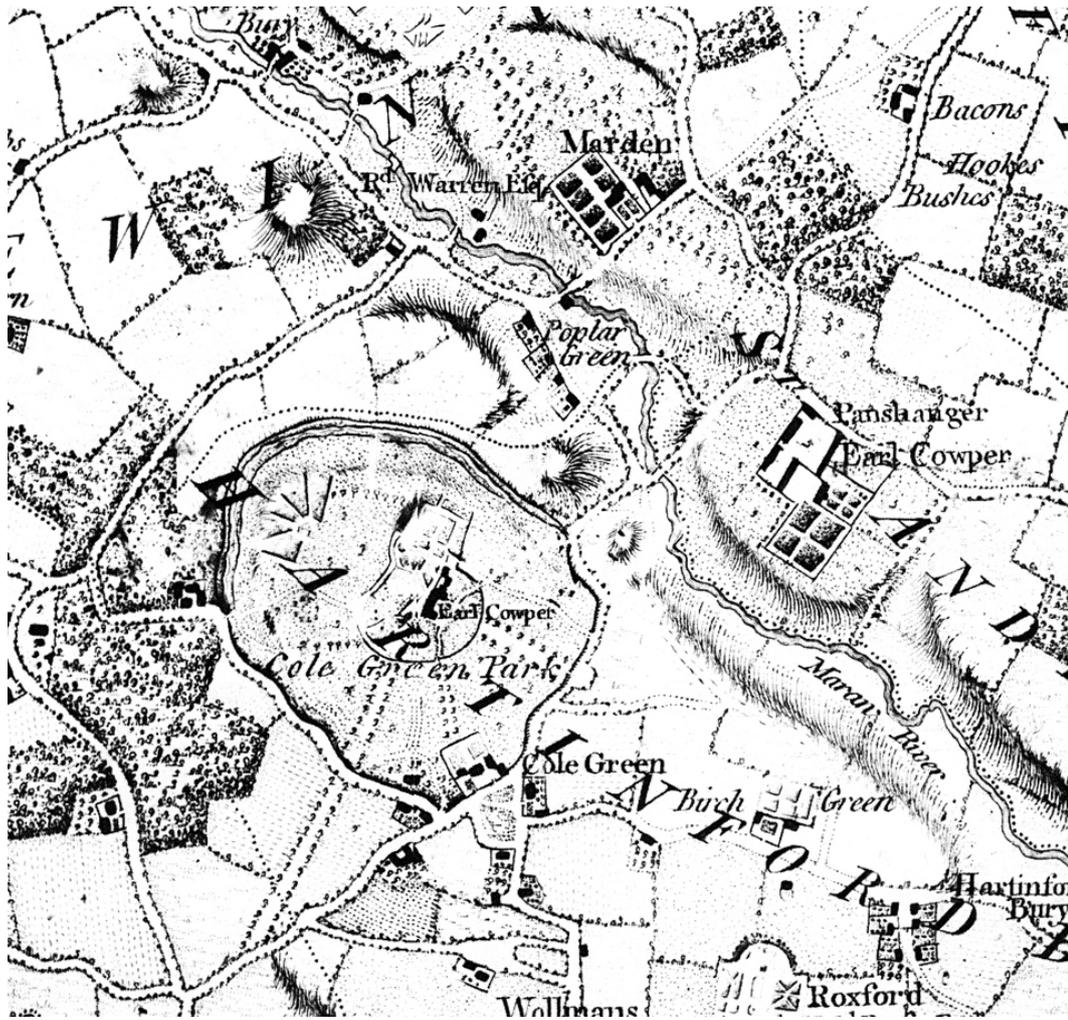


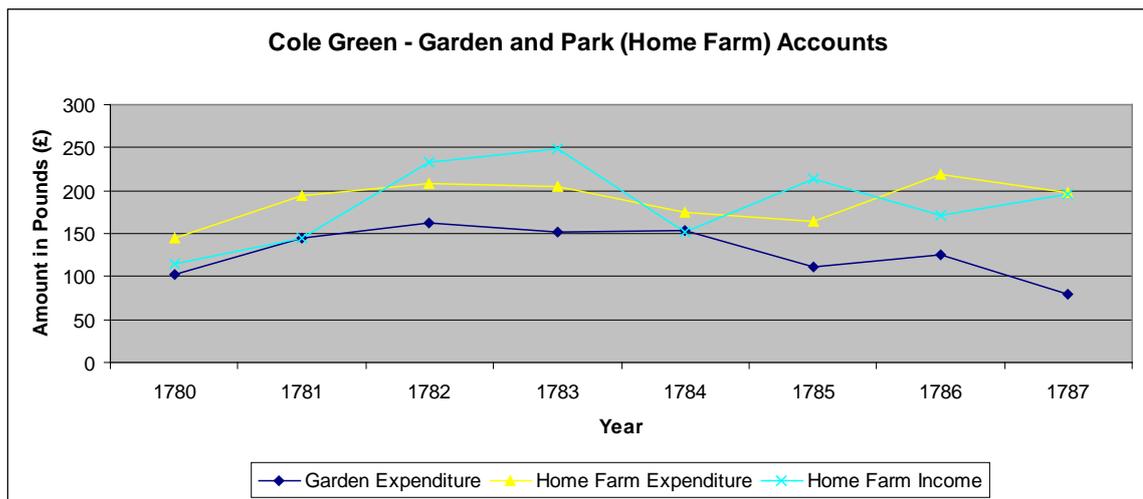
Figure 3.42. The park at Cole Green shown on Dury and Andrews' map of 1766.

Dury and Andrews' map shows a large, circular park at Cole Green with the house and formal gardens at the centre and several avenues on one side of the house (Figure 3.42). On the other side is a large area of open lawn, with a garden building standing within a geometric block of woodland cut with rides. Although there are no maps of Cole Green from the late-eighteenth century, a series of accounts for the park and the gardens have survived. Table 3.5 shows the yearly income and expenditure on the park and garden as recorded in these accounts between 1780 and 1787.

Year	Garden Expenditure	Park/Home Farm Expenditure	Park/Home Farm Income
1780	102	145	115
1781	144	195	145
1782	162	208	233
1783	151	204	249
1784	154	175	151
1785	111	164	214
1786	126	218	171
1787	80	198	196

Table 3.5. Yearly totals (in pounds) from the Cole Green Park and Garden Accounts 1780-87 (HALS DE/P/EA22 and DE/P/EA20).

These figures are also shown in Graph 3.1, which demonstrates how the expenditure from the park and garden accounts mirrored each other almost exactly during the 1780s. The accounts also make it clear that part of the park was under arable cultivation with a crop rotation that included wheat, barley, turnips and clover, with the occasional inclusion of peas and oats.



Graph 3.1. Cole Green Park and Garden Accounts 1780-87 (HALS DE/P/EA22 and DE/P/EA20).

The farming operation at Cole Green was, like many other estate farms in this period, being run on improved lines with the use of crop rotations using turnips and clover. The use of areas of parkland as arable farmland was not uncommon in the late-eighteenth century in large landscape parks such as Holkham or Langley in Norfolk (Williamson 1998, 103). Indeed, the ‘improvement’ of farmland and parkland often proceeded together, as at Holkham in the 1780s and 1790s where Thomas Coke extended the park to the south to encompass a new Home Farm, surrounded by arable fields as well as more grassland (Williamson 1995, 122).

As discussed above, the park at Cole Green in the 1730s and 1740s included ornamented farmland in the tradition of the *ferme ornée*. By the late-eighteenth century the home farm was being managed on ‘improved’ lines, which were an important part of elite estate management in this period. What is not clear is the extent to which the home farm of the 1790s was ornamented, and whether any elements of the early eighteenth-century landscape remained at that date. Laura Sayre has drawn a clear link between these two periods, suggesting that the spirit of the *ferme ornée* continued to be important in the late-eighteenth century, although its importance manifested itself in improved methods of farming and model farm buildings, rather than the rustic forms which dominated the style earlier in the century (Sayre 2002). Cole Green is another important example of the blurring of boundaries between ornamental and practical landscapes that was common in Hertfordshire during the eighteenth century, as well as the continuing importance of elements of the *ferme ornée* as a tradition in English landscape design into the period of the ‘Agricultural Revolution’.

In 1801 the Cowpers demolished the house at Cole Green, less than a century after its construction, and moved across the river to Panshanger, incorporating the area of the park at Cole Green into a new, larger park around Panshanger. A new house was built by the Cowpers at Panshanger in the early-nineteenth century, but there had been a substantial house on the site since at least the sixteenth century (Rowe 2006, 3). In the early-eighteenth century this had been owned by the Elwes family who leased the house and gardens to a London gentleman called George Wilcocks (HALS D/EP/T3299). A lease, dated 1713, provides the earliest evidence for the appearance of the grounds at Panshanger, and mentions ‘the Walks in the grass behind the Orchard and Gardens’, together with a piece of ground called Little Beckings which appears to have been part of the gardens, all features which appears to have been typical of the mixed ornamental and productive designed landscapes in Hertfordshire in this period. Wilcocks was granted the ‘liberty to cut down so much of the underwood in the said grove for the making of walks through the grove’, suggesting that the owners were happy to let the tenant make changes to the grounds, as well as being a reminder of the high maintenance needed to maintain such gardens, wooded walks had to be periodically recut and managed to prevent them being overgrown (HALS D/EP/T3299).

In 1719 John Elwes sold the Panshanger estate to Lord Cowper, the 1st Earl, who had recently built the new house at Cole Green; the first step in the Cowper estate’s expansion along the Mimram valley (HALS D/EP/T3312). A small estate map of 1719 shows the layout of the estate when purchased by Cowper (Figure 3.43). The house overlooked a number of small fields dropping down the valley slopes towards the river. In front of the house was a small wood called ‘Kitchen Grove’, as well as a long strip of woodland running along the contour line called ‘Dell Wood’ and ‘Long Grove’ (HALS D/EP/T3322-24). The grove and ‘walks’ referred to in the lease of 1713 must have been within this area of woodland.

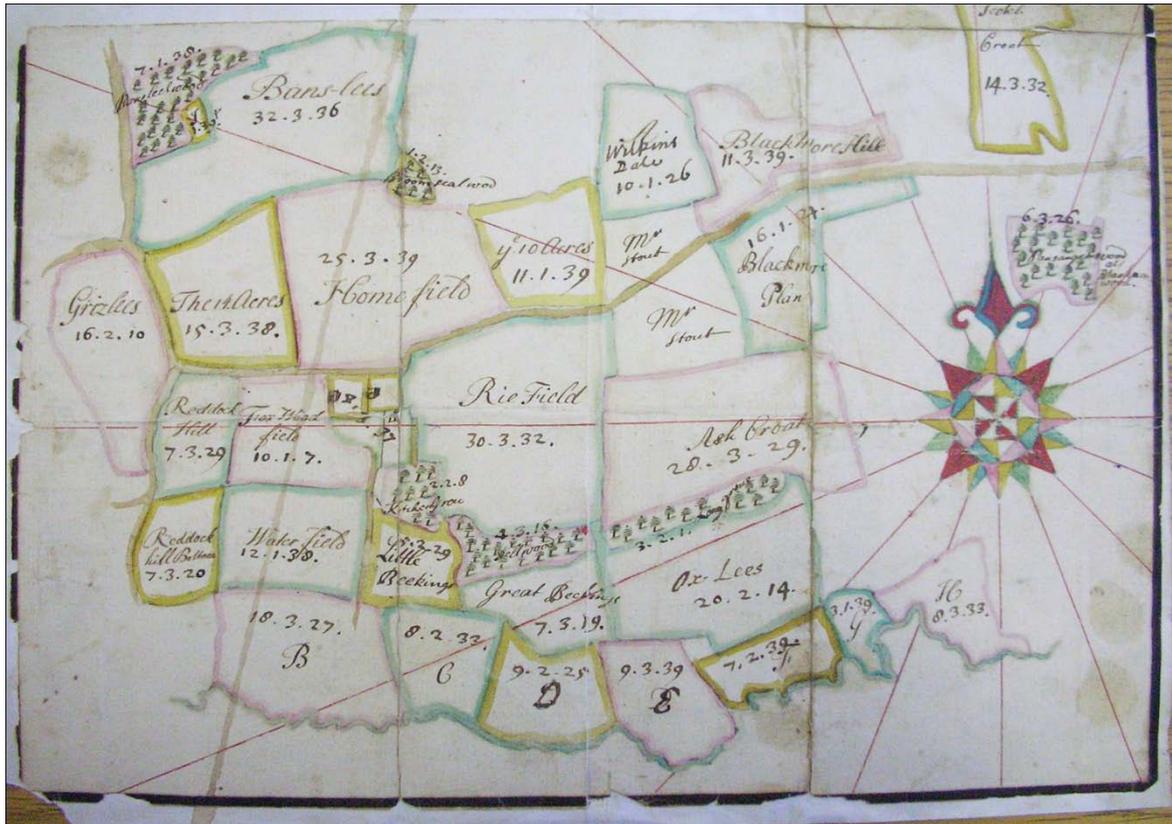


Figure 3.43. Panshanger shown on an estate map of 1719 (HALS D/EP/T3322-24).

The Cowpers did not move their seat to Panshanger in 1719, although they did move across the river several generations later. Nor did the Cowpers seek to incorporate Panshanger into their park at Cole Green, which would seem to be a logical step. As discussed above, the claylands of Hertfordshire were typified by a settlement pattern of dispersed farms and hamlets, resulting in a complicated landholding pattern. If a family, like the Cowpers, wanted to build up a substantial landed estate, then it perhaps made more sense to acquire a number of other small elite residences, which although they might not have their own landed estates, might be within a consolidated block of land which formed their grounds. This may have been an easier process than negotiating over the purchase of numerous tiny blocks of land from a number of different landowners and farmers, and also had the added incentive that such residences could be leased to provide an additional income. Cowper immediately leased Panshanger to Sir Gregory Page, a director of the East India Company (HALS D/EP/T3325; Collins 1741, 158). In 1719 Thomas Woodford, Cowper's secretary, wrote to him that

Sir Gregory Page spoke to me again about his Estate to whom I stated the difficulty which your Lordship mentioned to me, & in answer to it he told me that he had no intentions to bring up any water from the Cut, but meant only to have a Canal at bottom, & thanks your Lordship for your kind intentions to him (HALS D/EP/E146).

There is no evidence that such a canal was ever created and after Page's death in 1720 the estate was leased to members of the Cowper family. This may have been to ensure total control over improvements and alterations made to the neighbouring landscape which was clearly visible from Cole Green, and this may also represent the first move towards the eventual merging of the two designed landscapes. In the 1730s, for example, Panshanger was leased to Lady Sarah Cowper, the 2nd Earl's sister, and in the 1750s it was the home of Spencer Cowper, the 2nd Earl's brother (HALS D/EP/T3327 and Rowe 2006, 3). In 1757 the Reverend George Harris visited Panshanger as a guest of Spencer Cowper and recorded his visit in his diary:

Friday July 1st. Walk't round the Dean's teritorie. The finest oak in all this country is in his woods – 5 yards & half round, & not the least decayed – he has made a grand Walk thro[ugh] the coppice to it. 'Tis of a great height. Afternoon, walk't to Hartingfordbury, ab[ou]t 2 miles off – a pleasant village. ... River mimeron runs by it. ... Came back thro[ugh] the meads to the bottom of the Dean's gardens, & so thro[ugh] them to his house (Hampshire Record Office 9M73/958).

The 'finest oak' is the Panshanger Oak, a large veteran tree to the west of the site of the house. The reference to the 'grand walk through the coppice' recalls the walks and groves that existed at Panshanger in the early-eighteenth century; clearly elements of this landscape survived, and were being added to, in the late 1750s. It is significant that the Cowpers were making the most of the landscape surrounding Panshanger, with the creation of walks through the woods and meadows along the valley of the Mimram, thus appropriating the landscape into the design. This is typical of such landscapes in Hertfordshire at the date, as discussed above, and was an approach which linked the ornamental and the productive within the landscape.

Dury and Andrews' 1766 map shows Panshanger as being surrounded by parkland, stretching down towards the river (Figure 3.42). The fields shown on the 1719 map (Figure 3.43) are not

depicted by Dury and Andrews, although they may still have been in existence – the neighbouring estate of Marden was shown as parkland by Dury and Andrews although contemporary estate maps clearly show that the house there was surrounded by fields (discussed below). To the south of the house at Panshanger was a large walled garden with four square plantations of trees; this is in the same position as the ‘Kitchen Grove’ shown on the 1719 map. A late eighteenth-century drawing by John Charnock is the only illustration of the house during the eighteenth century (National Maritime Museum PAF2911) (Figure 3.44). The drawing shows an older, possibly sixteenth-century wing to the rear of the house, with a large early eighteenth-century extension to the front, its arched windows overlooking the river, surrounded by lawns and planting which included some evergreen fir trees.

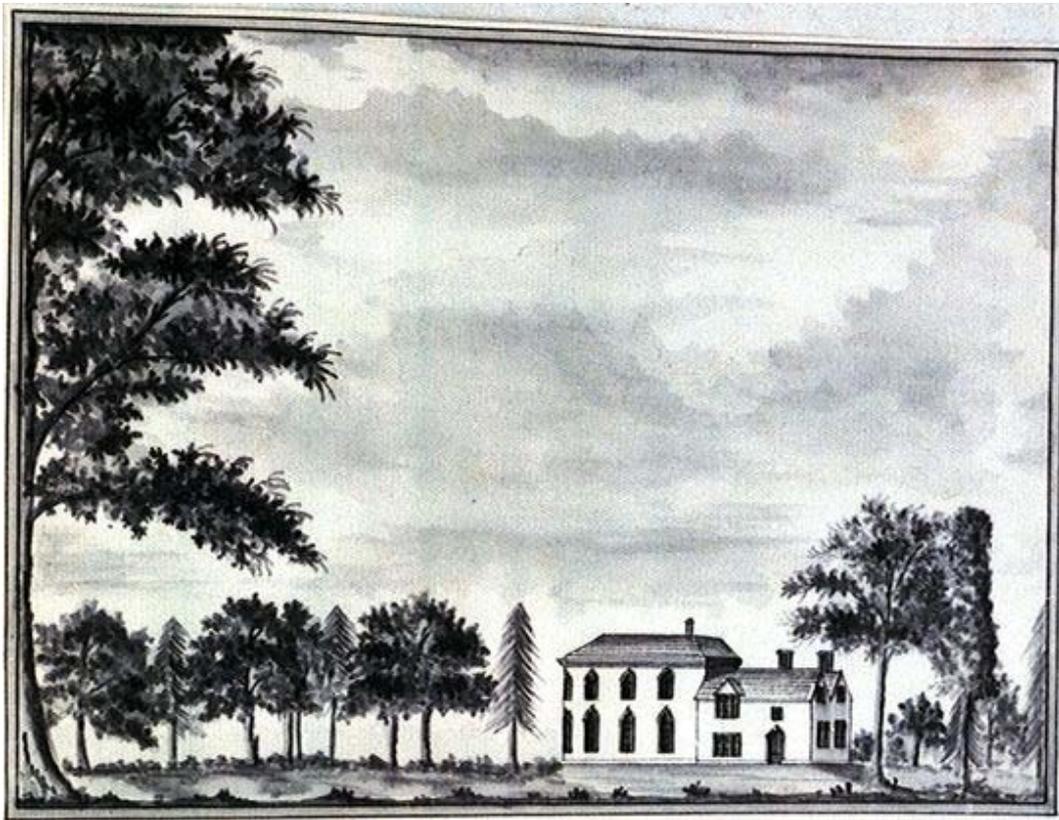


Figure 3.44. Undated late eighteenth-century drawing of Panshanger by John Charnock (National Maritime Museum PAF2911).

In 1799 the 5th Earl Cowper, Peter Leopold Francis Nassau Clavering-Cowper, succeeded to the title, and it was his decision to abandon Cole Green and to build a new house at Panshanger. Cowper commissioned Humphry Repton to advise on the landscape around the new house in

1799 and in 1800 Repton delivered his Red Book to Cowper with his recommendations (HALS D/EP/P21A). After dismissing the view from Cole Green as ‘flat and uninteresting’, Repton describes the view from the existing house at Panshanger, noting that ‘the beauty of this view is very confined, and is only seen along a narrow Dell which falls into the valley at right angles’ (HALS D/EP/P21A). Repton recommended locating the new house further down the valley slope towards the river and work began in 1806. The River Mimram was dammed to create a widened channel known as the Broadwater. The park at Cole Green was absorbed into the new landscape being created around Panshanger, and an extensive programme of tree planting from 1799 onwards surrounded the new house with large plantations, channelling the views south across the valley towards Cole Green, and to the west along the Mimram towards Welwyn (Figure 3.45) (HALS D/EP/E6).



Figure 3.45. Humphry Repton’s Red Book for Panshanger, showing the carefully constructed view down the river valley, along the newly enlarged channel (HALS D/EP/E6).

An estate map of 1810 shows the landscape around Panshanger just after the new house was completed (Figure 3.46) (HALS D/EP/E38). The house, backed by plantations, overlooked the newly made Broadwater and the site of Cole Green house. The kitchen gardens of Cole Green

were retained, and the avenue that had been focussed on the main façade of the house was still in existence when the map was made. During the nineteenth century the house at Panshanger was extended, with the creation of flower gardens close to the house and new garden buildings, such as an ornamental dairy (Rowe, 2006).



Figure 3.46. Panshanger on an estate map of 1810, the kitchen gardens of Cole Green are shown to the south of the river (HALS D/EP/E38).

A viewshed analysis of Cole Green and Panshanger (using the methodology described above) shows that the site of each house was clearly visible from the other (Figures 3.47 and 3.48). The

views from the house at Panshanger took in much of the landscape on the far side of the river, which had been within the former park at Cole Green and which was planted up in the early-nineteenth century. The viewshed shows that the views from Cole Green had been relatively restricted compared to those obtained from Panshanger, which may be one of several reasons which prompted the move across the Mimram.

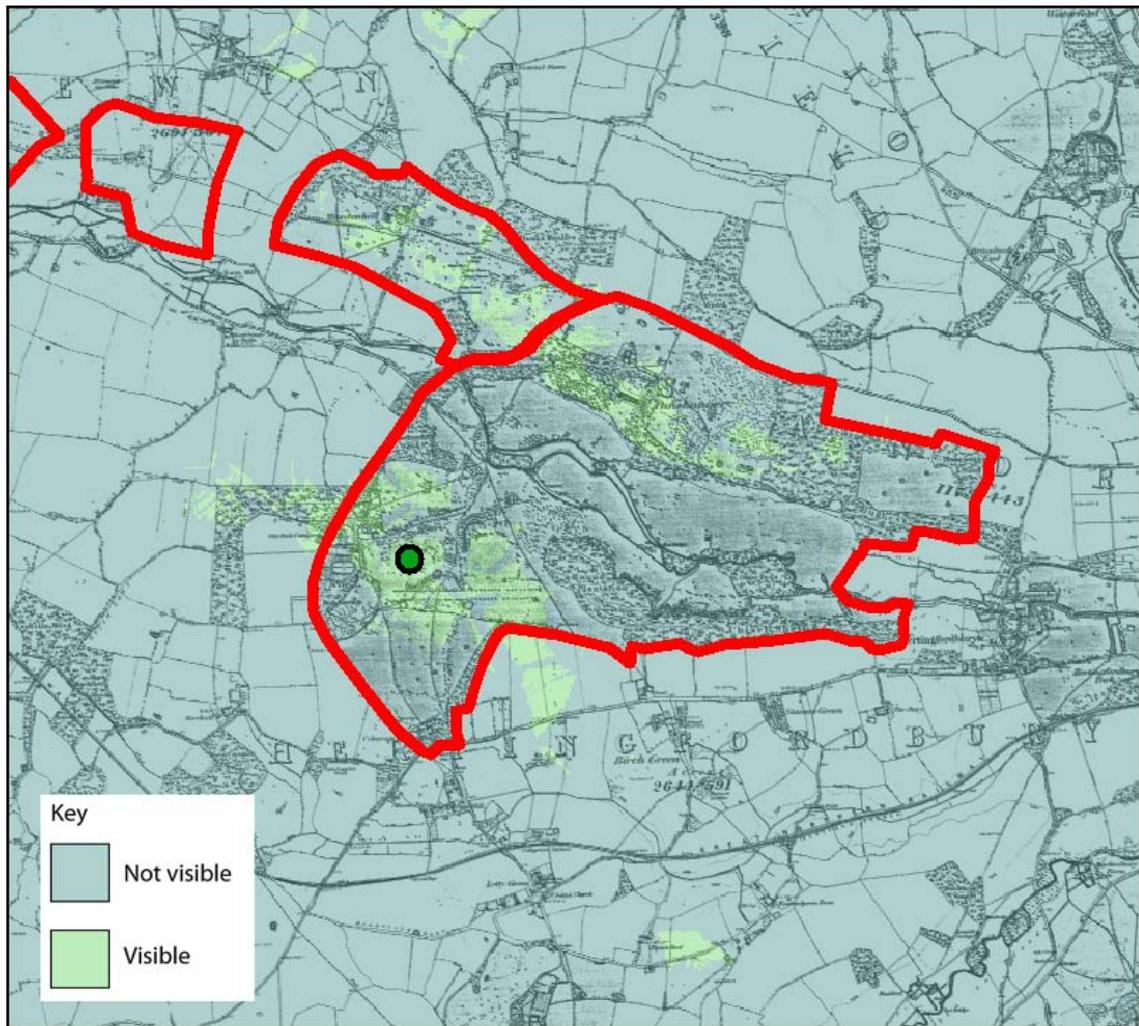


Figure 3.47. Viewshed analysis of the landscape around Cole Green, overlaid with the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map (c1880s). The house at Cole Green is shown with a green dot.

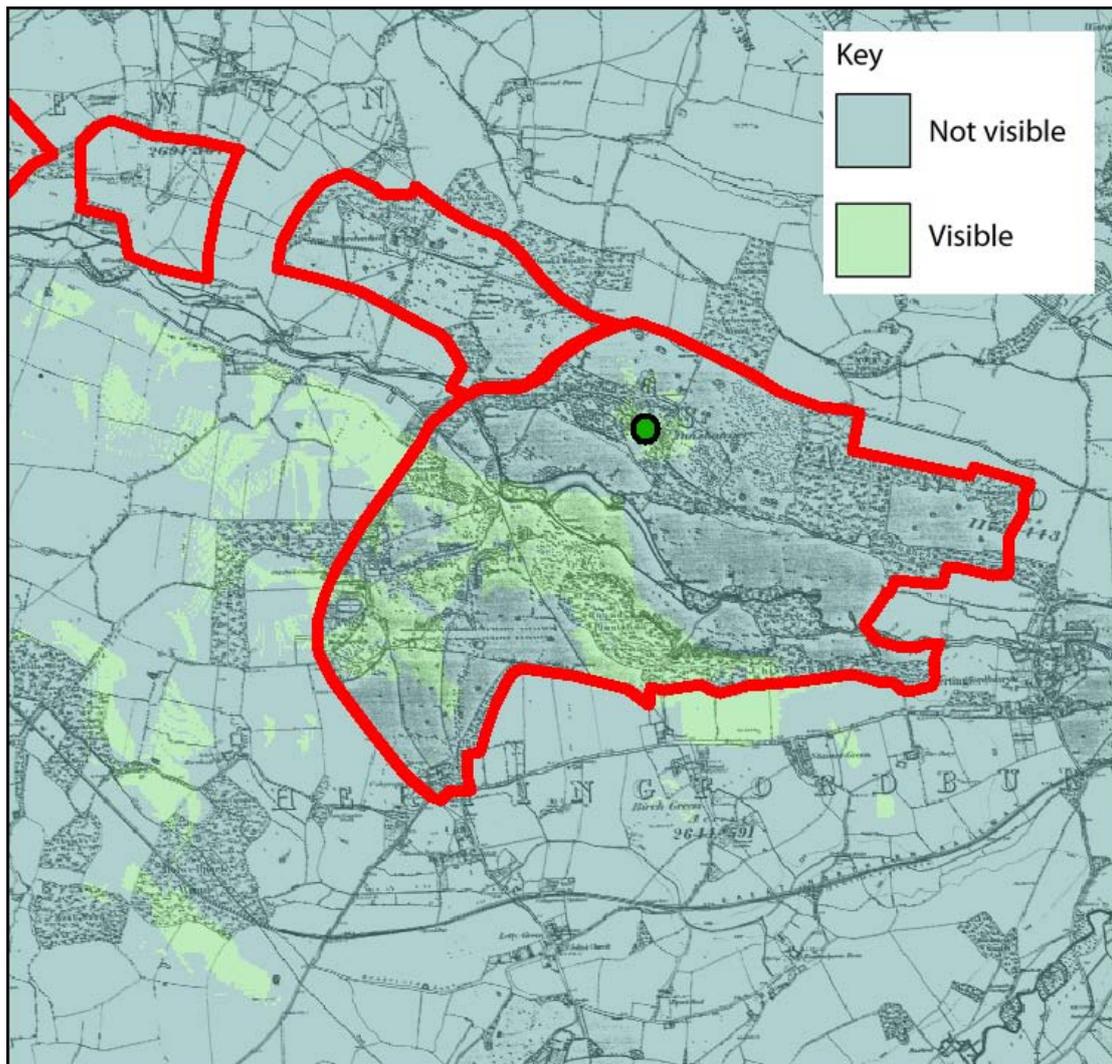


Figure 3.48. Viewshed analysis of the landscape around Panshanger, overlaid with the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map (c1880s). The house at Panshanger is shown with a green dot.

Across the river from the Cowper’s mansion at Cole Green, and immediately adjacent to their seat at Panshanger, was the smaller estate of Marden. A medieval manorial site held by the Abbey of St Albans until the sixteenth century, Marden came into the possession of the North family in the late sixteenth century (Page 1912, 480-87). Hugh North built ‘a fair House’ at Marden in the 1650s, but no documentary or clear physical evidence of his house, or the grounds, has survived (Chauncy 1700, 541). Marden was sold by North’s daughters and by the early-eighteenth century it was owned by the Warren family (Chauncy 1700, 541). The Warren family gradually built up the small estate around Marden, adding the adjacent wood called Hooks Bushes in 1716 (HALS DE/P/T2434), and swapping strips of land in the common fields on the other side of the River Mimram with their neighbour, General Sabine of Tewin (HALS DE/P/T2435-6). The horizons of the Warren family were not limited to the parish of Marden

however, and Richard Warren, the owner of the estate between the 1730s and 1780s, was also a resident of Cheapside in London (HALS DE/HCC/27518).

Dury and Andrews' map shows the house within a large walled garden, with one avenue focussed on the house, and another running alongside the garden wall. A parkland landscape of scattered trees surrounds the house, and gently falls away towards the river in the valley bottom. Although shown without a park pale, the landscape around the house is stippled in grey; a clear indication that the surveyors considered this to be a parkland landscape similar to others in the immediate area, such as Goldens, Cole Green or the two Tewins (Figure 3.49).

The earliest surviving estate map is a copy of an undated map from the decades either side of 1800 (HALS D/EP/P20), which can be correlated with an undated late eighteenth-century survey of the estate which notes land use (HALS D/EP/T2430a). This shows that at the turn of the eighteenth century the house was surrounded by a number of arable fields rather than by a parkland landscape (Figure 3.50).



Figure 3.49. Marden and Tewin shown on Dury and Andrews' map of 1766.

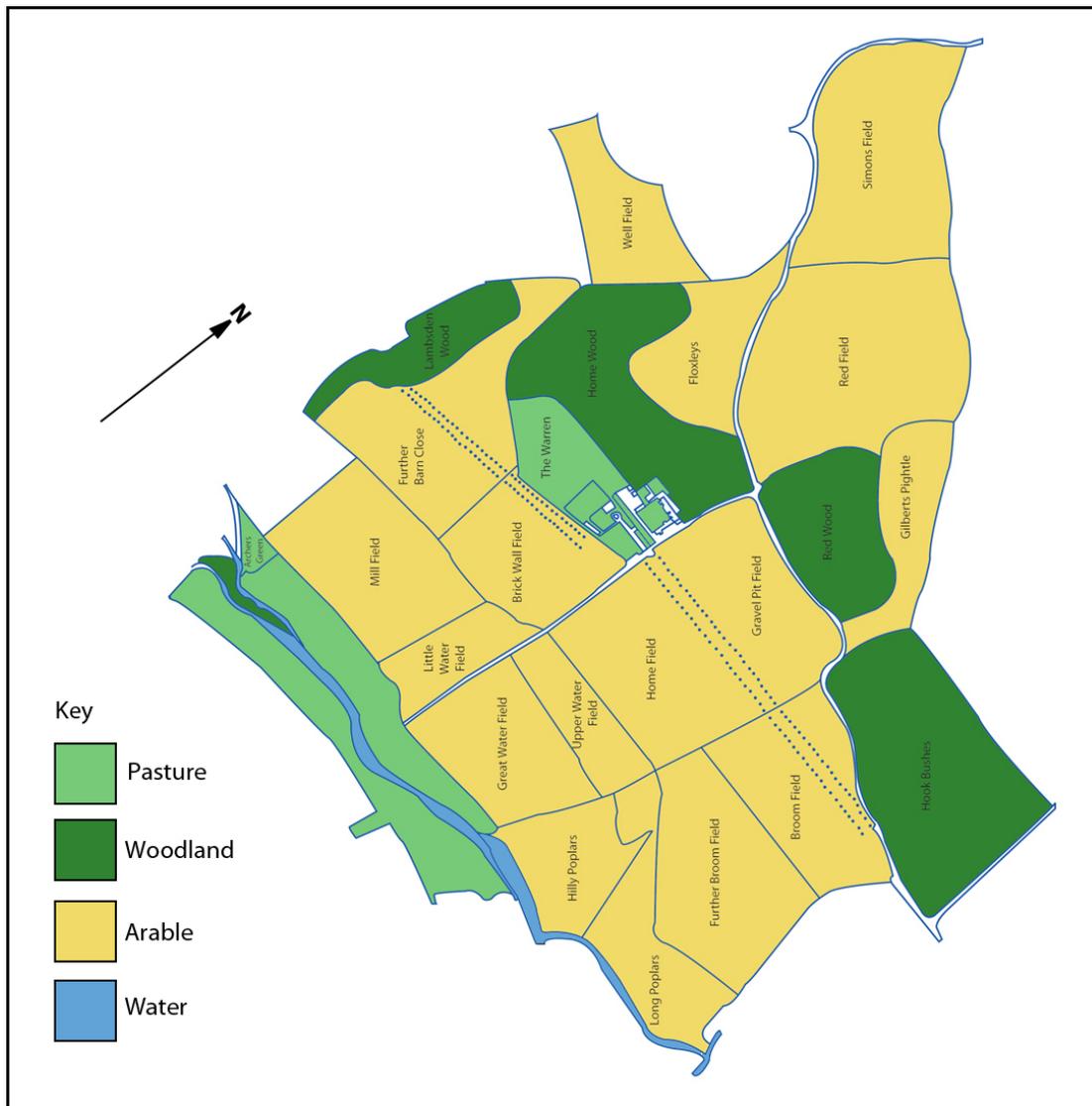


Figure 3.50. An undated estate map (c1800) of Marden, digitally redrawn and coloured to show land use (HALS D/EP/P20 and D/EP/T2430a).

Pasture fields and meadows would have given the outward impression of a grassy, park-like landscape, but at Marden the fields were under *arable* cultivation. It was not unusual for areas of landscape parks to be converted to arable cultivation during the late-eighteenth century, particularly in the period of high grain prices which peaked during the Napoleonic wars (Overton 1996, 64). At Felbrigg Hall in Norfolk part of the park was under arable cultivation in the 1780s (Gregory 2008, 185), as was much of the park around Holkham Hall (Williamson 1995, 122). It is possible that the owners of Marden, the Warren family followed by Robert Macky, converted the area of the park shown on Dury and Andrews' map to arable. However, it

is also possible that Marden may have been a type of *ferme ornée*; a local precedent for the use of ornamentalised fields having already been set at nearby Cole Green earlier in the eighteenth century. However, what the map does not make clear is the number of trees that existed in this landscape. In 1801 there were 1,483 pollard trees on the estate, as well as other standard timber trees, many of which were (and still are) in the hedgerows of the fields which surrounded the house (HALS D/EP/T2491). So, the view from the house would have been one of a densely treed landscape, with views down to the meadows by the river and flashes of arable through the trees (Figure 3.51).



Figure 3.51. The view from Marden across the Mimram valley (photographed June 2009).

Marden was sold by the Warren family in 1785, and the sales particulars described the ‘spacious dwelling house, offices, dovehouse, gardens, and two agreeable Vistas, through which the Country exhibits more beautiful and luxuriant prospects’ (HALS D/EL/5591). The house was said to be ‘capable of great improvement’, perhaps suggesting that not many alterations had been carried out since its construction in the 1650s. The immediate surroundings of the house were divided into thirteen enclosures totalling 113 acres and five woods containing 171 acres, as well as a farm let to a tenant. The sales particulars include details of the many trees on the

estate, including 773 pollards, and the crops of wheat, oats, barley and clover standing in the fields (HALS D/EL/5591). The whole estate amounted to 431 acres, and was bought by Robert Macky for £7,000 (HALS D/EP/T2447b). This was the same Robert Macky who had owned the diminutive landscape at Woodside Place in Essendon, and who now sold that residence to purchase a more substantial landed estate.

Macky was an active improver, putting forward a number of proposals to his neighbours to try and exchange and enclose various strips in the surviving open fields on the other side of the Mimram in order to 'make them more serviceable or compact' (HALS D/EP/T2450). In 1790 Macky tried to exchange various parcels of land with Lord Cowper, including Pleasure Field, to the west of Marden and away from the main vistas over the valley, for Great Poplars Field, immediately within sight of the house (D/EP/T2450). In 1799 Macky was still trying to exchange land with Lord Cowper, this time offering all his common field strips, the Vineyard and the Pleasure Field (a total of seventy six acres) in exchange for various meadows and fields from Cowper (D/EP/T2451). In 1790 he commissioned a now little-known architect, Francis Carter, to rebuild the house at Marden in a simple neo-classical style (Colvin 2008, 231).

It is unclear whether Macky made any significant alterations to the grounds surrounding Marden, or whether the structures of the designed landscape had been inherited from the Warren family. What is clear is that fields under arable cultivation were a key part of the landscape immediately around the house. Agricultural improvement was only one of the many facets that co-existed quite happily under the umbrella of eighteenth-century 'improvement'. Can Marden therefore be considered an aesthetically improved or 'designed' landscape, despite the absence of a typical parkland landscape? Yet again, the labels and categories that garden and landscape historians use are sometimes inadequate when trying to describe a landscape like Marden. Clearly, the tradition of the *ferme ornée* is more important than that of the landscape park in this instance, but the boundaries between the two, and between the designed landscape and the surrounding countryside, are blurred and ambiguous.

In 1809, after improving the estate and rebuilding the house, Macky sold Marden to Richard Flower, a maltster from Hertford. The conveyance describes the improved estate in typically glowing terms:

...a freehold estate and manor farm consisting of a spacious and elegant new built mansion house pleasantly situate on an eminence amidst fine roads in a beautiful part of the county of Hertford, three miles from Hertford, four from Welwyn, five from Hatfield and twenty five from London, with a garden standing for three carriages, stabling for sixteen horses, dairy, bakehouse, brewhouse, and every necessary office attached and detached for a family, a farm house, capital barn, dovehouse, and most complete farming establishment standing nearly in the centre of four hundred and thirty acres of very rich arable, meadow, pasture and wood land remarkably well stocked with game and a trout stream running through the estate (HALS D/EP/T2460).

Flower purchased the estate for £16,800, compared to the £7,000 paid by Macky in 1785, perhaps reflecting the effect of Macky's improvements during the twenty years of his ownership as well as rising inflation during the Napoleonic wars. Flower went on to make his own changes to Marden, including removing the walled gardens which had survived Macky's alterations. John Carrington, a local farmer, had once been the gardener at Marden for Richard Warren and noted the alterations made by Flower in his diary,

Walked to Marden to see the Alterations now making by Flower as Esqr Mackey has left it and gon to live at Willingdon in Kent, all the Brick Walls round the garden down & I think the great alterations for the worse (Branch-Johnson 1956, 100).

Flower also promptly became deeply involved in a dispute over fishing rights in the River Mimram with Lord Cowper, a case that dragged on through the courts for several years (HALS DE/P/T2464-88b). With so many landowners in a relatively small area, it was perhaps inevitable that there would be disagreements and competition for the perks of landownership, such as fishing and shooting rights.

Just ten years later, in 1819, Flower sold Marden to Claude George Thornton, who immediately commissioned Sir John Soane to carry out substantial alterations to both the interior and the exterior of the house (Figure 3.52). Thornton died in 1866, and the estate was subsequently absorbed into the Cowper estates in 1878. A late nineteenth-century map of Marden shows that the structure of the landscape had changed little since the early years of the nineteenth century.

Some of the field boundaries appear to have been removed, although the hedgerow trees were retained (HALS D/EP/T2504).



Figure 3.52. The entrance front at Marden, as remodelled by John Soane in 1819 (photographed June 2009).

The neighbouring estate to Marden is Tewin House, bought by Major-General Joseph Sabine in 1715. He was reputed to have spent £40,000 on building a ‘magnificent’ new house (Salmon 1728, 59), and laying out the grounds around it. Sabine was from an Irish family, and had a long and distinguished career in the army before his death in Gibraltar in 1739 (Spain 2007). His son, John, commissioned Arthur Devis to paint a family portrait during the 1740s, which depicted the exterior appearance of the house (Harris 1978, 217) (Figure 3.53). The portrait shows the family sitting inside an avenue focussed on the house, with Sabine’s daughter perched on a garden roller. The house itself is a simple, classically proportioned three-storey building in red

brick with white quoins. The details of the gardens around the house are unclear, but the avenue leads away from the house along rising ground, and St Peter's church is just visible, partly hidden in trees to the left of the house.

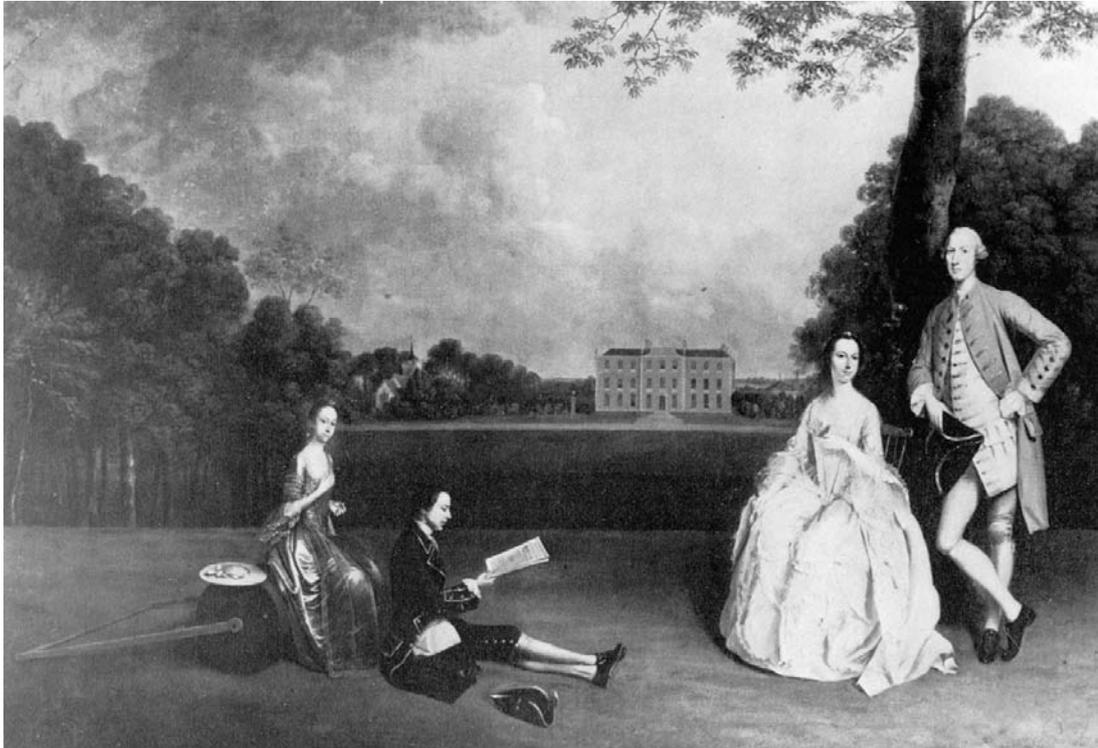


Figure 3.53. Tewin House by Arthur Devis, c1740s (Private collection, reproduced from Harris 1979, 217).

The painting does not show any detail of the grounds close to the house, and again Dury and Andrews' map is the earliest surviving cartographic source for the landscape at Tewin House (Figure 3.49). The map shows the house standing next to the church, with stables and other outbuildings next to the road. The avenue depicted in the Devis portrait is clearly shown, along with other details of the grounds not visible in the painting. In particular, the main vista between the house and the avenue is flanked by two geometric plantations with walks cut through them. These late-geometric features suggest a date of the early to mid-eighteenth century for this landscape, probably contemporary with the rebuilding of the house from 1715 onwards.

Tewin House was sold by the Sabine family to Robert Macky, who also bought the neighbouring estate of Marden Hill in 1785, and who had also owned Woodside Place in

Essendon. In 1788 the Sabine family then leased Adlestrop House in Gloucestershire from the Duke of Chandos, for £119 a year for the use of the furnished house and grounds (Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive DR 18/8/6/24). The exact date of Macky's purchase of Tewin House is unknown, and it is not always clear whether Tewin or Marden was his principal residence in Hertfordshire, if either. However, in 1787 Samuel Gardiner of Lockleys, a nearby residence, wrote to Macky at Tewin House about the latter's decision to sell Tewin, showing that Macky was in residence at Tewin by 1787, a date when he also owned the neighbouring estate of Marden. Gardiner had had the Tewin estate valued at just over £14,000 by a Mr Whishaw, who 'knowing my Partiality for the Country including the fixtures in the House & premises' had offered Macky £15,000 on Gardiner's behalf (HALS 26348). However, as he wrote to Macky, Gardiner had not authorised Whishaw to make an offer for the estate, and he was quick to make it clear that he had no intention of paying such a sum for the estate, despite his 'partiality' (HALS 26348). The following year, in spring 1788, Macky put the estate up for sale by auction. This example is interesting for what it shows us about the informal workings of the Hertfordshire property market in the late-eighteenth century. Estates were regularly changing hands, and were clearly being offered to immediate friends and neighbours before being put on public sale. Macky's activity in the local property market shows how important these otherwise invisible networks could be, and such connections have been little explored by historians focussing on the histories of individual sites. Macky was also clearly investing in properties before selling them on again, a type of speculative investment more often associated with urban areas, but which was also fairly common in suburban areas like parts of Hertfordshire (Stone 1984, 167; Harwood 2007, 63).

The 1788 sales particulars emphasise the Tewin House estate's close proximity to London and the pleasant location of the house, which was 'situated on an agreeable Eminence' (HALS D/EP/T2129). The particulars also mention 'the Lawns in both fronts of the House, with the Shrubberies, Plantations, and Paddock, extending to Tewin River'; this landscape was not classified by contemporaries as a park or as a garden, but again as 'paddocks', 'lawns' and 'shrubberies'; the familiar elements of the suburban villa-type landscape which was neither park nor garden (HALS D/EP/T2129).

The eight hundred acre estate was bought by John Charles Schrieber, a London furrier (Jones 1993, 255). The Schrieber family remained at Tewin House until 1803 when an agreement was drawn up to sell the estate to Earl Cowper for £31,500 (HALS D/EPT2605). An 1803 estate map shows the mansion within a small pleasure ground, surrounded by arable fields (HALS

D/EP/T2400D) (Figure 3.54). The main axial vista shown on Dury and Andrews' map partially survives in front of the house, framed by blocks of planting, but the avenue has been removed. As at Marden, the fields immediately surrounding the house were under arable cultivation, although Dury and Andrews show this area as parkland. This is another instance of a designed landscape where the tradition of the *ferme ornée* may have contributed to the design, but as before the exact boundaries between what is designed and what is not, can be elusive.

The Cowpers initially leased the unfurnished house to the MP George Galway Mills, who had been imprisoned in the Kings Bench Prison for debts of £43,000, but the house was demolished in the early-nineteenth century (Page 1912, 480-7; Cornwall Record Office CF/1/4718). Today, there is no surviving planting on the site of the house or gardens. However, there are slight earthwork remains, in particular two parallel ditches marking the line of the main vista from the front of the house towards Marden (Figure 3.55).

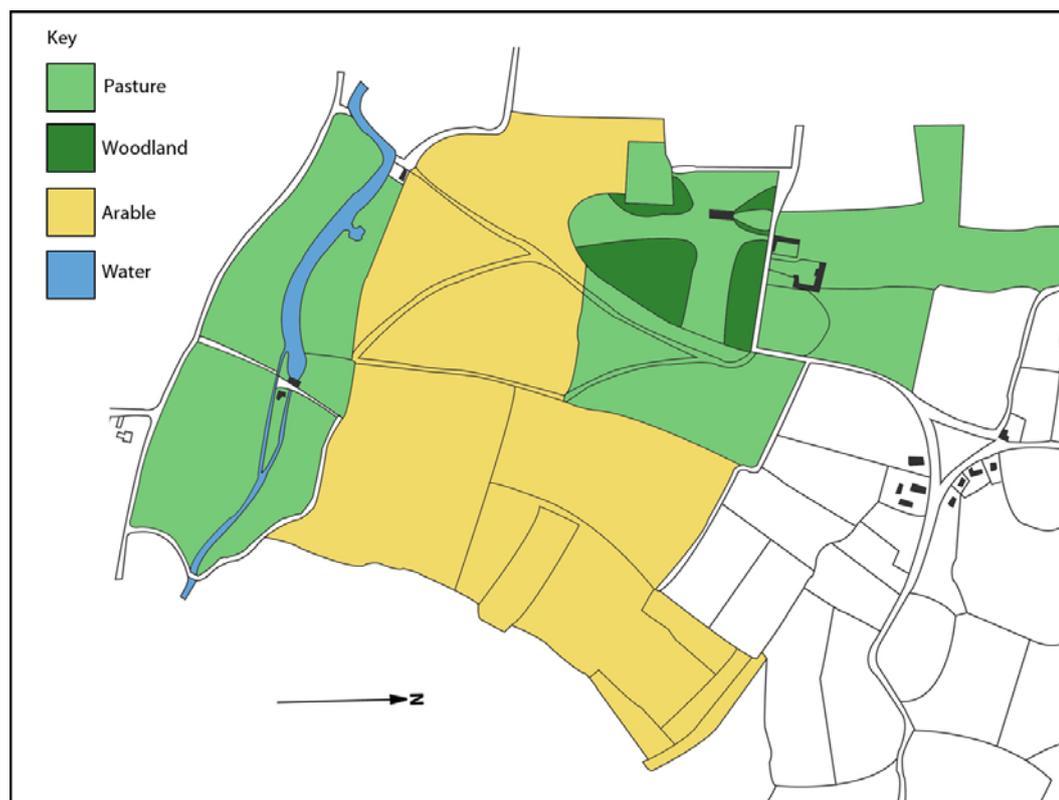


Figure 3.54. Tewin House shown on an estate map of 1803, digitally redrawn and coloured to show land use (HALS D/EP/T2400D).



Figure 3.55. Earthworks and cropmarks on the site of Tewin House (vertical aerial photograph reproduced from Google c. 2000).

How did these two neighbouring estates relate to one another during the eighteenth century? For most of the eighteenth century the ownership of the properties was stable, and in comparison to some of the much smaller estates discussed above, the Warren family and the Sabine family remained in Tewin for several generations. Dury and Andrews show the two estates in the middle of the eighteenth century, both with formal features that probably date from the early 1700s. Informal parkland falls away towards the bottom of the river valley, and the two estates share a backdrop of small woods that run along the interfluvium between the Mimram and Beane valleys. The map suggests that the two estates are visually linked by the avenue shown in Devis' portrait of the Sabine family. This avenue is focussed on a straight axis running through Tewin House and the formal gardens at Marden (Figure 3.49). Merging the two broadly contemporary estate maps of Tewin shows that in reality this avenue was slightly more askew than it appears on the map (Figure 3.56). However, the surveyor's intention may have been to show the visual link between the two estates. The profiles of the contours between the two estates show that the two houses are actually on the same contour line, with the ground falling away between them (Figure 3.57), and the two landscapes would have had a strong visual connection. Visual links such as this can be easily missed when sites are studied in isolation. Figure 3.58 shows the view from the edge of the Marden estate looking towards the site of

Tewin House. The house stood next to the cedar tree visible on the top of the slope, and thus would have been clearly visible from that position.

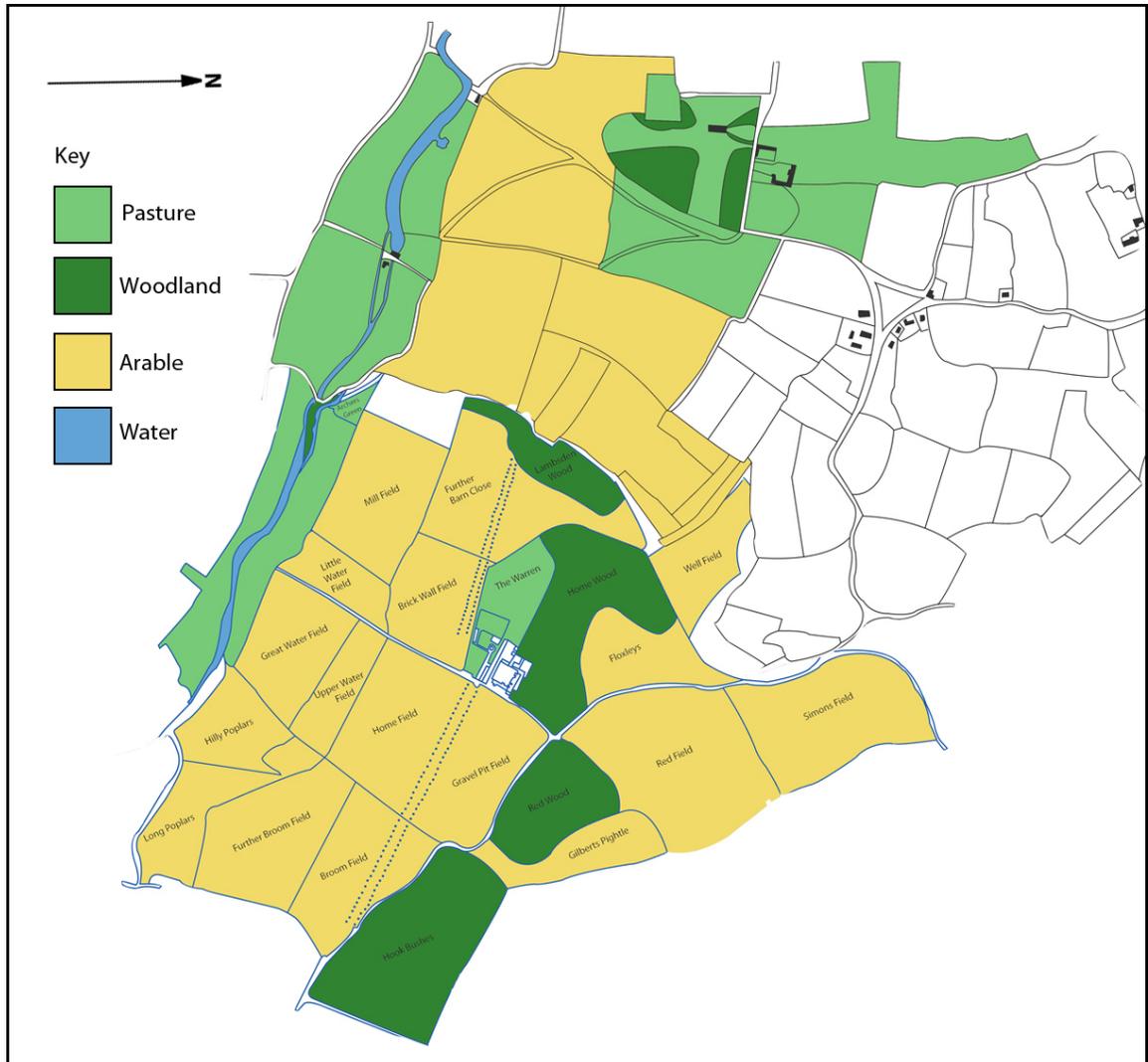


Figure 3.56. Tewin House and Marden shown on broadly contemporary estate maps dating from c1800 (Digitally redrawn, coloured according to land use and merged from HALS D/EP/T2400D and HALS D/EP/P20).

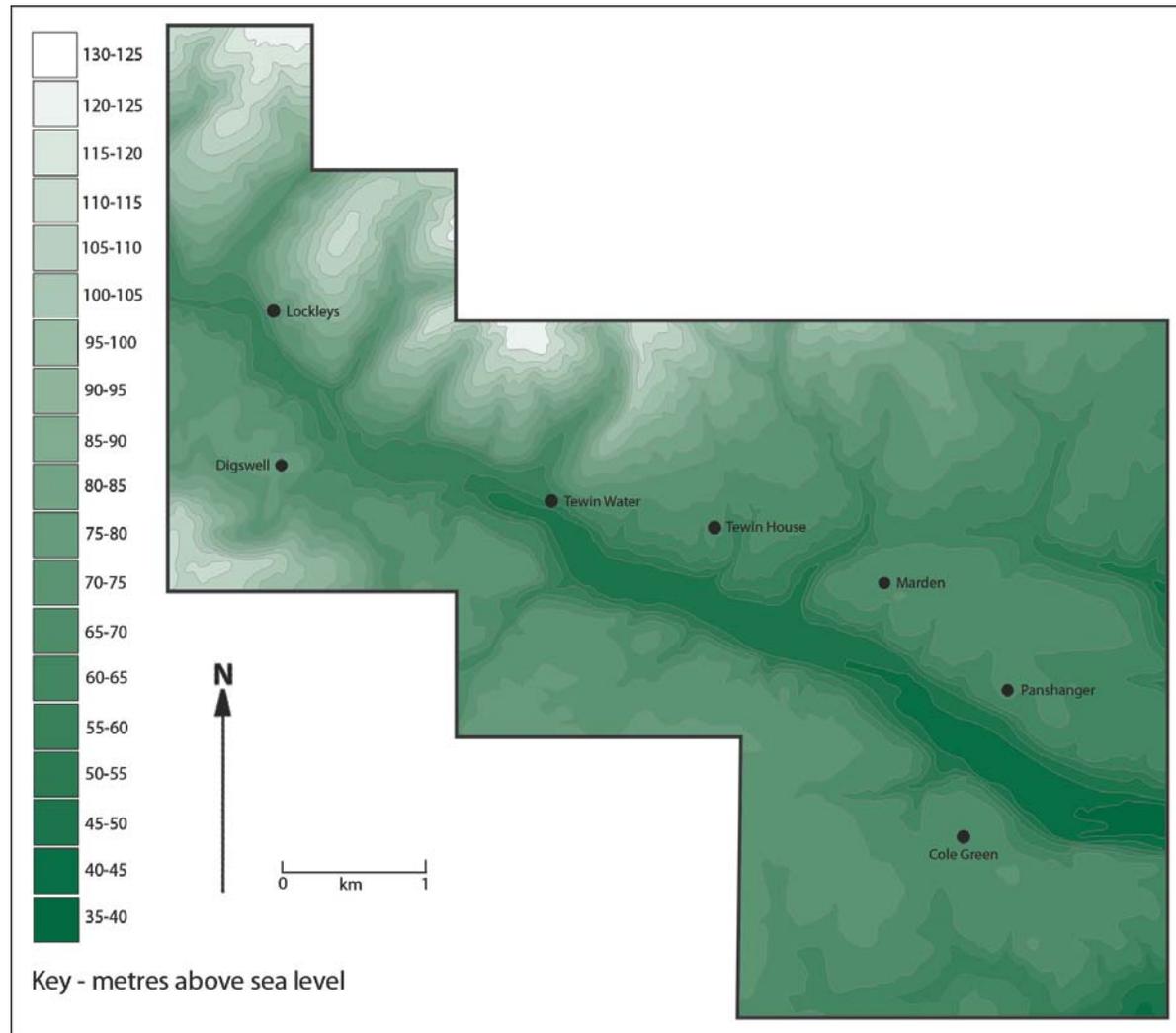


Figure 3.57. The topography of the Mimram valley.



Figure 3.58. View from Marden towards the site of Tewin House, marked by the red square (photographed June 2009).

Viewshed analysis of these two sites shows that both had expansive views along the banks of the Mimram and the slopes on the far side of the valley. The site of Tewin House was clearly visible from Marden, although the view towards Marden from Tewin was more obscured, with only part of the area around the house in visible range (Figures 3.59 and 3.60). Compared to the smaller landscapes discussed in Essendon much less of each landscape was visible from its neighbour, but here the boundaries were not contiguous and the grounds covered a much larger area, but this suggests that strong intervisibility was perhaps a key component of designed landscapes *under 50 acres*.

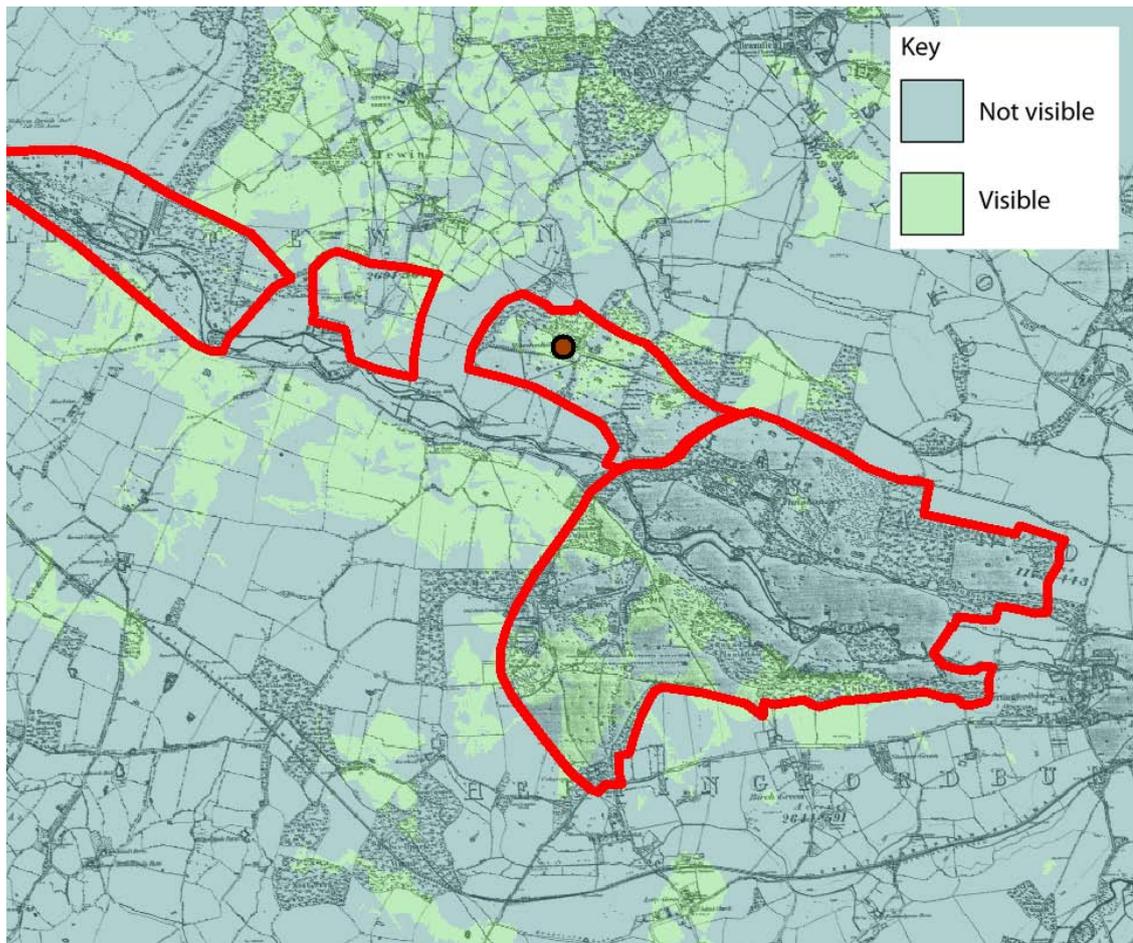


Figure 3.59. Viewshed analysis of the landscape around Marden, overlaid with the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map (c1880s). The house is shown with a brown dot.

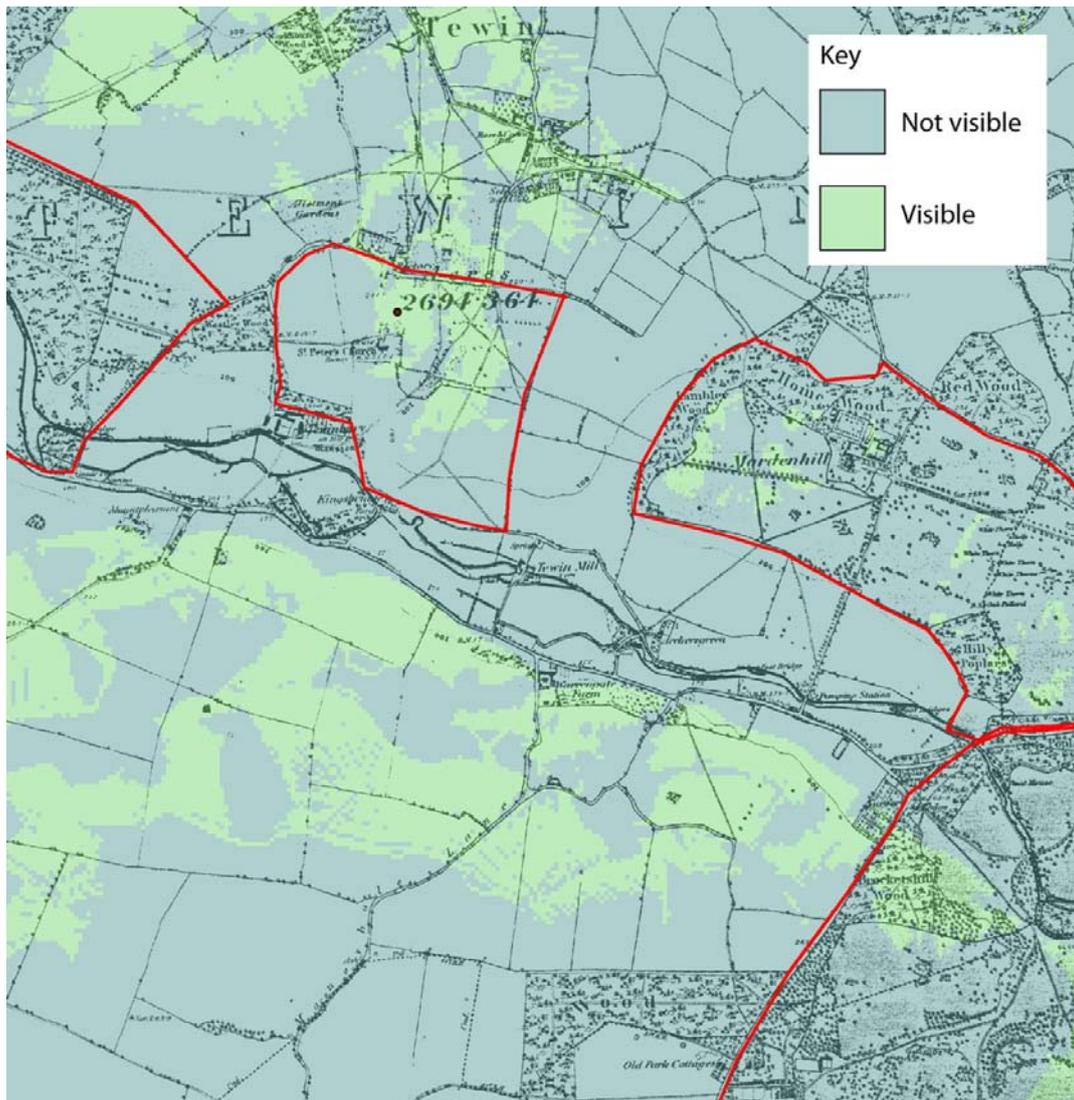


Figure 3.60. Viewshed analysis of the landscape around Tewin House, overlaid with the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map (c1880s). The house is shown with a brown dot.

In the late-eighteenth century the two houses were both owned by Robert Macky who actively managed both estates as separate entities. There is no evidence to suggest that he intended to merge the two estates together. Rather, he appears to have been improving each estate independently before selling them on; perhaps improvements carried out for the sake of cynical property speculation rather than a whole hearted devotion to landscape improvement. The lack of contemporary estate maps makes the interpretation of Macky's involvement problematic. It is unclear exactly what changes, if any, he made to these two landscapes, and which could be attributed to the Warren family or to subsequent owners such as Richard Flower or John Schrieber. This again highlights the problems of studying such designed landscapes; the high turnover of owners and short term leasing generate a paper trail in archives, but there is little

surviving or publically accessible estate documentation, including maps, and virtually no personal material such as letters and diaries, which makes it difficult to completely reconstruct the appearance of individual sites at any given point in their history.

Although difficult to attribute to a particular owner, the estate maps of Marden and Tewin House made at the turn of the nineteenth century (Figure 3.56) show that some significant changes had taken place which altered the experience offered by these landscapes (HALS D/EP/T2400D and HALS D/EP/P20). Most importantly, the visual link between the two was broken by the creation of a wood, Lambsden Wood, on the Marden estate. This wood was planted across the central vista in front of Tewin House. On the Tewin House estate, the avenue which marked this vista was removed. This funnelled the view from Marden down into the valley, rather than along the contour line of the valley edge. Soon after this snapshot of the two estates was made, Tewin House was demolished.

The next house along the valley is Tewin Water, purchased by James Fleete from the Cecil family in 1713 (HALS DE/P/T2341-7). Fleete built up the estate around Tewin Water in the early-eighteenth century, buying up several parcels of land next to the River Mimram (HALS DE/P/T1708, DE/P/T1713-4). There are only scraps of documentary evidence about the house and grounds at Tewin Water in this period, but it is possible to establish a general chronology. In 1718 water was being diverted from the Mimram into a canal in the gardens (HALS D/EP/T1708), and in 1725 the garden had a 'pallisade wall' overlooking the river (HALS D/EP/T2358), suggesting that the gardens were quite formal in character. Again, Dury and Andrews' 1766 map is the earliest visual evidence for the appearance of the landscape around Tewin Water (Figure 3.49). The map shows a long, thin house next to the river facing a canal, with a small garden building at the other end. An avenue runs parallel to the canal, leading to the road near Tewin House. Behind the house are formal gardens, and the whole is set within an area of open parkland, enclosed with a pale. These details are corroborated by a draft plan dating from the late 1780s (HALS D/EP/T2400b) which clearly shows the house, canal and garden building standing in a field called 'The Warren or Paddock' (Figure 3.61). This large field covered an area of forty acres (more than the total area of Birds Place in Essendon), and was clearly used as a park-like area of grassland or warren in front of the house, with the formal gardens behind. This plan does not show a clear area of parkland, like that shown on Dury and Andrews, but rather a group of fields around the house on a similar model to many elsewhere in Hertfordshire; again demonstrating the ambiguities over the identity and character of designed landscapes in this period.

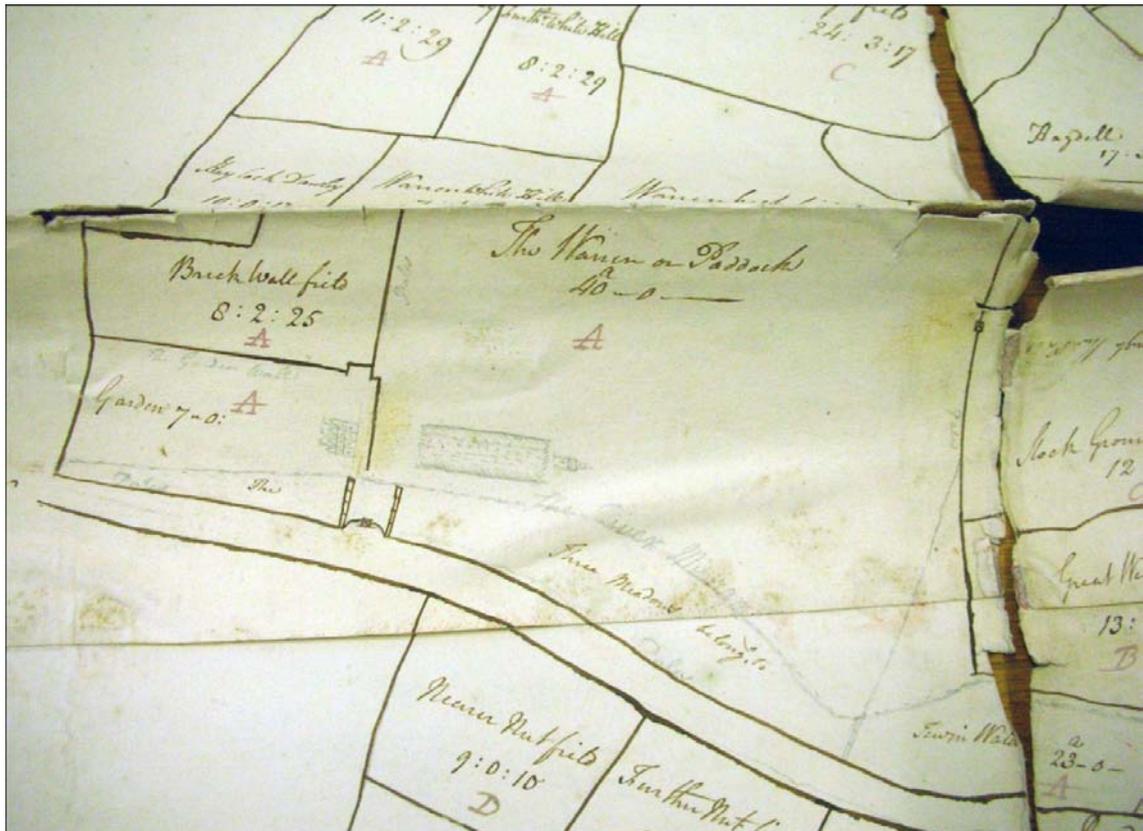


Figure 3.61. A draft plan of the designed landscape around Tewin Water in the 1780s, showing a canal and small garden building within ‘The Warren or Paddock’ (HALS D/EP/T2400b).

James Fleete’s early eighteenth-century landscape survived until major alterations were made in 1799. This period of stasis was due mainly to the unusual circumstances faced by the owner, Elizabeth, Dowager Lady Cathcart. Cathcart was Fleet’s widow, and had inherited Tewin Water for her lifetime. After Fleet died in 1733, she married Joseph Sabine (from the neighbouring estate of Tewin House), and then went on to marry Lord Cathcart in 1739 (Ford 1867). Cathcart died in the same year of their marriage, and in 1745 Lady Cathcart decided to marry for the fourth time, to an Irish soldier called Hugh Macguire. After attempts to force Lady Cathcart to sign her property (including Tewin Water) over to him met with refusal, Macguire kept his wife as a virtual prisoner in his Irish seat; a scandal which inspired Maria Edgeworth’s novel *Castle Rackrent*, published in 1800 (Butler 1972, 241). After his death in 1764 Lady Cathcart returned to England until her death at Tewin in 1789 (Ford 1867). Such personal upheavals left Lady Cathcart little time for landscaping.

The estate was then bought by Henry Cowper, acting as a trustee for Lord Cowper who was a minor when he inherited the family estates in 1789 (Page 1912, 480-7). As soon as the Cowpers gained possession of Tewin Water they immediately diverted the nearby road away from the house (Figure 3.62) (HALS D/EP/P14). This was the beginning of a campaign of improvement, and throughout 1791 Henry Cowper was overseeing a substantial amount of work at Tewin Water, for which he paid over £1,000. (HALS D/EPA24/2/2; D/EPA24/2/7; D/EPA24/2/18). This work included extensive renovations and refurbishments to prepare the house to be let, and by 1797 the house was being leased on a short term basis to a Mr Townshend. He failed to vacate the house on the expiration of his lease, and wrote to apologise to Lord Cowper, then on a Grand Tour in Italy. Townshend was hoping to move to the nearby seat of Lockleys, and was waiting for confirmation before leaving Tewin (HALS D/EPF401). This activity demonstrates the close links and social connections between different properties in Hertfordshire, networks which can be glossed over by studying individual landscapes.

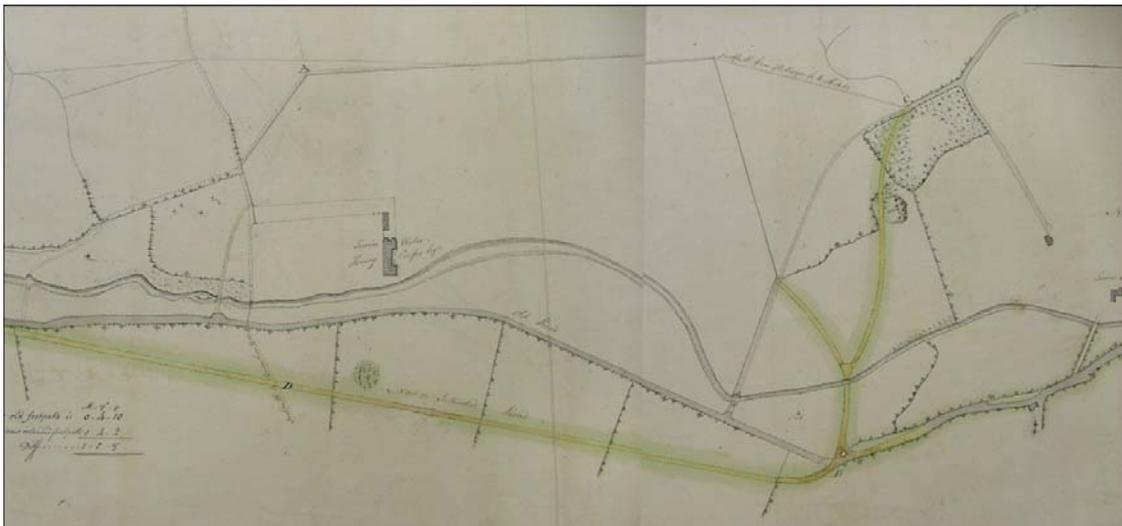


Figure 3.62. Map of road diversion around Tewin Water, c1790, with the course of the new road shown in yellow (HALS D/EP/P14).

In 1798 the house was rebuilt by the architect John Groves in Greek Revival style, with giant Ionic pilasters on the façade (Colvin 2008, 453). Henry Cowper also commissioned Humphry Repton to landscape the grounds (he was also working at the Cowper estate at Panshanger), and the Red Book is a vital source for understanding the landscape at Tewin Water, and the relationship it had with the surrounding landscape (HALS D/Z42/Z1). Indeed, the relationship with its neighbours was key to Repton's approach to Tewin Water, and showed that he clearly understood the visual and social connections between the properties.

The whole of the beautiful valley from Welwin to Hertord, including Digswell, Tewin Water, Panshanger and Cole Green, belonging to the same noble family, will give each of the places a degree of extent and consequence which it could not boast exclusive of the others, and while each possesses its independant privacy and seclusion, their united woods and lawns will be extending thro' the whole valley enrich the general face of the country, and therefore in what I have the honour to suggest with respect to Tewin Water, I do not lose sight of its relation to the adjoining Places (HALS D/Z42/Z1).

Repton recommended breaking up the avenue in front of the house, which he felt was no longer in keeping with the architecture of the new building. However, Repton's plan clearly shows that this softening of the formal planting was only to take place close to the house, further away the far end of the avenue is still clearly visible (Figure 3.63).

Repton also suggested thinning the blocks of planting on the slopes above the house, whilst leaving some in place (Figure 3.63). Later plans, from 1810 and 1833, show that this was never carried out (HALS D/EP/P48 and D/EP/P38). The road on the far side of the river, created as a result of the highway diversion in 1790, also remained in place despite Repton's proposal to remove it. The Red Book also shows a potential design for a pleasure garden to the rear of the house, with a temple and scalloped shrubbery planting which hid an earlier square pond (Figure 3.64) (HALS D/Z42/Z1). The later plans show that this proposal was also not implemented, and the square pond was simply filled in rather than hidden with careful planting (HALS D/EP/P48 and D/EP/P38). In fact, the Cowpers do not seem to have carried out the majority of Repton's suggestions.

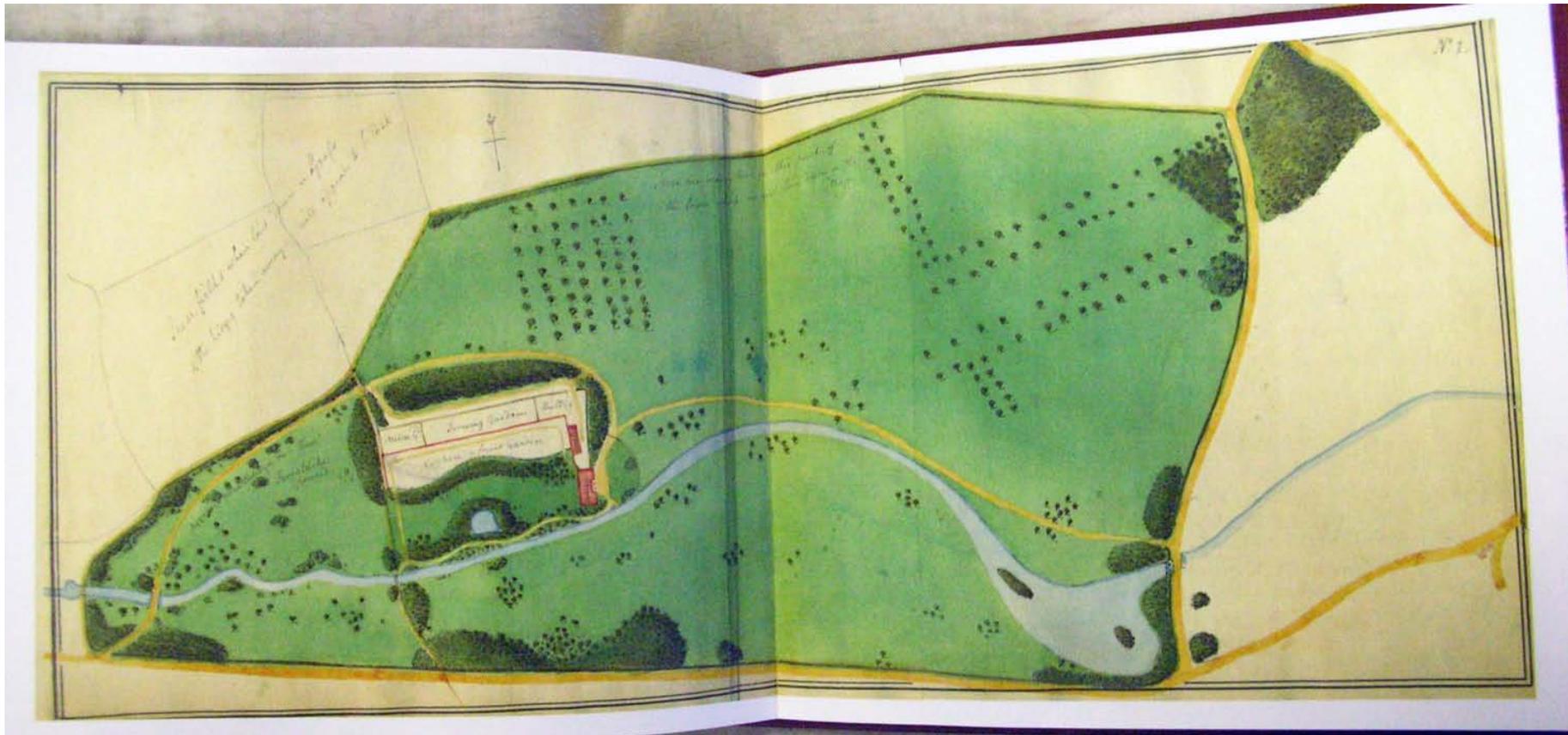


Figure 3.63. Repton's map of his proposals for Tewin Water from the Red Book, 1799 (HALS D/Z42/Z1).



Figure 3.64. Repton's proposal for a new shrubbery and pleasure ground to the rear of Tewin Water from the Red Book, 1799. The proposals were never carried out by the Cowper family (HALS D/Z42/Z1).

Lockleys is the next link in this sequence of designed landscapes along the Mimram. However, unlike the parks discussed above it is situated on a steep slope overlooking the river, rather than on the more diffuse slopes to the south-east discussed above. The house was a manorial site, owned by the Wingate family in the late-seventeenth century (Page 1912, 165-171). Chauncy described the house as 'a fair seat' and went on to describe the landscape created by Edward Wingate in some detail:

He made a fair Warren to this Seat, stocked it with a choice Breed of Rabbits, all silver haired, and planted it with great Store of excellent Walnut trees; and in the Front of his House, raised a pleasant Orchard, set with the best and rarest Fruit trees, where several Cuts are made, through which the Mimram passes in several Streams, stored with fair Trouts and other Fish, for the Provision of his Table' (Chauncy 1700, 30).

In 1715 the manor was sold to Edward Searle, a London merchant, who rebuilt the house in red brick classical style (Page 1912, 165-171; Pevsner 1977, 395). The Hertfordshire historian Nathaniel Salmon also mentions Lockleys in his 1728 history of the county,

There is upon this Estate a House elegantly built and situated, especially if we look at it in its summer perfection. The Mimram runs through the Garden before it, whose stream is turned according to the pleasure of the owner, for Beauty and Variety. Behind is a Warren stocked with silver hair'd Rabbits, whose Fur makes them sell for double the prices of others (Salmon 1728, 204).

As before, the earliest cartographic evidence comes from Dury and Andrews who show the house on a steep slope overlooking the river, with formal gardens in front of the house, backed by a large paled park with scattered trees (Figure 3.65). There is no hint that this designed landscape is anything other than a landscape park, however Chauncy and Salmon both describe a rabbit warren as the backdrop to Lockleys, rather than a park.



Figure 3.65. Lockleys shown on Dury and Andrews' map of 1766.

The number of rabbit warrens in England increased significantly in the period after 1660, and Thompson noted a particular burst of warren activity by landowners in the early-eighteenth century (Thompson 1975, 105; Williamson 2007c, 163). During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries warrens were closely associated with the elite, and were sometimes used as an alternative to the deer park as the main setting for a country house (Williamson 2007c, 164). At Chatsworth in Derbyshire, the deer park was hidden from view whilst the main approach to the house passed through a large rabbit warren (Williamson 2007c, 170). In Hertfordshire there are several other examples of high-status houses associated with prominent warren landscapes; Sopwell House near St Albans, Balls Park and Offley (Williamson 2007c, 25; 172-5). Therefore it is not particularly unusual to find a house like Lockleys (or the neighbouring house of Tewin Water) with a rabbit warren rather than a more typical parkland landscape; this is another eighteenth-century alternative to the supposed dominance of the landscape park that has been rather overlooked in the study of designed landscapes.

The warren lodge at Lockleys is associated with several farm buildings, including a large timber framed barn dated 1684 (English Heritage LBS 158582), suggesting that farming, as well as warrening, was being carried out during the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. Dury and Andrews' map does not show any indication of a rabbit warren at Lockleys, perhaps because by the early 1760s it had ceased to function. When the estate was put up for sale in 1812 it is clear from the sales particulars that the warren was no longer being actively managed, rather it was 'now in a State of Nature, but containing much excellent Soil, and capable of being converted into Compact and Productive Farms' (HALS D/E/Jn/Z21).

The 1812 sale map (Figure 3.66) shows scattered trees and clumps across the landscape of the former warren, as well as what appears to be the remnants of a possible avenue to the north of the warren lodge; perhaps some of these trees were the walnuts planted in the late-seventeenth century when the warren was created (Chauncy 1700, 30). This also points to the warren being subdivided, as the trees would have been difficult to establish successfully without being isolated from the rabbits. In 1812 the whole estate was divided into a series of lots for sale, which were advertised as providing 'pleasing situations for villas', perhaps a strategy to ensure a quick sale and maximum profits (HALS D/E/Jn/Z21). Lot Six, an area of seventy acres on the southern boundary of the warren and the edge of the slope overlooking the Mimram, was described as 'convertible into a Paddock and affording a very pleasing site for a small Villa'

(HALS D/E/Jn/Z21). In 1866 Camfield Place was also divided into separate lots 'for the erection of first class family mansions' (HALS D/EL 2331-2332). However, despite the intentions of those selling them, both Lockleys and Camfield Place did remain intact after their respective sales.

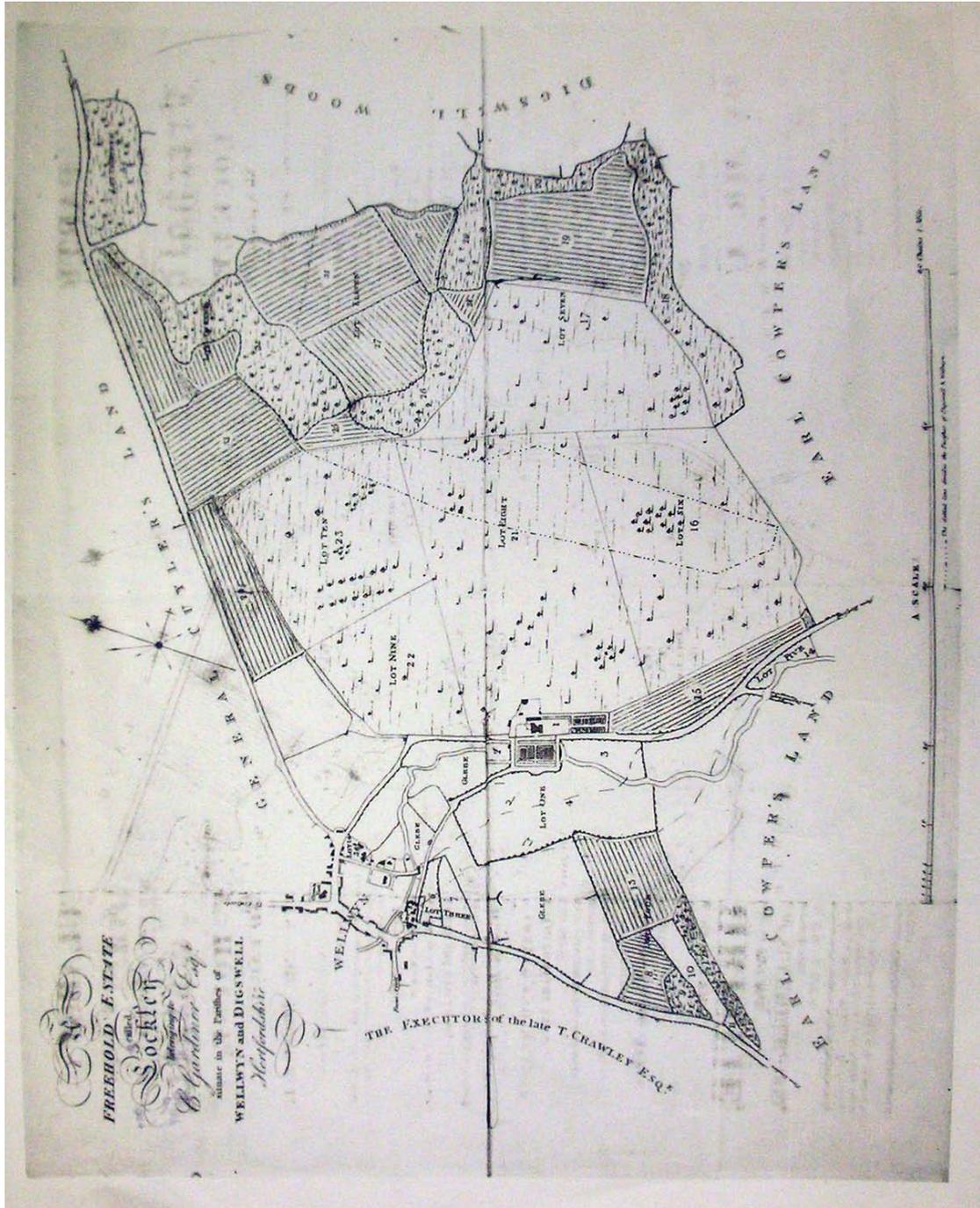


Figure 3.66. Lockleys shown on a sale map of 1812 (HALS D/E/Jn/Z21).

Viewshed analysis of both Lockleys and Tewin Water shows that they did not share visual relationships with any other neighbouring designed landscapes (Figures 3.67 and 3.68). Lockleys, on higher ground overlooking the river, actually had quite restricted views from the house, and the viewshed suggests that much of the warren was not visible from the house. Tewin Water has more expansive views along the river valley in both directions, but does not have views into any of its neighbours, perhaps due to the location of the house in the valley bottom rather than on the slopes above.

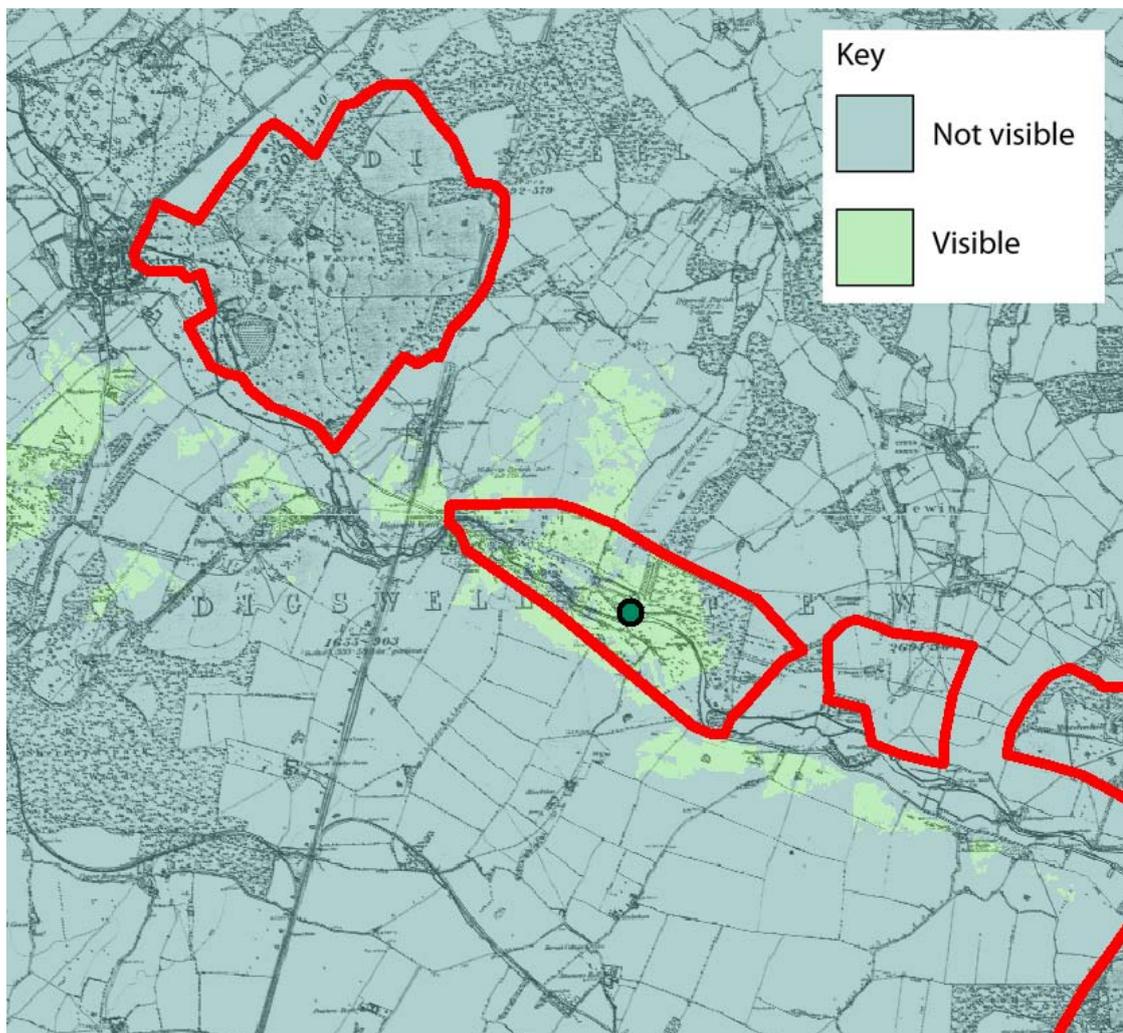


Figure 3.67. Viewshed analysis of the landscape around Tewin Water, overlaid with the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map (c1880s). The house is shown with a green dot.

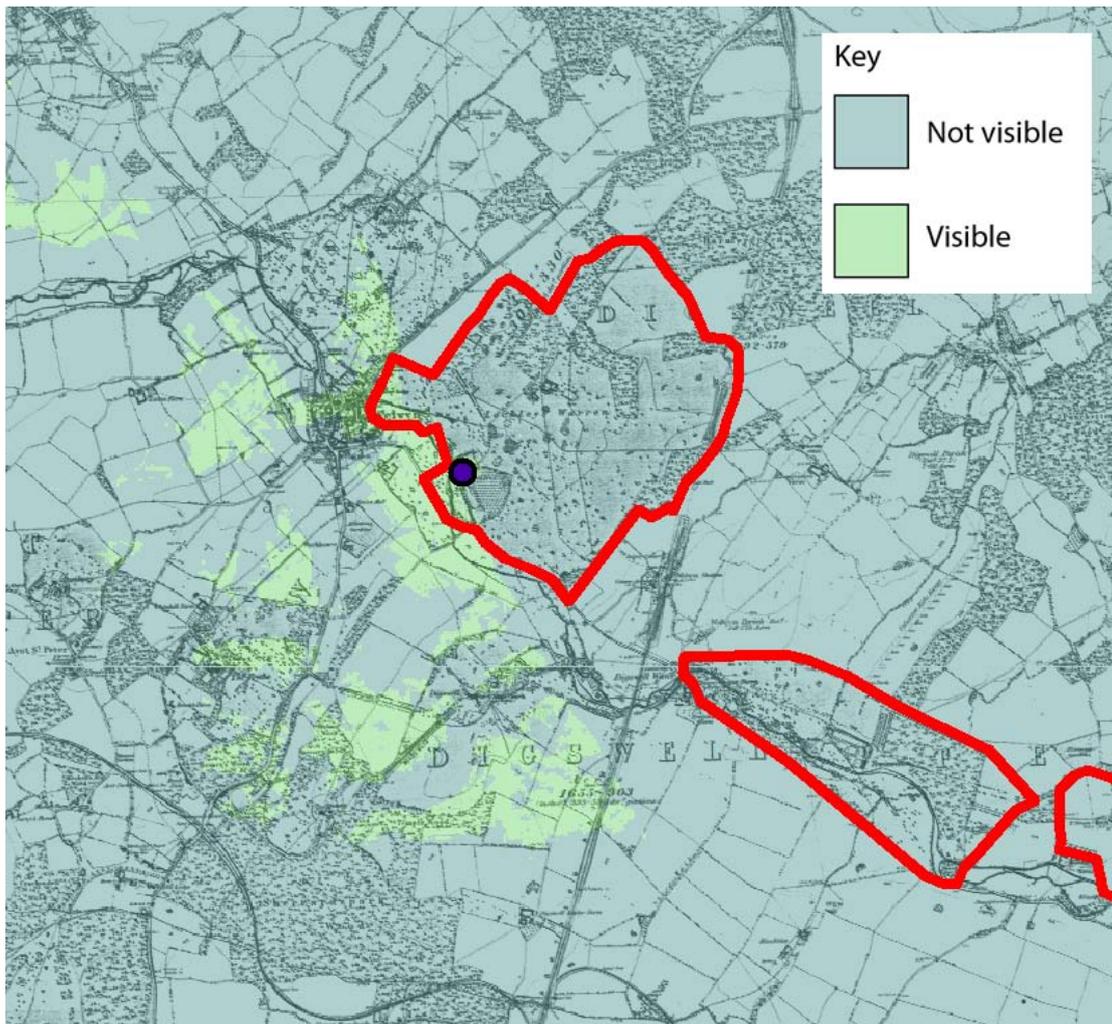


Figure 3.68. Viewshed analysis of the landscape around Lockleys, overlaid with the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map (c1880s). The house is shown with a blue dot.

The London homes of some of the landowners in this cluster of designed landscapes along the Mimram cannot be identified. However, others can be linked to properties in the capital. Richard Warren, who owned Marden until his death in 1768, is recorded in his daughter's marriage certificate as living on Friday Street in Cheapside, near St Paul's Cathedral (Figure 3.69) (HALS DE/HCC/27518). In 1812 John Charles Schrieber, who purchased Tewin House from Robert Mackey, owned a property in Sise Lane in Cheapside (Figure 3.70) (HALS DEGA/36028). These two properties are actually only a few streets away from one another, although their owners are separated by several decades. However, other Hertfordshire landowners also came from the east end of London, including Thomas Browne of Camfield Place and Bartlett's Buildings, and Benjamin Truman of Popes and Brick Lane.

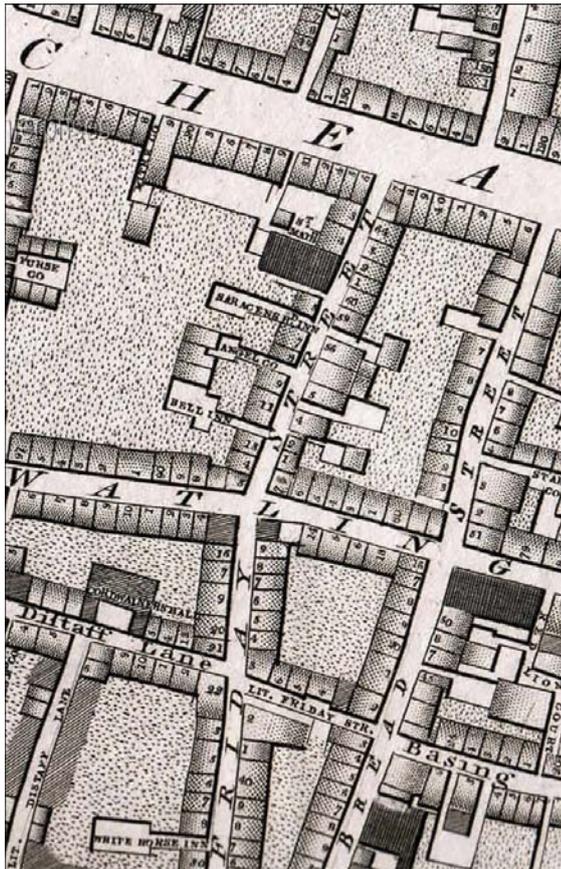


Figure 3.69. Friday Street in Cheapside, shown on Richard Horwood's map of 1792-99.

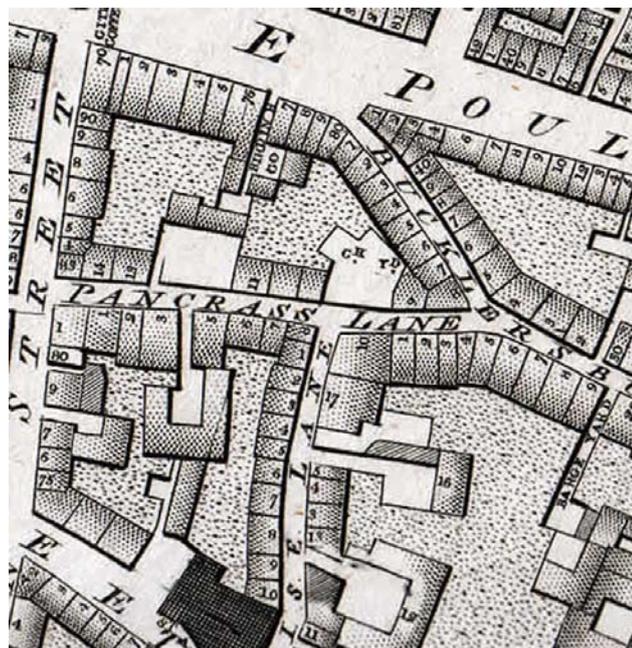


Figure 3.70. Sise Lane in Cheapside (shown joining Pancrass Lane) on Richard Horwood's map of London, 1792-99.

Other landowners along the Mimram had London houses in more fashionable areas. Claude George Thornton, who commissioned John Soane to make alterations to Marden in the early-nineteenth century, lived in Russell Square (Figure 3.71), a development laid out on the Bedford estate in the early-nineteenth century, with a communal garden landscaped by Repton (Guildhall Library MS 11936/473/944725) (Longstaffe-Gowan 2000, 220). The Cowpers owned a house at 1 Great George Street in Westminster, a new street which was laid out in the 1750s with substantial houses intended for wealthy families (Cox 1926, 7). Accounts in the estate archive make it clear that the family were spending money on the new house, including altering the window curtains and redecorating some of the rooms (HALS DE/P/T4209-228J). As the numbering of the houses on the street changed over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it is difficult to identify the Cowpers' house with certainty, but Horwood's map of 1799 shows the street opening up into St James' Park at the west end, and close to Westminster Bridge at the east end (Figure 3.71).

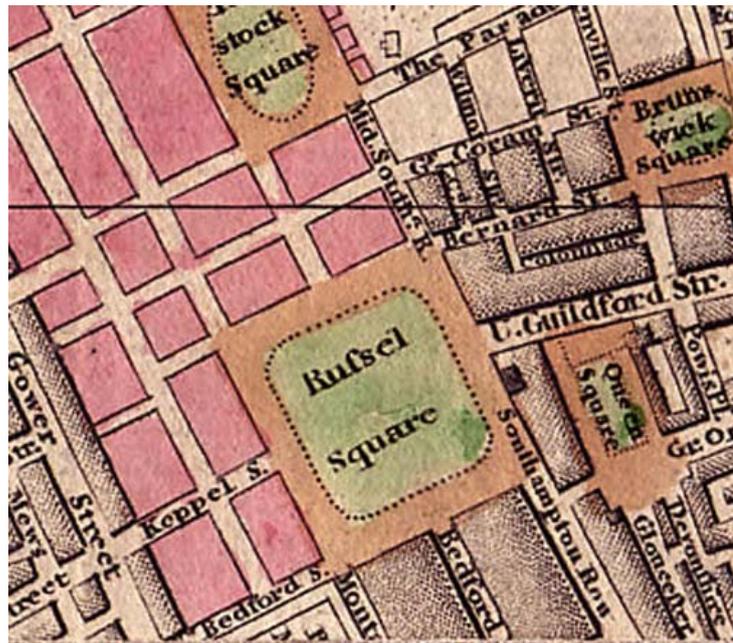


Figure 3.71. Russell Square, shown under construction on John Fairburn's plan of London and Westminster, 1801.

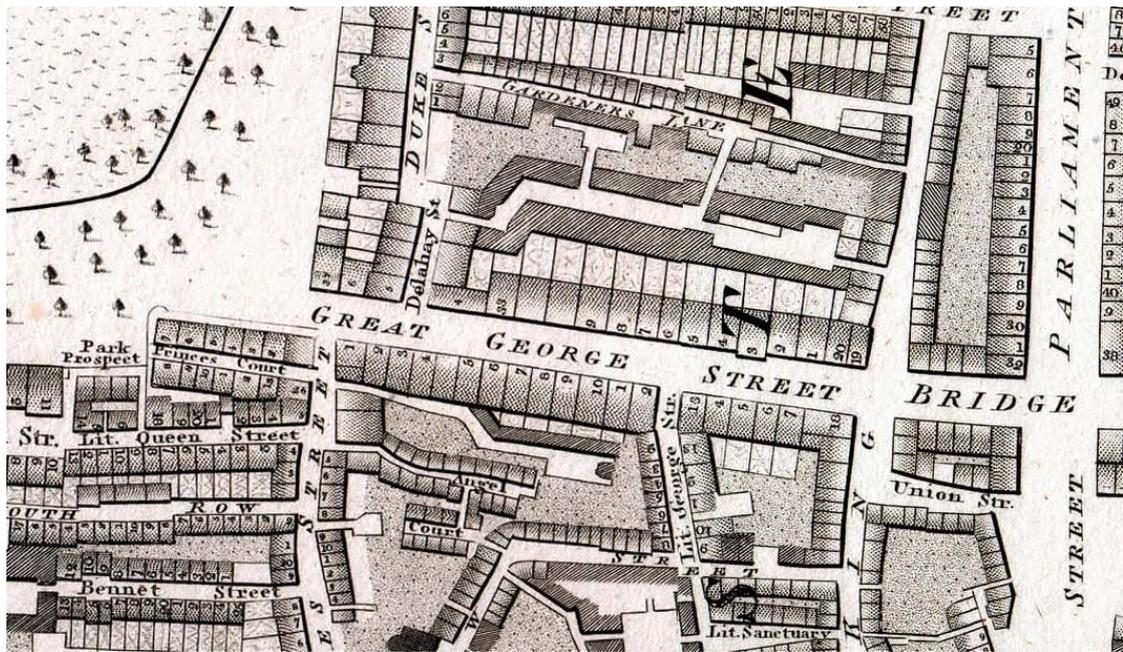


Figure 3.72. Great George Street, on the edge of St James' Park shown on Richard Horwood's map of 1792-99.

Figure 3.73 shows the locations of the London properties which can be linked to Hertfordshire landowners in both Essendon and the Mimram valley. This shows that south Hertfordshire attracted owners from diverse parts of the capital, who all had different experiences of urban gardens and open spaces which must have influenced their perceptions of the rural Hertfordshire landscape.

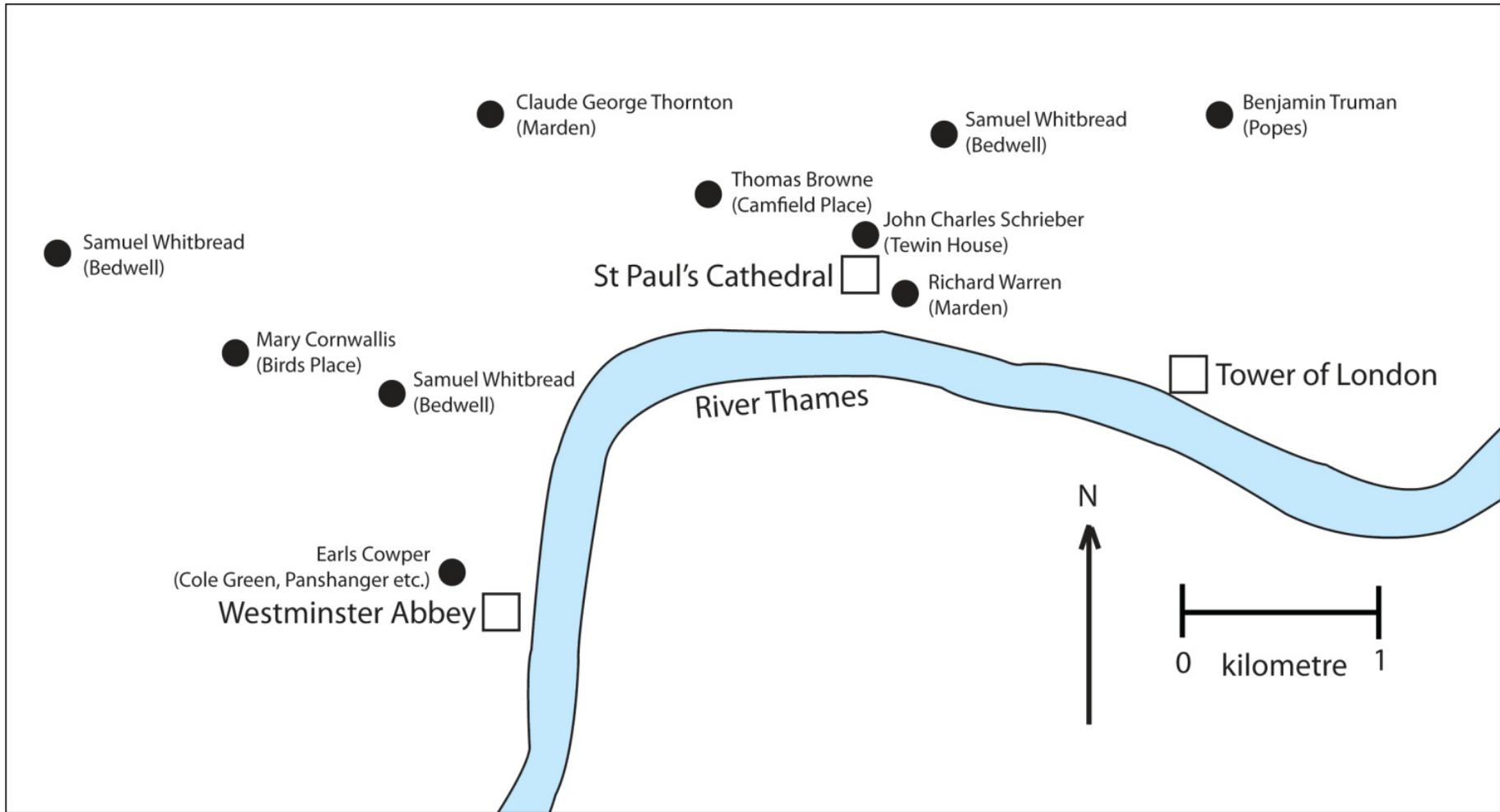


Figure 3.73. Map of London showing the approximate locations of the London townhouses of Hertfordshire landowners.

As the eventual owners of Panshanger, Cole Green, Marden House, Tewin House and Tewin Water the Cowper family were clearly the pre-eminent family living in the Mimram valley during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The expansion of the Cowper estate along the valley demonstrates the different attitude taken by a wealthy, aristocratic family to the aesthetic of shared views and landscapes enjoyed by smaller properties and by members of the professional classes.

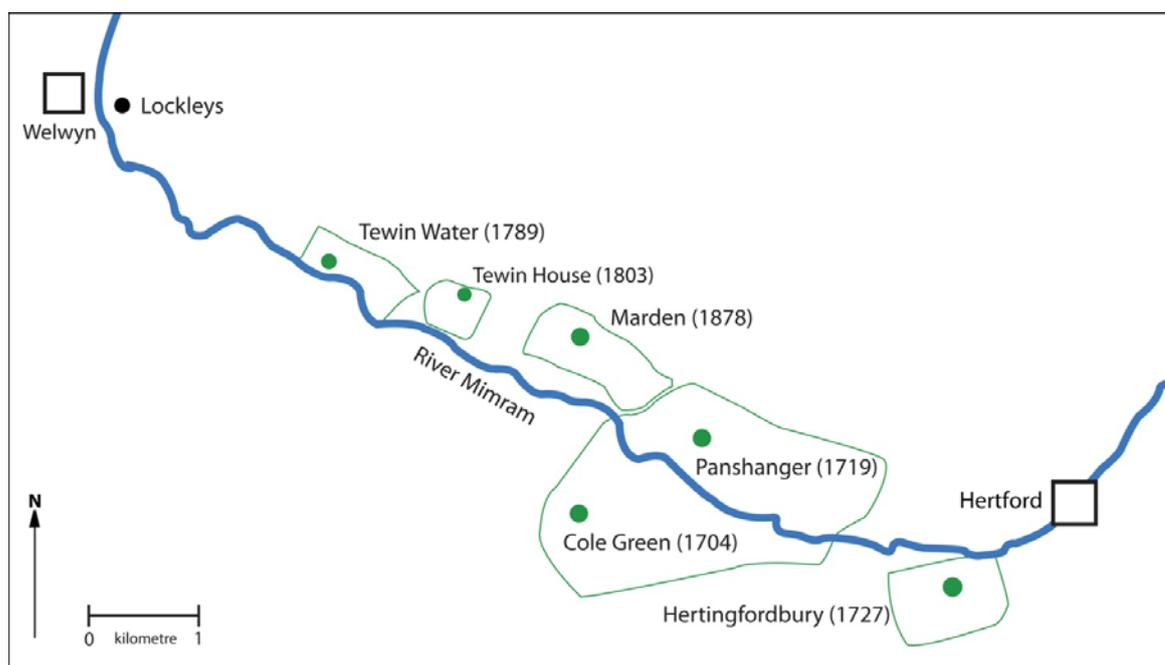


Figure 3.74. Map of the Cowper estates along the Mimram valley showing the date of their acquisition.

Figure 3.69 shows the estates acquired by members of the Cowper family along the valley during this period. Of the properties discussed here only Lockleys remained independent of the Cowper estate. As discussed above, Marden and Tewin House shared a strong visual link which was broken by the demolition of Tewin House by the Cowpers in 1803. Superficially, Repton's Red Book for Tewin Water seems to emphasise the shared views between the estates in the valley when he mentions the beauty of 'their united woods and lawns' (HALS D/Z42/Z1). This group of sites were united because they were all in the possession of the same estate, and because they were sharing views of the same surrounding river valley landscape. In the Red Book for Panshanger Repton wrote that

the power we have over all the Ground seen from the House, is not of much less consequence: since both the Beauty and Convenience of a situation, depend more on what is seen from the house than the actual extent of property, and it is better to have a Neighbour at less distance behind a house, than to see a great house though much farther off yet within such a distance of the front as tends to destroy the unity of property, and of course to lessen the importance of the place (HALS D/EP/P21A).

For an aristocratic family like the Cowpers, it was not desirable to enjoy views of the houses of their immediate neighbours and their grounds. In the late-eighteenth century the Cowpers thus seem to have actively removed themselves from the shared landscape of the Mimram that had been created by the other residents of the valley in the early to mid-eighteenth century. Tewin House was demolished, perhaps with a view to acquiring the Marden estate with which it was closely connected, although the Cowpers did not in fact manage to buy Marden until the 1870s. The new house at Panshanger was built further down the slopes of the valley than the building it replaced (whereas the house at Cole Green had been situated on the flat ground on the valley edge), and was turned towards the opposite slope, rather than obliquely towards the rest of the valley. The expansion of the park at Panshanger insulated the new house amongst extensive plantations, giving the Cowpers privacy and seclusion from their neighbours and from the surrounding rural landscape, as well as giving their neighbours a well-wooded view from their own estates.

The 'landscape of polite exclusion' created by the rise in popularity of the landscape park in the late-eighteenth century led to isolated bubbles of polite society within the fabric of the rural, and increasingly urban and industrial, landscape (Williamson 1995, 102). Elsewhere in Hertfordshire aristocratic families distinguished themselves from 'new money' incomers to the county by retaining large-scale formal designs, such as the Earls of Essex at Cashiobury. By contrast, the Earls Cowper distinguished themselves from their 'new money' neighbours by creating a landscape park at Panshanger which deliberately excluded their neighbours, as well as expanding their estate to try and ensure complete aesthetic and social control over the landscape of the Mimram valley. This process did not take place around Essendon due to the neglect of the Hatfield estate by the 5th Earl of Salisbury in the eighteenth century and the fact that those residents with the money to carry out such schemes were not members of the landed elite and so had different priorities. The Cowpers', meanwhile, were well-established members

of the landed elite and were much more active and aggressive in the management of their estates.

If the 'middle' or professional urban classes of eighteenth-century Hertfordshire can be defined by their use of small 'suburban' landscapes with complex, shared views of the surrounding landscape (both rural and ornamental), then can the aristocracy and the highest ranks of landed polite society be defined by their creation of typical Brownian-style landscape parks; landscapes of exclusion as opposed to landscapes of inclusion? In attempting to answer this question in the future, historians must pay closer attention to the social class of the owners and creators of designed landscapes, rather than solely focussing on the structures of the landscape itself.

3.6 Conclusions

The example of Hertfordshire demonstrates just how varied the character of designed landscapes was in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; certainly the picture is far more complex than the relatively straightforward dichotomy of 'park' or 'garden'. What comes through particularly strongly is the dominance of small designed landscapes, covering an area of less than fifty acres. The majority of these landscapes, which cluster in the south of the county, could be labelled as 'suburban' designed landscapes, surrounding relatively small houses of villa type, without an attached landed estate and typically owned by urban professionals within an easy distance of the capital. Although these landscapes have been dominant in this study, it is worth noting that there is another rung down the ladder, of gardens under ten acres, some of which surrounded similar residences to those discussed above.

By focussing on a micro-study of two groups of designed landscapes, the benefits of examining such landscapes in a wider context become clear. The intervisibility between the designed landscapes in Essendon and along the Mimram valley would perhaps not have been revealed had these sites been studied on a site by site basis without attempting to place them in their wider context; both in terms of their relationship with the surrounding agricultural landscape and the natural topography of their location, but also their relationship with other designed landscapes in the immediate area. Recent successful research into the wider context of designed landscapes has been focussed on the estate landscape, but the evidence from Hertfordshire

shows that many small designed landscapes were not attached to large landed estates, such as Essendon Place for example, and have thus slipped through the net of recent developments in landscape history.

The chronological development of some of the sites discussed above, including the group in Essendon, suggests that at times they were first to adopt changing trends in landscape design, moving towards a much more naturalistic aesthetic, whereas larger designed landscapes owned by members of the landed gentry and nobility were slower to respond to these new design trends. It is difficult to avoid falling into the trap of a teleological narrative of landscape design when trying to analyse these trends, but one of the most important points to emerge from this new analysis of the evidence is that in some areas, like Hertfordshire, the urban elite were creating a style of landscaping derived from a number of sources to create suburban designed landscapes, rather than merely emulating the much larger landscape parks of the landed classes. This accords with the recent historiography of the consumer revolution of the eighteenth century, and means that landscape and garden historians could make a meaningful contribution to the debates surrounding the growth of consumerism in the post-medieval period.

Hertfordshire, however, is a county close to London, and it is not a surprise to find that many residences and designed landscapes were owned by members of the urban elite. However, will the same trends revealed by the Hertfordshire evidence hold true in a more provincial county? This thesis will move onto consider the example of Northamptonshire, where some of the themes discussed above, such as cultural leadership by the urban elite, visual relationships between designed landscapes, the high turnover of landownership, and the dominance of smaller sites, will be compared to the evidence offered by a very different county.

4. Northamptonshire

4.1 Introduction

This chapter considers the development of designed landscapes in Northamptonshire; a very different county from Hertfordshire in several ways, but particularly in terms of its environment and topography, and in the development of the rural landscape. The two counties also differed in terms of their social structure, for the composition of the Northamptonshire elite was much less fluid than that of Hertfordshire, with fewer new owners purchasing or inheriting estates in the county (Stone 1984, 182). The relative distance of the county from the capital, moreover, meant that the ‘suburban’ character of designed landscapes in Hertfordshire is not so strongly evident in Northamptonshire. Whilst broad similarities can be identified, in many ways the essential structural differences between the two counties meant that designed landscapes in Northamptonshire evolved in a radically different manner.

The county has a wealth of well-documented parks and gardens which provide an illuminating contrast with those in Hertfordshire. The development of designed landscapes in Northamptonshire appears, on the surface at least, to mirror the traditional ‘story’ of the rise of the landscape park, first described by Walpole in 1782 and discussed in Chapter 2. However, by looking more closely at this development, and by placing it within a wider landscape context, this chapter seeks to shed new light on the creation of parks and gardens in eighteenth-century Northamptonshire. As with Hertfordshire, particular attention will be paid to groups of designed landscapes, rather than individual sites.

The historic rural landscape of Northamptonshire has been intensively studied, with particularly detailed research having been carried out on the open-field systems which dominated the landscape during the medieval period (Mingay 1984; Hall 1995; Hall, 1998; Lewis, Mitchell-Fox and Dyer 2001; Foard, Hall and Partida 2009; Williamson, Liddiard and Partida, forthcoming). The open fields of Northamptonshire began to be enclosed from the late medieval period onwards, but it was the large scale schemes of enclosure in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries which transformed the landscape of the county and over 50 per cent of the open fields were enclosed after 1750 (Tate and Turner 1978, 191-9; Williamson 2002, 43). The

development of designed landscapes in eighteenth-century Northamptonshire was closely related to the progress of enclosure. This relationship has been noted by other historians, most notably by Anne Bermingham, who has suggested that the naturalistic landscape park was an aesthetic response to the ruler-straight fields created by parliamentary acts (Bermingham, 1986, 13). It is certainly true that the owners of landed estates often used enclosure as an opportunity to expand and consolidate an area of parkland around their seat, often accompanied by further planting schemes. By the early-nineteenth century these had generally developed into a form that is instantly recognisable as a landscape park. This is, however, an over-simplified account of the relationship between enclosure and designed landscapes. Many gentlemen's residences in Northamptonshire were surrounded not by the arable furlongs, but by large pasture closes which had already been enclosed, normally piecemeal, from the open fields. That these enclosed fields were *pasture*, rather than arable, is significant; many houses were effectively located within what could be interpreted as a quasi-ornamental pastoral fieldscape rather than a clearly defined area of parkland.

These landscapes are problematic; their boundaries can be ambiguous and open to question, and the extent to which they were actively 'designed' is often difficult to define. As I shall argue, this stage of development should not be seen simply as a staging post on the inevitable march towards the creation of a park, but as a type of ornamental landscape in its own right, and one which could be connected to a number of different traditions within English landscape design, perhaps the most important of which is the *ferme ornée*.

In the case of Hertfordshire, it was suggested that it was the urban elite and professional classes who were, to some extent, setting the pace of change in terms of the uptake of fashionable new ideas in garden and landscape design. There were far fewer such owners in Northamptonshire, although a number of younger sons and brothers from well-established families with large estates elsewhere did have residences in the county (Stone 1984, 42-3). These included Lord John Cavendish, the younger brother of the Duke of Devonshire, and Thomas Wentworth, the Earl of Strafford, whose main seat was at Wentworth Castle in Yorkshire. Such landowners 'behaved' differently on their varying estates; some also owned small designed landscapes close to the capital or in other suburban areas which developed in a different way to their landed estates in Northamptonshire. The social context of park-making in Northamptonshire is therefore more complex than may first appear to be the case. The owners of landed estates of a few hundred acres, like that at Great Billing owned by Lord John Cavendish, were not

necessarily members of the local parish-based gentry, but were closely linked with social, cultural and political networks on a national scale.

4.2 Soils and Topography

Northamptonshire is bordered by the Rivers Welland and Avon on its northern and western boundary, and by the watershed between the Nene and Ouse valleys to the south and east (Hodge 1984, 26). The contrast between the broad landscape of the Nene valley and the undulating uplands to the north and west, sometimes called the 'Northamptonshire Heights' and rising to over 200 metres above sea level near Daventry, is one of the most distinctive features of the county's topography (Steane 1974, 26).

Map 4 shows the principal soil regions of Northamptonshire, which can be broken down into two broad zones; the Nene valley in the south and east, and the uplands of the north and west. The soils in the Nene valley are made up of river alluvium and fine loamy clay soils overlying deposits of gravel and limestone (Soil Survey 1983). The Banbury and Moreton associations lie intermixed on the valley sides on either side of the Nene, both are well drained clays which can absorb excess water, although surface waterlogging can be a problem when the soil becomes compacted (Hodge 1984, 103-107; 257-261). The soils on the interfluves between the major river valleys and on the uplands on the north and west are also clays, but are much heavier and more intractable. The Hanslope soils are associated with the lowest plateaux above the valleys, and are clayey and water retentive, especially if worked for long periods of time (Hodge 1984, 209-212). The rest of the interfluves and uplands are blanketed with deep, slowly permeable clays of the Wickham, Denchworth and Ragdale associations (Soil Survey 1983). These heavy soils suffer from serious and prolonged seasonal waterlogging, which slows germination in the spring, and which can cause anaerobic conditions which prevent germination (Hodge 1984, 340-351; Cook 1999, 15-27). In addition, these soils often suffer from a structural problem where they can 'puddle', forming a wet clingy mass that sticks to implements, and then dries to set like concrete (Kerridge 1967, 92; Seymour 1975, 14). The problems faced by medieval and post medieval farmers in cultivating clay soils for arable crops resulted in the ploughing of ridges to aid drainage; hence the widespread ridge and furrow earthworks across the landscape of the Midlands (Harrison, Mead and Pannett 1965, 366-9).

By the thirteenth century much of Northamptonshire was a classic ‘champion’ landscape of nucleated settlements and regular open-field systems, divided into unhedged furlongs and strips. There was little grassland and relatively few trees outside the settlements (Steane 1974, 91-95; Rackham 1986, 164; Hall 1989, 194-5). However, the reality of the medieval Northamptonshire landscape was actually more nuanced and complex than this straightforward picture allows. A recent GIS-based research project studying the agricultural landscape of the county has pointed to the amount of pasture and meadowland in the medieval landscape, which often took the form of ribbons of pasture threading their way through the arable open fields (Figure 4.1)⁵. Northamptonshire also contained three large areas of forest - Rockingham, Salcey and Whittlewood. These were found on the highest and poorest clay soils, and embraced a variety of different landscapes, including arable open fields, large areas of common land, deer parks, ridings, lawns and coppiced woodland, as well as a mixture of nucleated and dispersed settlement (Pettit 1968, 7; Williamson 2003, 71).

The extensive ridge and furrow earthworks found in Northamptonshire, and indeed across much of the Midlands, are the result of a change in the agrarian economy in the late medieval and early post-medieval period. The survival of the ridges in earthwork form is due to their preservation under pasture; evidence that areas previously under extensive arable cultivation were put down to grass and remained unploughed thereafter. In Northamptonshire, this process began in the late fourteenth century and was associated with the demographic decline after the Black Death, when parishes and townships already affected by settlement shrinkage became subject to enclosure and conversion to pasture by large landowners (Fox 1989, 96-100). During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries this process continued, although it was more often carried out by agreement between landowners (Williamson 2003, 153). This form of enclosure continued into the early-eighteenth century, a period when cereal prices were low and population growth stagnated, giving farmers the incentive to stop cultivating the soil for arable crops; a time consuming and expensive method of production on such heavy clay soils in a region with relatively high rainfall (Wrigley and Scofield 1989, 207-10; Williamson 2002, 35).

⁵ An AHRC funded research project based at the University of East Anglia - ‘*GIS-aided study of Agriculture and the Landscape in Midland England*’ (Williamson, Liddiard and Partida, forthcoming).

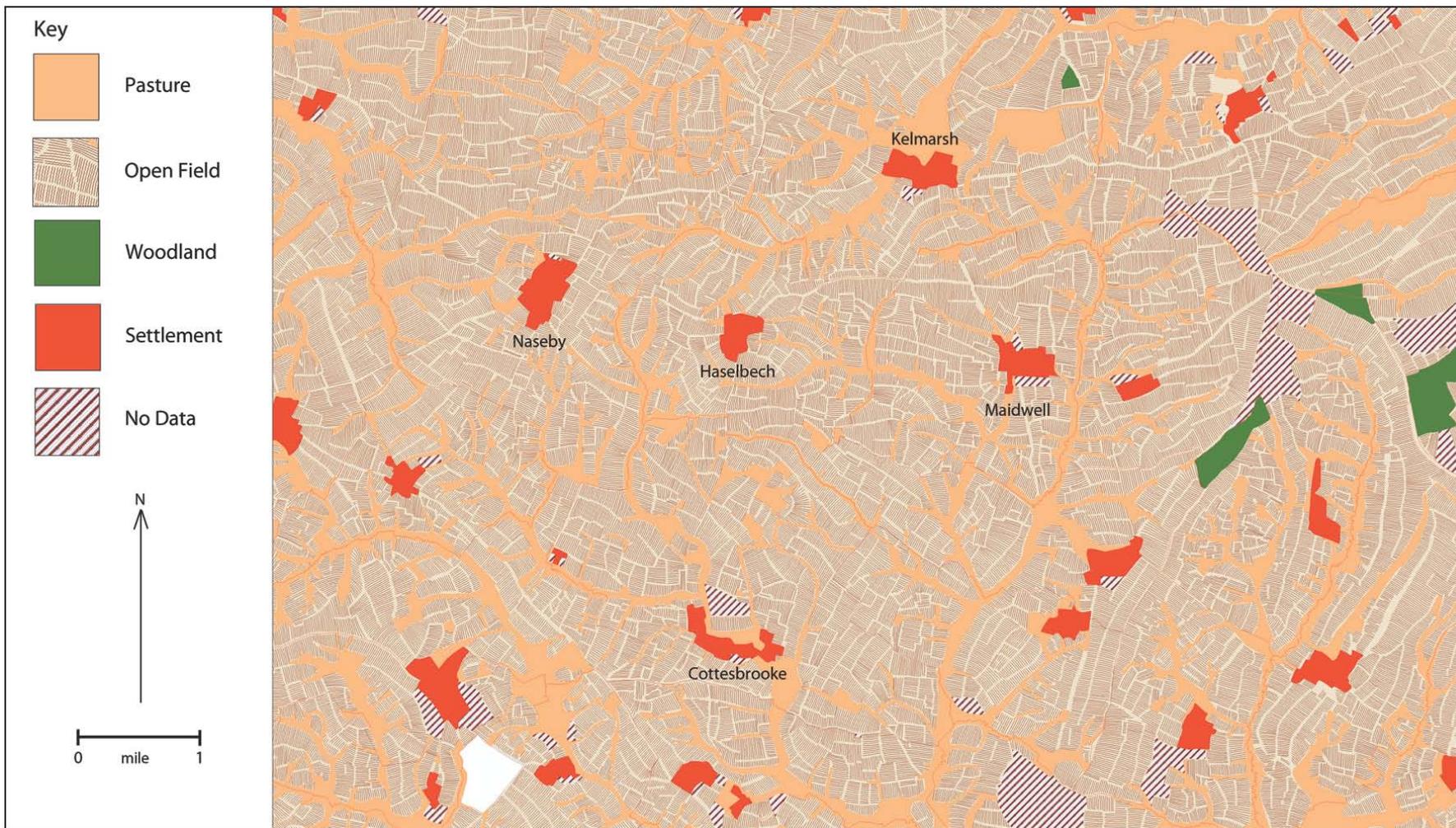
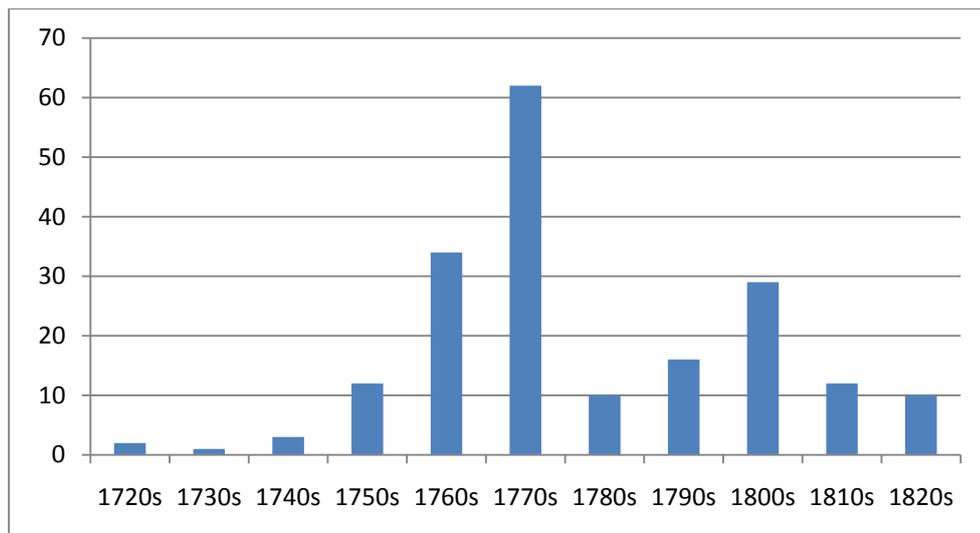


Figure 4.1. A GIS digital map showing the pattern of open fields and pasture in medieval Northamptonshire (Williamson, Liddiard and Partida, forthcoming).

Despite this early enclosure activity many arable open fields survived well into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, particularly in cases where the complex tangle of ownership and communal rights required the comprehensive and detailed approach of parliamentary enclosure commissioners. In 1720 around half the county was still unenclosed, and from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards parliamentary enclosure became more important in Northamptonshire, peaking during the 1770s when 62 acts were passed (Table 4.1), and by 1800 most of the remaining open fields had been enclosed (Tate and Turner 1978, 191-9; Williamson 2003, 5). Figure 4.2 and Graph 4.1 show the considerable impact of parliamentary enclosure on the landscape of Northamptonshire during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, especially when compared to counties, like Hertfordshire, which were much less affected by this process (Figure 3.1). Conversion to pasture still continued during this period, despite the recovery of grain prices and the pressure on grain imports during the Napoleonic wars (Turner 1986b, 677; Williamson 2002, 36-7). This new livestock-based economy was predominately centred on cattle destined for the London market of Smithfield, or the growing urban markets of Birmingham (Colyer 1973, 47). The newly enclosed pastures were improved in various ways, with the use of better grass seed, drainage techniques and the careful application of manures. Some farmers and landowners also practised convertible husbandry, a low-intensity form of arable cultivation which involved a limited period of arable cropping followed by a several years under pasture (Mingay 1984, 96).

Decade	Number of Parliamentary Enclosure Acts passed
1720s	2
1730s	1
1740s	3
1750s	12
1760s	34
1770s	62
1780s	10
1790s	16
1800s	29
1810s	12
1820s	10

Table 4.1. Parliamentary Enclosure acts passed in Northamptonshire (data from Tate and Turner 1978, 191-9).



Graph 4.1. Parliamentary Enclosure acts passed in Northamptonshire (data from Tate and Turner 1978, 191-9).

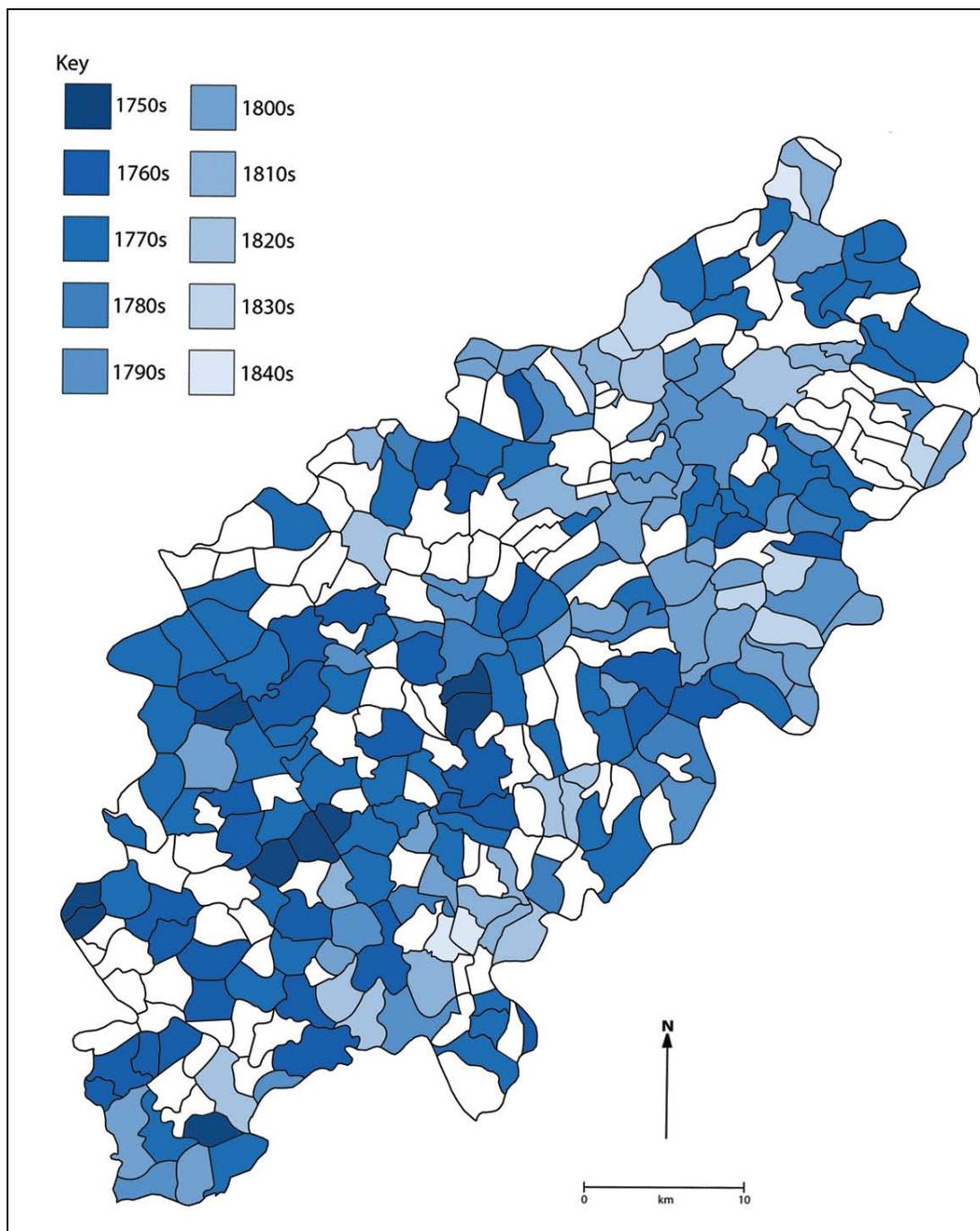


Figure 4.2. Parliamentary enclosure in Northamptonshire mapped by decade and parish (data from Tate and Turner 1978, 191-9).

Enclosure and the associated widespread conversion to pasture in the post-medieval period had profound implications for the development of designed landscapes in Northamptonshire.

Existing parks expanded, as at Althorp, the seat of the Spencer family, where large areas of

ridge and furrow show where the park expanded over former open fields. The newly pastoral landscape was itself sometimes used as a backdrop to elite residences *before* apparently being subsumed into a more clearly delineated park during the course of the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The boundaries between the designed landscape around gentleman's houses and the pastoral landscape beyond were considerably blurred in newly enclosed landscapes in late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century Northamptonshire.

4.3 Designed Landscapes in Northamptonshire before 1700

The eighteenth and nineteenth-century designed landscapes of Northamptonshire developed within a framework of earlier elite houses and their grounds, which reflected the prosperity and stability of Northamptonshire's landed elite during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The development of parks and gardens was constrained both by the presence of large areas of open field and by the location of the forests of Rockingham, Whittlewood and Salcey. Within the area of the forests were a number of medieval deer parks, including those at Brigstock, Geddington and Grafton (Steane 1974, 101). Other late medieval parks were created over newly enclosed areas of former open fields, as at Fotheringhay in 1464, and at Apethorpe in 1552 (Steane 1974, 178; Partida 2007, 49). Christopher Saxton's map of Northamptonshire, published in 1579, shows twenty paled parks, and in 1712 John Morton claimed that the county had more deer parks than any other in England (Morton 1712; Steane 1974, 208). In 1591 John Norden wrote that

No shire within this land is so plentifully stored with gentry, in regard whereof this shire may seem worthy to be termed the Herald's Garden, wherein they may grow such varieties of coats as in some degree or other match all their coats in England (Norden 1591).

There were relatively few incomers to county society after the mid-seventeenth century, and these were of a different social character to the flood of new owners in Hertfordshire; only 14 per cent of new estate owners in Northamptonshire derived their income from business, compared to 40 per cent in Hertfordshire (Stone 1984, 194). In late eighteenth-century Northamptonshire, 60 per cent of elite families endured for at least six generations without

selling their estates or a failure of heirs; this was the landed elite at its most solid and stable (Stone 1984, 278). It was the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which were the heyday of country house building in Northamptonshire. Several of the most well-known of the county's country houses were built during this period, including Apethorpe, Holdenby, Kirby and Drayton (Heward and Taylor 1996, 22). This period also saw the creation of a number of extensive Elizabethan and Stuart formal gardens which have been comprehensively studied by garden historians, in particular Lyveden New Build, Holdenby, Rushden, Burghley and Kirby (Strong 1979; Henderson 2005; Mowl and Hickman 2008). During the Restoration many existing houses were remodelled, including Althorp where an impressive new staircase was inserted into the former open courtyard and new formal gardens were created at sites like Castle Ashby and Boughton, where networks of avenues dominated the landscape (Heward and Taylor 1996, 53; Mowl and Hickman 2008, 53; 84). During the early-eighteenth century some older houses were demolished and new houses erected on their sites, as at Cottesbrooke in 1702 and Kelmarsh in 1728, where new grounds were also laid out (Heward and Taylor 1996, 141; 241). On the whole, however, it was the period between 1550 and 1640 which provided the framework of houses and formal gardens upon which the evolution of designed landscapes in the eighteenth century was partially dependant.

Although some of the impressive sixteenth and seventeenth-century houses mentioned above, such as Holdenby and Castle Ashby, were associated with large formal designed landscapes, few elite houses were associated with deer parks, and the grounds were restricted to formal gardens immediately around the house. In many cases, including those discussed in detail below, such as Ecton, Great Billing and Ashby St Ledgers, such residences were not surrounded by extensive parkland until later in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, therefore, many elite Northamptonshire houses and designed landscapes co-existed a mixture of extensive arable open fields and some early enclosed fields, rather than, as in Hertfordshire, an anciently enclosed, well wooded and generally pastoral landscape.

4.4 The distribution of designed landscapes in Northamptonshire

An analysis of the distribution of designed landscapes in Northamptonshire offers an interesting comparison with Hertfordshire, and indeed with Norfolk. The most obvious difference was that

there are far fewer designed landscapes in eighteenth-century Northamptonshire than in either of the other two counties. This can be explained to some extent by the fact that Hertfordshire had a high number of small ‘suburban’ landscapes due to its proximity to London, and Norfolk covers an area larger than the two other counties put together. The number of designed landscapes in Northamptonshire also remained relatively stable throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, rather than being subject to the growth evident in Hertfordshire.

In order to make a meaningful regional comparison, the same methodology has been used here as for Hertfordshire, comparing the number and distribution of designed landscapes (in terms of their acreage and location) on a late eighteenth-century and on an early nineteenth-century printed county map; Thomas Eyre’s county map of 1779 and Bryant’s of 1827. As before, a ‘vanishing point’ of ten acres formed the cut-off point for the recording of parks and gardens for the purposes of this discussion, although a number of gardens under that limit were certainly in existence.

4.4.1 Thomas Eyre’s map of Northamptonshire, 1779

Thomas Eyre surveyed the first large-scale county map of Northamptonshire at a scale of one inch to the mile. The map was published in 1779, followed by a revised edition in 1791. Eyre died in 1757, so the original survey itself must date to at least the mid 1750s. It was then revised by the cartographer Thomas Jeffreys before his death in 1771 and updated again just before its publication (Hatley 1975). These changes were aimed at correcting the names of the subscribers and owners of the principal seats which appear on the map and can be used to date the final revisions with a little more precision. For example, Lord Hinchinbrooke succeeded to the estate at Horton in 1771 and Mr Clarke Adams of East Haddon died in 1776, so the appearance of these names, and others, date the final revisions to the mid 1770s (Hatley 1975).

The map itself shows basic topographical details, roads, principal settlements and gentlemen’s residences. It is much less detailed than other comparable late eighteenth-century county maps, such as those produced by Dury and Andrews in Hertfordshire or Chapman and Andre’s in Essex. There are no details of field boundaries and other features, such as woods and settlements, are only shown in schematic detail. The depiction of designed landscapes is

particularly problematic, as many are simply not shown in any detail. Eyre delineated the residence of a gentleman (or woman) with the image of a large house and the name of its owner, while deer parks are engraved with grey shading. Some larger parks are shown with clear boundaries and details of their layout, as at Boughton Park and Fawsley Hall. Others, however, are shown with details of planting and other features but with no clear boundary, such as Cottesbrooke Hall. This means that their extent in the late-eighteenth century can be difficult to determine from Eyre's map alone.

The biggest problem faced by landscape and garden historians using Eyre's map is that the majority of gentlemen's residences are shown without any grounds at all, merely a house symbol and the name of the owner. Yet other cartographic and documentary evidence shows that some of these sites did in fact have considerable ornamental grounds at the time that Eyre's map was made. Ecton Hall near Northampton, owned by the Isted family, possessed extensive formal gardens in the early-eighteenth century, and a landscape park was created around the house after enclosure in 1758 (NRO Maps 2162 and NRO Maps 2119). Eyre's map does not show any details of these features, although contemporary maps show that they were in existence at the time that his survey, and the subsequent revisions, was carried out (NRO Maps 2162 and NRO Maps 2119). The park at Abington meanwhile, owned by John Thursby, is shown by Eyre as a defined area of parkland, shaded in grey, but with none of the details of planting and other features shown on contemporary eighteenth-century estate maps (NRO Map 470). Delapre Abbey, in contrast, is shown in some detail as a large landscape park containing an avenue focussed on the house and scattered planting throughout the rest of the park (Figure 4.3). It is unclear why some designed landscapes are shown in detail, whilst others are not; it may reflect the perceived importance of the landscapes shown in detail, or the contribution made by their owners towards the cost of the map.

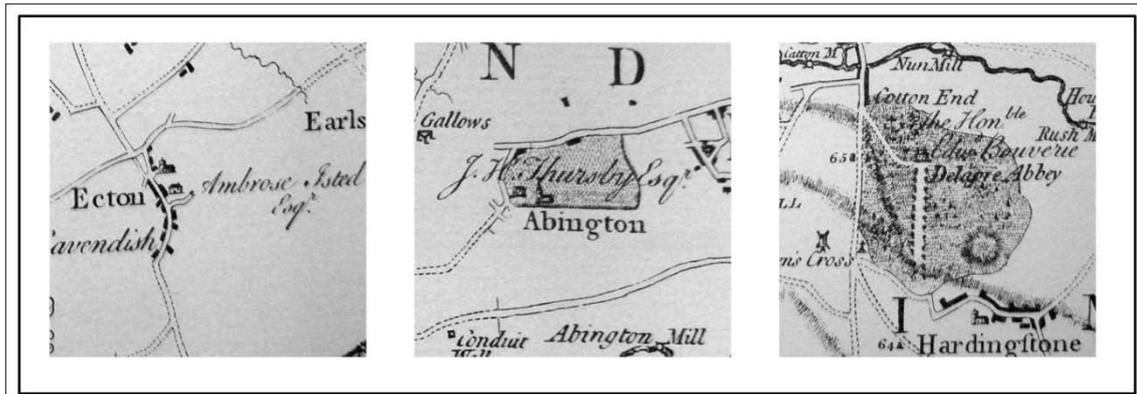


Figure 4.3. Ecton, Abington and Delapre Abbey as depicted on Eyre's map of Northamptonshire (1779).

This variation in the depiction of designed landscapes on Eyre's map, and especially the imprecision of their boundaries in some cases, makes the mapping of such landscapes in terms of their acreage difficult. Map 5 shows the distribution of designed landscapes on Eyre's map, mapped by size where possible, and also showing those sites which are marked as a gentlemen's residence but without any details of their grounds. Eyre shows 155 named gentlemen's residences across the county, compared to 184 identified on Dury and Andrews' map of Hertfordshire (Appendix 3). Of these, Eyre shows 97 with just the symbol of a substantial house, and 58 with a designed landscape, depicted with varying degrees of detail: 62 per cent of the parks, gardens and grounds which surrounded gentlemen's residences in late eighteenth-century Northamptonshire are thus shown without any real detail. This means that the map's usefulness as a source is extremely limited when assessing the appearance of individual sites. However, while Eyre's map is of limited use in assessing the layout of some designed landscapes in eighteenth-century Northamptonshire, this problem is compensated for by the availability of other sources. In Hertfordshire, documentary and cartographic evidence for some of the smallest landscapes under discussion is limited, and therefore Dury and Andrews' map formed one of the principal sources and had to be shown to be reliable, and clearly dateable. In Northamptonshire the surviving documentary evidence is more complete, as many of the sites examined have surviving estate archives which include contemporary maps; a comparatively rare source for the sites studied in Hertfordshire, and a reflection of the varying patterns of ownership between the two counties, as already noted.

Eyre's map is useful in determining the overall pattern of distribution of elite residences in Northamptonshire. Map 5 shows a fairly even spread across the whole county, but with

particular concentrations of designed landscapes around Northampton and along the Nene valley. Although there are several designed landscapes in the immediate vicinity of Northampton, which will be discussed in detail below, there is no pattern of *dense* clustering around urban centres as is evident in Hertfordshire (Map 2), and to some extent in Norfolk. The majority of gentlemen's residences shown on Eyre's map are located on the heaviest clay soils, including those of the Denchworth, Ragdale and Wickham associations. Such soils are difficult to work due to serious seasonal waterlogging, and are also prone to structural damage caused by ploughing (Hodge 1984, 73; 293-6; Williamson 2003, 145-6). It is perhaps not surprising to find designed landscapes on the soils which are the hardest to cultivate, as these are also areas which were associated with fourteenth and fifteenth-century settlement depopulations and the concentration of landed power in the hands of a few landowners (Williamson, Liddiard and Partida forthcoming). With a few exceptions, large landed estates were not generally found on the soils of the Hanslope association, which though easily waterlogged were still relatively fertile for arable cultivation, attracting a denser and more complicated pattern of settlement. A number of designed landscapes are found on the well drained loamy soils of the Banbury and Moreton associations along the river valleys; a typical location for elite residences, which reflected earlier, medieval patterns of settlement and lordship, as well as offering extensive views along the valley (Williamson, Liddiard and Partida forthcoming). This preference for a river valley location is also demonstrated by the group of designed landscapes found along the western boundary of the county, on the slopes overlooking the River Cherwell in neighbouring Oxfordshire. In addition, most of the gentleman's residences shown on Eyre's map are the only such residence in their parish, so there is little evidence in Northamptonshire of the contiguous boundaries and shared views found in the more densely packed landscape of Hertfordshire.

In terms of the distribution of designed landscapes of different sizes, there is a clear group of large parks, extending over more than five hundred acres, in the north of the county around the former forest of Rockingham, which had been mostly alienated from the Crown by the early-seventeenth century (Pettit 1968, 68). The bailiwicks of Rockingham Forest had contained a number of substantial medieval parks, including Cliffe Park (1,600 acres) and the Great and Little Parks at Brigstock (2,000 acres), many of which were disparked when they were granted away by the Crown (Pettit 1968, 8; 171). By the late-eighteenth century these former forest landscapes still contained large parks at Fermyn Woods, Deene, Bulwick, Laxton and Apethorpe, as well as the large designed landscape at Boughton near Kettering. Conversely, the area of the former Whittlewood Forest contained fewer large estates, although there were a number of parks and gardens covering areas of less than one hundred acres around Wakefield Lawn on the southern edge of the county, partly reflecting the fact that the forest of

Whittlewood had been much smaller than Rockingham, and was more sparsely populated and more densely wooded (Steane 1974, 194). Many of the gentleman's residences shown by Eyre in this area, including Wakefield Lawn, Shrob Lodge and Potterspury Lodge were hunting lodges associated with the forests which were rebuilt in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Pettit 1968, 8).

Size in Acres	Number of designed landscapes
10 to 50 acres	22
51 to 100 acres	18
101 to 250 acres	7
251 to 500 acres	7
501 to 750 acres	3
More than 751 acres	2

Table 4.2. Acreages of designed landscapes shown in detail on Eyre's map of Northamptonshire, 1779.

There are a number of designed landscapes shown in detail on Eyre's map which cover an area of less than one hundred acres. However, most of the sites which fall into this category are towards the top end of the classification, and only 22 of the forty sites shown in detail are of less than fifty acres, compared to 88 out of 184 on Dury and Andrews' map of Hertfordshire (Table 4.2). However, it is difficult to draw such comparisons as a number of those residences shown with no details of the layout of their grounds may have been of a similar size. Few of the small designed landscapes shown on Eyre's map are of villa type; the majority are found in nucleated villages away from urban centres and represent the manor houses and rectories which are so characteristic of Northamptonshire, such as Greatworth House owned by the Reverend Mr Higgenon and shown on Eyre's map as a garden of ten acres.

4.4.2 Bryant's Map of Northamptonshire, 1827

Andrew Bryant published his county map of Northamptonshire in 1827 at a scale of 1.5 inches to the mile, one of thirteen county maps that he surveyed and published during the 1820s (Macnair and Williamson forthcoming). The map is much more detailed than Eyre's, and more consistent in its depiction of designed landscapes, particularly in terms of the number shaded in grey and therefore clearly delineated as parkland. Map 6 shows the distribution of designed landscapes in the county recorded by Bryant. As before, a 'vanishing point' of ten acres was taken as the starting point, although Bryant's map does clearly show gardens below that size. A comparison with Eyre (Map 5) shows that relatively little had changed during the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries in terms of the overall number and distribution.

Bryant shows a total of 155 designed landscapes covering an area of more than ten acres; exactly the same number shown on Eyre's map. However, the composition of those 155 in terms of sites depicted varies on each map (Appendices 3 and 4). This disparity may be due, in part, to the nature of the sites recorded on Eyre's map. The majority of those which are not shown on Bryant are depicted only with a house symbol on Eyre's map, and without any details of the associated grounds. Some of these sites are below the 'vanishing point' of ten acres and in addition some are too small to have been shown in any detail on Bryant's map. Eyre's map shows the rectory at Stowe Nine Churches as a house belonging to the Rev. Dr Lloyd, which is therefore included on Map 5 with a 'house only' symbol. Bryant marks the rectory near the church, but only a tiny area is shaded; far below the ten acre 'vanishing point' used here. Of those recorded by Bryant, 86 cover an area of less than fifty acres; 57 per cent of the total, compared to 55 per cent in Hertfordshire (Table 4.3). If these figures are broken down further (Table 4.4), then 68 of those small designed landscapes covered an area of between 10 and 25 acres, 44 per cent of the total for the county. In Hertfordshire, where there were more designed landscapes in total, sites between 10 and 25 acres accounted for 29 per cent of the total number. This high proportion of very small designed landscapes is perhaps surprising, given the provincial, stable character of Northamptonshire society. However, the majority of these cannot be characterised as 'villa-type' landscapes as they were not located close to urban centres and many surrounded large farmhouses, manor houses and parsonages. The seventeenth-century rectory at Thorpe Achurch, for example, is shown with grounds of fifteen acres, perhaps laid out when parts of the house were rebuilt in the early-nineteenth century (English Heritage LBS 232852). Plumpton Manor, an early seventeenth-century manor house of limestone and ironstone, is shown within a small designed landscape of ten acres on Bryant's map (English

Heritage LBS 234259). The house sits within a series of walled seventeenth-century gardens and a number of small enclosures, but such residences are clearly of a very different type to the small villas discussed above in Hertfordshire. Although both houses and their gardens date back to the seventeenth century, neither of them were included as gentlemen's residences of note on Eyre's map.

Acreage	Number of designed landscapes
10 to 50 acres	86
51 to 100 acres	22
101 to 250 acres	31
251 to 500 acres	12
501 to 750 acres	2
More than 751 acres	2

Table 4.3. Designed landscapes in Northamptonshire shown on Bryant's map of 1827.

Acreage	Number of designed landscapes
10 to 25 acres	68
26 to 50 acres	18
51 to 75 acres	10
76 to 100 acres	12

Table 4.4. Designed landscapes under 100 acres shown on Bryant's map of 1827.

Northamptonshire therefore displays an essentially static pattern of development, which is in sharp contrast to the situation in Hertfordshire in the same period, where the number of designed landscapes increased substantially in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. This was closely linked to the increasing desirability of that county as an outer suburb of London, and to the influx of new landowners acquiring small estates in the county, as

discussed in detail above. Northamptonshire, by contrast, lay at some distance from the capital, and Northampton itself, whilst locally important, did not exert the same magnetic influence upon the distribution of designed landscapes as cities like London or, in a more provincial context, Norwich. The development of polite residences in Northamptonshire was, as in other counties, thus strongly linked to the social make-up of county society. After the mid-seventeenth century there were relatively few newcomers into the county landowning elite, and estates tended to be handed down to successive generations of one family, rather than sold as in Hertfordshire (Stone 1984, 195). The distribution of elite residences also changed little in this period, and tended to perpetuate the pattern and framework of designed landscapes and houses established during the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, something which was itself reliant on much earlier patterns of settlement and lordship (Heward and Taylor 1996, 22).

Although Northamptonshire lay at a significantly greater distance from London than Hertfordshire, it was no by means isolated. Figure 4.4 shows the distribution of sites set against the network of turnpike roads established in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, many of which were already important routes of communication before the turnpike trusts were founded. Many estates were to be found within a convenient distance of a major road, and this was particularly true of the larger estates shown on Eyre's map. As elsewhere in England the major routes were maintained with the funds from the turnpike trusts, but the rest of the road network, maintained by parishes, tenants and local landowners, was in a much more desperate state (Steane 1974, 250). In the early-nineteenth century Pitt wrote that although the turnpikes were in good repair, the rest of the county's roads were 'in a very ruinous situation, and in general, so narrow as to admit of only one track' (Pitt 1813, 231). He also noted the volume of traffic through Northamptonshire,

The passing of cattle and carriages along these great thoroughfares is incessant, and their numbers prodigious. The numerous droves of cattle, in wet weather, are nearly as injurious to the roads as any kind of heavy carriage (Pitt 1813, 231).

The busy roads leading through Northamptonshire to the north of England and to London meant that Northampton itself was a convenient mid-way point between the two, attracting some residents who also had estates in the north.

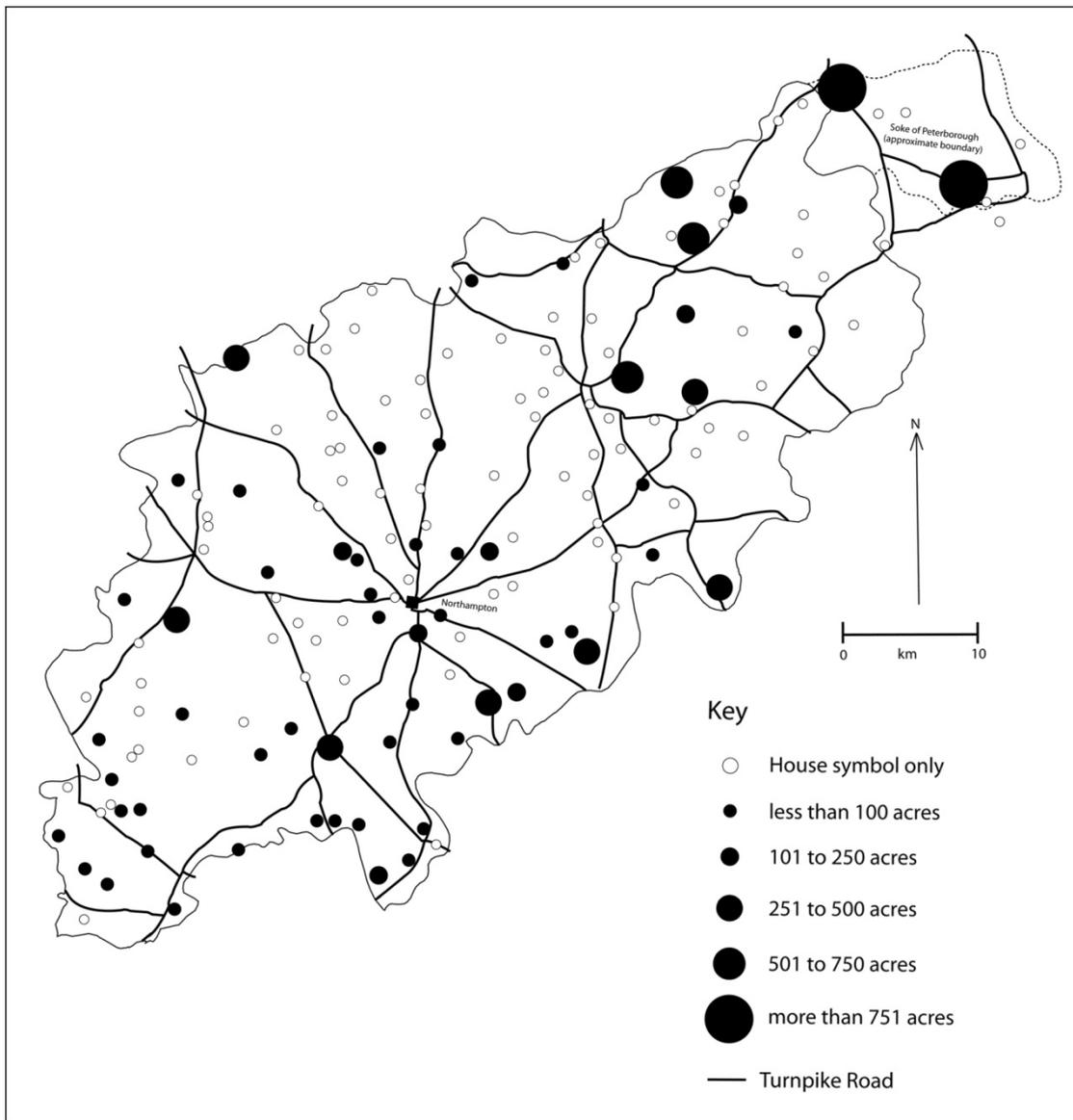


Figure 4.4. Distribution map of designed landscapes in Northamptonshire shown on Eyre’s county map (1779) and the network of turnpike roads.

4.5 Open Fields and Designed Landscapes

Understanding the relationship between arable open fields and designed landscapes in the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries is particularly important in Northamptonshire. Whilst parks and gardens in Hertfordshire had a strong connection with the surrounding anciently enclosed countryside, in Northamptonshire that relationship was between the grounds around the house and, in many cases, a landscape of unenclosed arable. Hertfordshire and Norfolk also had areas of open field in this period, but they were neither as extensive, nor as

regularly managed, as those in Northamptonshire (Williamson 2003, 91-2). This relationship between designed landscapes and surrounding field systems has been relatively neglected by both landscape and garden historians, with some notable exceptions, such as Anne Bermingham's work on the relationship between increasing enclosure and the 'naturalisation' of the parkland layout (Bermingham 1986, 14). One of the main points of her arguments is that

Most historians of the landscape garden fail to consider that its size and appearance related directly to the rescaling and redesigning of the real landscape through enclosure. Whereas the garden put a premium on informal and irregular plantings and earthworks, enclosure divided the landscape and regularized its appearance (Bermingham 1986, 13).

However, this approach to the relationship between landscape parks and enclosure is too simplistic and, crucially, does not take into account regional variations in field morphology and enclosure chronology. The landscape style of Kent, Brown and others was firmly fixed in the imagination of the polite in the 1730s, 40s and 50s, and was a well established style by the 1760s, when the first peak of parliamentary enclosure acts were passed (Turner 1980, 32). However, at an even more basic level, up to 75 per cent of England had already been enclosed by the late-eighteenth century, so many landscape parks were being created in landscapes which were not affected by the type of enclosure which Bermingham describes (Williamson 2000c, 70). Many landowners were responsible for laying out landscape parks, and for schemes of enclosure, reclamation and improvements on their estates; the two should not be seen as being in aesthetic opposition to one another, but rather, as part of the all embracing sense of 'improvement' which motivated many landowners (Gregory 2008, 54-5).

The late-eighteenth century produced a considerable amount of debate about the merits and, more often, the shortcomings of the open-field system. These arguments included frequent references to the aesthetic appearance of unenclosed strips compared to that of enclosed fields. For much of this period open fields seem to have been a perfectly acceptable backdrop to a country house and its grounds, and were not always viewed with the vitriol and derision that later eighteenth and nineteenth-century agricultural writers reserved for them. Finch has demonstrated that there was a deliberately constructed relationship between the formal designed landscape around Castle Howard, in Yorkshire, and the arable open fields around the estate (Finch 2007, 28). This relationship hinged on the visual contrast between the ordered,

aristocratic wooded interior of the designed landscape with its architectural elements designed by Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor, and the unordered and essentially feudal character of the open fields (Finch 2007, 28).

Some contemporary writers, such as Celia Fiennes, Daniel Defoe and John Byng, saw a strong link between enjoyable field sports and an open field landscape (Byng 1934; Defoe 1962; Morris 1995). Many of the landowners discussed below, particularly the Spencer family and the members of their social circle who lived around Northampton, were enthusiastic sportsmen who exploited the open field landscape for hunting (Bevan, 2010, 64). In his *Compania Foelix* Timothy Nourse advocated the use of the open fields, or 'champion' landscapes as a backdrop to a country house, and as hunting landscapes, although he recommended planting the grounds with avenues of trees,

For to see the Campain without Garniture would look a little too bald, and to have it choakt up with little enclosures would look too Yeoman-like, and would be a disturbance to Recreations of the Field, as Hawking and Hunting, and be stoppage also to the wholesome Air, and to the Prospect of the remoter Countrys (Nourse 1700, 334).

In the 1680s the diarist Celia Fiennes rode through Wiltshire and found 'a fine Champion Country pleasant for all sports – Rideing, Hunting, Courseing, Setting and Shooteing' (Morris 1995, 36). Daniel Defoe also wrote about champion landscapes with pleasure, noting that the landscape around Newmarket was 'an open champain country, and a healthy air, is formed for pleasure, and all kinds of country diversion' (Defoe 1962, 77).

The links between open fields and field sports continued into the eighteenth century, and the landscape was valued by some for both hunting on horseback and on foot. George Stubbs' portrait of Sir John Nelthorpe (1776) thus shows the Lincolnshire baronet standing with gun and dogs in front of one of the open fields around Barton-on-Humber. The landscape was undulating and open with no trees, hedgerows or enclosed fields to interrupt the pleasure of the shoot (Waites 2009, 15). Enclosure might thus be criticised not just for its impact on local communities, but because the creation of new boundaries disrupted the clear run of the hunt. Such a complaint was made in the 1770s by John Byng, Viscount Torrington:

The neighbourhood of this town [Burford, Oxfordshire], formerly so noted for hunting, is now spoilt by enclosures; and both the hunters and the poor are driven into other counties. As a sportsman I hate enclosures, and, as a citizen, I look on them as the greedy tyrannies of the wealthy few, to oppress the indigent many' (Byng 1934, 7).

There were important changes in the nature of hunting in the eighteenth century, which in turn influenced preferences for particular kinds of landscape. In the 1750s Hugo Meynell founded the Quorn pack in Leicestershire, breeding faster fox hounds to increase the pace of the chase, something that quickly became popular amongst his peers and formed the pattern for many of the Midland packs, such as the Pytchley in Northamptonshire (Griffin 2007, 125; Bevan 2010, 53). Finch has suggested that these fast-paced rides, covering up to twenty or thirty miles, took place across a mixture of both arable open fields and large enclosed pasture fields created during earlier enclosures from the sixteenth century onwards (Finch 2004, 45). Recent research by Jane Bevan, based on the detailed late-eighteenth-century hunting diaries of a number of prominent Masters of the Hunt, including Meynell, has shown that many of the Midland hunts actively *avoided* areas of the landscape that had been subject to enclosure, preferring instead the open field landscape, unencumbered by problematic fences and hedges (Bevan 2010, 49-75).

However, although the open fields appealed to landowners in a practical sense closely connected to their obsession with blood sports, some writers were not able to reconcile this with their bleak and open appearance. In the middle of the seventeenth century John Evelyn visited Rutland, noting that much of the landscape of the Midlands was 'in commune',

I went to Uppingham, the shire-town of Rutland, pretty and well built of stone, which is a rarity in that part of England, where most of the rural parishes are but of mud, and the people living as wretchedly as in the most impoverished parts of France, which they much resemble being idle and sluttish: The Country (especially Leicestershire) much in Commune, the Gentry great drinkers (Evelyn 1983, 122).

Defoe was also unimpressed by the landscape of the Midlands in the 1720s, describing his journey from Northampton to Market Harborough as being 'in the midst of the deep dismal

roads, the dirtiest and worst in all that part of the country' (Defoe 1962, 486). The Midlands landscape was overwhelmingly agricultural, which did not hold his interest,

Warwickshire and Northamptonshire are not so full of Antiquities, large towns and gentleman's seats, but this county of Leicester is empty. The whole country seems to be taken up in country business, such as the manufacture above, but particularly in breeding and feeding cattle, the largest sheep and horses in England are found here (Defoe 1962, 488).

Defoe's description of Leicestershire as 'empty' is crucial in understanding some early eighteenth-century attitudes to the champion Midland landscape. Open, seemingly endless prospects across an 'empty' landscape were not desirable to the eighteenth-century eye, and instead many aesthetic writers and designers favoured the structure of landscape painting, using a clear foreground, middle ground and background in the manner of Claude Lorrain, something which William Kent sought to achieve in his landscapes. In a poem by the Rev. James Tyley about enclosure in Northamptonshire, the poet is forced to use the church spire to navigate around the landscape due to the lack of any other landmarks; the wide, open tracts of the open fields appear as empty and threatening spaces (Tyley 1823; Barrell 1972, 32; 88). However, to some such open landscapes represented an opportunity to reshape and reform the landscape into something more acceptable, in line with Walpole's suggestion that 'an open country is but a canvas upon which a landscape might be designed' (Barrell 1972, 59). The enclosure of open fields might therefore form part of a wider scheme of landscape improvement that could also include the opportunistic expansion of a designed landscape.

Yet despite the views of a handful of leading writers, during the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century many landowners in Northamptonshire and in other areas dominated by arable open fields may have been perfectly reconciled to their appearance, and to the relationship of their own grounds with this surrounding open landscape. While some perceived the open-field landscape as monotonous and dull others pointed to the extensive views and the patchwork variety of form and colour offered by different crops in each furlong. Contemporaries frequently made reference to the subtle effects produced by lighting, colour and shade with regard to planting within parks and gardens (Whately 1770; Mason 1770; Repton, 1803; Loudon 1822), but such qualities were also sometimes noted with regard to the

agricultural landscape. In the 1740s William Ellis wrote about the visual appeal of fields of neatly planted corn, stating that

It is not only the most profitable husbandry of all others, to sow Corn in Drills, but it is likewise the most delightful and most healthful. It is the most delightful, because the many Rows of Wheat, Barley, Oats, Pease, Beans, and artificial Grasses, &c. that are sown and grow in inclosed fields at stated distances, give the Owner and Spectators a spacious Prospect of viewing their several various Gradations of Growth, from the first Sight of the infant Blades or Sprouts, to the full ripe Ears and Pods (Ellis 1744, 76).

Ellis aimed his writing at the rural gentry and the owners of large, improved farms; a similar audience to that which read the Board of Agriculture reports in the decades either side of 1800. Ellis was writing about enclosed fields, but William Pitt, in the second edition of the *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Northamptonshire*, published in 1813, found that open strips had a similar effect,

even the open common fields, covered with crops of grain, within sight of every rising ground, increase the variety and add to the general appearance to beauty and fertility' (Pitt 1813, 8).

The appeal of a varied landscape, which combined both beauty and utility, was very important to the gentry in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries, and indeed continued to be so into the nineteenth century (Williamson 1995, 117).

When assessing the relationship between the country house landscape and the arable open fields in Northamptonshire, a particularly important source is a series of drawings made by the Dutch artist Peter Tillemans in the early 1720s. Tillemans was commissioned by the writer and antiquarian John Bridges, who was compiling a history of the county to produce the illustrations to accompany his text (Bailey 1996, vii). Most of the drawings are architectural in their focus, including a number of images of country houses and their gardens, such as the drawing of the formal gardens at Easton Neston showing the topiary trees and statuary that was typical in

formal gardens of this period (Bailey 1996, 52). However, Tillemans' also produced some more general views of the Northamptonshire landscape, which can potentially shed light on how the open field landscape might have been viewed in aesthetic terms. A drawing of Boughton House near Kettering, dated July 1721, shows open field strips running up to the boundary of the magnificent late seventeenth-century formal gardens that surrounded the house (Figure 4.5) (Bailey 1996, 24). The drawing shows the palatial north front, completed in the 1690s overlooking the formal gardens, with canals, basins and groves of trees (Heward and Taylor 1993, 101). The gardens are also shown in a plan by Colen Campbell in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, published in 1722, and many of the features shown in the two illustrations match; the square basin to the northwest of the house, and the thin rectilinear canals shown on Campbell's plan can be glimpsed through the trees in the Tillemans' drawing (Figure 4.6) (Campbell 1722). The plan gives no hint, however, that these gardens are bounded, not by parkland, but by open-field furlongs, and the view from both house and gardens would have included the strips shown by Tillemans.



Figure 4.5. Peter Tillemans' drawing of Boughton House near Kettering, July 1721 (reproduced from Bailey 1996, 24).

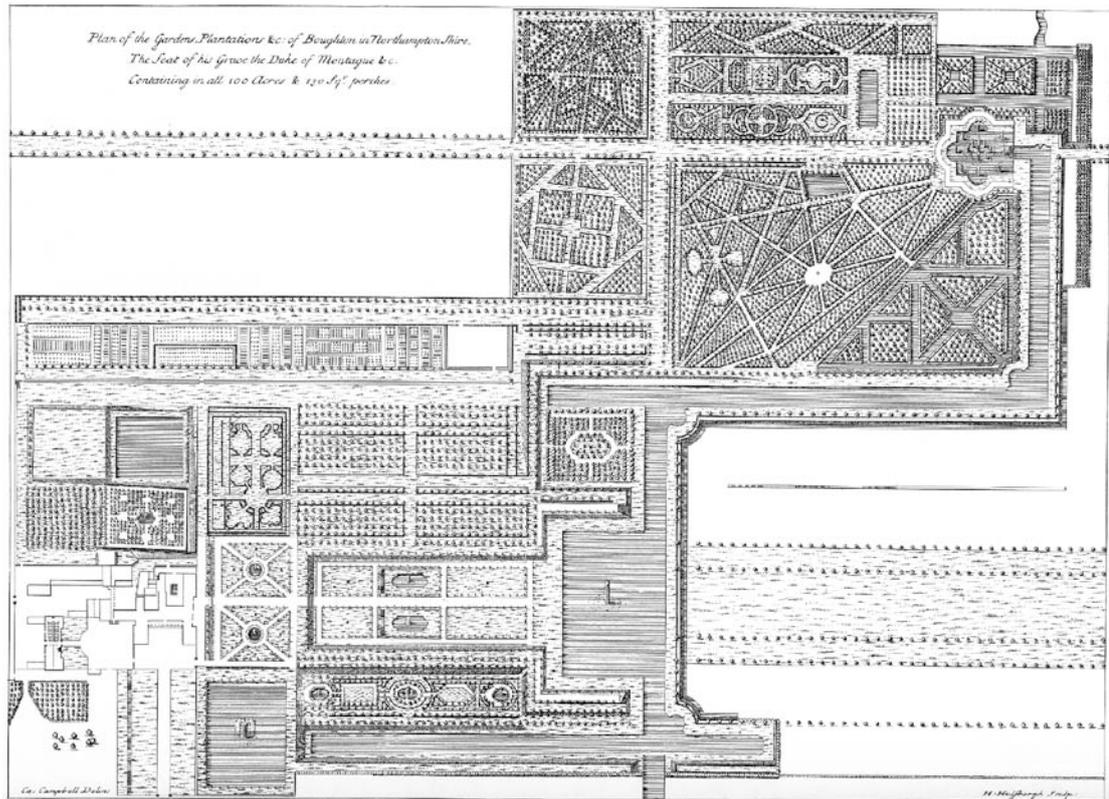


Figure 4.6. Plan of the gardens at Boughton House from Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 1722.

Tillemans' presents a similar view of Greatworth House, near Brackley, showing the house standing within a walled formal garden, although here the open-field strips had already been enclosed by the 1720s. The progress of enclosure during the eighteenth century altered the relationship between the country house and surrounding arable, and in some cases, the boundaries between the designed landscape and the newly enclosed fields became more ambiguous. Beyond the walled garden is a newly enclosed field, the fence of which overlies the former strips that have now been converted to pasture. Given its proximity to the house and gardens, this field may have been functioning as a park-like area of pasture and was an integral part of the view from the main facade of the house (Figure 4.7) (Bailey 1996, 86). As in Hertfordshire, this use of enclosed pasture fields as an alternative to a more defined area of parkland was a common feature in the development of designed landscapes in the county. Tillemans' depiction of Greatworth also illustrates the accuracy of his drawings in terms of the surrounding landscape; the surviving ridge and furrow in the modern landscape around the site of Greatworth House is identical to that shown in Tillemans' drawing (Figure 4.8).



Figure 4.7. Peter Tilleman's drawing of Greatworth House, 1720s (reproduced from Bailey 1996, 86).

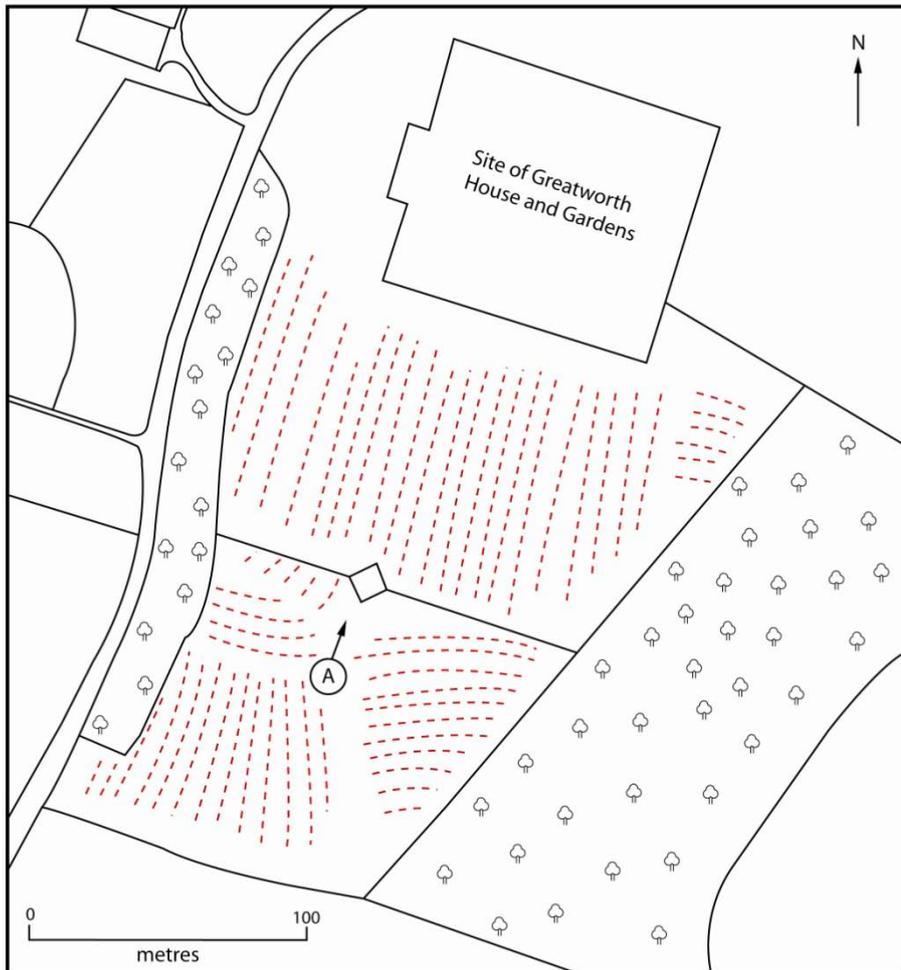


Figure 4.8. Plan of surviving ridge and furrow near the site of Greatworth House. Tilleman's approximate viewpoint for the drawing in Figure 4.5 is marked with A.

Two more of Tillemans' drawings show the open-field landscape in a wider context. Both are of the area around Kingsthorpe, near Northampton, an area which will be discussed in some detail below. The first shows the valley of a tributary to the River Nene, with the spire of Kingsthorpe church on the right (Figure 4.9) (Bailey 1996, 123). The open fields sweep down into the valley, with broad brush strokes illustrating the strips. There are no visible divisions between the furlongs or the fields, and with the exception of woodland around the villages and estates, there are few trees. Interestingly, the presence of woodland around the estates in the immediate area, such as Kingsthorpe, Althorp and Holdenby, links them together aesthetically as islands of elite society amidst the fairly featureless open fields. Tillemans' second drawing of Kingsthorpe illustrates just how empty such open field landscapes could be, with few discernable landscape features outside the village; in such a landscape the plantations around neighbouring estates would have been an obvious point of reference for people travelling through this landscape (Figure 4.9) (Bailey 1996, 124).



Figure 4.9. Two drawings of Kingsthorpe, near Northampton, by Peter Tillemans, July 1721 (Bailey 1996, 123-4).

Therefore, for the earlier part of the period under consideration here, many elite residences in Northamptonshire were associated with arable open fields. Such landscapes appealed to landowners in part because of their suitability for field sports, but in some cases, the open fields also provided a varied backdrop to the formal gardens surrounding country houses of the early-eighteenth century. However, the open fields of the Midland counties were deeply entrenched in local landscape and society, and one of the reasons that they survived into the late-eighteenth century was because they were difficult and expensive to dismantle (Williamson 2002, 36). Landowners, therefore, tolerated the appearance of the open fields until the opportunity for enclosure presented itself.

4.6 Designed landscapes in Northamptonshire

As discussed above, the distribution of designed landscapes in Northamptonshire remained much more stable in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries than was the case in Hertfordshire, reflecting the stability of the county elite. Superficially, parks and gardens in Northamptonshire appear to follow the well-known design trajectory towards a greater 'naturalism' in the landscape with the creation of landscape parks in the mid to late-eighteenth century, a process that was, in Northamptonshire, closely associated with the enclosure of the open fields. As in Hertfordshire, designed landscapes in Northamptonshire had a strong relationship with the surrounding countryside. In Hertfordshire the strength of this relationship was founded on the connection between the grounds and the anciently enclosed countryside of small fields and hedgerows, often under a mixed or pastoral agrarian regime. Conversely, for many of the landscapes discussed below this relationship was initially between the designed landscape and arable open fields. In such cases the boundary between the designed core of an estate and the wider landscape was clearly demarcated. However, the progress of various types of enclosure during the eighteenth century altered this visual relationship, creating more ambiguity and confusion over the boundaries of 'design'.

4.6.1 Designed landscapes around Northampton

Northampton, the county town and a sizeable regional centre, was surrounded by a number of designed landscapes during the post-medieval period. Many buildings in the town had been seriously damaged by a fire in 1675 and had been rebuilt using the example of the concurrent reconstruction in London after the Great Fire of 1666 as a model (Borsay 1989, 45-6). This rebuilding meant that during the eighteenth century Northampton was seen as ‘a model of urban architecture’, and was one of the first provincial towns to absorb new ideas about urban planning and architecture emanating from the court and the capital (Borsay 1989, 45-6). Celia Fiennes visited the town in 1697 whilst the rebuilding was still underway,

And so we enter into Northamptonshire; to Northampton town which opens a noble prospect to your sight a mile distant, a large town well built, the streetes as large as most in London except Holborn and the Strand, the houses well built of brick and stone some all stone, very regular buildings... there is abundance of new building which adds to the beauty of the town (Morris 1995, 116).

Defoe echoed her comments in 1722, stating that Northampton was

the handsomest town in all this part of England, but here as at Warwick, the beauty of it is owing to it's disaster; for it was so effectually burnt down, that very few houses were left standing... 'Tis now finely rebuilt with brick and stone, and the streets made spacious and wide (Defoe 1962, 485)

Early eighteenth-century Northampton, therefore, was an elegant urban centre which might have been expected to attract a number of villa-type residences and designed landscapes, similar to those around Norwich or London. The town did not, however, develop into the kind of large regional centre which attracted merchants, manufacturers and other professionals in high numbers. Although the leather and shoe trade was locally important in Northampton throughout the post-medieval period, industrial development on a large scale was restricted until the early-nineteenth century (Mingay 1984, 89). The Nene was not navigable to Northampton and,

despite the opening of the Nene Navigation in 1761, the lack of a navigable waterway, and the poor state of the road network, restricted the town's growth (Steane 1974, 258). In 1813 William Pitt wrote of the town that

The defective navigation of this river is sufficiently indicated by the trade and port of the town, which bears no proportion to its situation, opulence, or population: at the wharfs not a single vessel loading or unloading; a crane stands solitary, and not the least stir of business' (Pitt 1813, 232).

It was not until the construction of the Grand Junction Canal in 1815 that the town had a reliable navigable waterway (Steane 1974, 260). The arrival of the canal and the outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars stimulated the boot and shoe industry in Northampton, prompting a rapid rise in population from around 7,000 in 1801 to just over 15,000 in 1831 (Steane 1974, 269). During the eighteenth century, though, Northampton was relatively unimportant as a centre of business and trade, and was in direct competition with other large towns nearby, including Peterborough (then within the county itself), as well as with Birmingham and other expanding Midland industrial centres.

Eyre's map records a number of gentleman's residences in a five mile radius around Northampton, shown on Figure 4.8, including the large parks of Althorp and Horton, as well as Abington, Ecton, Great Billing, Courteenhall, Harlestone and smaller residences like Wootton and Kingsthorpe.

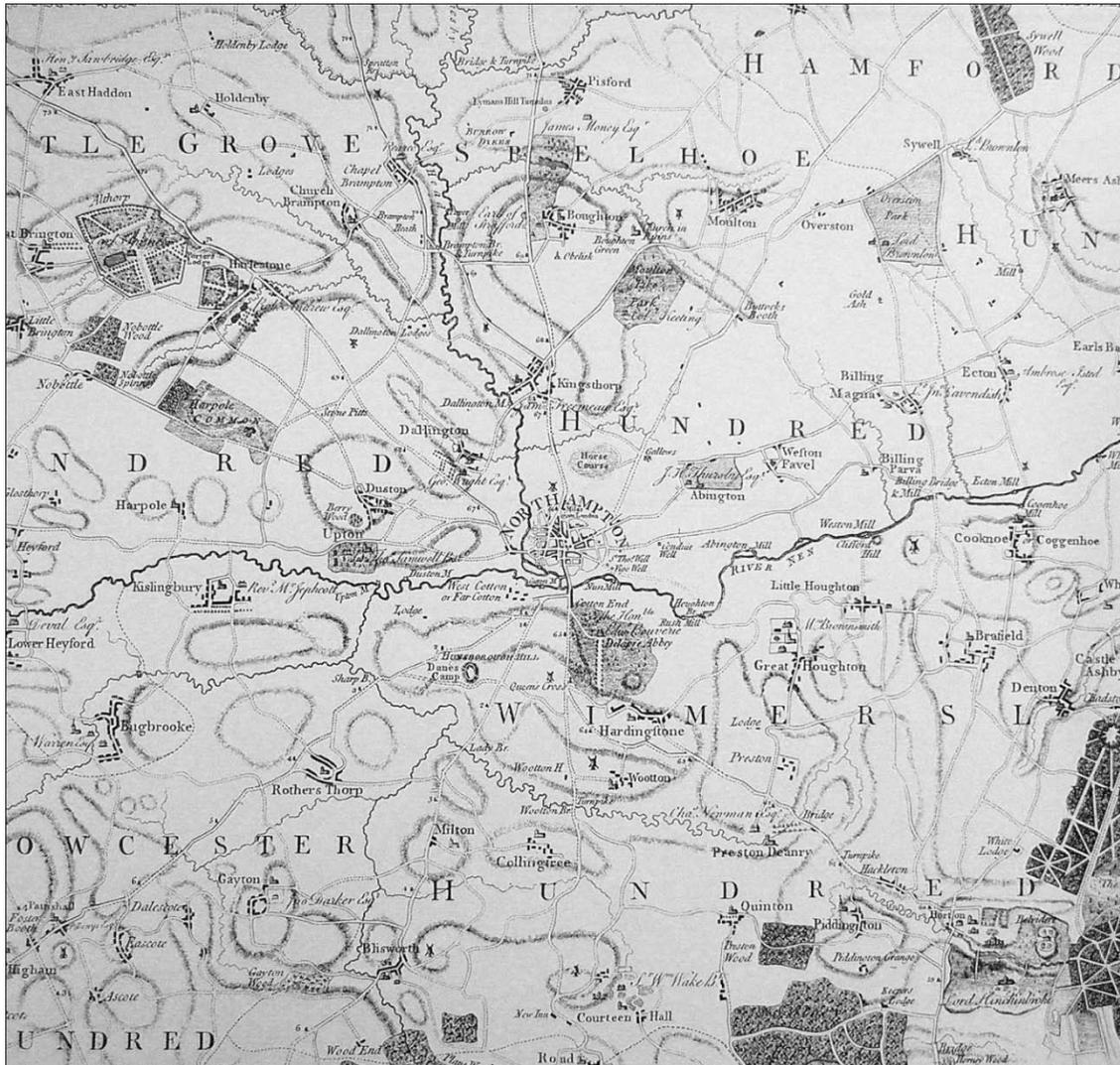


Figure 4.10. Designed landscapes around Northampton shown on Eyre’s map (1779).

Although these estates were close to an urban centre, they cannot be considered as being ‘suburban’ landscapes of the type discussed above in Hertfordshire for a number of reasons; firstly, they were attached to landed estates which were often being actively managed by their owners, secondly, they were owned by the same family for several generations, and finally the designed landscapes created by those landowners were, on the whole, much larger than many of those considered in Hertfordshire. In the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries the landscape around a number of elite residences was affected by non-parliamentary forms of enclosure. This process, as already emphasised, was nearly always associated with the conversion of arable to pasture, and involved taking a small amount of land out of the open fields and creating a number of closes around the settlement or house. This altered the balance of the relationship between the formal gardens around the house and the wider landscape,

creating a pastoral 'buffer zone' of closes between the house and the open-field furlongs. These pastoral fields provided a more aesthetically pleasing backdrop to the house and gardens. This early stage of development is of particular interest here, however; could the pastoral closes which surrounded Northamptonshire's country houses be considered as 'designed' landscapes?

Ecton is a particularly useful example of this pattern of development, due to the survival of a fairly complete series of estate maps dating from the early-eighteenth century to the nineteenth century. The earliest is a detailed estate map of 1703, made after the estate was inherited by Ralph Freeman of Aspenden in Hertfordshire (NRO Maps 2115; Stone 1984, 112) (Figure 4.11). The map shows a fashionable red brick mansion with regular fenestration and pedimented gables standing within walled gardens next to the church. Behind the house is a formal garden with simple grass plats, followed by a large orchard or wilderness with a central vista leading to a short avenue focussed on the house. The house is isolated within an extensive regular open field system, but is separated from the strips by a number of commons and small enclosed pasture fields.

Freeman made some alterations to the sixteenth-century house and gardens he had inherited, although the house shown on the 1703 estate map must represent a proposed design for a new house which was never built (Heward and Taylor 1996, 201). The gardens shown on the map may also only be a proposal, although with comparison the field pattern on later maps, such as the enclosure map, the 1703 map does illustrate accurately the constraints of the site within the open fields (NRO Maps 2121). The draft plan of the 1703 map (Figure 4.12), shows the more modest sixteenth-century manor house which actually existed at this time, but provides no details of the garden layout (NRO Maps 2117).



Figure 4.11. The house and designed landscape at Ecton, shown on an estate map of 1703 (NRO Maps 2115).



Figure 4.12. Detail of the draft copy of the 1703 estate map showing the house and church at Ecton (NRO Maps 2117).

In 1712 Freeman sold Ecton to Thomas Isted, a London lawyer and member of the Royal Society (Heward and Taylor, 1996, 200). The purchase of an estate by a Londoner is reminiscent of Hertfordshire, but here the Isteds were clearly making a long-term investment in a landed estate, and the family remained in Ecton into the nineteenth century. Sir Ambrose Isted inherited Ecton in 1731, and was responsible for rebuilding the house and creating a new landscape around the hall from the 1750s onwards (NRO Box x1071). An undated mid eighteenth-century drawing of Ecton, figure 4.13, shows the house and grounds before his alterations (NRO Maps 2162). The house stands next to stables and offices, with a terraced garden containing a quintet of statues placed on a grass lawn, a bowling green, and other walled gardens with espaliered fruit trees and a large square pond. To the north of these walled enclosures is a large formal wilderness garden, with an oval summerhouse in one corner and a central clearing. The drawing shows two avenues leading away from the house through gates in the back wall, and then into the surrounding countryside. These gardens are broadly similar to those shown on the 1703 map with a central axis leading from the house towards an avenue, with groves of trees on either side, although the gardens on the 1703 map may, like the image of the house, be a proposal (NRO Maps 2117). The drawing, reminiscent of other early eighteenth-century topographical garden engravings, such as those by Thomas Badeslade, again

demonstrates the close relationship between the ornamental formal gardens and the productive stables, offices and orchards.

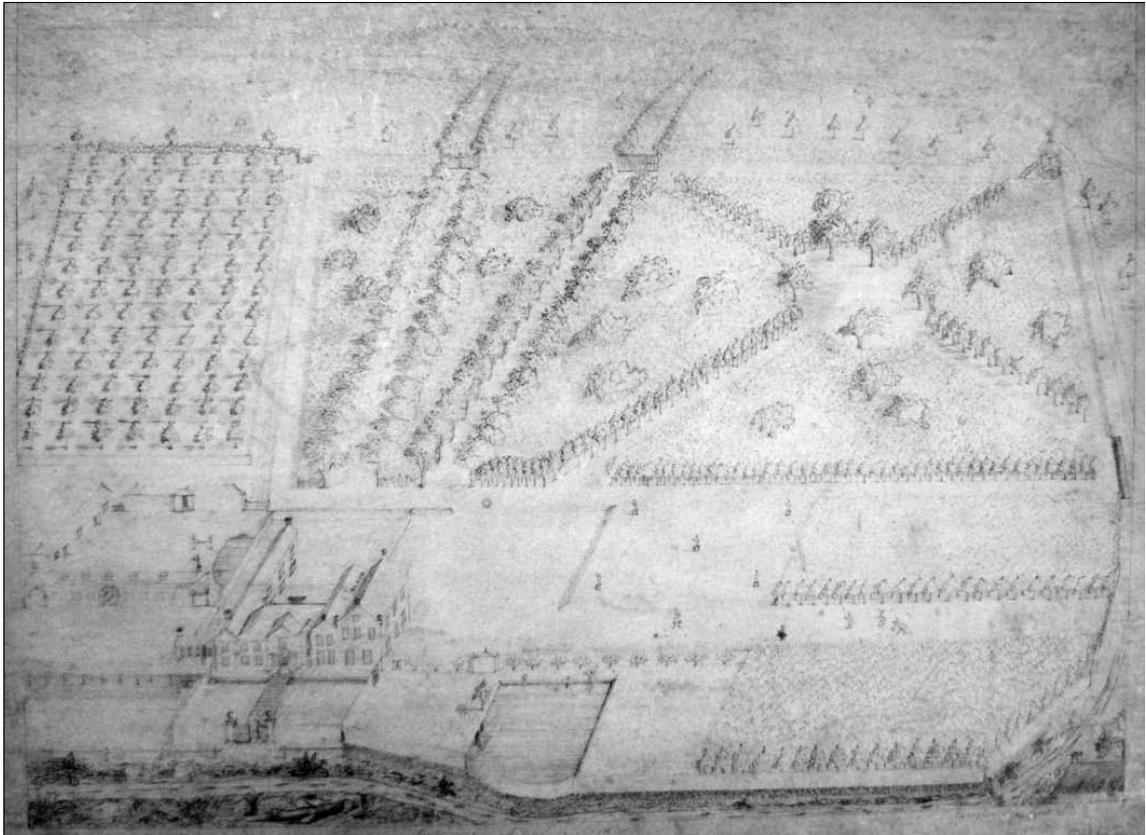


Figure 4.13. A mid eighteenth-century topographical drawing of Ecton Hall (NRO Maps 2162).

In May 1755 the rebuilding of the house began, and was completed in the spring of 1756 (NRO Box x1071). The core of the sixteenth-century house was incorporated within the new house, but the facades were completely remodelled in broadly Gothic style, with shaped gables and double-height bay windows (NRO Maps 2151-2161). Isted's campaign of improvement continued in 1759 when the parish of Ecton was enclosed by parliamentary act, and the open field strips were reorganised into large enclosed fields, shown on a map made in the same year (NRO Maps 2121). The map, figure 4.14, shows the village and the church in the centre of the parish but does not depict Ecton Hall itself. However the area of the formal gardens and some of the pasture closes shown on the 1703 estate map are labelled as 'The Park'; the first time that a 'park' is mentioned in connection with Ecton, suggesting that these closes were already being treated as part of an ornamental landscape, and the 'Elm Walk' corresponds with the position of one of the avenues shown on the mid eighteenth-century drawing of the gardens (Figure 4.13).



Figure 4.14. The newly enclosed fields around Ecton shown on the enclosure map of 1759 (NRO Maps 2121).

Another mid eighteenth-century estate map, figure 4.15, shows the landscape around the rebuilt house after enclosure (NRO Maps 2120). The walled gardens in front of the house had been turned into a lawn, whilst the wilderness garden, although still in place, had now been renamed ‘The Paddock’. To the south of the house a number of irregularly enclosed fields are shown surrounded by thick hedgerows, some of which have double rows of trees. Some of these closes correspond with enclosed pasture fields shown on the 1703 estate map and the area of ‘the Park’ on the enclosure map of 1759, and are the result of earlier enclosure around the village (NRO Maps 2115; NRO Maps 2121). To the east of the hall are three large fields that share a long curving boundary. These were laid out following the parliamentary enclosure of 1759 and occupy an area of former common land and open-field strips. Comparing these fields to the

1703 map it is evident that the curving boundary preserves the line of a division in the former open fields.

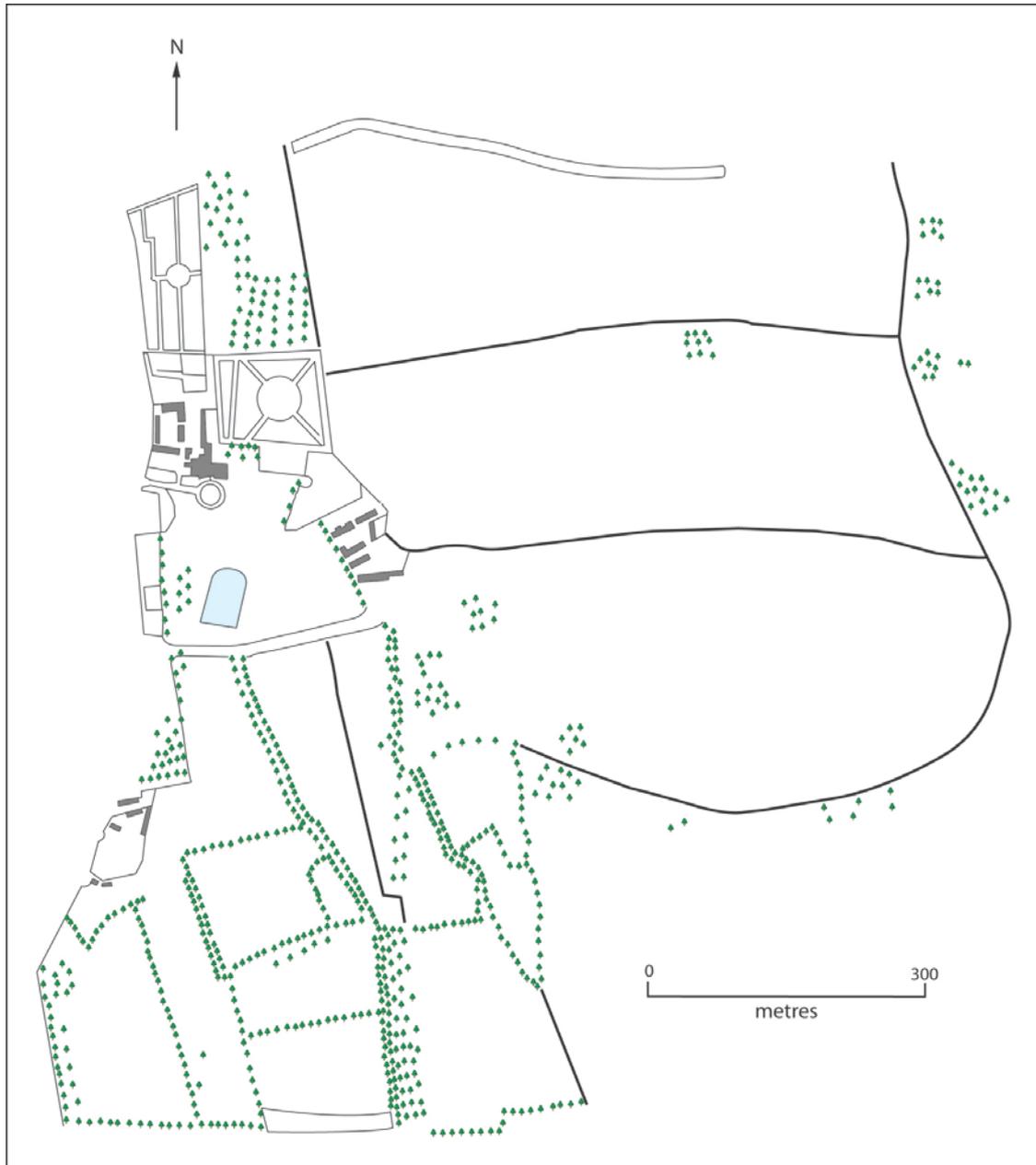


Figure 4.15. The mid eighteenth-century fieldscape around Ecton Hall on a post-1759 estate map (NRO Maps 2120).

The post-enclosure map thus represents a significant stage of development in the creation of a landscape park at Ecton, a phase that can be traced on several other estates in Northamptonshire. During these decades the newly enclosed land and the old closes were left as

large pasture fields, park-like in appearance, but not clearly part of a park. It might be expected that following parliamentary enclosure the Isted's would seek to create a landscape park. However, while this did ultimately happen, it was not until several decades after the enclosure had been completed. This suggests the park-like pastoral fields created around the house represent a conscious decision by the Isted family *not* to make a landscape park.

It is not clear when this pastoral fieldscape was incorporated within a more defined and conventional landscape park. Eyre's map of 1779 does not show any designed landscape at Ecton, marking it only with a symbol of a house and Isted's name. An undated late eighteenth-century plan shows the layout of a new park at Ecton, which covered an area of 200 acres (NRO Maps 2119) (Figure 4.16). The field boundaries of the pasture fields shown on the post enclosure map has been removed, although some mature trees were clearly retained, particularly in the area to the south of the house. A number of clumps of trees and a belt along the boundary with the Wellingborough road were planted to delineate this area as parkland more clearly. The wilderness garden remained near the house, but the edges of the plantations were roughened and the central grove planted with scattered trees, to produce a more naturalistic effect. A new carriage drive wound its way around the perimeter of the new park, and the farm buildings to the south-east of the house were hidden by a dense, oval plantation. The Ordnance Survey 6 inch map, however, shows the area of the park divided into fields with several plantations within its boundary. Some of these fields boundaries are the same as those shown on the post-enclosure estate map, but with more subdivisions, suggesting that the late eighteenth-century plan for a Brownian-style landscape park may never have been fully realised (Figures 4.15 and 4.17).



Figure 4.16. An undated late eighteenth-century plan of the landscape park at Ecton (NRO Maps 2119).

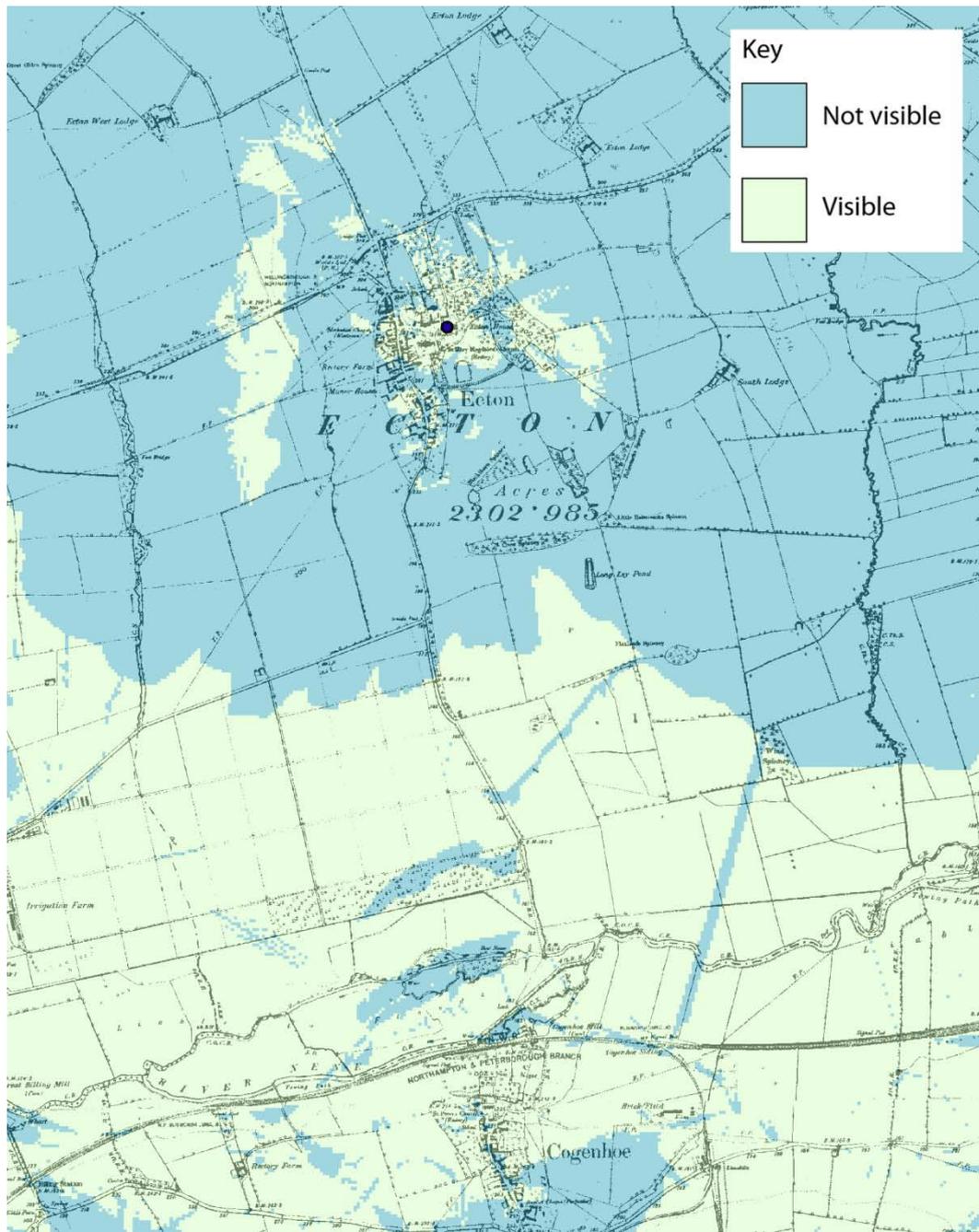


Figure 4.17. Viewshed analysis of the landscape around Ecton, overlaid with the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map (c1880s). The house is shown with a blue dot.

A description of Ecton by John Cole from the late-nineteenth century mentions the views from the house across the park,

At the distance of a few paces from the church appears the elegant Mansion of Samuel Isted Esq., commanding an uninterrupted view over a delightfully wooded country, embracing the charms of hill and valley scenery, with its pleasing embellishment, water... The sweep before the house is particularly enlivening, presenting a fine lawn, in the centre of which is a large fishpond; the sides are delightfully enclosed with flourishing trees of various kind, leading to tastefully laid out plantations (Cole 1865, 29).

These views are clearly illustrated by viewshed analysis of the landscape around Ecton (Figure 4.17), which was carried out using the same methodology described in Chapter 3. From the house, residents enjoyed views of the immediate pleasure grounds and extensive views across the valley of the River Nene. Comparatively little of the pastoral fieldscape created after the parliamentary enclosure was clearly visible from the house, perhaps one of the reasons why the Isted's did not create a landscape park until some time after the enclosure.

Parliamentary enclosure provided the Isteds with the opportunity of creating a large landscape park, but the fact that they did not fully exploit this opportunity straight away suggests that this may have been only one of a number of motivating factors in seeking an enclosure. The Isted family were clearly active managers of their estate and perhaps keen to demonstrate their modern approach to landownership and agricultural improvement. Financial gain is usually cited by economic historians as the primary motivation for enclosure; enclosed land had a higher rental value than unenclosed land creating more estate income from rents (Overton 1996, 162). However, by looking closely at the fortunes and incomes of an individual family such as the Isteds, the financial aspects of enclosure appear to be only one of a number of important factors. After Thomas Isted's death in 1732 William Hanbury, from the Kelmarsh estate, acted as his executor, and his notes on the income of the Isteds provide illuminating insights into the fortunes of the family (NRO H(K)161). The yearly rental of the Northamptonshire estate was valued at £1,230, a reasonable income for a landed estate in this period. However, this income was dwarfed by that from the Isteds' investments in several other streams of income, including a clutch of navy bills worth almost £6,000. Added to this was the yearly income from their estate in Jamaica, standing at £7,400 in 1732, which became part of the family estate after Thomas Isted married the daughter of Fulk Rose, who owned extensive sugar plantations on the island (NRO H(K)161; Cole 1865, 35). Clearly, the financial gains from an enclosure in Northamptonshire would have been relatively small when set against the rest of the Isteds' income. Moreover, the Isted family clearly had enough wealth to be able to fund the creation of

a landscape park in the years after the enclosure, but they appear to have chosen not to do so, instead favouring a park-like landscape that combined both the ornamental and the practical.

The designed landscape at Great Billing presents a further example of an estate around Northampton which was moulded by parliamentary enclosure. However, Great Billing also shared an interesting connection with a great estate in Derbyshire: Chatsworth, the seat of the Cavendish family, the Dukes of Devonshire. Comparatively little research has been carried out on the links between family estates, or between the scattered estates of a single landowner, although Sarah Webster's research on the land agents employed by Lord Egremont on his estates in Sussex and West Yorkshire shows that this is an area with plenty of scope for future research (Webster 2007, 47-69).

Great Billing was a manor house, owned from the early-seventeenth century by the O'Brien family, the Earls of Thomond (NRO SS3683). After purchasing the manor in 1628 Sir Barnaby O'Brien was 'desirous to enclose part of the open fields for his convenience'. He consolidated a block of strips within the open fields to enclose, on the understanding with his neighbours and tenants that neither he, nor his heirs, would attempt to establish a rabbit warren on the newly enclosed land (NRO SS3683). However, by the 1730s the Earls of Thomond had broken the agreement and established a warren in Great Billing, 'making a considerable profit thereof' from the sale of rabbits (NRO SS3683). In this period rabbit warrens were also a perfectly acceptable alternative to a parkland landscape for an elite residence, as at Lockleys in the Mimram valley in Hertfordshire (Williamson 2007c, 164). The O'Briens built a new house on the site during the seventeenth century, and laid out a new garden called 'The Paddock', shown in a plan of 1667 with geometric blocks of planting dissected by grass and gravel walks with ornate iron gates and new garden buildings (Figure 4.18) (NRO E(GB)21). The plan labels the walks through the gardens from the house as leading to the 'paddock house' and the 'farm gates', suggesting that the relationship between the ornamental gardens and more productive elements of the estate was important in the late-seventeenth century.

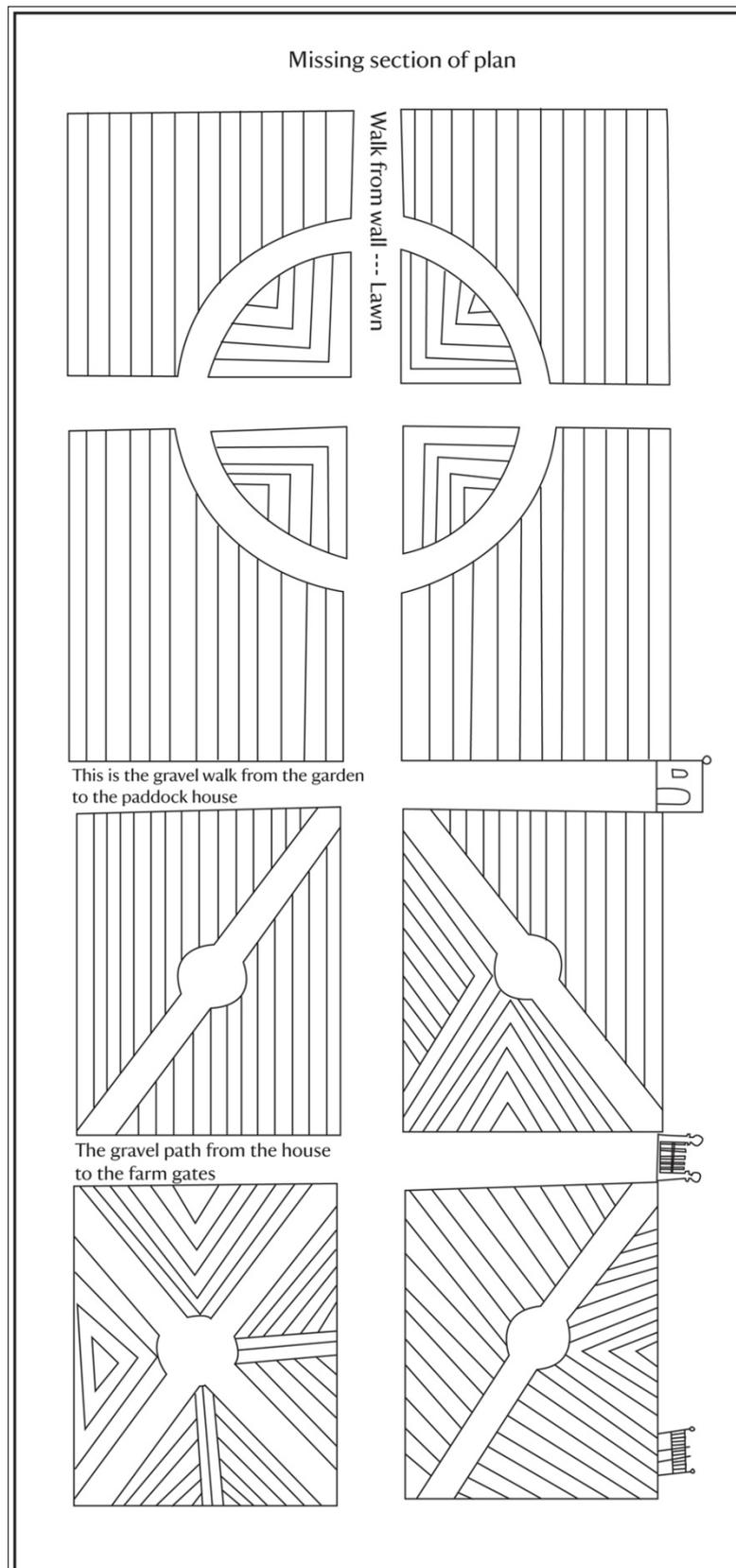


Figure 4.18. A plan of 'The Paddock' at Great Billing, 1667, redrawn from NRO E(GB)21.

The estate was eventually inherited by George O'Brien Wyndham, 3rd Earl of Egremont, whose main seat was at Petworth in Sussex and who already owned substantial estates elsewhere, thus rendering Great Billing slightly superfluous (Rowell, 2004). A valuation and particular of the estate drawn up by the surveyor Thomas Brown in 1775 describes the house and grounds which then covered an area of only sixteen acres:

The house is a large stone building, with good stables and other offices, the roof and windows much out of repair, it is pleasantly situated on a dry hill, in a very good part of the county, 4 miles west of Northampton, from whence there is a good road. The Pleasure ground is two thirds covered with Plantations and timber, a great part of which should be cut this year. It is exceedingly well watered. In the house is a parcel of beds and other ragged furniture that ought to be sold (NRO E(GB)303).

This reference to the 'pleasure ground' suggests that the 'paddock' that existed in 1667 had been updated and naturalised during the eighteenth century, although the plantations mentioned are perhaps suggestive of a wilderness garden. The kitchen garden was leased to a local gardener called John Perkins, and the manor farm, the fields of which were a mixture of 'extraordinary good feeding land' and 'indifferent black sandy land' was tenanted by Richard Fletcher (NRO E(GB)303). The valuation also mentions the warren established in the early-eighteenth century, which was 'open to the Common Fields and the rabbits did so much mischief to the corn, that my Lord's tenants, as well as all the other Tenants in the Parish have agreed to raise and pay that sum, and to destroy the rabbits, which they have nearly done' (NRO E(GB)303). The estate was valued at £15,379, and Brown recommended the enclosure of the open fields, which might be achieved quickly as there were only a handful of other freeholders besides Lord Egremont; 'when enclosed I don't know a prettier situation, nor a more compact estate in the county' (NRO E(GB)303).

In 1776 Egremont put the estate up for sale and it was bought by Lord John Cavendish (NRO E(GB)304). Almost immediately Cavendish commissioned the Yorkshire architect John Carr to completely rebuild the house in austere Palladian style (Wragg and Worsley 2000, 115). Carr's principal patron was the Marquis of Rockingham, and he worked for many of the Whig landowners in Rockingham's circle, including William Wake at Courteenhall to the south of Northampton, the Earl of Strafford at Wentworth Castle and Rockingham himself at Wentworth

Woodhouse, both of which were in Yorkshire. Carr also worked for the Earls of Fitzwilliam, Rockingham's heirs, at Milton near Peterborough, and other members of the Cavendish family, including John's brother George Cavendish and his nephew, the 5th Duke of Devonshire (Wragg and Worsley 2000, 115).



Figure 4.19. The designed landscapes at Great Billing and Ecton shown on Bryant's map of 1827.

After his purchase of the estate Cavendish became the principal landowner in the parish, and two years later in 1778 Great Billing was enclosed by parliamentary act, no doubt pushed through by Cavendish (NRO E(GB)320). The enclosure of the arable open fields offered an excellent opportunity to expand and create a new parkland landscape, although it is not clear exactly when Cavendish laid out the small parkland landscape which is shown on Bryant's map of 1827 (Figure 4.19). Like Ecton, Eyre shows no details of any grounds around the house on his 1779 county map. In 1796, eighteen years after the enclosure, Cavendish was still augmenting the grounds around his house by diverting the public road away from the rear of the mansion. The new course was not significantly different from that of the old road, but the diversion meant that an icehouse was no longer divided from the rest of the grounds by a public highway (NRO QSR 1/561/22-25). The map that accompanied the Road Order shows the

square footprint of the mansion, with plantations around the stables and offices which also shielded the landscape from the public road (Figure 4.20).

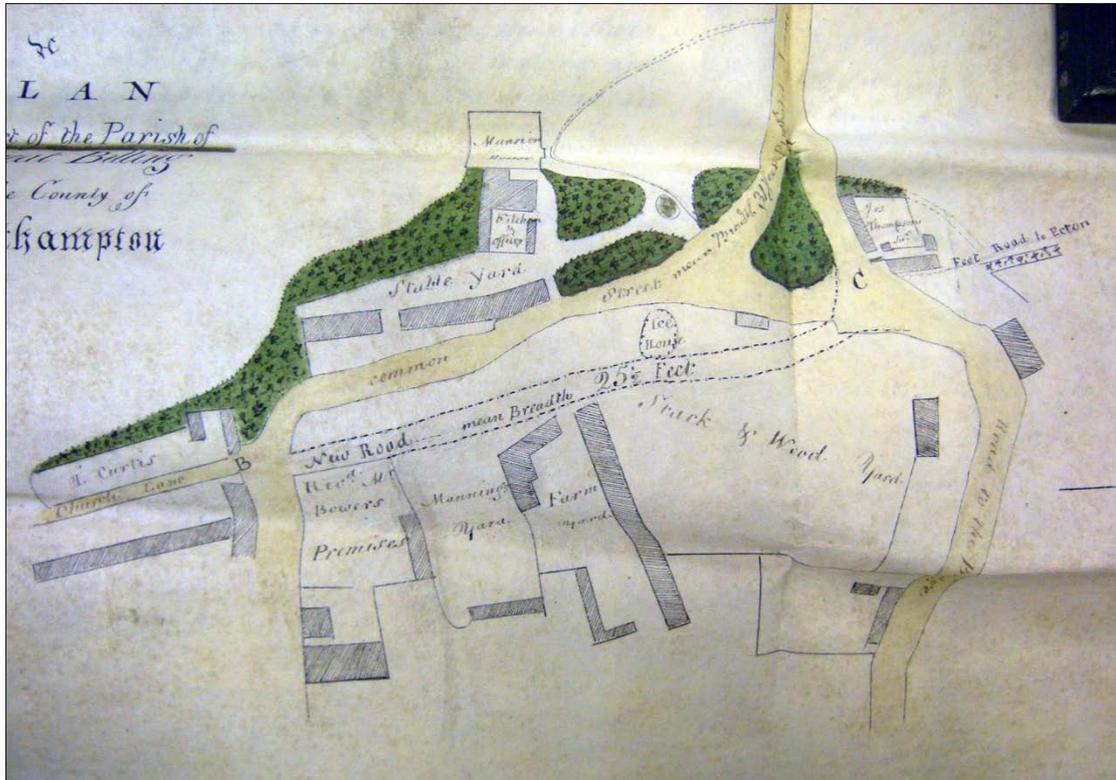


Figure 4.20. Road order for Great Billing, 1796, showing the diversion of the road away from the mansion (NRO QSR 1/561/22-25).

Cavendish was still implementing changes in the landscape immediately around the house nearly two decades after enclosure. A similar time lag occurred in the neighbouring parish of Ecton, when, after the enclosure in 1759 the Isted family retained a number of newly enclosed fields around the house until later in the eighteenth century when there was a move towards creating a more defined area of parkland. Cavendish may have followed a similar scheme at Great Billing, but the lack of contemporary estate maps for this period makes the exact development of the landscape unclear, and Eyre's map does not show any details of the designed landscape around the house. An 1814 valuation of the estate records the area of the mansion and grounds as 100 acres, showing the extent to which Cavendish had expanded the grounds around the house from the sixteen acres described in 1775 (NRO E(GB)346). Bryant's map of 1827, figure 4.19, shows the house on the edge of the park, sheltered from the main road into Northampton by a perimeter plantation, and with further planting and a small lake elsewhere in the park. The Ordnance Survey 6 inch map shows the grounds in more detail, with

a large shrubbery or wilderness style plantation to one side of the house, and a chain of linked ponds running through the park (Figure 4.21).

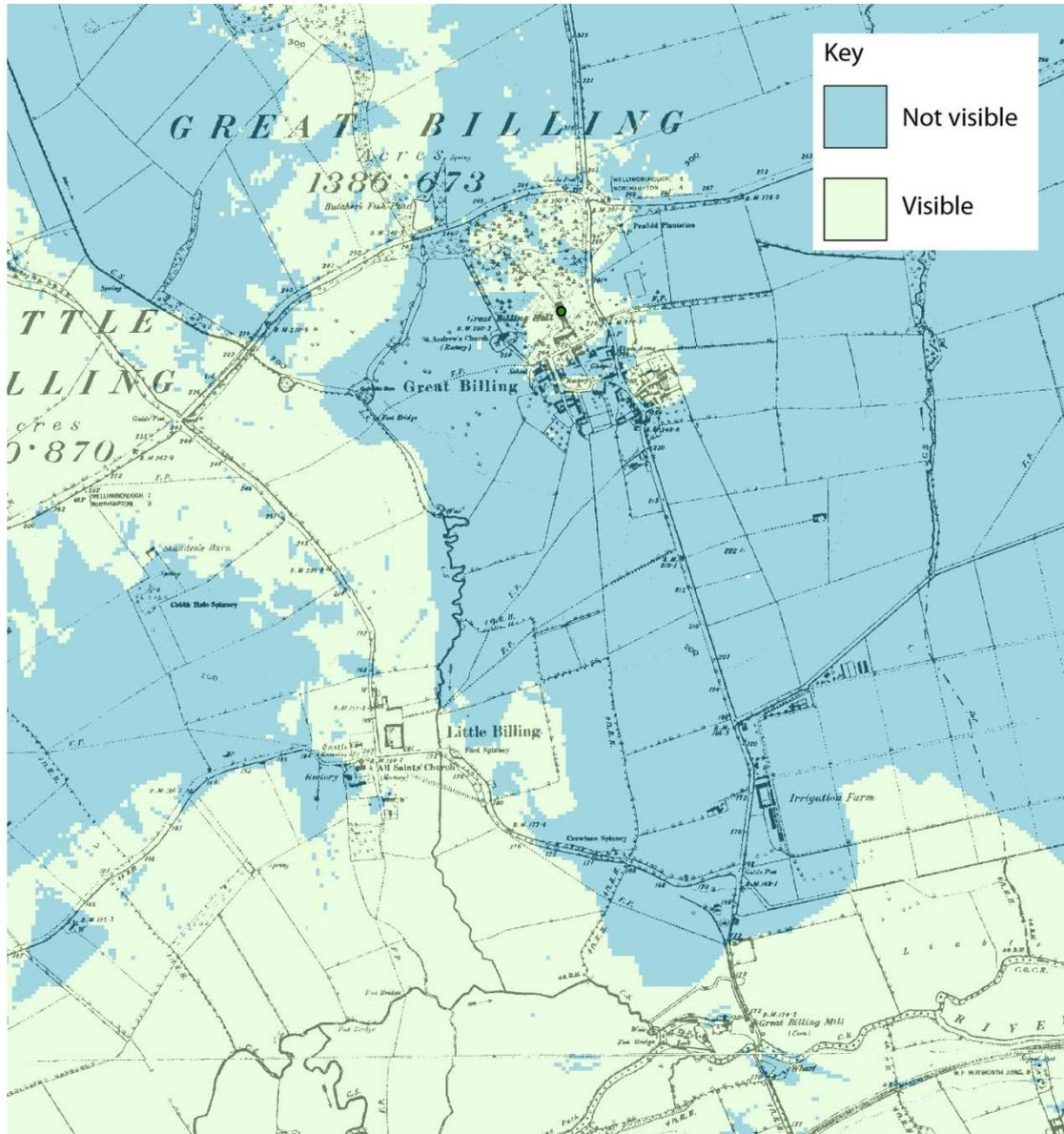


Figure 4.21. Viewshed analysis of the landscape around Great Billing, overlaid with the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map (c1880s). The house is shown with a green dot.

The surviving ridge and furrow at Great Billing, which is now a public park hemmed in by modern housing estates, show that this area was once part of the open fields, and this part of the park must therefore have been created after parliamentary enclosure, which in Great Billing affected almost the total area of the parish (Tate and Turner 1978, 194) (Figure 4.22). At Ecton,

an area of pasture fields around the house was created after enclosure, rather than a more defined area of parkland. Although many landowners continued to alter their grounds over a period of many years after their initial creation, the eighteen year gap between the parliamentary enclosure in Great Billing in 1778 and the diversion of the road in 1796 may suggest that the landscape there followed a similar path of development to that at Ecton. The ridge and furrow at Great Billing survives in the fields to the south-west of the church, which viewshed analysis (Figure 4.21) demonstrates was not visible from the house itself. As at Ecton, there were wide views over the Nene valley visible from the mansion.



Figure 4.22. Ridge and furrow within the park at Great Billing. The site of the house is in the trees to the left. Photographed in October 2009.

Lord John Cavendish, the owner of Great Billing, was the younger brother of William Cavendish, the 4th Duke of Devonshire, who inherited the Chatsworth estate in 1755 (Barnatt and Williamson 2005, 104-112). John Cavendish served as Chancellor of the Exchequer in Rockingham's second administration in 1782 and was a key part of fashionable Whig circles, as well as the effective head of the Cavendish family after his elder brother's death in 1764 whilst

the 5th Duke was still a minor (Farrell 2004). The connection between the Cavendish family and Northampton was first established in 1774 when William, the 5th Duke and John Cavendish's nephew, married Georgiana Spencer, the daughter of Earl Spencer at Althorp. It was then only two years after the marriage that John Cavendish purchased the estate at Great Billing (Battiscombe 1984, 85).

The links between estates belonging to the same family have been little explored by landscape historians, but the close network of younger brothers and sisters, cousins and other relatives helped to bind together polite society in the eighteenth century and formed links between distant estates. John Cavendish's views about estate management and landscape gardening must surely have been influenced by his experience of the family seat at Chatsworth. His father, the 3rd Duke, made several changes to the gardens during the 1730s and 1740s whilst Cavendish was a child, removing many of the formal elements shown in Kip and Kniff's illustration of Chatsworth from 1707 (Barnatt and Williamson 2005, 96). He also consulted William Kent, who appears to have had a strong influence over some of the planting from this period (Barnatt and Williamson 2005, 100). Cavendish's elder brother, the 4th Duke, also made significant changes to the landscape around Chatsworth, employing Brown to create a new parkland landscape between 1758 and 1765. This process included removing a large rabbit warren which had formed one of the main vistas from the mansion (as at Great Billing), closing and diverting a number of roads and rights of way, building new stables and a new bridge across the River Derwent, as well as a sustained campaign of earthmoving and tree planting. Work continued on the park and on the pleasure grounds after the death of the 4th Duke in 1764, when John Cavendish was effectively the head of the family, until the end of the 1760s when the 5th Duke came of age (Barnatt and Williamson 2005, 104-112).

The large, naturalistic parkland setting around Chatsworth was completed only a few years before Cavendish bought his own estate at Great Billing. Great Billing is on a much smaller scale, and with none of the magnificence associated with a great estate like Chatsworth, although Cavendish's personal fortune and situation meant that he could, perhaps, have chosen a much larger estate more akin to that of his brothers. Why, then, did he choose to locate himself at Great Billing? Several factors can be identified which must have influenced his decision. Firstly, the area around Northampton offered good hunting, and Cavendish regularly hunted in the area with the Pytchley, along with the Spencers, Edward Bouverie of Delapre Park, Reverend Lockwood from Kingsthorpe (Anon. 1838, 10). Secondly it was close to the residences of a number of Cavendish's political allies, including the Spencers. The Cavendish's

London home Devonshire House, which was designed by William Kent, was also located close to Spencer House, both of which overlooked Green Park. Thirdly, it was located in terms of providing a staging post located roughly halfway between London and Chatsworth, and, as Chancellor of the Exchequer and a member of the Privy Council Cavendish needed convenient bases on the journey to London. Finally Great Billing was capable of considerable improvement and must have represented a tempting project; Cavendish built a new mansion, enclosed the parish and laid out a new park, thus making his mark on the local landscape in a way that, as a younger brother, he was unable to on the 'mother' estate of Chatsworth. In such situations, it is tempting to go 'beyond the evidence' in establishing motives for landowners whose biographies hint at interesting and complex stories which link together different landscapes across the country. We might expect a small estate such as Great Billing to be owned by a member of the local gentry or perhaps by a newcomer to landed society with money from trade or industry. However, the fact that it belonged to a member of one of the most powerful landowning families in the country necessarily means that its development carries an additional layer of significance and interest. The personal stories of the landowners responsible for developing designed landscapes in this period potentially provides an area of research to which landscape historians in particular could contribute successfully by, for example, identifying parallels and dissimilarities between the development of estate landscapes within a familial network.

Ecton and Great Billing are both landscape parks created as a by-product of both parliamentary enclosure and the expansion and updating of earlier formal gardens. Kingsthorpe, on the outskirts of Northampton, was a wholly new designed landscape created after parliamentary enclosure. The house and its grounds are similar in character to the villa-type designed landscapes found in Hertfordshire. The manor at Kingsthorpe was owned by the Cooke family from at least the middle of the sixteenth century, but in the mid-eighteenth century the estate had passed by marriage to James Fremeaux, a Huguenot merchant with substantial trading interests in the Netherlands and the Levant (NRO Th1990).

Kingsthorpe was enclosed by parliamentary act in 1767, and the enclosure map shows Fremeaux's allotment to the south of the village (NRO 189p/298/1). In 1773 Fremeaux built a new mansion and created a small designed landscape around it, the detailed building accounts show that during 1773 and 1774 a farmhouse and other buildings were pulled down on the site (NRO Th2407). This is a process already encountered at sites like Birds Place and Essendon Place in Hertfordshire. The new house was designed by the Leicester based architect, John

Johnson, and is a plain, classically proportioned structure built on a site overlooking the River Nene with a number of newly enclosed fields on the slopes towards the river (Figure 4.23).



Figure 4.23. James Fremaux's villa at Kingsthorpe, designed by John Johnson and built in the 1770s. Photographed in October 2009.

Work was being carried out on the grounds in December 1773 with the construction of a 'sunk fence' or ha-ha around the house, and during the summer of 1774 a walled kitchen garden was built and filled with cherry, mulberry, apple and quince trees as well as hundreds of vegetable plants (including 400 asparagus crowns) (NRO Th2325; Th2342). Hundreds of pine and fir trees were also planted during 1774, including Scots pine, larch, silver fir, and Weymouth pines (NRO Th2342). Such species were quick growing and produced an instant year-round effect, but some contemporary writers and designers were particularly dismissive of the use of evergreens within parks. Humphry Repton, for example, complained of the 'miserable narrow belt of firs and Lombardy poplars' which he associated with 'new money' owners and villa residences (Repton 1816, 569). Nevertheless, the scale and speed of change instigated by Fremaux must have had a considerable and impressive visual impact at the time. Viewshed

analysis of the site shows that most of the small grounds were visible from the house, as well as views over the nearby river valley (Figure 4.24). Unlike similar sites in Hertfordshire, there were no other villa residences in close proximity to Kingsthorpe, so the sharing of views with other elite residences is not an issue here.

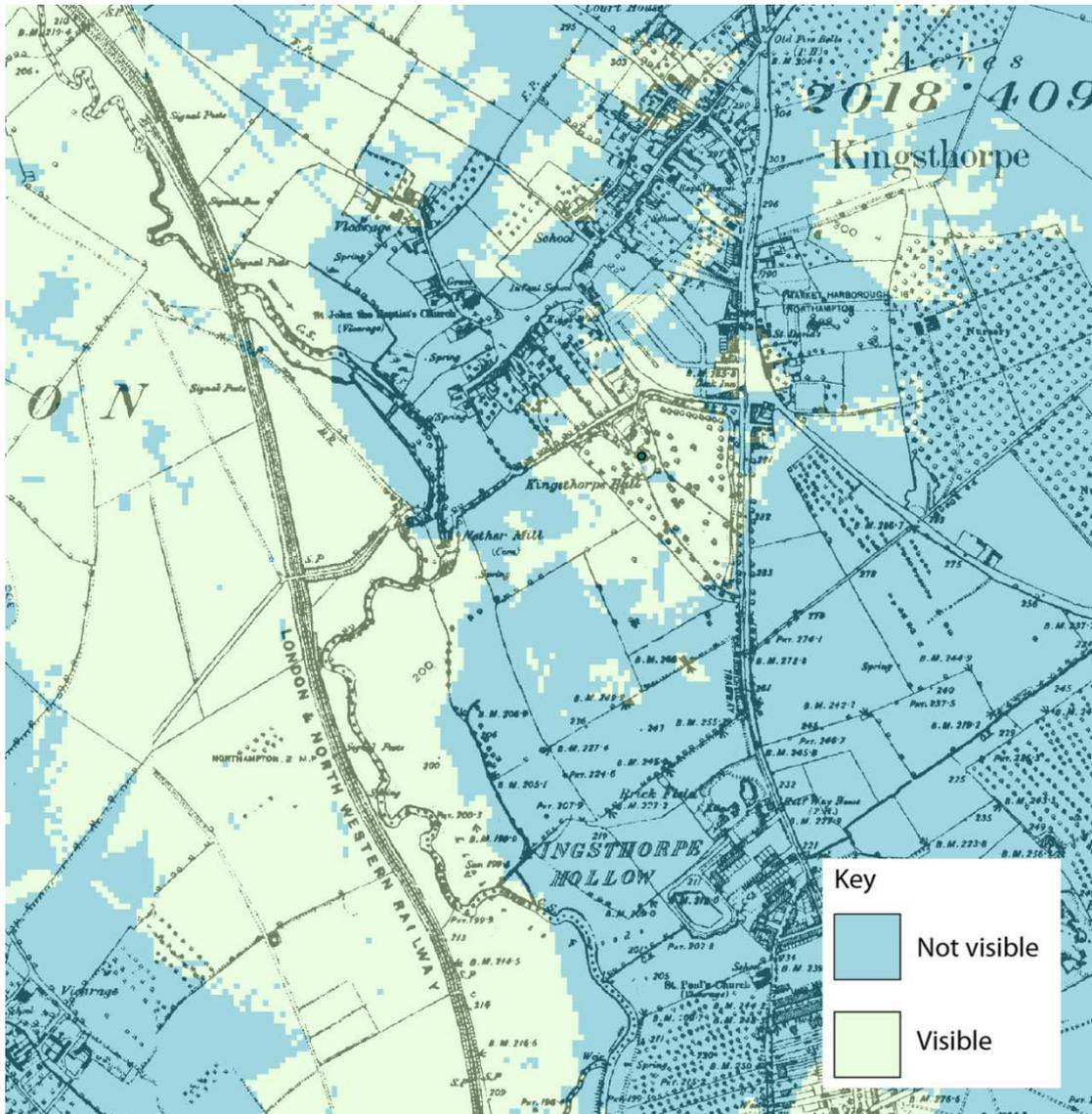


Figure 4.24. Viewshed analysis of the landscape around Kingsthorpe, overlaid with the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map (c1880s). The house is shown with a green dot.

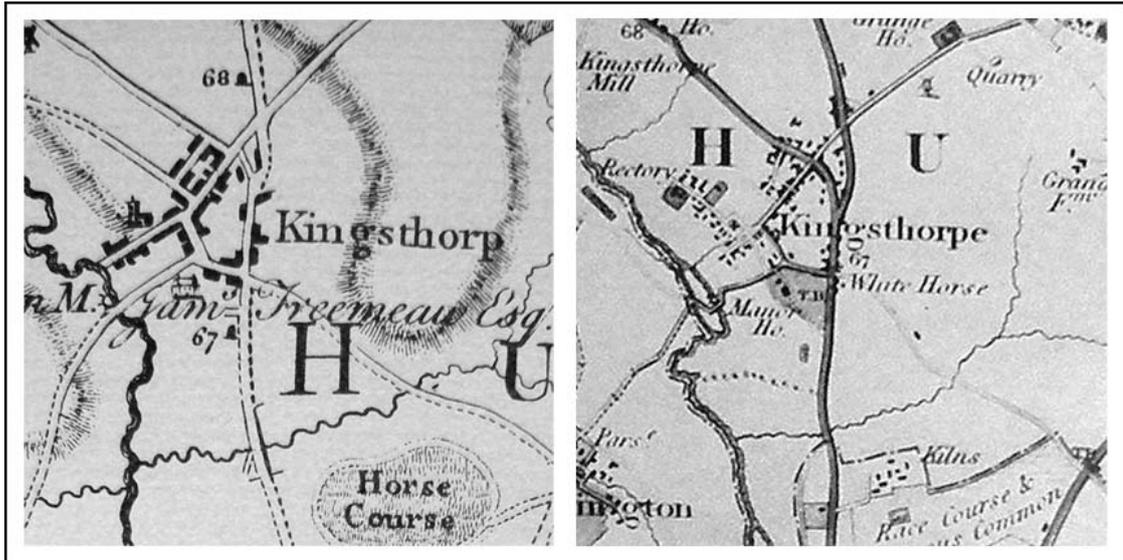


Figure 4.25. Kingsthorpe shown on Eyre's map of 1779 (left) and Bryant's map of 1827 (right).

James Fremeaux's name appears on Eyre's map of Northamptonshire, but no details of the grounds around the house are shown. There are no other early cartographic sources, and while Bryant's map of 1827 shows the location of the house no details of any planting within the grounds are recorded (Figure 4.25). The most illuminating details about the landscape of Kingsthorpe, and the process of its creation, comes from a dispute in 1810 between the rector, Robert Baxter, and the owner of the hall, now Thomas Thornton of Brockhall, who had inherited Kingsthorpe after marrying Fremeaux's grand-daughter Susannah (NRO ZB584/26). The dispute centred on a road closed by James Fremeaux in 1773, which Baxter claimed had been illegally stopped and should be reopened. A map and extensive notes made for Thornton about the case give some details about the appearance of the landscape immediately after the new house was built. The map shows the surviving hedges of Cock Close, a field which had been absorbed into the grounds laid out around the Kingsthorpe (Figure 4.26).

Figure 4.26. An 1810 map showing the disputed right of way through the house and grounds at Kingsthorpe, marked with dotted lines (digitally redrawn from NRO ZB584/26).

Until the construction of the new house was completed the Fremeaux family lived in the rectory of Kingsthorpe. The living of Kingsthorpe was a substantial one, and in the hands of a Mr Lockwood, an absentee rector with a large private income who lived in London, and who leased the rectory to the Fremeauxs and other tenants (NRO ZB584/26). In the spring of 1773 an inquisition of *ad quod damnum* closed a public road that ran across several fields between the turnpike and Cock Lane. These fields were part of Fremeaux's enclosure allotment, and after the road was closed the house was built across part of its route. Baxter alleged that Fremeaux had bribed the inquisition jury, but Thornton's notes argue that he had merely given them, and the poor of Kingsthorpe, 'a trifle' to drink his health (NRO ZB584/26). Baxter also pointed to the absenteeism of Mr Lockwood, and noted that as the rectory had been subsequently leased to other members of the Fremeaux family, they were unlikely to object to the closure of the road. Thornton responded by pointing out that Lockwood knew about, and agreed to, the road closure, and that an informal agreement had existed between Baxter and Thornton to allow the rector to take a short-cut to the turnpike across the lawn in front of the house.

However, more local people began to use this unofficial path, and in 1810 Thornton built a wall blocking their access, thus sparking the dispute with Baxter, who argued that the licence for the closure of the road was never properly granted, and that the road should be reopened, even though its course ran through the middle of the house. Thornton was incredulous about the prospect of demolishing the house to re-establish the road, and argued that

If the road were to be turned within to the front or back of the House it must go so near it as to destroy the privacy and in a great measure the Security of the house as a Residence, being in the neighbourhood of a great turnpike road, a market town and a barrack. The Grounds are small and there is no direction into which this path can possibly be turned without essential injury to the place (NRO ZB584/26).

Eventually Thornton applied for, and was granted, letters patent to stop up the highway, backdated to 1773 (NRO ZB584/24).

Baxter's actions were probably intended to annoy Thornton rather than to have the house demolished and the road re-opened, but the incident sheds light on both the process of laying out a new small designed landscape in the late-eighteenth century, and the tensions that this could create. It also illustrates the potential difficulties of establishing small designed landscapes within the crowded confines of nucleated villages and 'champion' countryside, where landowners and local people rubbed shoulders with each other; a problem not, in general, faced by the owners of similar landscapes in Hertfordshire which were established in an area characterised by a more dispersed settlement pattern.

The common factor linking Ecton, Great Billing and Kingsthorpe was that they were all affected by parliamentary enclosure in the late-eighteenth century. Earlier parliamentary enclosures could also have a similar influence on the development of designed landscapes. The parish of Overstone was subject to parliamentary enclosure in 1727, the earliest act in the county (Tate and Turner 1978, 191). It is also the only site in this loose cluster around Northampton which originated as a medieval deer park, created in 1255 when Gilbert de Millers was granted a license to 'inclose with a dike and hedge or with a wall, his wood of Ouiston, and to make a park thereof' (Salzman 1937, 95-98). In the early-seventeenth century the manor was

owned by Sir Thomas Edmonds, who enlarged the park in 1613 by purchasing land adjacent to the 'park wall' (NRO 277NPL). In 1662 it was inherited by Benjamin, Lord Fitzwalter who commissioned a large map of the estate in 1671 (NRO Map 564) (Figure 4.27). The map shows the house as a triple-pile structure with a large double height oriel window over the entrance. In front of the house were gated forecourts, typical of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with walled gardens and orchards and a park of fifty-seven acres. Around the manor house and the village were a number of irregularly enclosed pasture fields, but the rest of the map is curiously blank; the surveyor marked the outline of the extensive open fields around the village, but did not fill in any details of the furlongs or strips.



Figure 4.27. Overstone shown on an estate map of 1671 (NRO Map 564).

In 1672 Fitzwalter sold the estate to Edward Strafford, whose son, Henry, demolished the old manor house and built a new mansion on a site further to the south (Salzman 1937, 95-8). In 1727 Henry Strafford made an agreement with the rector, Paul Ives, to enclose the parish by a private act of parliament. The act notes that some of the parish, including the park and the area immediately around the village, had been anciently enclosed, but that the rest of the parish

remained open in three great fields; the Mill field or Westfield, Southfield and Northfield (Private Act, 1 George II Statute 2, c. 25 Parliamentary Archives HL/PO/PB/1/1727/1G2s2n48). The enclosure of Overstone allowed Strafford to considerably enlarge the size of the park, the new extent of which is shown on Eyre's map of Northamptonshire, which depicts the park extending from the new house to the road to the north (Figure 4.28). The area of the park was extended over the anciently enclosed pasture fields which are shown on the 1671 estate map (Figure 4.27), as well as over newly enclosed arable open fields.

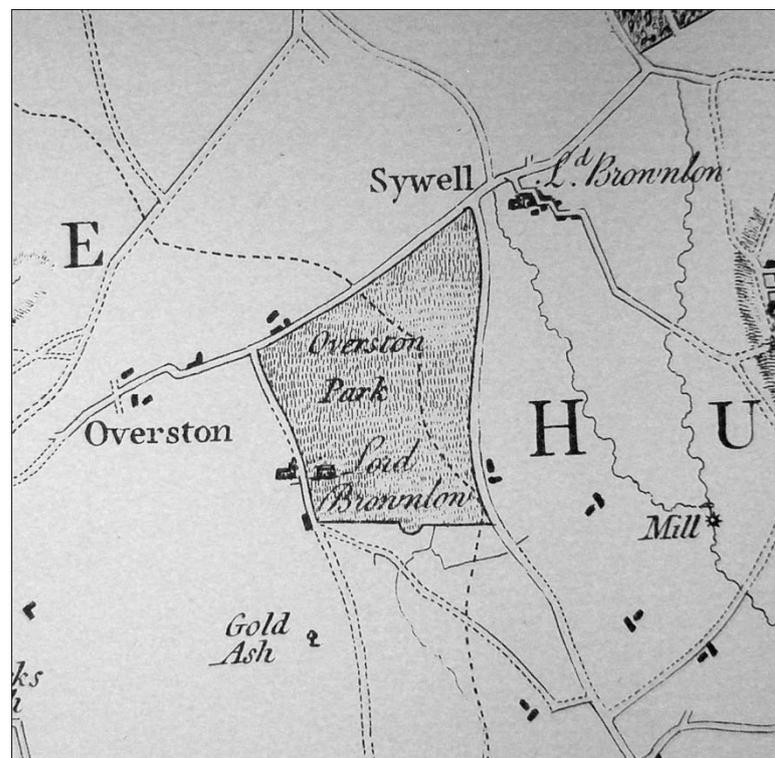


Figure 4.28. Overstone Park on Eyre's map of Northamptonshire, 1779.

After enclosure the estate passed through the hands of a number of different owners. In 1737 Strafford sold the estate to Sir Thomas Drury, who was followed by Lord Brownlow (whose name appears on Eyre's map) and subsequently John Kipling who purchased the estate in 1791 (Salzman 1937, 95-8). Kipling sold the estate in 1832, and the map which accompanied the sales particulars demonstrates the extensive changes that had taken place on the estate during his ownership (NRO Map 3078) (Figure 4.29). The park itself had been expanded over a much larger area of former arable open field compared to the area shown on Eyre's map (Figure 4.28). Extensive new plantations had also been established in the new areas of the park, some of

which were clearly the remnants of former hedgerows. Within the shelter of the perimeter plantations were a number of arable fields. This pattern of mixed arable and pastoral land use within the area of the park is reminiscent of the type of mixed arable and pastoral ferme ornées explored in Hertfordshire, at Marden and Cole Green for example. A viewshed analysis of Overstone shows that these areas were not visible from the house, and that a quite restricted area of the park, overlooking the lake, formed the principal view (Figure 4.30). Other areas of the park, such as the ferme ornée to the north of the house, were perhaps intended to be discovered by visitors as they moved through the landscape, rather than being immediately apparent from the house itself.



Figure 4.29. The designed landscape at Overstone on a sale plan of 1832 (NRO Map 3078).

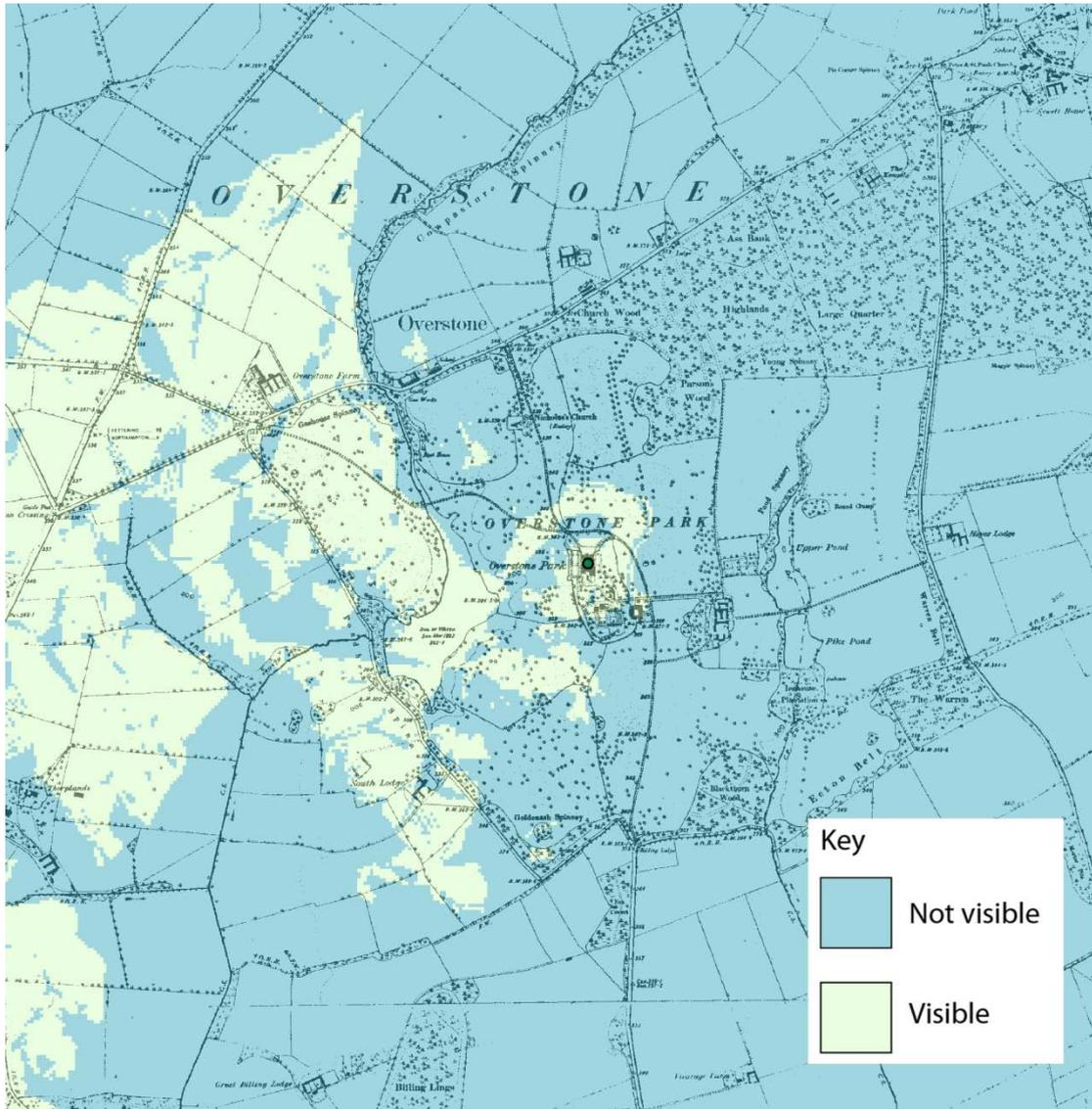


Figure 4.30. Viewshed analysis of the landscape around Overstone, overlaid with the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map (c1880s). The house is shown with a green dot.

Despite the seeming ubiquity of parliamentary enclosure in Northamptonshire during the late-eighteenth century (Figure 4.2), other forms of enclosure were also taking place. Two estates in the area around Northampton provide good examples of how these, too, could influence the creation of extensive designed landscapes. The development of that at Abington was closely linked to the piecemeal enclosure of the parish, whilst at Courteenhall, a single landowner was able to enclose the parish in a single campaign of improvement without the need for an Act of Parliament.

The manor house at Abington dates back to the 1490s, and was built by the Bernard family who owned the manor until 1669 when it was sold to William Thursby, a London lawyer who added a new range to the late-medieval house in the 1670s (Heward and Taylor 1996, 48). A survey of the manor made in 1671 shows the gabled house with an elaborate gateway, and on the far side of the road through the village are large fields labelled ‘The Park’ and ‘The Lawnd’ as well as other closes within the wider landscape of open fields (NRO Map 4524) (Figure 4.31).

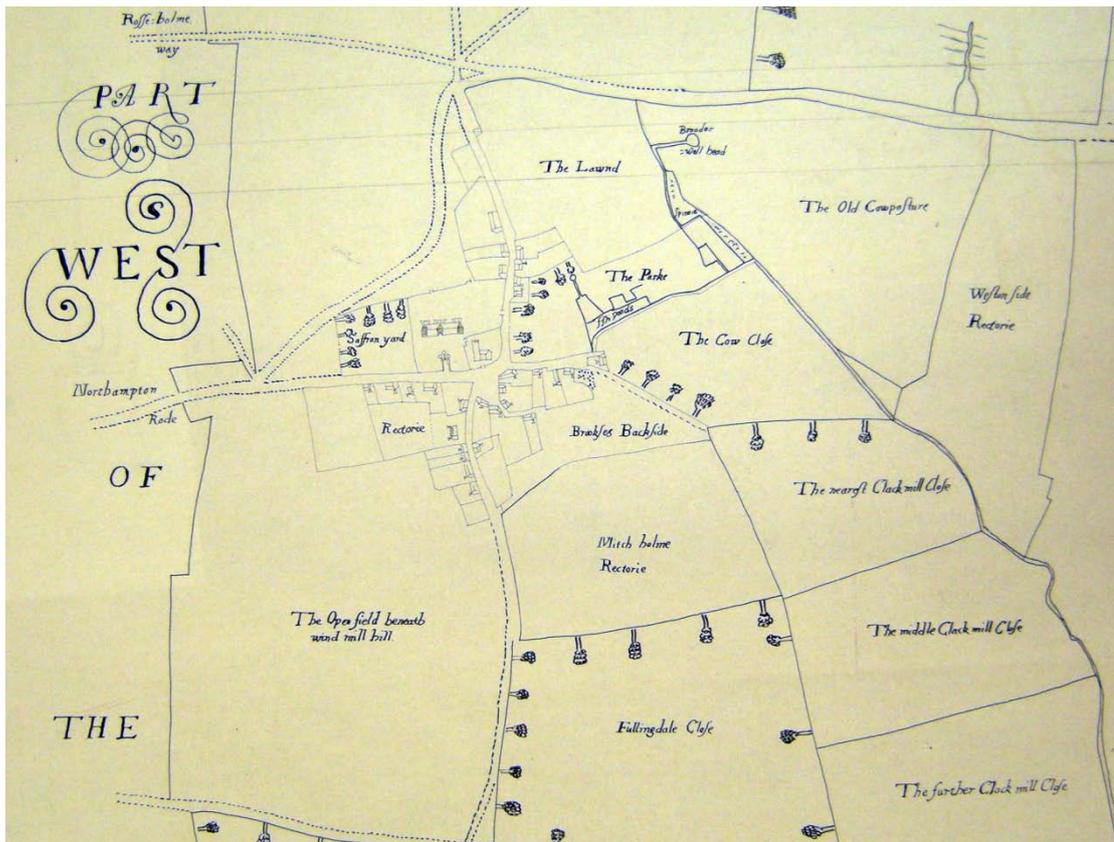


Figure 4.31. The manor of Abington shown on a map of 1671 (NRO Map 4524).

In 1736 the estate was inherited by John Thursby, who commissioned the Warwick-based architect Francis Smith to remodel the house (Heward and Taylor 1996, 50). A 1742 estate map shows the completed construction of the new east range (NRO Map 471) (Figure 4.33). Most of the village buildings shown on the 1671 map had disappeared by 1742, and the road that curved around the house and separated it from the park appears to have been closed or diverted. There is no documentary evidence about the removal of the village houses shown on the 1671 map, the Thursbys may have bought out the remaining owners as part of a programme of gradual piecemeal enclosure (NRO Map 4524). The house itself was set within a number of walled

gardens, with an avenue to the north and a broad vista to the south formed by Upper Cotton Close, which was hedged on two sides but which was also open to the road and the front of the house (NRO Map 471). The park itself had been expanded to take in some of the pasture fields shown on the 1671 map, trees were planted around the perimeter, and the fishponds shown on the earlier map had been enlarged to create a series of geometric water features (NRO Map 471).



Figure 4.32. Abington on an estate map of 1742 (NRO Map 471).

The 1742 map does not show the land use of the fields immediately around the park, but a later estate map from 1798 does record this, and shows that the pattern of fields had not changed since the 1740s (NRO Map 470) (Figure 4.33). Given the evidence from the other designed landscapes in the immediate area discussed above it seems likely that the fields shown as pasture to the south of the park in 1798 had probably also been pasture in 1742, showing once again the blurring of the boundary between park and the pastoral fieldscape beyond. The 1798 map does illustrate some changes which had taken place within the area of the park, including the naturalisation of the planting and ponds and the replacement of the walled gardens around the house with a pleasure ground and shrubbery. However, some formal design elements were retained, and the vista along Upper Cotton Close to the south of the house was planted with a double avenue, a comparatively late date for such a feature (NRO Map 470).

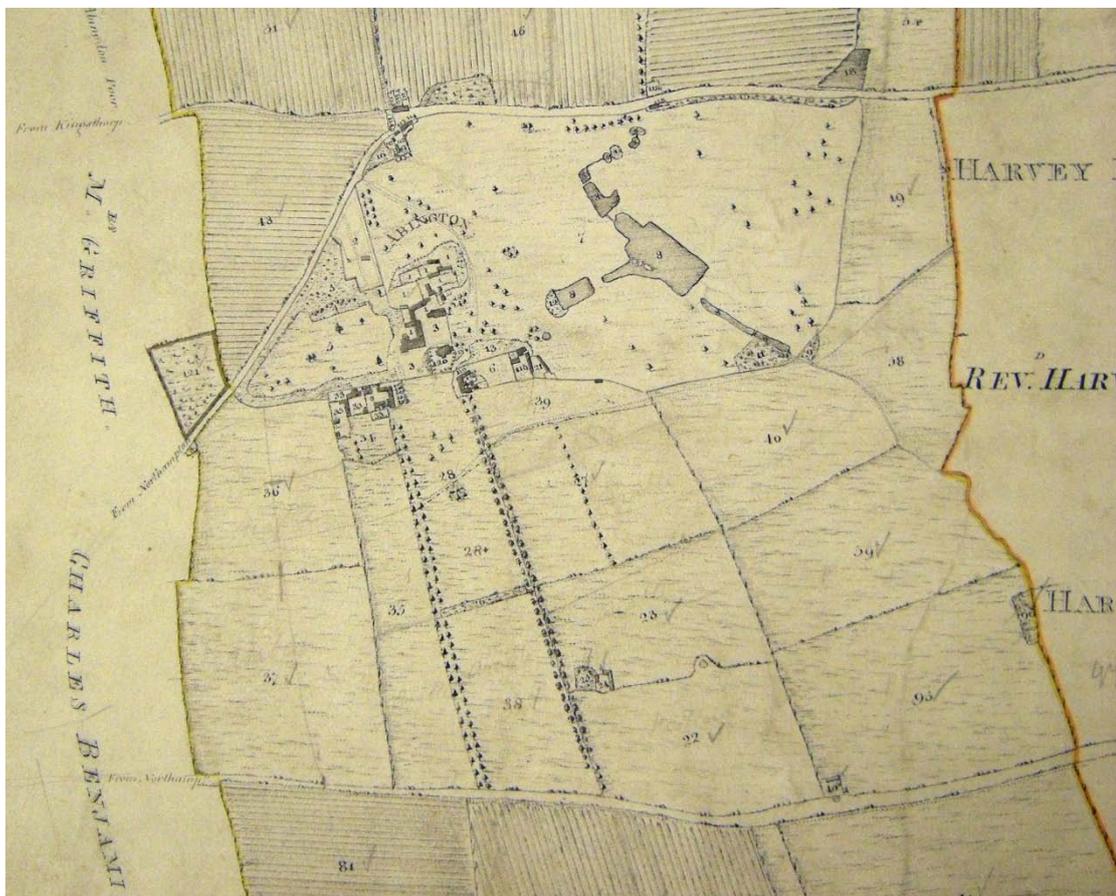


Figure 4.33. Abington on an estate map of 1798 (NRO Map 470).

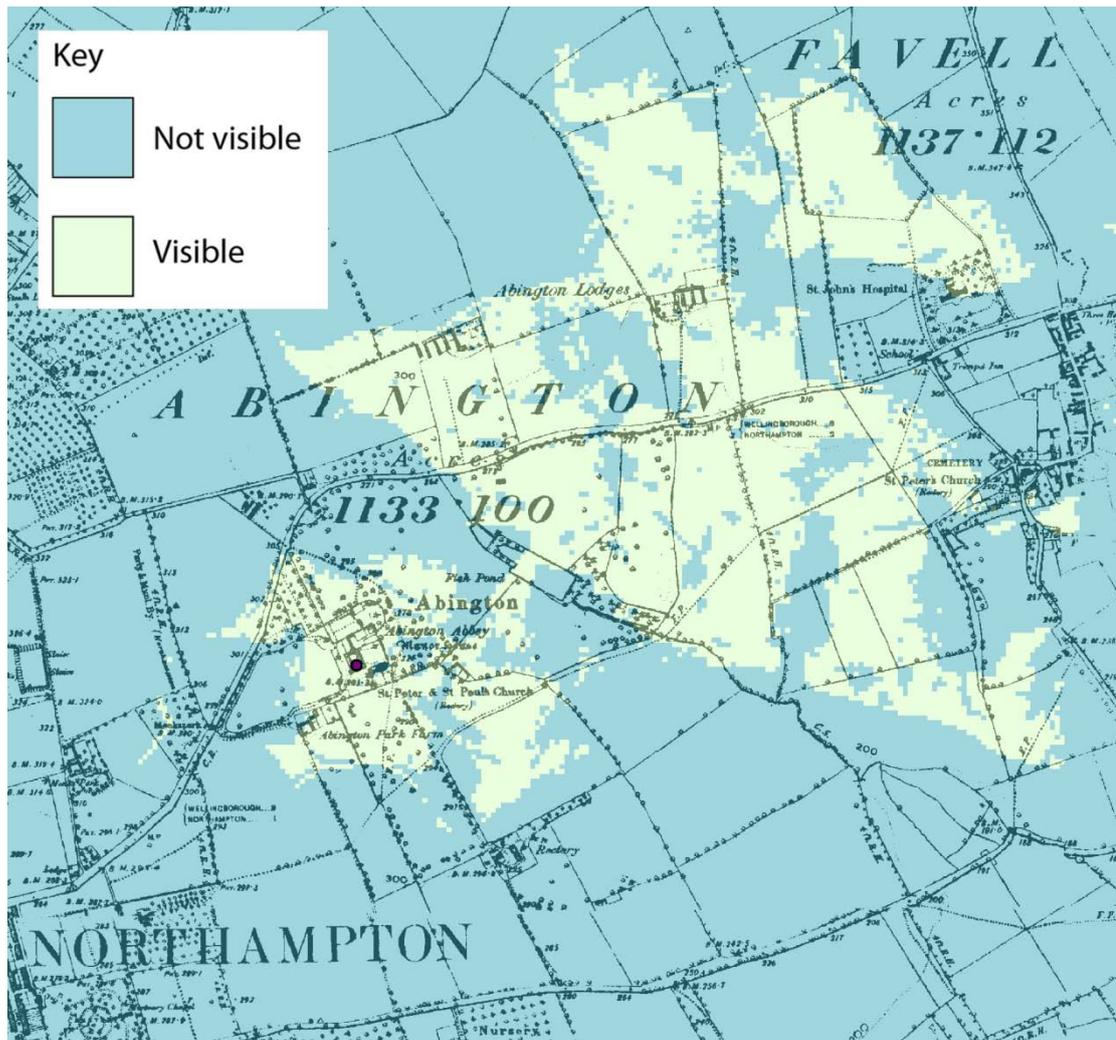


Figure 4.34. Viewshed analysis of the landscape around Abington, overlaid with the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map (c1880s). The house is shown with a purple dot.

Abington was not enclosed by parliamentary act. Instead, as the estate maps dating from the late-seventeenth century to the early-nineteenth century show, it was enclosed gradually over the course of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A substantial area of Abington was already in severalty by 1671, leaving two small areas of arable open field towards the periphery of the parish. By 1742 these open fields had been enclosed and replaced with a number of large closes, the boundaries of which respected the rights of way across the open fields shown in the 1671 map (NRO Maps 4524 and Map 471). Given the lack of clear documentary evidence it is difficult to ascertain exactly how the enclosure of Abington took place, although the gradual nature of its progress as revealed by the map evidence suggests that it was carried out in a piecemeal fashion. The core of the designed landscape at Abington, therefore, comprised several enclosed pasture fields shown on the 1671 map, including the

'Lawnd', and the 'Old Cowpasture'; an appropriately sylvan backdrop for the late seventeenth-century manor house. These fields were subsumed into an area of more defined parkland in the early-eighteenth century, but the boundaries of this area of parkland continued to be blurred with those of the pastoral fields beyond its nominal boundary into the late-eighteenth century. Figure 4.34 shows a viewshed analysis of Abington, which shows that the main view from the house took in the western half of the park, which corresponds with the close called the 'Old Cowpasture' on the 1671 map, suggesting that it may indeed have formed part of an aesthetically pleasing landscape when viewed from the house.

Courteenhall, to the south of Northampton, was unaffected by parliamentary enclosure, and the eighteenth-century landscape park was created within an area of seventeenth-century enclosures. The estate at Courteenhall was leased by the Crown to Richard Ouseley, a clerk of the Privy Seal, who built a new house in 1580 (Stone 1984, 133). The estate was subsequently purchased by Sir Samuel Jones, a London merchant, in around 1650 (Stone 1984, 133). An inventory of 1672 records the wealthy lifestyle that he enjoyed at Courteenhall, as well as providing valuable details about the Elizabethan house (NRO W(C) 111). The house was a large one, with a long gallery, a great chamber or dining room, a study, and several chambers and parlours as well as offices, stables and servants accommodation (NRO W(C) 111). The family rooms were furnished with expensive beds and curtains, tapestry wall hangings, carpets and couches, and a number of paintings, including many landscape paintings and portraits of the family. Their personal possessions included gold and silver plate, and a quantity of diamond necklaces kept in an inlaid cabinet in the closet next to the principal chamber (NRO W(C) 111). Jones died childless, and in 1762 the estate was inherited by Samuel Wake, the fifth son of Jones' niece Diana, and her husband Sir William Wake (Heward and Taylor 1996, 145).

The earliest map of Courteenhall dates from 1766, and shows the large late sixteenth-century house, with its many chimneys, next to the road, and surrounded by enclosed fields (NRO Map 1196). In front of the house is a walled forecourt with an elaborate gateway leading into a large field, and on either side of the house are walled formal gardens and plantations. An avenue, focussed on the house, stretches away to the south across the large field accessed from the forecourt (Figure 4.35).

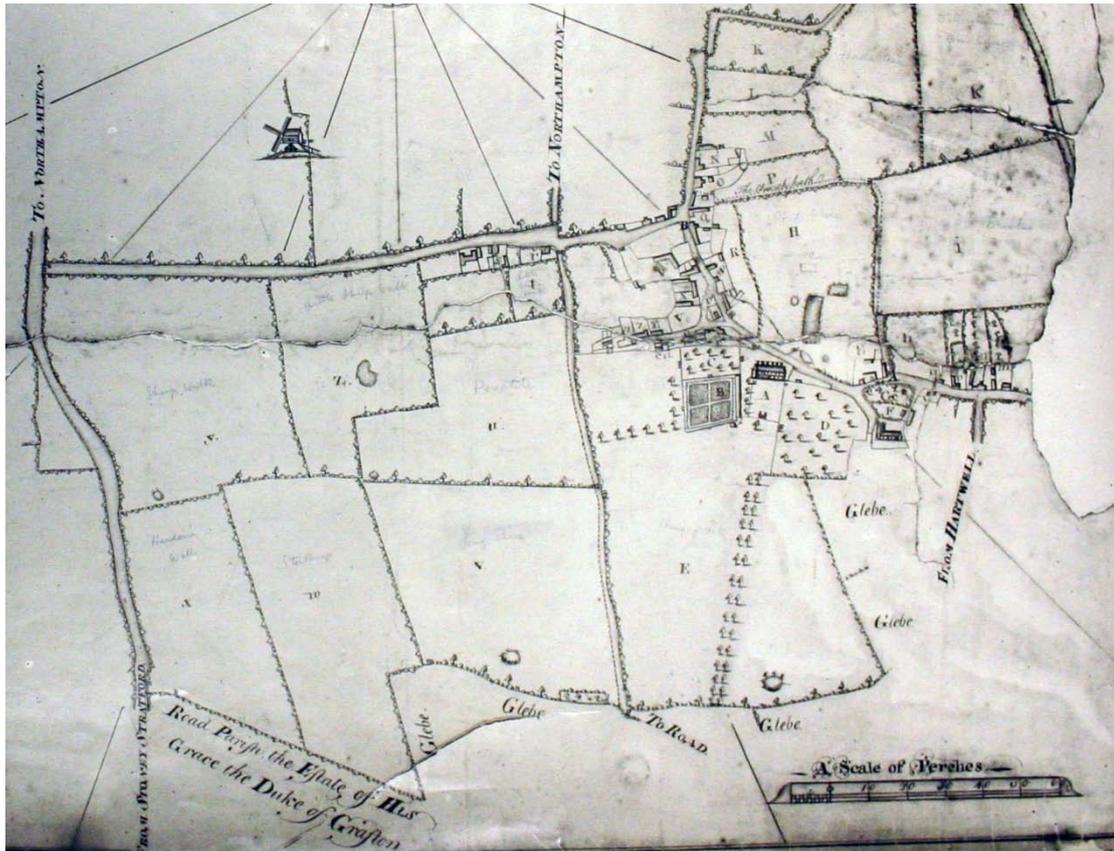


Figure 4.35. Courteenhall on an estate map of 1766 (NRO Map 1196).

Aerial photographs and fieldwork have shown that the park at Courteenhall is covered with extensive ridge and furrow, showing that it had earlier formed part of the open fields of Courteenhall. The avenue shown on the 1766 map no longer exists, but survives in earthwork form overlying the surrounding ridge and furrow, so this part of the park must already have been enclosed and converted to pasture before the avenue was planted (Figure 4.36). This is unsurprising given the difficulties of trying to establish an avenue on ground which was subject to common grazing and fuel rights. The planting of an avenue was thus an effective and simple way to demonstrate total control over an area of land (Williamson 1998, 31).

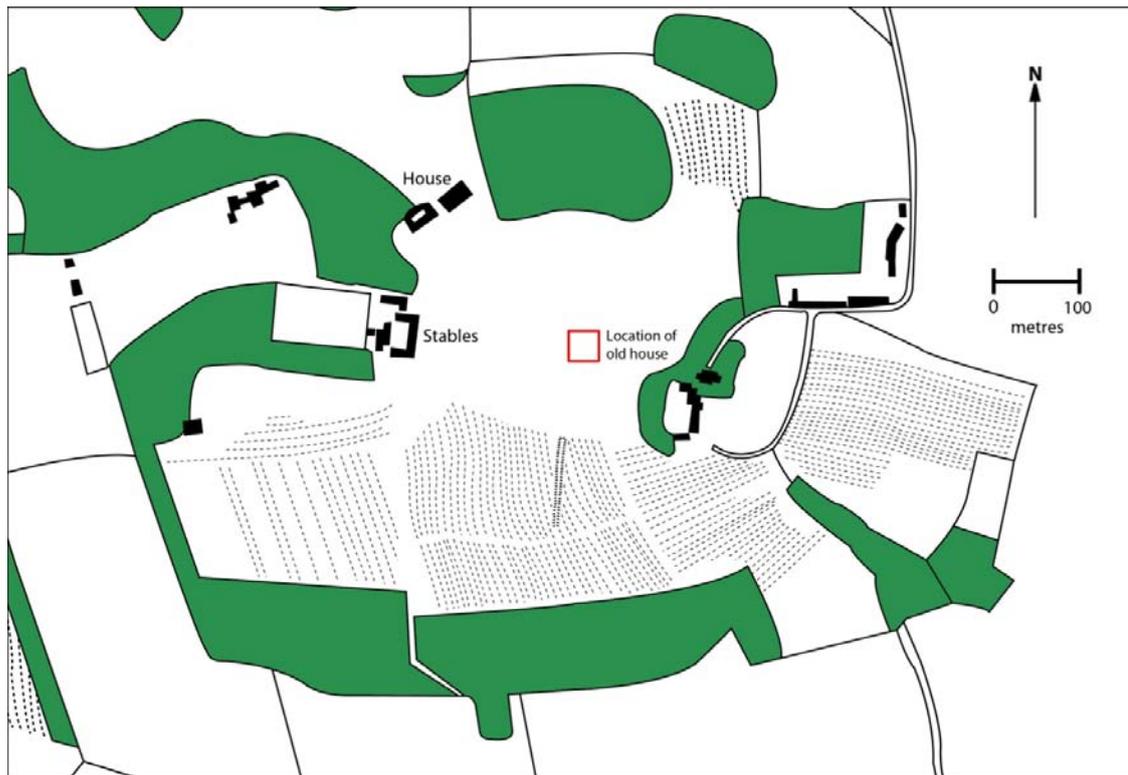


Figure 4.36. Plan of the earthworks within the park at Courteenhall, based on modern vertical aerial photographs (Google). The plantations are marked in green.

It is unclear how much of the formal landscape around the house shown on the 1766 map was created by Jones in the late-seventeenth century. The high quality furnishings and contents of the house suggest that he kept the interior of his house up to date with the latest trends, and as a wealthy merchant it is unlikely that he would not have paid similar attention to his gardens. His heir, Samuel Wake Jones, and his successor, Charles Wake Jones lived not at Courteenhall, but in Jones' other house at Waltham Abbey in Essex. This was just on the other side of the county boundary with Hertfordshire and therefore in a desirable location close to London (Stone 1984, 134). In terms of Jones' social aspirations, it is telling that he had a seat in the suburban periphery around London, undoubtedly the use of a townhouse as well (whether owned or leased), but also a more traditional landed estate near Northamptonshire. This demonstrates how landowners had different requirements of their houses, and grounds, requirements which varied in line with the distance from an urban centre. It also highlights how owners could happily own several different 'types' of designed landscape at any one time, ranging from tiny town gardens to large landscape parks.

The absenteeism of Jones' heirs meant that few changes were made to the house and grounds at Courteenhall during the first half of the eighteenth century, increasing the likelihood that the gardens shown on the 1766 map had changed little from those created by Jones in the late-seventeenth century (NRO W(C) 111). As with the other examples discussed in Northamptonshire, this late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century designed landscape included a number of small enclosed pasture fields, which functioned as a park-like backdrop of grassland and trees, rather than a clearly defined area of parkland.

In 1755 the estate was inherited by Sir William Wake, the 7th baronet. In the late 1760s, after the 1766 map was made, Wake commissioned the Whig architect John Carr to rebuild the stables in 'palatial Palladian style' (Mowl and Hickman 2008, 107). The construction of the stables marked the beginning of extensive improvements by the Wakes at Courteenhall. A 1794 estate map by Robert Halston shows the results of the work that had been carried out in the late-eighteenth century by successive generations of the Wake family (NRO Map 4346) (Figure 4.37). Most notably the Elizabethan house was demolished and a new Palladian house constructed between 1791 and 1793, designed by Samuel Saxon (Mowl and Hickman 2008, 107).

Alongside the building of a new mansion changes were also made to the landscape around Courteenhall. The formal gardens were removed, and a clearly defined landscape park created out of the fields around the house. Some of the trees standing within this new park are clearly the remains of the former field boundaries, and the whole is surrounded with a curving plantation belt. The village shown on the 1766 map had been cleared away, and the roads closed to create a larger area of parkland to the north of the house (NRO Map 4346). In 1791 the Wakes commissioned Repton to make further changes to the grounds after the creation of the park (Mowl and Hickman 2008, 107; Red Book, Private Collection). Repton's suggestions included the construction of a pair of new entrance lodges, a rustic thatched cottage and the laying out of formal flower gardens near the new house, but few of his proposals were implemented (Figure 4.38). An 1835 estate map shows that little had changed during the first years of the nineteenth century, apart from the creation of a shrubbery style garden directly in front of the house (NRO Map 2988).



Figure 4.37. Courteenhall on an estate map of 1794 (NRO Map 4346).



Figure 4.38. Repton's proposal for a flower garden from the Red Book for Courteenhall, 1791 (Private Collection).

The views from the new mansion at Courteenhall took in the area to the south, which had been enclosed fields shown on the 1766 estate map, and which contained ridge and furrow (Figure 4.39). The perimeter belt, interestingly, has been planted at the limit of the visible area when viewed from the house. However, this is perhaps one of the least accurate viewsheds included here, as some of the areas shown as being ‘visible’ would, in fact, have been obscured by plantations and buildings.

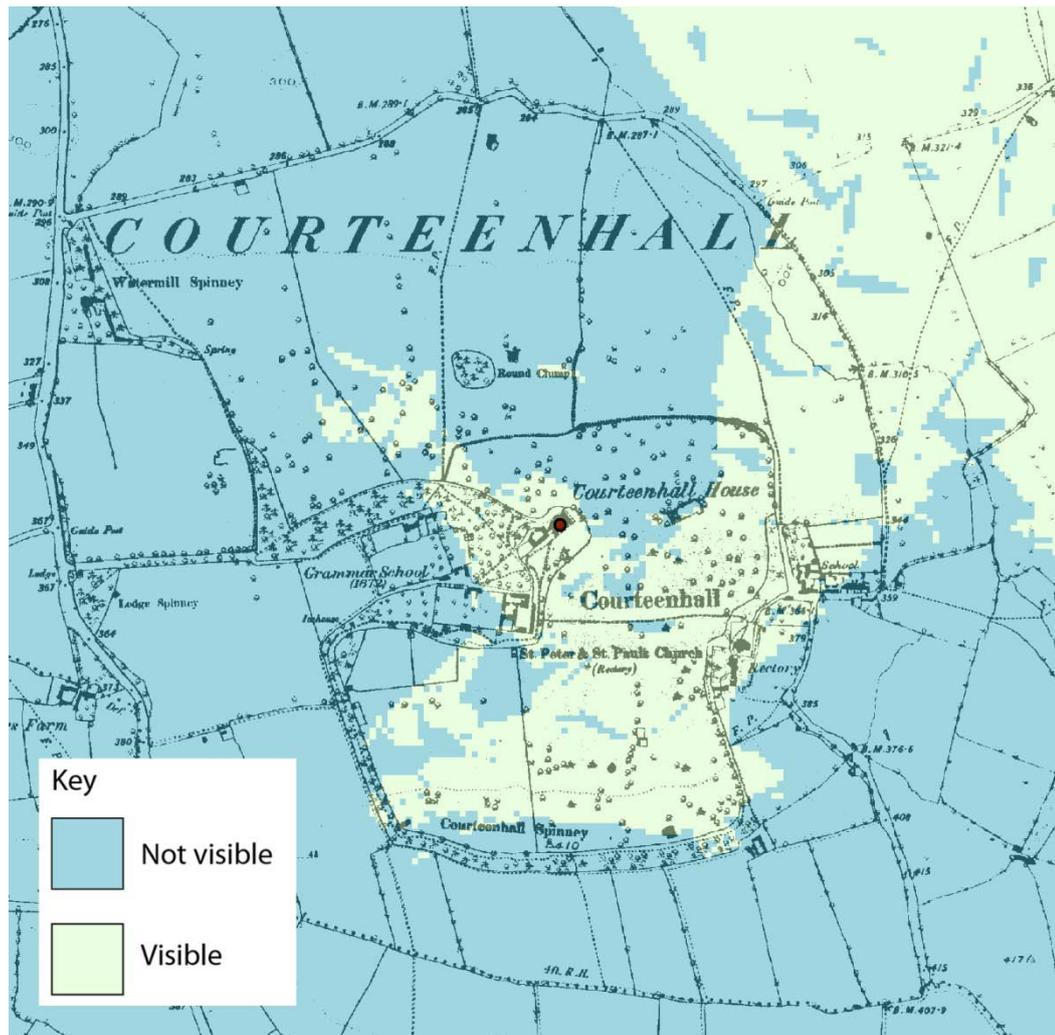


Figure 4.39. Viewshed analysis of the landscape around Courteenhall, overlaid with the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map (c1880s). The house is shown with a purple dot.

The late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century grounds at Courteenhall blended into the surrounding landscape of enclosed fields, creating a ‘park-like’ effect. In the late-eighteenth century this ambiguous landscape was integrated into a much more clearly defined landscape

park. This process included the removal of field boundaries, although some hedgerow trees were retained, and the creation of belt plantations to clearly demarcate this as a 'park' in the Brownian sense.

The example of Boughton Park illustrates two points flagged up briefly earlier in this discussion: the relationships between estates belonging to the same family, and the 'behaviour' of landowners on estates of different types. Boughton was owned by Thomas Wentworth, the Earl of Strafford, whose main seat was at Wentworth Castle in Yorkshire, and both were landscaped in a similar style during the eighteenth century. The nearest neighbouring estate to Wentworth Castle was Wentworth Woodhouse, which was owned by the Wentworth-Watson family. The two branches of the Wentworth family were related, the 1st Earl of Strafford, Thomas Wentworth, had expected to inherit Wentworth Woodhouse, but the Wentworth estates were divided; the Earl of Strafford inherited the family title of Baron Raby, whilst the fortune and estate went to a member of the Wentworth-Watson family (Farrell 2004). The enormous estate of Wentworth Woodhouse, therefore, was eventually inherited by Charles Wentworth-Watson, the Marquis of Rockingham, who became one of the wealthiest peers in England and First Lord of the Treasury in 1765 (Farrell 2004).

Rockingham was the central figure in one of the largest Whig factions in the late-eighteenth century, known as the Rockingham Whigs. This faction numbered around one hundred members in the 1760s, and was the closest thing to a 'Whig party' in the turbulent political situation of the late-eighteenth century (Farrell 2004). The Rockingham Whigs upheld the traditional Whig values of liberty, free trade and religious toleration, supported by major landowners as well as wealthy merchants, and their members included a number of prominent politicians with estates near Northampton, including the Spencers at Althorp and John Cavendish at Great Billing (Williamson 1995, 91). Rockingham himself owned the estate of Great Harrowden, about fourteen miles from Northampton (Mowl and Hickman 2008, 74). Wentworth Woodhouse, built by Rockingham's father, is one of the largest country houses in England, and Rockingham continued to develop the house and grounds, erecting a number of buildings and monuments which contained allusions to the politics of the Whigs (Eyres 2002, 199).

Thomas Wentworth, the 1st Earl Strafford, bought the manor of Boughton in 1717, at the same time that he was engaged in constructing a new house at Wentworth Castle (also known as Stainborough Hall during the early-eighteenth century) between 1710 and 1720 (Salzman 1937, 76-81). Boughton, close to Northampton and on the main route from London to the north of England, was perhaps intended to be a halfway-stop on the journey from London to Yorkshire. Thomas Wentworth died in 1739 and was succeeded by his son William, who became the 2nd Earl Strafford. Both men made significant improvements to the landscapes of both Boughton Park and Wentworth Castle (Salzman 1937, 76-8; Charlesworth 2005, 626-647)

The early eighteenth-century grounds created at Boughton by the 1st Earl are shown on a topographical engraving by Thomas Badeslade, published in the 1720s, showing the house set within large formal gardens, with avenues, a bowling green, grass terracing, canals and lawns studded with statues (Figure 4.40). In front of the house was a large wilderness garden, with dense planting cut with walks and groves (NRO Maps 4531).

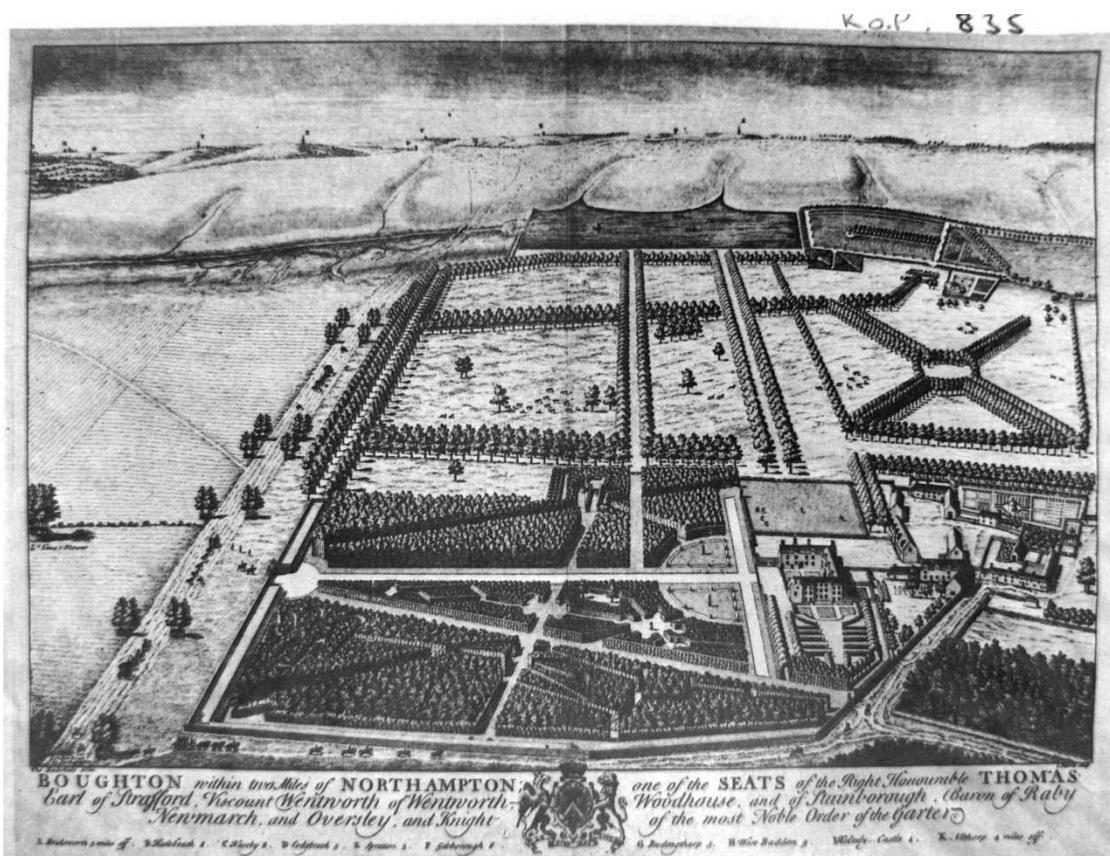


Figure 4.40. Thomas Badeslades' engraving of Boughton House, 1720s (NRO Maps 4531).

This landscape bears similarities to that created at Wentworth Castle in the 1720s and 1730s. Wentworth Castle itself was rebuilt during the 1720s in a grand classical manner, and at the same time Strafford laid out a large-scale formal landscape filled with references to his political allegiances (Charlesworth 2005). The 1st Earl was loyal to Queen Anne and the Stuart succession, and found himself out of favour with the accession of George I in 1714. In 1734 he erected a large obelisk at the main entrance to Wentworth Castle to commemorate Anne, and obliquely referenced his Jacobitism in the inscription (Charlesworth 2005, 635). Another important building on the Wentworth Castle estate was Stainborough Castle, a Gothic ruin built during the late 1720s, and one of the earliest Gothic Revival buildings in England. William, the 2nd Earl Strafford, continued to build Gothic structures at both Wentworth Castle and Boughton after his father's death in 1739 (Charlesworth 2005, 637). Of those Gothic buildings at Boughton the earliest is the Hawking Tower, built before 1756 (Mowl and Hickman 2008, 95). In the 1770s Strafford went on to construct a grotto, a gateway called The Spectacles, the castellated New Park Barn and Bunkers Hill Farm, a Gothicised model farm (Robinson 1983, 118; Mowl and Hickman 2008, 96-97).

The Straffords' political affiliations were, therefore, consciously reflected in their landscaping at Boughton, as they were at Wentworth Castle. Similarly, the Wentworth-Watsons also chose to make explicit references to their political allegiances in the landscape around Wentworth Woodhouse. For example, the Stuarts were commemorated at Wentworth Castle by Queen Anne's Obelisk (1734) whilst the succession of the Hanoverians and the defeat of the Jacobite rebellion in 1745 was celebrated at Wentworth Woodhouse with The Hooper Stand (1748) (Eyres 2002, 196). The Gothic model farm at Boughton, Bunkers Hill Farm (1776), was named after the British victory at the Battle of Bunkers Hill during the American Wars in 1775. Two years later Rockingham erected Keppel's Column at Wentworth Woodhouse to celebrate Admiral Keppel who had refused to fight the American colonists (Eyres 2002, 199).



Figure 4.41. Boughton House shown on an estate map of 1794 (NRO Map 5313).

The 2nd Earl also made several changes to the landscape at Boughton from the 1740s until his death in 1791, which are shown on an estate map of 1794 (NRO Map 5313) (Figure 4.41).

Boughton was enclosed with the neighbouring parish of Pitsford in 1756 which allowed Strafford to extend and to partially deformatise some elements of the landscape (Tate and Turner 1978, 191). The wilderness gardens in front of the house were still in existence in 1794,

as well as the largest of the avenues shown on Badeslade's engraving. Some of the other avenues had been broken up, and the area of the park itself has been extended onto the other side of the lake, with plantations and a thin belt planted on the perimeter (NRO Map 5313). A viewshed analysis of the park at Boughton shows that little of the newly naturalised park was visible from the house, the views from which were instead focussed on the formal gardens (Figure 4.42).

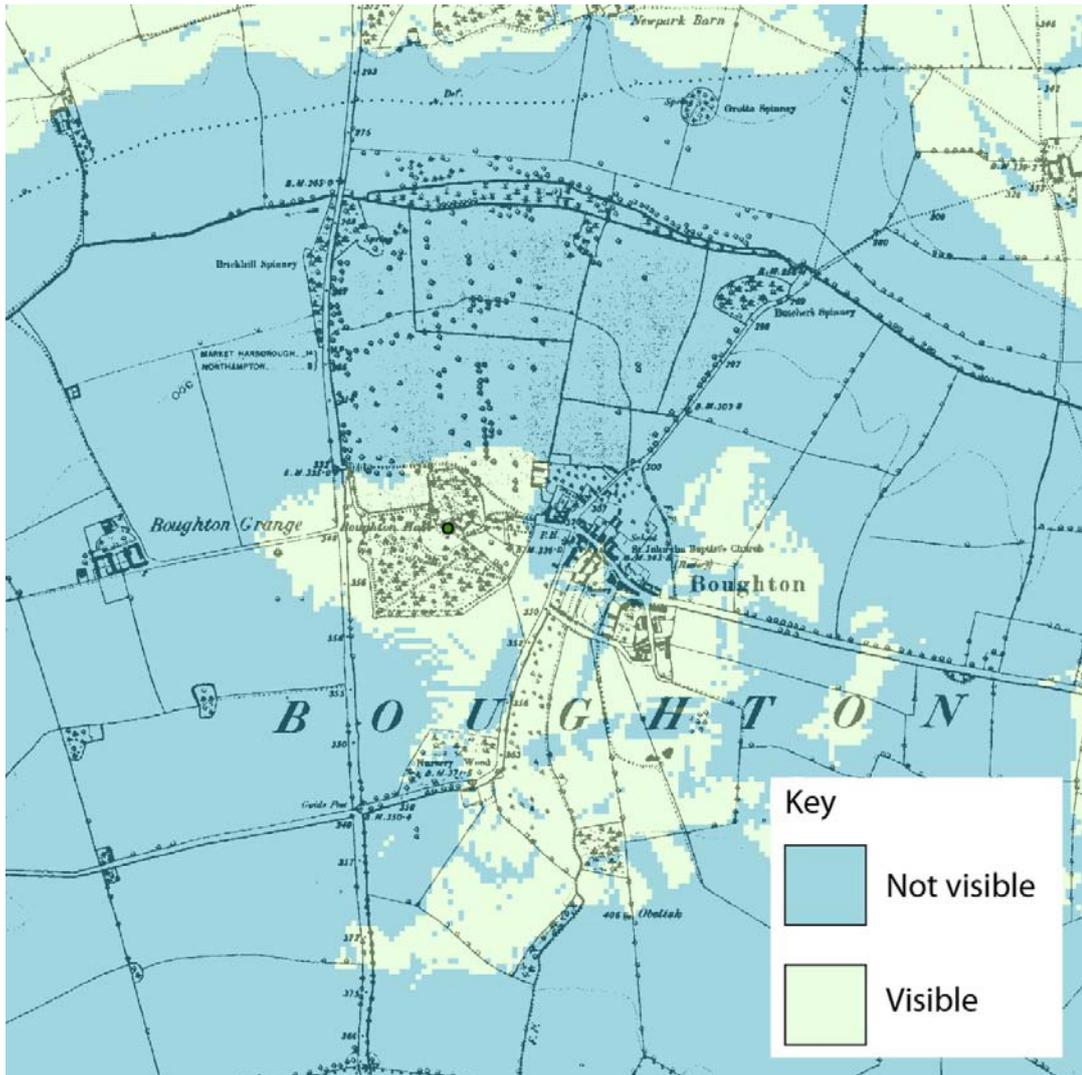


Figure 4.42. Viewshed analysis of the landscape around Boughton, overlaid with the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map (c1880s). The house is shown with a green dot.

Despite his Tory background Strafford was close friends with the Whig grandee William Cavendish, the 4th Duke of Devonshire, and Strafford erected a column to Cavendish's memory

at Boughton in 1764 (English Heritage LBS 231862). Therefore, Strafford must also have known Lord John Cavendish, the Duke's younger brother and the owner of Great Billing, who commissioned John Carr to build a new mansion at Billing in the 1770s. Strafford also employed Carr at Wentworth Castle, and the architect worked extensively at Wentworth Woodhouse, as well as on the estates of many other members of the Rockingham Whigs (Wragg and Worsley 2000, 219).

The 2nd Earl was an active owner of Boughton Park from the 1740s onwards, conducting a sustained programme of building within the wider estate landscape during the 1770s. However, Strafford did not neglect his other estates. At Wentworth Castle the main facade of the house was rebuilt to his own design in the 1760s, and the large formal landscape around the house was gradually landscaped in the Brownian style, including the creation of a large, sinuous serpentine lake and the addition of a number of garden buildings, both Classical and Gothic in style (Figure 4.43) (Colvin 1998, 1105; Charlesworth 1986, 129). The Straffords also owned a villa, Mount Lebanon, in Twickenham, across the river from Ham House and next to the perfect Palladian villa at Marble Hill (Figure 4.44) (Batey et. al. 2000, 77). In addition, in the late 1740s Strafford also had his London townhouse, 5 St James' Square, remodelled by the architect Matthew Brettingham, who was at the same time working on the innovative Norfolk House on the other side of the square (Girouard 1978, 195; Sheppard 1960, 99-103). Strafford's town house, therefore, overlooked the communal formal garden in the middle of the Square, had a relatively large private garden with stables and offices to the rear, and was close to the open spaces of Green Park and St James Park (Figure 4.45).

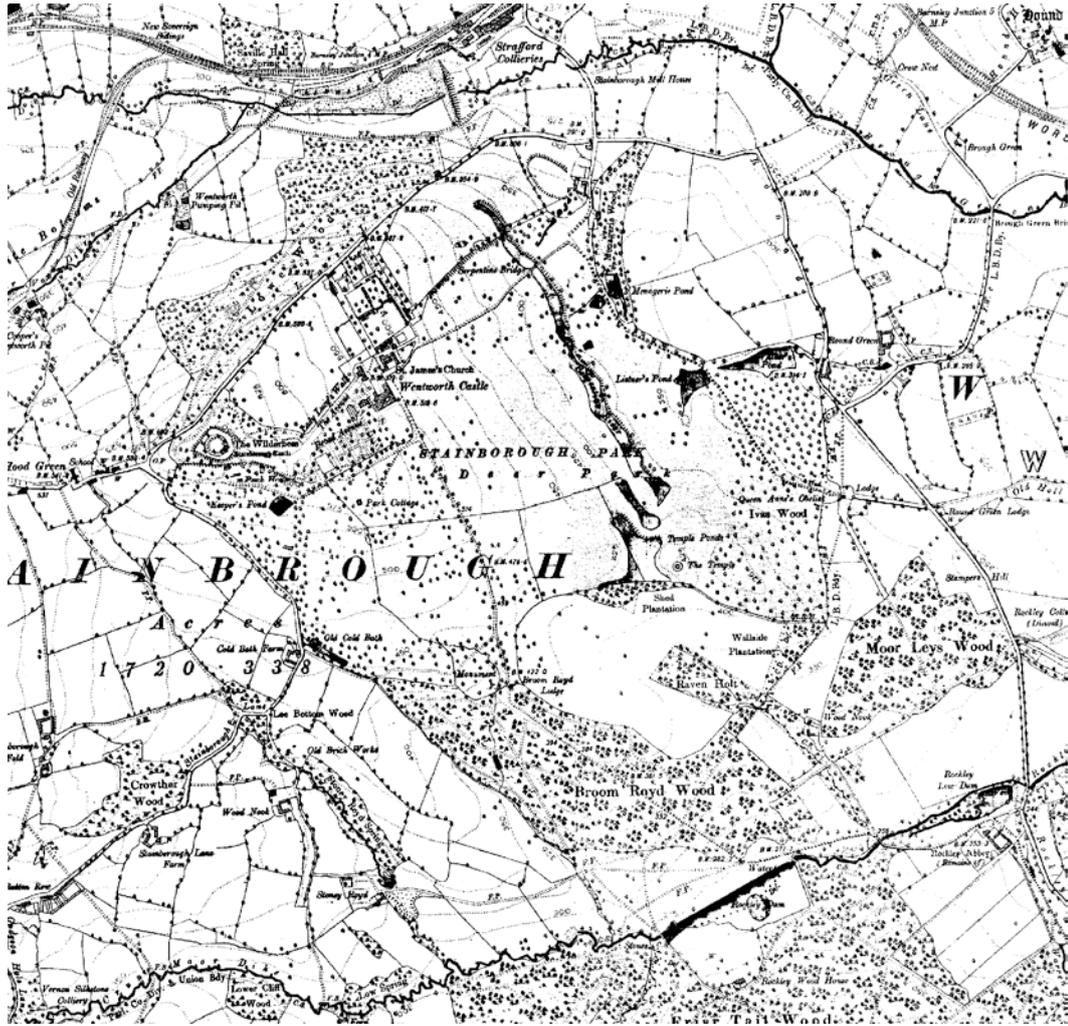


Figure 4.43. The park and gardens at Wentworth Castle, Yorkshire, shown on the Ordnance Survey six inch map, c1880s.

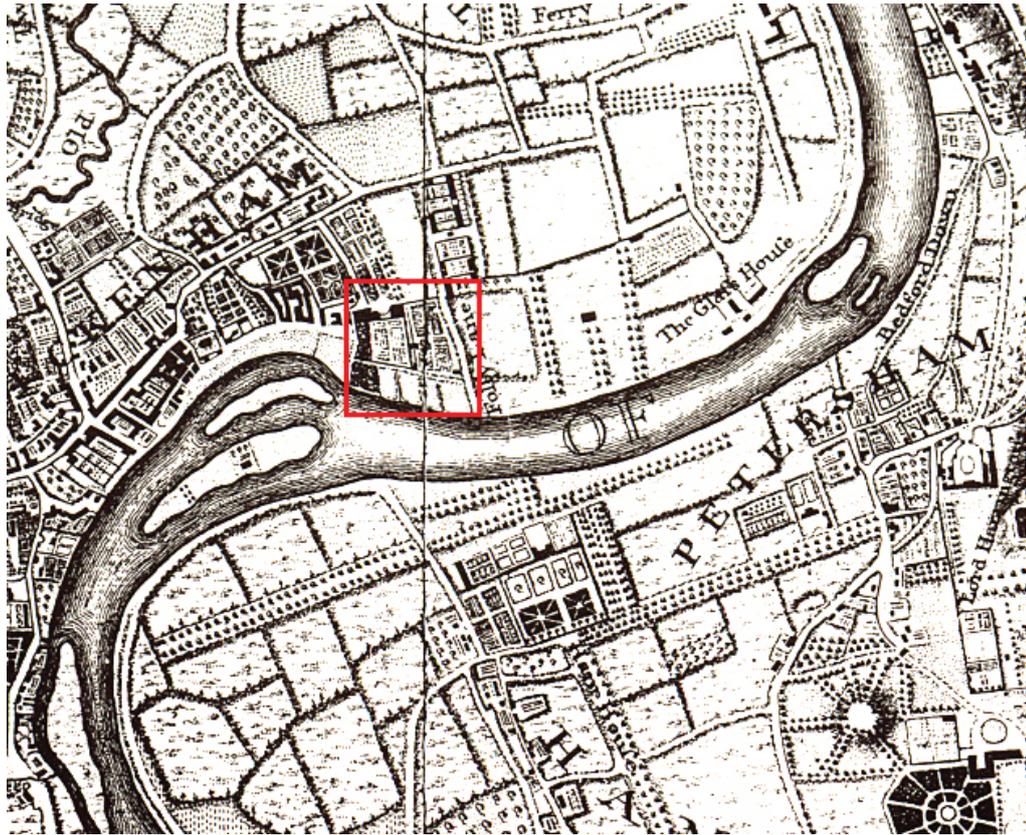


Figure 4.44. Strafford's villa in Twickenham, Mount Lebanon, shown on Rocque's map of London, 1744-46. The location of the house and gardens is shown with a red square.

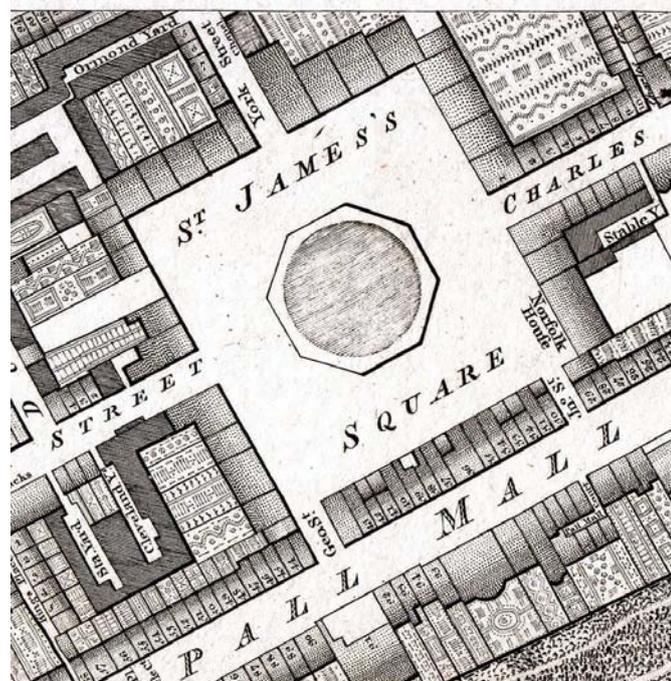


Figure 4.45. Strafford's house in St James' Square shown on Richard Horwood's map of London, 1792-99.

Strafford, therefore, owned and actively managed four different houses and designed landscapes in the same period. Each was of a slightly different size and character, which varied depending on their distance from London. His London home, in one of the most fashionable garden squares, was remodelled by one of the leading architects of the period and had a small formal garden as well as the shared experience of the capital's open spaces. The Twickenham villa occupied a relatively small site a few miles from the City, and rubbed shoulders with other elegant neighbours, sharing views along the Thames. Boughton was at the halfway point between London and Yorkshire, and was a medium sized park of around 100 acres. Here Strafford carried out building and landscaping which was similar in spirit, although smaller in scale, to that being carried out at his main seat, Wentworth Castle in Yorkshire, which followed the model of the large landed estate with the mansion and landscape park at its heart.

By looking at estates like Strafford's Boughton and Cavendish's Great Billing in the wider context of their links with other estates belonging to the same family, which may be at some distance from one another, we can deepen our understanding of the development of those estates and begin to appreciate the complexities of the eighteenth-century landscape. This also complicates the interpretation of individual agency in the context of social emulation and material culture; an individual landowner could own a range of different types of designed landscapes, and each one could have its own layers of meaning and experience as well as being related to the other estates within a single family. Of course, the Earls of Strafford were a wealthy and influential family with substantial estates, some of the other owners under discussion here only held one estate; their motivations and experiences were consequently different. This reinforces an earlier point about the importance of biography and social context when studying designed landscapes, a good grasp of the owner's background and, where possible, their character, is crucial to understanding the designed landscapes which they owned and created.

But, perhaps the most important conclusion from an examination of the loose cluster of landscapes around Northampton is the clear relationship between the development of parks and gardens and the enclosure of the open fields. Particularly important is the identification of a phase of development when a house was surrounded by a number of enclosed pasture fields rather than a more defined area of parkland. These fields acted as a 'park-like' backdrop to the more formal gardens around the house, and this phase can be dated back to at least the mid-seventeenth century at some sites. It is difficult to assess the exact nature and character of these landscapes, given that many of them were later subsumed into landscape parks, although the

survival of ridge and furrow earthworks in some places can help to identify areas of pasture which were once in open field cultivation. These pasture fields may have been ornamented with grass walks, wooden seats and the careful planting of flowering shrubs within the hedgerows; such ephemeral features are difficult to represent cartographically and to trace archaeologically. If such landscapes were ornamented in this way, then it would establish a clear link with the early eighteenth-century tradition of the *ferme ornée* discussed above. The combination of the practical and the beautiful as a backdrop to the house, the formal garden and the pastoral fieldscape with the arable open fields beyond is clearly in the spirit of the *ferme ornée* as defined by Switzer, where all the elements of a gentleman's estate are disposed with a view to both aesthetic effect and practical benefit (Switzer 1718).

The designed landscapes around Northampton exhibit significant differences from the suburban designed landscapes in south Hertfordshire discussed above. They are much larger, are all attached to considerable landed estates, and did not share boundaries and carefully managed views in the same way that designed landscapes on the urban periphery in Hertfordshire did. Moreover, many of the estates discussed in Hertfordshire were owned by a similar type of owner to those in Northamptonshire, such as London merchants and lawyers, as well as men who owned large estates elsewhere in the country. Although such owners wanted to establish themselves on landed estates in Northamptonshire, their similar backgrounds emphasises the heterogeneity of 'polite society' during the eighteenth century, and also highlights the importance of considering individual agency when assessing a landowner's attitude towards different types of designed landscape.

4.6.2. Designed landscapes in west Northamptonshire

The region to the north and west of Northampton, dominated by Oxpasture and Wickham 2 association soils prone to waterlogging and compaction, contains a number of designed landscapes which can be compared to those around Northampton (Hodge 1984, 285; 351). The location of these designed landscapes in this area was partly determined by the development of settlement and lordship in the Saxon period, rather than by developments in the eighteenth century (Steane 1974, 64). As in the area around Northampton, very few of the elite residences here shared contiguous boundaries, and none could be considered as 'villa' landscapes. Rather, they formed the centre of landed estates owned by the rural gentry of Northamptonshire. This

section will focus on a number of estates on the clays in the west of the county, including those around Ashby St Ledgers, Cottesbrooke and Kelmarsh.



Figure 4.46. Designed landscapes near Ashby St Ledgers shown on Eyre's map of Northamptonshire (1779).

Watford Court, Ashby Lodge and the manor house at Ashby St Ledgers form a cluster of designed landscapes at the head of a small valley of a tributary of the River Nene (Figure 4.46). Despite their physical proximity these sites do not exhibit the strong visual ties that bound together similar examples in Hertfordshire. However, a parallel can be drawn in terms of their ownership, as the two landowning families in Ashby St Ledgers, the Ashleys and the Arnolds, were both originally London merchants who purchased their estates during the early-eighteenth century in order to establish themselves as members of the landed gentry in Northamptonshire. Despite being owned and created by a similar class of landowner, however, these three designed landscapes differ from those in Hertfordshire in terms of their style and development, due in part to their distance from London and other urban centres. In more provincial areas members of the urban elite do not always seem to have sought to create the villa landscapes that they created in suburban areas, instead they sought to emulate the landed estates of the well established local gentry.

The manor house at Ashby St Ledgers dates back to the fifteenth century, and was enlarged during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the Catesby and the Ianson families (Pevsner 1961, 82-83). The house was surrounded by the familiar buildings of the early modern manorial complex; a gatehouse, a dovecote and various farm buildings. In 1703 the estate was sold for £15,500 to Joseph Ashley, a London draper, whose family owned Ashby until the early twentieth century (NRO ASL 151). Ashley had made his fortune supplying uniforms to the army during the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries (NRO ASL 245 and ASL 267), and at his death in 1739 he left a fortune of nearly £12,000, £9,000 of which was invested in bank stocks and shares in the South Sea Annuity and East India Company (NRO ASL 202). The family accounts from the 1730s and 1740s record frequent long visits to London by Mrs Ashley, during which clothes, books, play tickets and jewellery were purchased (NRO ASL 349). Although his wife and family appeared to spend at least six months of the year in London, Joseph Ashley was resident for long periods at Ashby, and after his death his sons signed an affidavit that their father had resided entirely in Northamptonshire after 1732 (NRO ASL 207). It is clear that Ashley had retired to the country after a successful career in the capital, and was establishing himself as a country gentleman.

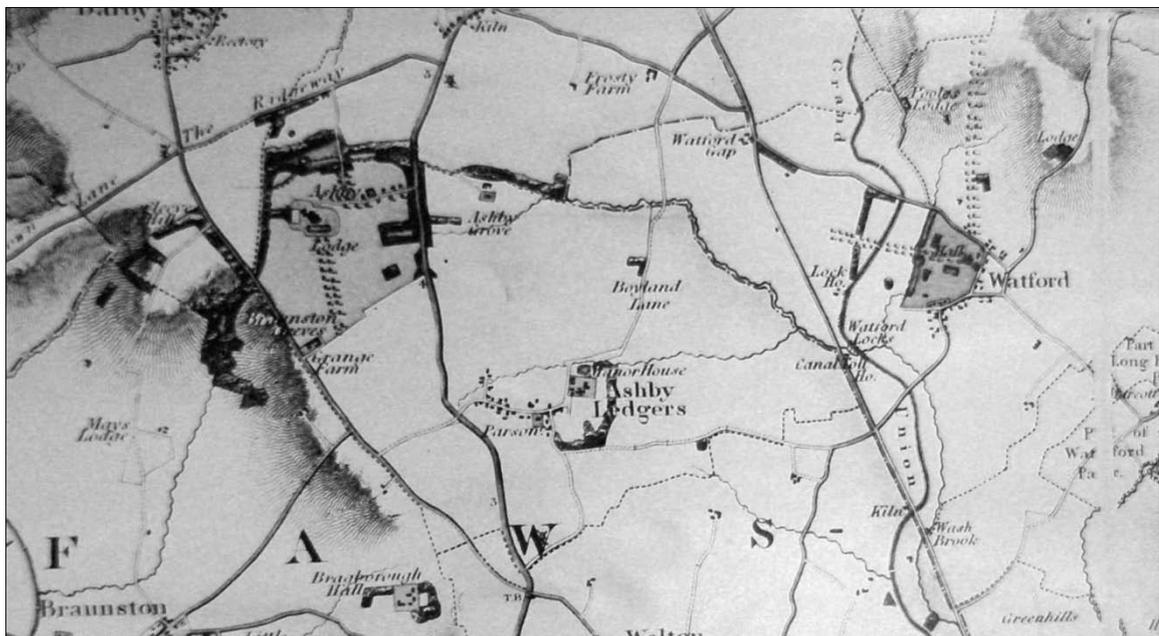


Figure 4.47. Designed landscapes in Ashby St Ledgers shown on Bryant's map of Northamptonshire (1822).

Eyre's map of Northamptonshire shows the location of the house at Ashby St Ledgers, but without any details of the surrounding grounds (Figure 4.47). Bryant's map, therefore, is the earliest detailed cartographic evidence for the appearance of the grounds. Bryant shows the house within a tiny area of shaded parkland, with a much larger area surrounded by a plantation belt, which is unshaded. The sixteenth and seventeenth-century mansion was originally surrounded by a walled garden, but the new formal gardens created at Ashby in the early twentieth century by Lutyens has obscured much of the evidence for the appearance of the earlier gardens (Weaver 1913, 158-63). However, a group of early eighteenth-century statues are still standing in their original arrangement on a lawn to the southwest of the house, an unusual survival, and some seventeenth-century garden walls are still extant (Hussey 1951, 496).

After Joseph Ashley's death in 1739, the estate was inherited by his son John Ashley, who became embroiled in a dispute over stone extraction with his neighbour at Ashby Lodge, George Arnold. John Ashley died in 1761, and the estate was then managed by his widow, Jane, who was an active manager of the estate, and was a primary figure in the enclosure of Ashby St Ledgers in 1764, exchanging letters with her solicitors in London to keep an eye on the bill's progress through Parliament (McDonagh 2009, 150-1).

The enclosure of 1764 affected 1,189 acres, just over 50% of the total area of the parish (Tate and Turner 1978, 192). However, the parish had also been subject to other forms of enclosure during the eighteenth century. The construction of Ashby Lodge in the 1720s, discussed below, must have involved the enclosure of a substantial area of open field in the north-west of the parish, although no documentary evidence of this process has survived. Additionally, in 1712, the inhabitants of the parish drew up an agreement with Joseph Ashley to enclose some of the open fields to create three large 'cow pastures' (NNRO ASL 154). Such enclosures were effectively privatised commons for grazing, described by Morton in 1712,

Many of the lordships, and especially the larger ones, have a common or unenclosed pasture for their cattle in the outskirts of the fields. Most of these have formerly been plowed, but being generally their worst sort of ground, and at so great a distance from the towns, the manuring and culture of them were found so inconvenient that they have been laid down for greensward (Morton 1712).

A mid eighteenth-century field book details the open-field strips of the three great fields of the parish, Foxalls Field, Upper Field and Feddy Field, but it is clear that a substantial part of the parish had already been enclosed by 1764 (NNRO ASL 1232). The annual rental income of the Ashley estate in 1752, before parliamentary enclosure, was £505, but by 1784 had increased to over £1,000 (NNRO ASL 817 and NNRO ASL 363). This increase is typical of estates being enclosed in this period, but could be due to a number of factors, including an increase in the value of the land after enclosure and the renegotiation of leases at a higher annual value, or an expansion of the estate in terms of acreage (Overton 1996, 162). An 1808 estate rental records land use for most of the 1,311 acre estate, which shows that only 26 per cent was farmed as arable, whilst 60 per cent (not including the area around the house) was pasture, and 3 per cent was 'convertible' (NNRO ASL 352; Mingay 1984, 96).

The enclosure of the open fields in Ashby St Ledgers created the opportunity to expand the ornamental grounds around the manor house. In this respect, Ashby is similar to several other estates discussed in this chapter where a defined area of parkland was only created after enclosure. An 1808 estate rental records the Upper Park and Park Meadow as enclosing an area of just thirteen acres; a diminutive landscape on a similar scale to some of those discussed in Hertfordshire. The lack of contemporary estate maps makes it unclear whether these small fields had been in existence prior to parliamentary enclosure. If so, then they may have functioned as a park-like backdrop to the formal gardens around the house, an arrangement noted at many other sites in Northamptonshire. The Ordnance Survey 6 inch map shows that a large area of parkland was not laid out after enclosure, and the wider landscape around the house was divided into fields with few plantations (Figure 4.48). The viewshed analysis of the landscape around Ashby shows that most of these fields were visible from the house (Figure 4.48). At Ashby, as with the designed landscapes around Northampton, the Ashleys may have appropriated the newly enclosed landscape, which was being converted into pasture, as a backdrop to their small designed landscape.

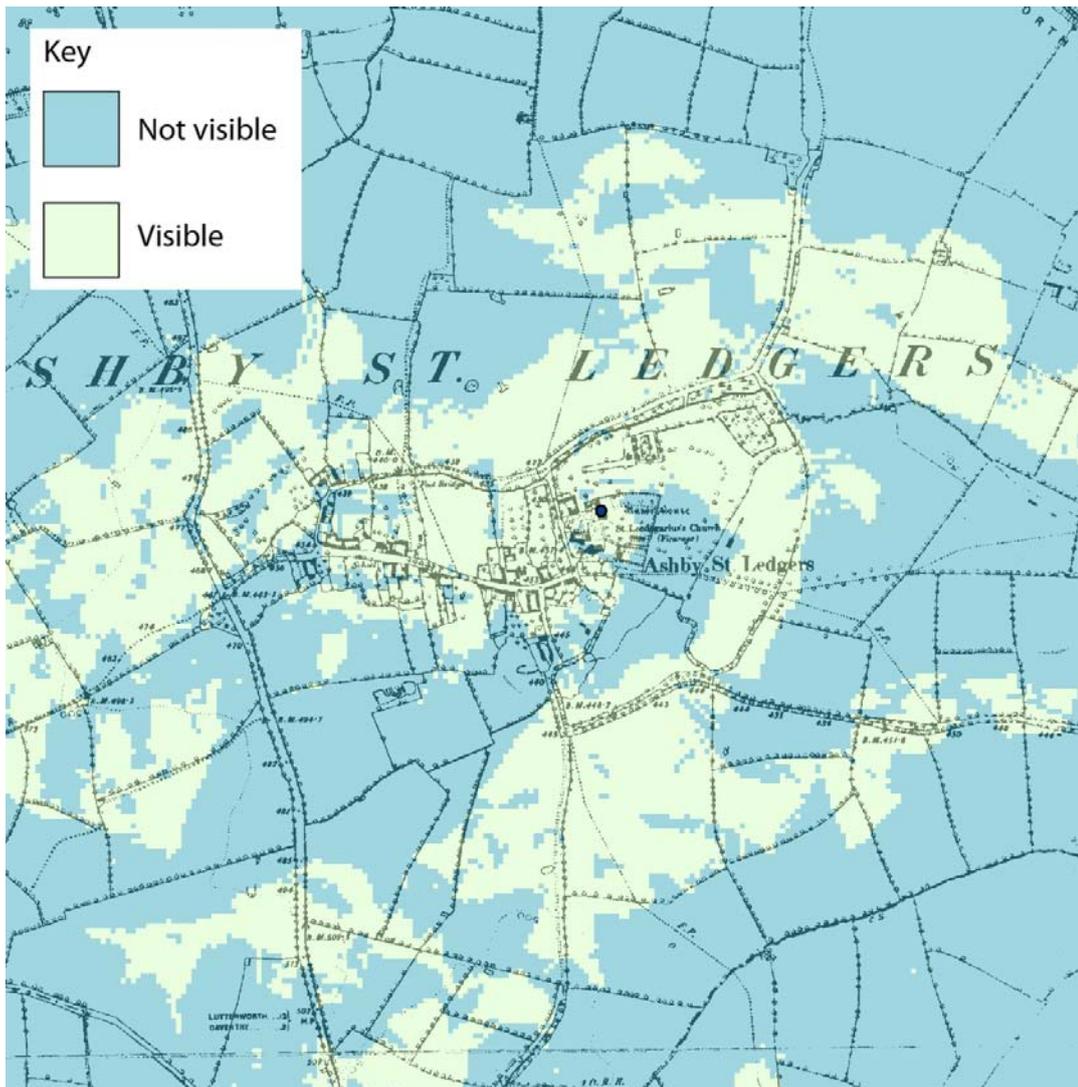


Figure 4.48. Viewshed analysis of the landscape around Ashby St Ledgers, overlaid with the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map (c1880s). The manor is shown with a blue dot.

To the north-west of the manor house is Ashby Lodge, which was built by George Arnold, whose father and grandfather had been successful cattle dealers in London on Upper St Martins Lane (Sheppard 1966, 339-359). Arnold purchased the estate in the early-eighteenth century, and built a new mansion and gardens from 1722 onwards. A painting by Nicholas Dall from the early 1760s shows the three storey house as a relatively plain classically proportioned structure (Fitzwilliam Museum Accession Number 26) (Figure 4.49). As noted above, this part of the parish must already have been enclosed by the early-eighteenth century, although the lack of any estate documentation makes it unclear whether the house was erected on the site of an earlier farmhouse or on a virgin site.



Figure 4.49. Painting of Ashby Lodge by Nicholas Dall, 1760s (Fitzwilliam Museum Accession Number 26).

The earliest cartographic evidence for the layout of the grounds at Ashby Lodge is provided by Eyre's map of 1779, although the layout of the grounds depicted may date back to their creation in the 1720s (Figure 4.46). The house is shown in the centre of a large cruciform plantation of trees, a simple geometric design made monumental by its scale. Dall's painting from the 1760s (Figure 4.49) shows an avenue or block plantation on one side of the house, whilst the rest of the landscape is shown as pasture with scattered trees and grazing animals. Like Richard Wilson's paintings of Moor Park in Hertfordshire, this may be another example of a landscape painting which focuses on the more fashionable naturalistic elements of the designed landscape while excluding older geometric features.



Figure 4.50. George Arnold by William Hogarth, 1738-40 (Fitzwilliam Museum Accession Number 21).

William Hogarth's portrait of George Arnold is one of his most celebrated works for its depiction of a no-nonsense businessman, a solid, pugnacious character who does not display many of the refinements of aristocratic masculinity (Gowing 1971, 45) (Figure 4.50). In the 1740s Arnold was involved in a violent dispute with his neighbour John Ashley which centred on the manorial rights to extract sand, gravel and stone in Ashby St Ledgers. John Ashley, as Lord of the Manor and Commissioner of the Turnpike, was extracting stone from his own estate to repair the road. In June 1748 George Arnold asked Ashley for sixty tons of stone for his own use, and despite Arnold's previous 'indecent and ill manners' towards him, Ashley agreed in an attempt to 'live in friendship' with Arnold (NRO ASL302). Arnold took the stone, but 'in a clandestine manner' persuaded the stone diggers to let him take another large amount of stone from the pits without Ashley's consent. Ashley sent the Surveyor of the Highway to inform Arnold that he could not take any more stone and Arnold responded by sending the Surveyor back to Ashley with a message, 'that a pistol should decide it' (NRO ASL302). On the 25th July

1748, at seven in the morning, Ashley and a companion were driving a carriage along the road in Ashby St Ledgers when they met Arnold, who was on horseback. Arnold forced the carriage into a ditch and started beating Ashley about the head with his cane. Arnold continued to threaten Ashley with 'provoking and abusive language' for several days until Ashley was afraid to leave his house for fear of meeting Arnold. Arnold bragged that he expected to be prosecuted but 'that he did not value it for it would not cost him above five hundred pounds and that he had seven thousand pounds then lay by him which he would spend all at law' (NRO ASL302).

The assault and trespasses prompted anxious letters about whether Arnold in fact did possess some rights, and Mrs Ashley questioned the local farmers to find out if there was 'a custom time out of mind' that would allow Arnold to dig on Ashley's estate (NRO ASL303). Arnold went on to extract gravel, stone and sand from Ashley's estate, and Ashley's servants attempted to stop him by unyoking the horses of his wagon (NRO ASL305). Eventually Arnold was bought before the assizes and ordered to stop and to pay two hundred pounds in damages (NRO ASL302).

This dispute highlights one of the key differences between landowners in Hertfordshire and Northamptonshire. In Hertfordshire, the London merchants who owned landed estates did not always take an active interest in farming those estates, or in exploiting local mineral rights, indeed, many designed landscapes and elite residences were not attached to substantial landed estates. In Northamptonshire, in contrast, London merchants who settled in the county attempted to become landed gentlemen, taking a keen interest in the management of their properties. Key to this difference was the active participation of such landowners in their business affairs. In this case, Ashley was a *retired* merchant, who established himself as a paternalistic landowner, and as Lord of the Manor created charities to distribute food and fuel to the poor of the parish, and Arnold may have been trying to assert his position as the only other substantial landowner in the parish (NRO ASL 1226). This process of assimilating into the landed gentry could take a couple of generations, helped by the comparatively low turnover of estates in Northamptonshire compared to Hertfordshire (Stone 1984, 278). This longevity of landholding gave landowners the opportunity to firmly establish themselves within the county elite.

George Arnold died in 1766, leaving the estate to his son Lumley Arnold, who was a barrister rather than a cattle dealer and merchant (Burke 1847, 26; Sheppard 1966, 339-359). Bryant's map shows that the geometric planting depicted by Eyre had largely been removed by the early-nineteenth century (Figure 4.47). An avenue remained focussed on the house, the line of which appears as a faint cropmark on modern aerial photographs, and another avenue led to the house from the entrance lodges on the road from Daventry. The house stood within an area of landscaped parkland, protected by shelter belts and with views funnelled along the contour line of the ridge on which the park sits. Viewshed analysis of the view from the house shows that much of the park could not be seen from the house, although a number of fields outside the boundary of the park were visible (Figure 4.51). This lack of visibility in larger parks, like Boughton, Courteenhall and Overstone discussed above, emphasises the point that the park was a space to be explored and discovered by visitors moving through the landscape. It was Lumley Arnold, and his son George, who must have implemented this reshaping of the landscape in the 'natural' style in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, perhaps taking the opportunity provided by the enclosure of the parish in 1764 to augment the design of the parkland.

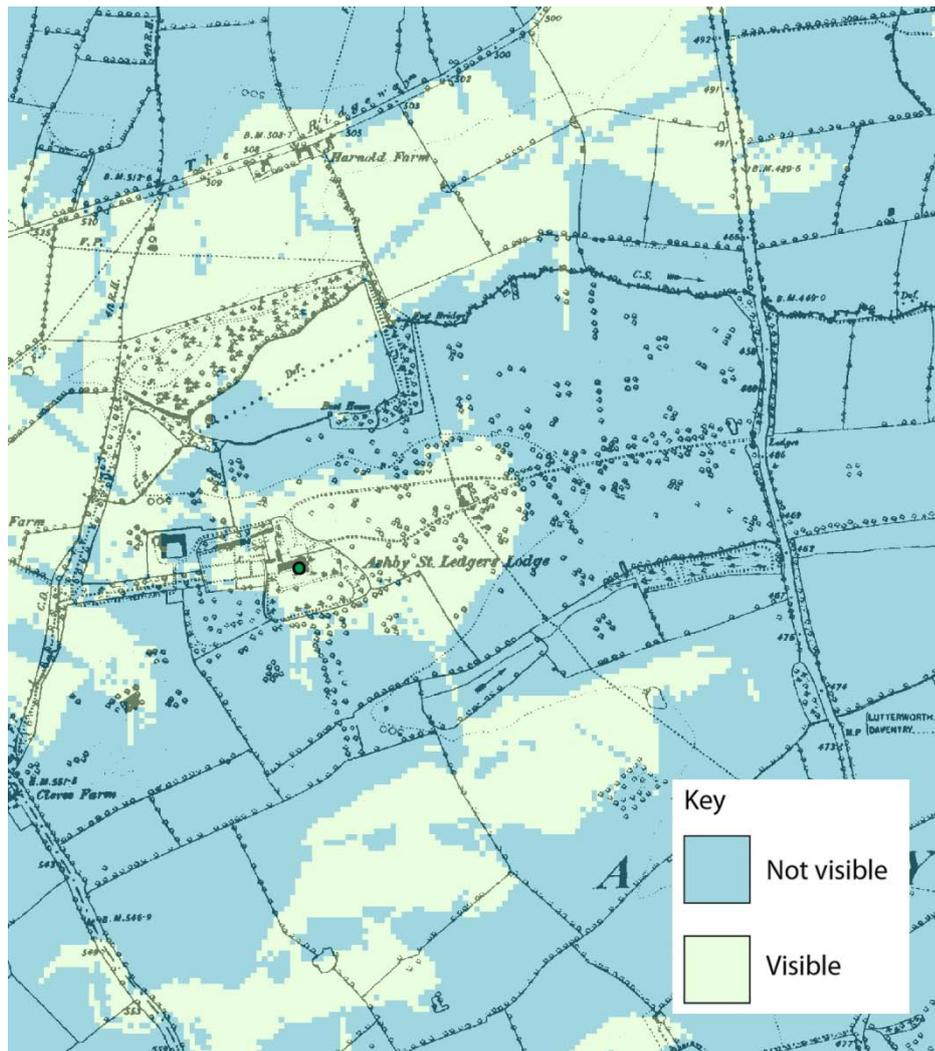


Figure 4.51. Viewshed analysis of the landscape around Ashby Lodge, overlaid with the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map (c1880s). The house is shown with a green dot.

George Arnold II, who died in 1806, represented the third generation of the Arnolds to live at Ashby Lodge. He also owned another designed landscape elsewhere in the country, and like the Earl of Strafford at Boughton, both landscapes met different requirements in their varying locations. Arnold's other property was a small cottage called Mirables on the Isle of Wight, shown in Figure 4.52, which he converted into a picturesque retreat, surrounded by a small lawn running down to the sea, with a shrubbery, flower garden and romantic walks under the cliffs (Cooke 1813, 94-95). This type of small designed landscape is similar to those discussed in Hertfordshire, and again demonstrates that landowners could take different approaches to landscape design depending on their context.

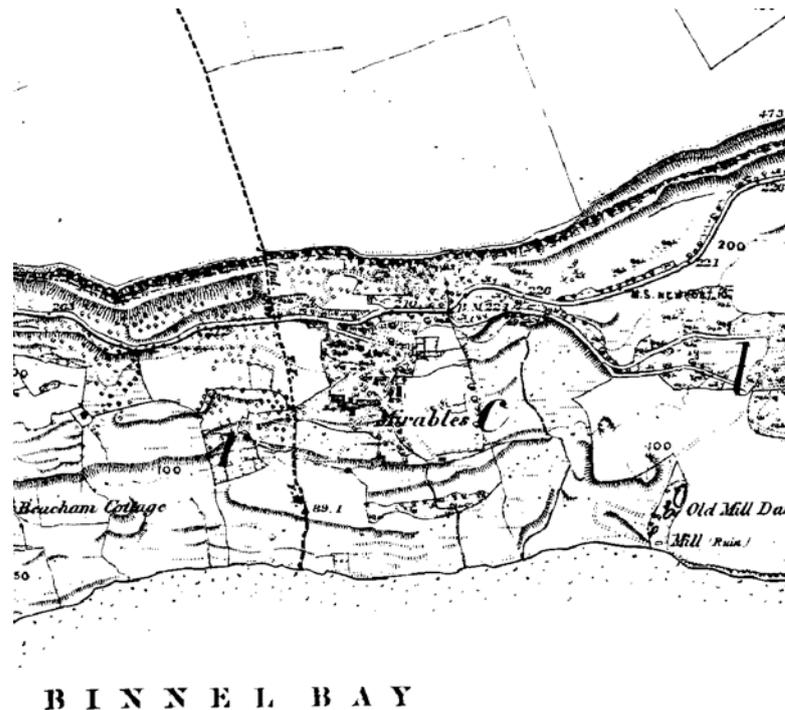


Figure 4.52. Mirables, on the Isle of Wight, on the Ordnance Survey six inch map, c1880s.

The final landscape in this group is Watford Court, where the transitional phase in parkland development observed elsewhere in Northamptonshire is again clearly apparent. Watford's development is shown in a series of estate maps from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but there is little other documentary evidence for the estate, which was owned by the Clerke family from the mid-seventeenth century until the early-nineteenth century. A 1740 estate map, made four years after Edward Clerke inherited the estate, shows the park of almost 125 acres with a number of formal features including several avenues, block plantations, canals and steep grass terraces (NRO Map 3161) (Figure 4.53).

another high point on the far boundary of the park. In the eighteenth century the natural contours of the site were enhanced and exaggerated with avenues of trees leading the eye from the house towards the horizon, and taking in sweeping views across the surrounding landscape towards Ashby St Ledgers. Viewshed analysis of the park shows that the residents of the house enjoyed expansive views over the park and the surrounding fields, apart from a small area in front of the house which is at the bottom of a slope (Figure 4.54).

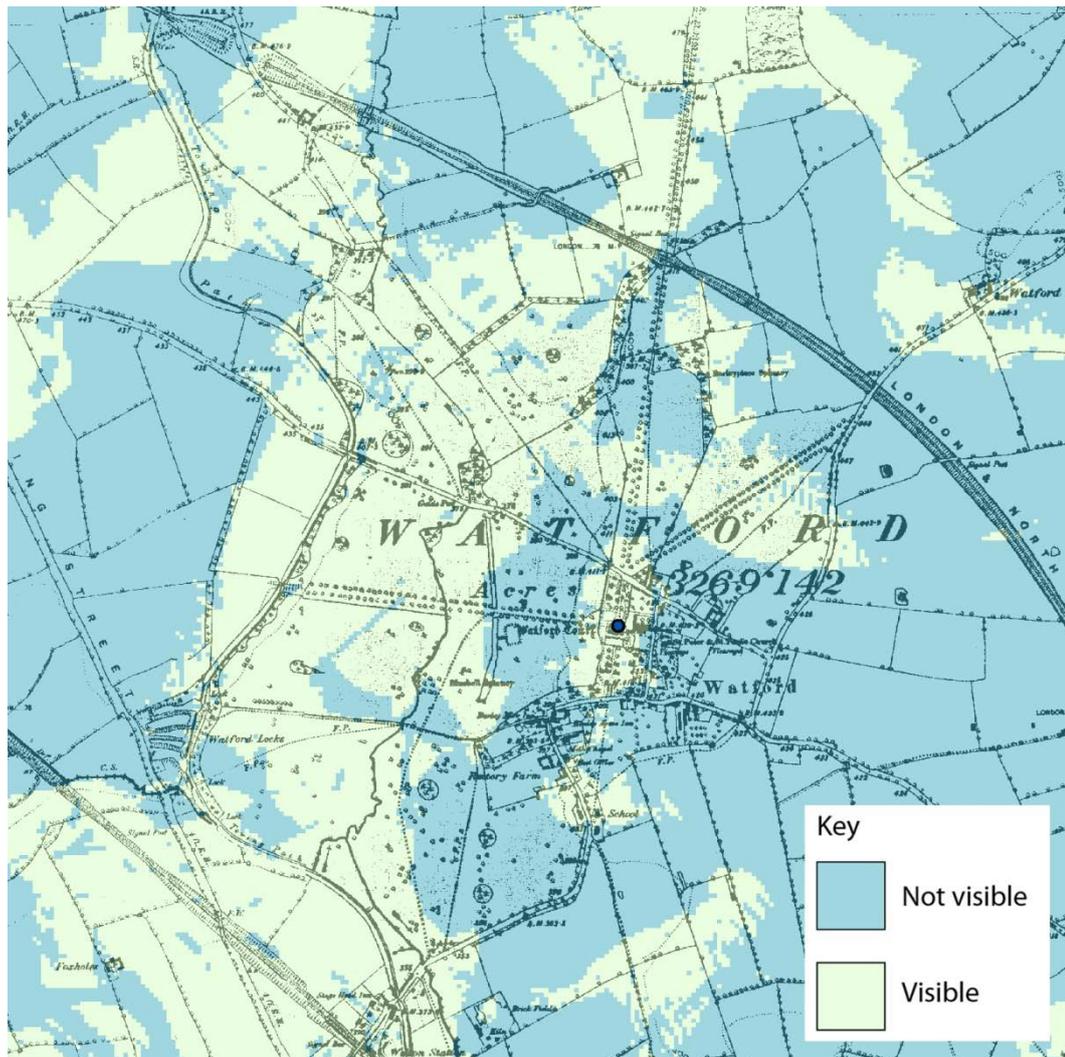


Figure 4.54. Viewshed analysis of the landscape around Watford Court, overlaid with the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map (c1880s). The house is shown with a blue dot.

The parish of Watford was enclosed by parliamentary act in 1771. The act enclosed 1,250 acres, less than half the area of the parish, and was focussed on the fields to the south of the park, along Watling Street (NRO Map 3158b). This suggests that the area to the north of the park had

already been enclosed by the 1770s. The 1740 estate map does not show any details of this area, but Eyre's map shows an avenue on the north side of the Northampton road, forming another vista to the north of the house (Figure 4.46). This part of the park is shown clearly on Bryant's map and an estate map from 1830 (NRO Map 3162) (Figure 4.47 and 4.55).



Figure 4.55. Watford Court shown on an estate map of 1830 (NRO Map 3162).

This area is now covered by ridge and furrow, and in places the nearby field boundaries follow the former furlong boundaries, showing that this area of Watford's open fields was enclosed prior to the parliamentary enclosure of 1771, and probably converted to pasture at the same time; the presences of the avenue certainly suggests that this may have been the case, as at Courteenhall. This pattern of land use is also recorded clearly on the tithe award map (Figure 4.56) (NRO T41). Once again, the Clerkes were making use of the surrounding rural landscape as a backdrop to the formal landscape of the park and gardens, blending and merging the

boundaries of the two; the viewshed analysis (Figure 4.54) shows that this area of the designed landscape was clearly visible from the house.

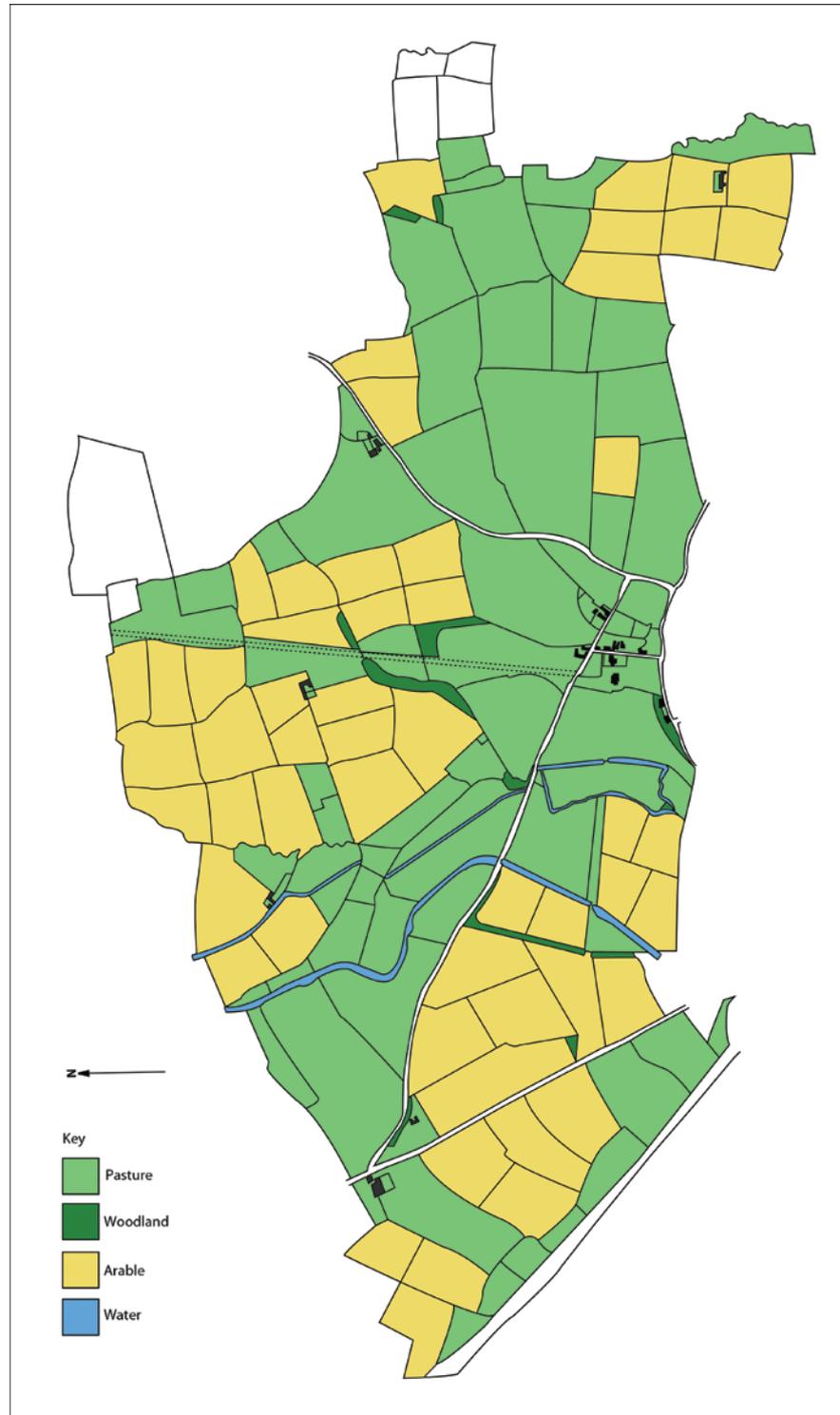


Figure 4.56. Watford Tithe map, 1847, digitally redrawn and coloured according to land use (NRO T41).

In 1813 the landscape was dramatically altered with the construction of the Grand Union Canal through the western half of the park. Landowners were generally opposed to such impositions, but the then owner of Watford, a Mrs Bennet, negotiated a price of £2,000 plus £125 per acre of land, as well as the right to have a private wharf and a pleasure boat on the canal (Stevens 1972, 75). The canal company drew the line at an ornamental bridge, however, and a standard brick bridge was built instead (Figure 4.57) (Stevens 1972, 75). Other landowners in the area, such as William Hanbury at Kelmarsh, fought fiercely to keep the canal well away from their houses, but at Watford it was clearly visible from the house, although at a distance (NRO H(K)224). A slim belt of trees was planted along the side of the canal which would have concealed passing boats and horses to some extent while still allowing distant glimpses of the water, which was perhaps intended to enliven the scene from the house. However, the end result was the effective reduction of the area of the park, cutting off the far western portion that lay on the far side of the new canal.



Figure 4.57. The Grand Union Canal which cuts through the park at Watford Court, photographed October 2009.

By the 1840s the estate was owned by Lord Henley, who expanded the area of parkland considerably during the late-nineteenth century, and created a number of new plantations shown on the Ordnance Survey six inch map (Figure 4.54). At the risk of being repetitive, at Watford it appears again that a large area of early-enclosed pasture fields were being used as a backdrop to the more formal area of parkland close to the house, and that the line between the two could be blurred. The avenue to the north of the house runs across enclosures which appear not to have been part of the park in the middle of the eighteenth century, although the planting of the avenue shows that this area was still intended to be part of the structure of the estate and designed landscape. By the middle of the nineteenth century this area had been appropriated into a more clearly defined area of parkland which was clearly bounded with a number of plantations.

The designed landscapes in Ashby St Ledgers and Watford, therefore, demonstrate considerable similarities with those around Northampton, particularly in terms of their development and relationship with the progress of enclosure. This pattern is also found at other designed landscapes in the west of the county, for example on the estates of Kelmarsh and Cottesbrooke which lie on some of the heaviest clay soils of the Oxpasture and Hanslope associations (Hodge 1984, 209; 285).

The estate at Cottesbrooke was bought in the 1630s by Sir James Langham, a Northamptonshire native originally from Guilsborough, a village to the west of Cottesbrooke. Langham, however, made his fortune in London as a Levant merchant and became Lord Mayor of London and an MP in the City (Stone 1984, 209; Heward and Taylor 1996, 141). He invested his wealth in building up an estate in Northamptonshire, spending the enormous sum of over £50,000 on acquiring new land in the county (Heward and Taylor 1996, 141). The family remained resident in London during the seventeenth century, but Langham's ambition was clearly to establish himself, and his heirs, as a member of the landed gentry in the county, whilst retaining his position in the City. An estate map of 1628 shows the landscape of Cottesbrooke just before Langham purchased it, with the manor house close to the church, a dovecote and various outbuildings along with gardens and orchards (NRO Map 4427) (Figure 4.58). There was no deer park this date, instead the house and the village were surrounded by large enclosed fields; the ridge and furrow that survives within the modern-day park show that these were once part of the open fields but had been enclosed and laid down to pasture by the early-seventeenth century.



Figure 4.58. Cottesbrooke on an estate map of 1628. The area around the house and gardens is marked with A (NRO Map 4427).

John Langham, the 4th Baronet, built the present house on a new site to the north of the church and the site of the old manor house, in a large enclosure shown on the 1628 map (NRO Map 4427). Work began in 1702, possibly to designs by William Smith, the brother of Frances Smith of Warwick who worked at Abington Hall, and nearby Kelmarsh and Lamport (Heward and Taylor 1996, 142). The main central block of the house, with its giant Corinthian pilasters, is linked to the separate stable and kitchen pavilions by curving colonnades; an arrangement that was to become standard in other similar early eighteenth-century houses (Heward and Taylor

1996, 141). The plan of the new house was a formal one, with a central hall and saloon and symmetrical apartments on either side, which was paralleled by the formal grounds that were laid out around the house at the same date (Girouard 1978, 126).

Eyre's map of 1779 is the earliest cartographic evidence of this formal landscape, and shows a number of avenues around the house as well as a square basin of water, but few other details of the grounds (Figure 4.59). A small pond is still extant on the site of this basin, whilst its original outline can be traced by the surviving earthworks. The avenues have since been replanted, and the original line of that leading to the basin survives as an earthwork (RCHME 1981, 54-58). It is worth noting that Eyre does not show Cottesbrooke as a 'park' because it did not contain deer, but the map does show some details of the designed landscape (Figure 4.59).

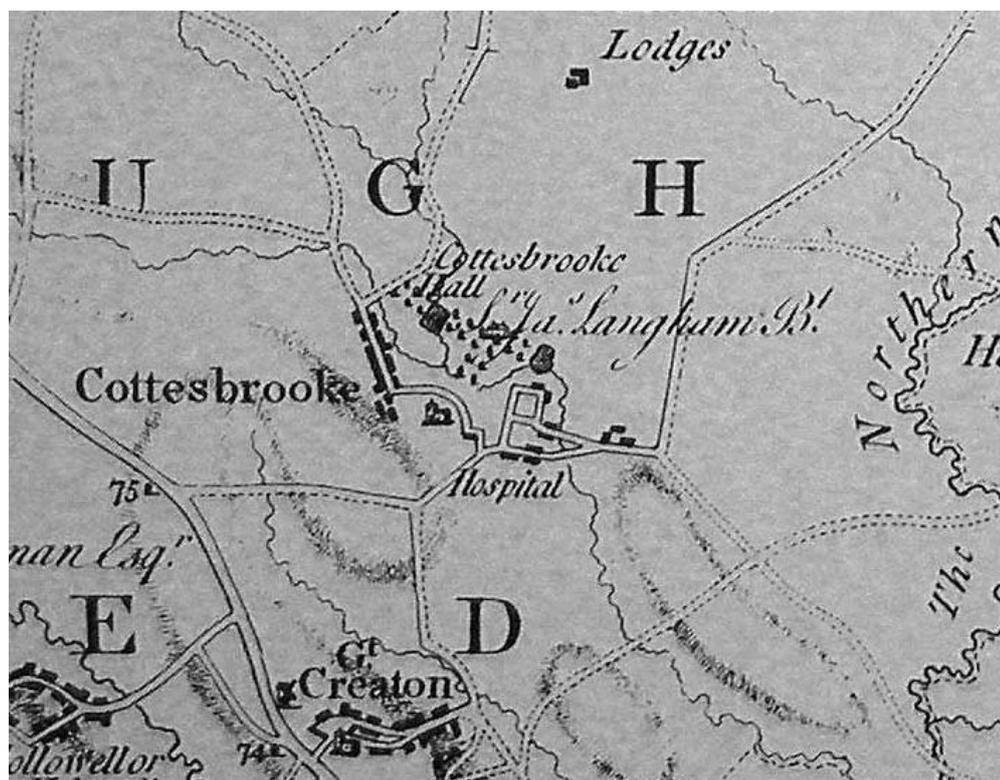


Figure 4.59. Cottesbrooke shown on Eyre's map of Northamptonshire, 1779.

During the 1770s James Langham, the 7th Baronet, removed the formal gardens around the house and created the lake and bridge to the south, as well as building new lodges on the edge of the park (Heward and Taylor 1996, 142). He also commissioned the architect Robert

Mitchell to redecorate and enlarge the house during the 1790s, adding a new range of entertaining rooms along the original garden front (Heward and Taylor 1996, 143). A series of letters between Langham and the estate steward, William Pearce, between 1799 and 1800 show that extensive new plantations were being created on the estate during this period (NNRO L(C)1072 to L(C)1078⁶). These plantations are shown on Bryant's map encircling the house at Cottesbrooke, and their serpentine shape is suggestive of their use for game cover as well as for aesthetic effect (Williamson 1995, 131) (Figure 4.60)

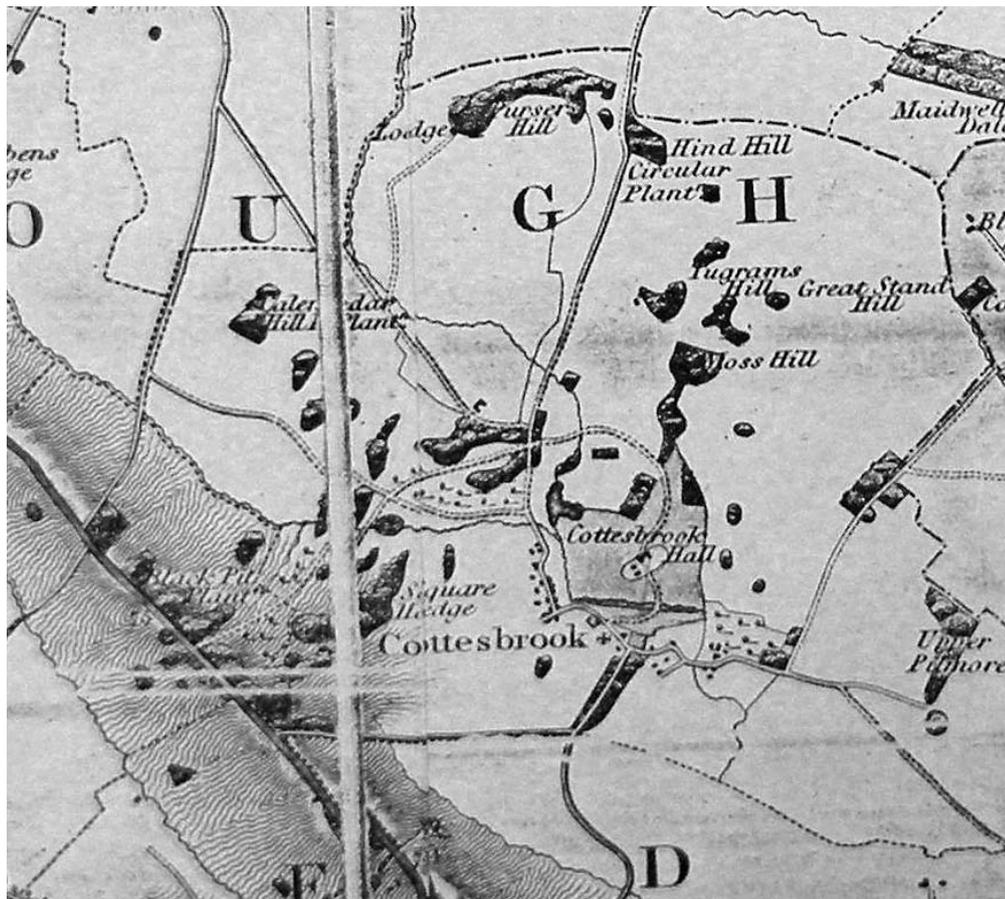


Figure 4.60. Cottesbrooke shown on Bryant's map of Northamptonshire, 1827.

Langham created the new mansion and its grounds within an early-seventeenth century pastoral fieldscape, and the later eighteenth and nineteenth-century parkland is contained within this earlier framework. A viewshed analysis of the landscape around Cottesbrooke (Figure 4.61) shows that large parts of the park was visible from the new mansion, the most extensive views

⁶ The Langham estate archives have recently been removed from Northamptonshire Record Office and returned to the Langham family, and are no longer accessible to the public.

of any elite residences examined thus far in the county. Much of the visible areas had been part of the old pasture closes which surrounded the former manor house. The title map (Figure 4.62) shows the pattern of land use within the parish as being overwhelmingly pasture; a pattern which may have been in existence since the seventeenth century. The lack of documentary and cartographic evidence (and the lack of access to the surviving estate archive) means that the early eighteenth-century landscape around the new mansion at Cottesbrooke is difficult to reconstruct. Eyre's map shows that the designed landscape contained formal features, but the 1628 estate map makes it clear that these features must have been set within a landscape of old enclosures, as their boundaries survived into the nineteenth century. At other sites such enclosures functioned as a park-like backdrop, and were in line with contemporary ideas about the aesthetics of the wider estate and the relationship between productivity and beauty on the estates of the landed gentry.

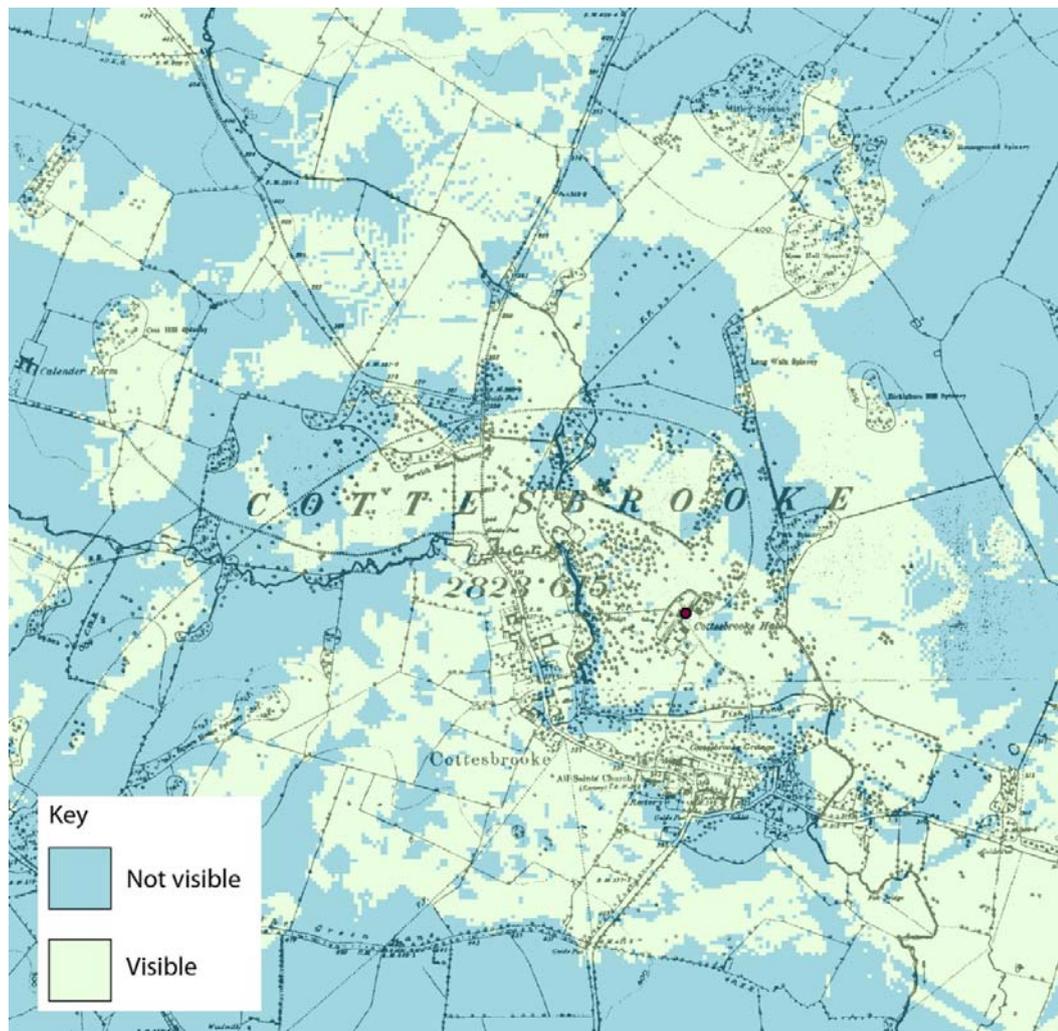


Figure 4.61. Viewshed analysis of the landscape around Cottesbrooke, overlaid with the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map (c1880s). The house is shown with a purple dot.

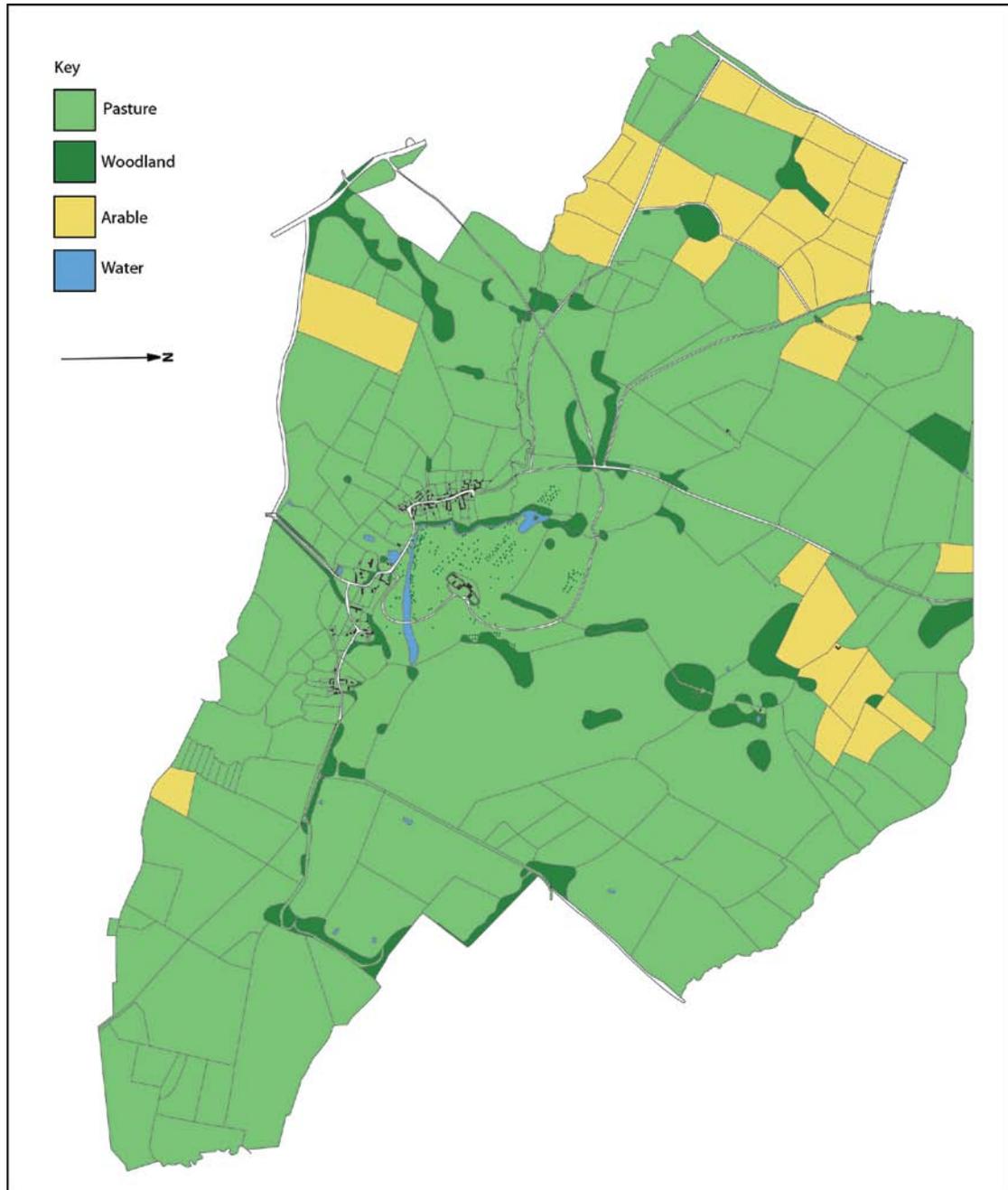


Figure 4.62. Cottesbrooke Tithe Map, 1841, digitally redrawn and coloured to show land use (NRO Map T234).

This pattern of development is also found on the Kelmarsh estate to the north of Cottesbrooke. This was purchased in 1620 by John Hanbury, a merchant tailor from London, who remodelled

the existing manor house into the form shown in an engraving by Mynde, with typically shaped seventeenth-century gables and fenestration, as well as a central porch (NRO H(K)1; Heward and Taylor 1996, 241) (Figure 4.63). The village of Kelmarsh was located between the hall and the church, and the whole was surrounded by the open fields of the parish.

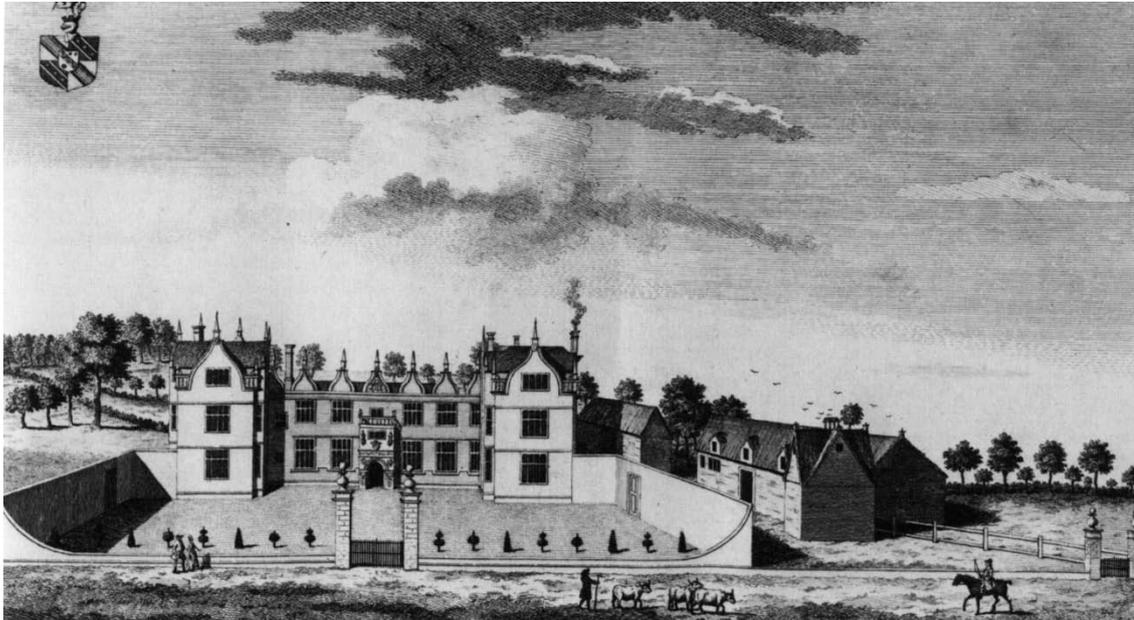


Figure 4.63. An early eighteenth-century engraving of Kelmarsh by Mynde (reproduced from Heward and Taylor 1996, 541).

In 1721 the estate was inherited by William Hanbury, who had spent the early 1720s on a tour of England and Wales with a neighbouring landowner, John Scattergood, visiting country houses like Chatsworth (NRO H(K)183). Hanbury demolished the seventeenth-century house and commissioned the Palladian architect James Gibbs to build a new mansion. The house is similar to its near contemporary at Cottesbrooke, with a central pedimented block linked by curving colonnades to two service pavilions (Heward and Taylor 1996, 240-243). Inside, the house has a central hall and saloon, with symmetrical apartments on either side; another classic example of an early eighteenth-century formal house plan (Girouard 1978, 145). The house was completed by 1732, and the designed landscape was laid out at the same time.

A draft copy of William Hanbury's instructions to a surveyor called Mr Yeoman sheds valuable light on the process and practicalities of creating a new designed landscape in the early-eighteenth century, and is worth quoting at length,

In the first place tomorrow morning go [to] the oak at sun rise with the telescope and take your view and give Ringrove directions how to make the seat there. Get up the tall ash and take a view round, then go to Mount Sion and shew the hedges to be cut to open a view to Desborough steeple, this may be done by cutting one of Mr Rokeby's hedges.

To make a plan of the designed pond to put down the calculations on it –

Calculate how many yards of earth will be required to fill up the old course of the brook and from whence they are to be brought and how many yards will be required to level where the old house stood.

To give directions about the spring above the church only to secure the water and convey it thro' a brick drain (secured by clay), into the reservoir.

To set out the serpentine water in the close by the house.

To give directions about the bridge in the dog yard.

To fix the place for the porter's lodge and set it out (NRO H(K) 84).

This evocative description of the creation of a designed landscape, particularly the image of the surveyor climbing the ash tree to plan the vistas, shows that Hanbury was taking responsibility for its design, and that it was being laid out in a naturalistic fashion with a serpentine lake and views into the surrounding countryside. The document mentions the levelling of the site of the seventeenth-century house, which lay to the south of the present house (Heward and Taylor 1996, 241). It is unusual to find documentary evidence of this careful erasing of an earlier house site from the landscape of the park, although it is a process which is known from field evidence to have taken place at many sites during the eighteenth century, including Cottesbrooke and Courteenhall, where no earthwork traces of the earlier houses survives in either park. At Kelmarsh, and at Courteenhall, and indeed within many other eighteenth-century landscape parks across the country, there are other medieval settlement and agricultural earthworks surviving within the designed landscapes which were not levelled with as much care, probably

because they were at some distance from the house (Brown 1998, 7-12; Williamson 1998, 152). At Kelmarsh there are substantial village earthworks in the south of the park, representing a settlement which was probably abandoned before the rebuilding of the hall in the 1720s (RCHME 1981, 112).

An undated early eighteenth-century estate map of Kelmarsh shows the completed Palladian house standing within a small close (NRO Map 1471) (Figure 4.64). The River Ise had yet to be enlarged into the small serpentine lake created later in the eighteenth century, and there were several small plantations near the house which were subsequently enlarged during the eighteenth century. The map also shows that the wider landscape around Kelmarsh had been largely enclosed by the early-eighteenth century, a process that was almost certainly associated with a conversion from arable to pasture, as in Cottesbrooke and Watford and numerous other parishes in Northamptonshire (NRO Map 1471). There is no evidence of any settlement around the hall and church, further evidence that the village of Kelmarsh had been abandoned before the eighteenth century.

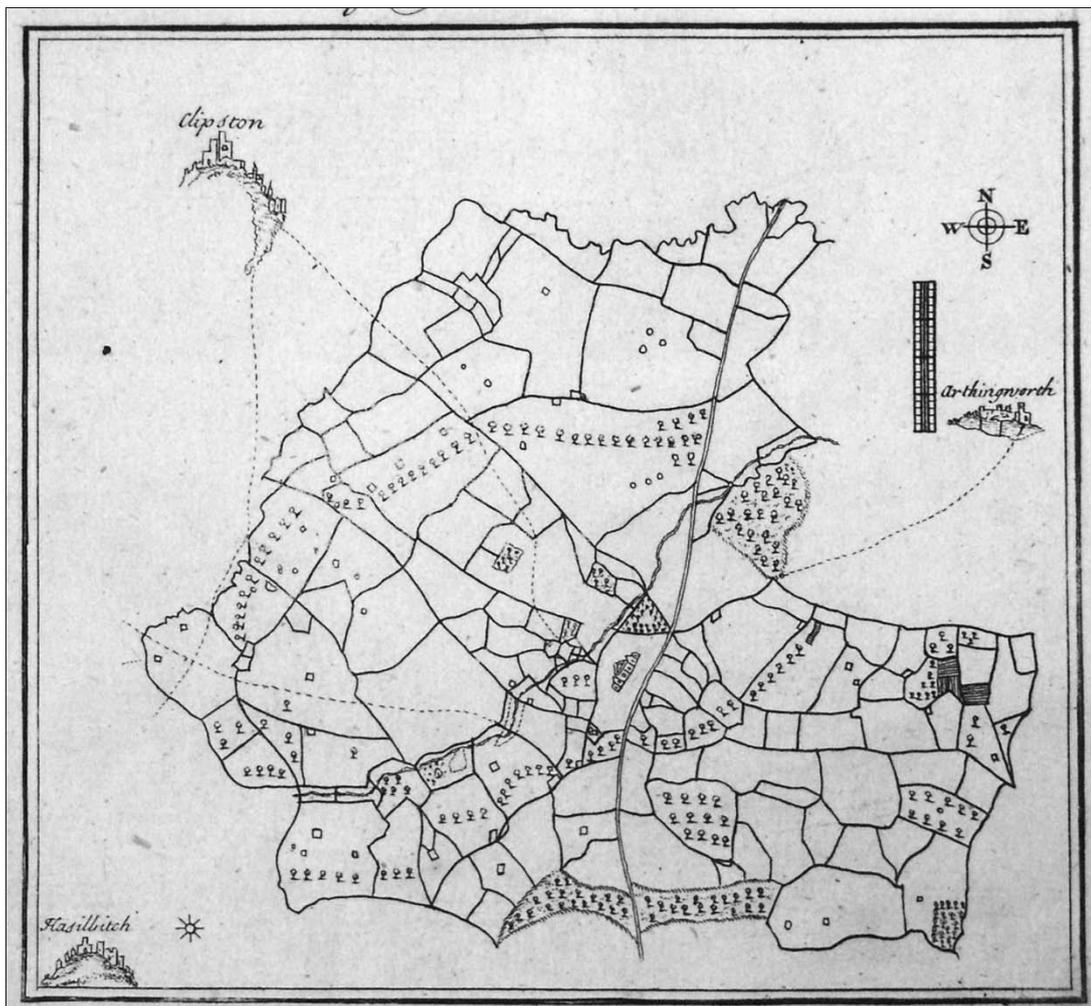


Figure 4.64. An undated early eighteenth-century map of Kelmarsh (NRO Map 1471).

A map of the estate made in 1790 shows the changes that Hanbury made to the landscape around the house, including the serpentine lake had been created by damming the River Ise in front of the house, (Figure 4.65) (NRO Map 4184). Further plantations were established to the north and west, forming the termination of the main view from the house, which sits within the river valley with rising ground on both sides. The tithe map shows the triangular kitchen garden which had been concealed from the house with a shrubbery which extended to form a wooded pleasure ground alongside the lake (Figure 4.66). The planting surrounding the pleasure ground and the kitchen garden also blocked the view of the medieval settlement earthworks from the house. Most of the views from the house therefore, are contained within the area of the park and the immediately surrounding fields, as shown by a viewshed analysis of the landscape around Kelmarsh (Figure 4.67). Again, this viewshed must be treated with some caution, as the raster data does not take account of the height and location of the plantations shown on the Ordnance Survey six inch map. The area of the park itself was not clearly delineated from the surrounding landscape on the 1790 map, and the design made subtle use of plantations to mark out the boundaries of the views from the house. This is perhaps best shown on the tithe map which names the enclosures around the mansion as meadows, none of which have the name 'park' associated with them (Figure 4.66) (NRO Map T27).



Figure 4.65. The grounds around Kelmarsh shown on the tithe map, c1840 (NRO Map T27).

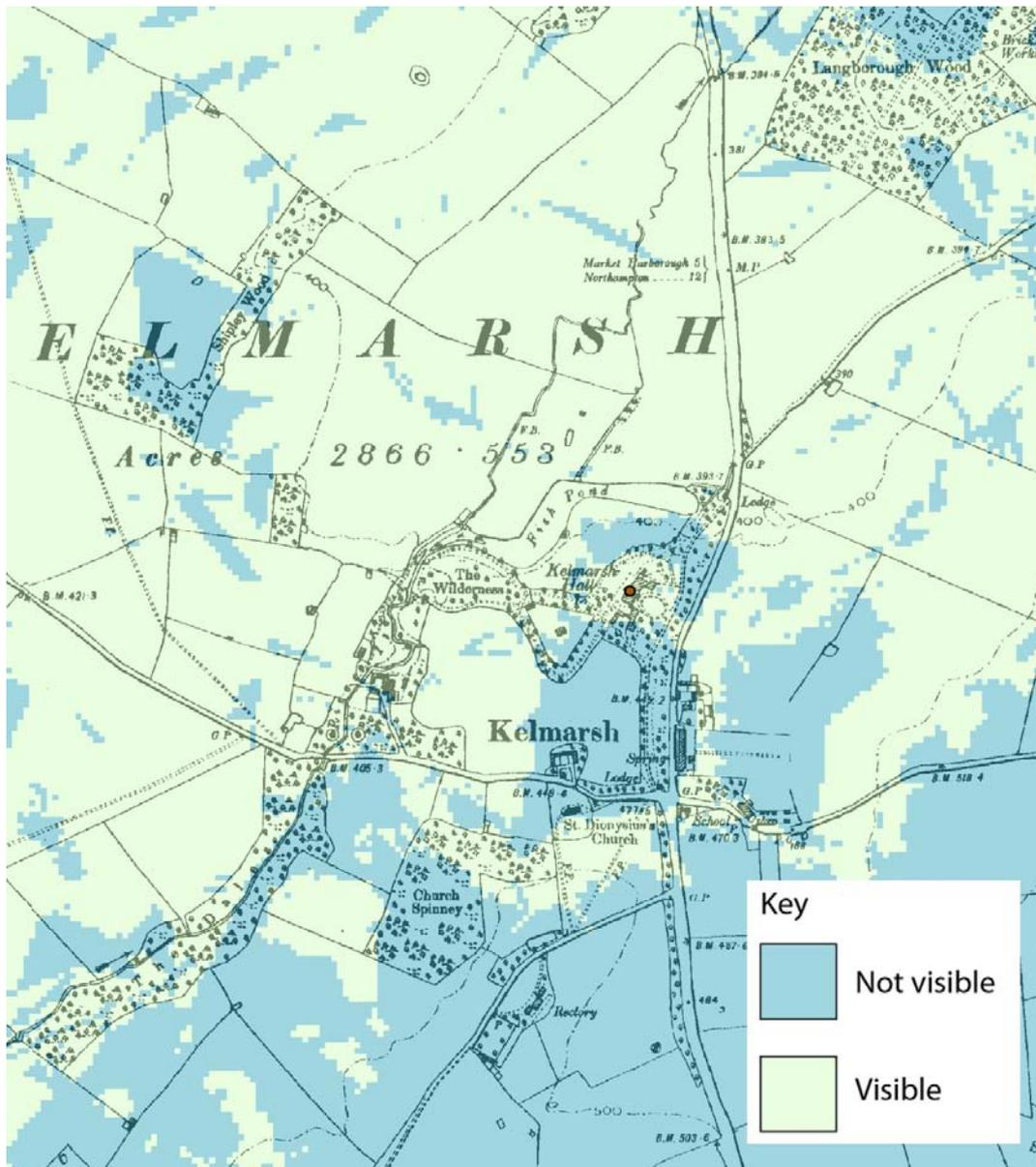


Figure 4.67. Viewshed analysis of the landscape around Kelmarsch, overlaid with the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map (c1880s). The house is shown with a purple dot.

In the 1720s and 1730s Hanbury created the designed landscape around Kelmarsch out of a number of enclosed fields, as at Cottesbrooke, where the wider pastoral fieldscape provided a park-like backdrop to the new house; a pattern which, as this thesis has shown, was repeated on many Northamptonshire estates. The intention at both Kelmarsch and Cottesbrooke seems to have been to merge the ‘designed’ core around the house with the surrounding landscape, a process which continued throughout the eighteenth century. This approach is made more significant at Kelmarsch by the presence in Hanbury’s library of authors such as Stephen Switzer, Gervase Markham, John Evelyn and Robert Castell (author of the influential *Villas of*

the Ancients) as well as classical texts such as Columella and Virgil's *Georgics* (NRO H(K)280). These authors all advocated the close relationship between beauty and utility and between gardening and husbandry. Switzer, in particular, called for the careful blending of boundaries between the practical and the ornamental in the early eighteenth-century designed landscape, a practice which he called 'rural gardening' but also referred to as being a type of *ferme ornée* (Switzer 1718). It is unclear how much direct inspiration Hanbury took from any of these texts, but he was clearly designing and planning the landscape around Kelmarsh in the intellectual framework of eighteenth-century writers on husbandry and gardening, and such ideas were probably also inspiring, and being shared amongst other landowners in eighteenth-century Northamptonshire.

Neither Kelmarsh nor Cottesbrooke share strong visual relationships with their neighbours in the immediate area, but this is simply because this part of provincial Northamptonshire was not densely populated with other designed landscapes. However, these two landscapes demonstrate clearly the process of park-making in eighteenth-century Northamptonshire, and the importance of the visual relationship between the designed 'core' around the house and the wider agricultural landscape. In this instance, as at a number of estates in Northamptonshire, the agricultural landscape was a predominately pastoral one, which was easily blended with the designed landscape of the park or gardens around the house.

4.7 Conclusions

Northamptonshire provides an interesting contrast with Hertfordshire, and the disparity between the character of designed landscapes in these two counties strengthens the argument for taking a much closer and more detailed look at the variety and complexity of eighteenth-century designed landscapes. Many of the important and distinctive features of the parks and gardens examined in the previous chapter, particularly the dominance of small villa landscapes which shared boundaries and views with their neighbours and the high turnover of landowners who were often members of the urban elite, simply do not appear in Northamptonshire. However, this does not make the more provincial county of Northamptonshire less interesting; rather it makes the comparison between the two counties more interesting. Extending broad generalisations about landscape design across the whole country only serves to mask the regional diversity of parks and gardens in this period.

Elite society was more stable in Northamptonshire, and although many London merchants purchased estates in the county it was generally with the intention of becoming established members of the landed elite, rather than having an easily managed rural retreat. This raises the question of individual agency on the part of landowners, particularly those who owned more than one type of designed landscape and whose attitude towards parks and gardens differed in varying contexts; a feature that was acceptable in a London town garden might not be acceptable on a larger estate. The desire of some members of the urban elite to establish themselves as members of the landed gentry suggests that their motives were partly emulative of that social group, yet in another context and location those same landowners might be setting the pace in terms of landscape change. An individual like the Earl of Strafford, who owned four distinct 'types' of designed landscape was both emulating, and being emulated in various contexts, with the style of landscaping, and the associated social network varying at each site. Both factors were strongly influenced by a sites proximity to London, and by the size of the landscape in question.

One of the most important aspects of the study of eighteenth-century designed landscapes in Northamptonshire is their close relationship with post-medieval enclosure. Almost all of the parks and gardens discussed above were surrounded in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries by a landscape of pastoral closes which formed a 'buffer zone' between the house and the wider landscape of the open fields. These fields were often integrated into more defined areas of parkland in the late-eighteenth century. These park-like closes may have functioned as a type of pastoral *ferme ornée*, although the degree to which they were consciously ornamented by their owners is open to question due to the nature of the archaeological, cartographic and documentary evidence. However, these landscapes were very much in the spirit of what was advocated by writers like Stephen Switzer, who promoted the idea of ornamenting the whole estate. Later writers, such as Thomas Whateley, also noted the existence of pastoral *ferme ornées*, as well as those which contained arable (Whately 1770, 170).

So far this thesis has considered two very different counties where the development of designed landscapes was closely linked to social structure, enclosure and proximity to centres of cultural consumption. The next chapter moves on to consider the county of Norfolk, to examine whether

it is closer in character to Hertfordshire or Northamptonshire, or whether designed landscapes in the county have a strong character of their own.

5. Norfolk

5.1 Introduction

The final county to be considered as part of this comparative regional study is Norfolk which, like Northamptonshire, lies at some distance from London. However, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the city of Norwich itself was a thriving and cosmopolitan centre, and there is no reason to suppose that Norfolk was a provincial backwater in terms of its cultural contact with the capital and changing trends in design (Wilson 2004, xiii). As in the previous two chapters, this study will concentrate on small groups and clusters of designed landscapes in order to examine the development of parks and gardens in terms of their relationship both with the surrounding landscape, and with each other. Norwich itself attracted a number of small villa residences during this period, of a type which I have already discussed in Hertfordshire. The owners of such designed landscapes in Norfolk frequently utilised the surrounding rural countryside as part of their design, carefully blending their boundaries with the fields around them.

5.2 Soils and topography

Norfolk is the largest of the counties discussed in this thesis, covering an area of just over 2,000 square miles, compared to Northamptonshire at over 1000 square miles and Hertfordshire at 630 (areas calculated using Arc GIS 9.2). The county encompasses a number of distinctive landscape regions, the most important of which are the light soils of north-west Norfolk, Breckland and the North Norfolk Heaths, the Flegg in east Norfolk, and the boulder clay plateau that lies across the south of the county (shown in Map 7). This band of clay runs through central Norfolk and Suffolk, and is mainly comprised of soils belonging to the Burlingham and Beccles associations (Soil Survey 1983). The Beccles association is a poorly draining, seasonally waterlogged clay found principally on the interfluvies between river valleys, the slopes of which are covered with Burlingham 1 and 3, lighter clay soils which are slightly more freely draining than Beccles (Hodge 1984, 117-122; 132-7). This part of Norfolk was mainly characterised by smaller estates, early piecemeal enclosure of open fields, common-edge settlement and a large number of commons, particularly long, thin strips of common which

are clearly shown on Faden's map of the county, published in 1797 (Williamson 2003, 96). Much of the east of the county, around the Norfolk Broads in an area known as the Flegg, is covered with loamy soils of the Wick association (Williamson 2003, 63). These are among some of the most fertile and easily worked in the east of England, resulting in higher land values and consequently a large number of small to medium sized estates (Hodge 1984, 346-51; Williamson 2002, 84).

The soils of Breckland, north-west Norfolk and the North Norfolk Heaths are by contrast light and acidic. In north-west Norfolk, in the area around Hunstanton and Holkham, known historically as the 'Good Sands', the loamy, sandy soils of the Newmarket association are easy to work but prone to leaching (Hodge 1984, 265-9). These soils are interspersed with those of the Barrow and Newport associations, which are more acidic and infertile (Hodge 1984, 107-11; 277-9). In Breckland the quality of the soil is particularly poor, dominated by the soils of the Methwold and Worlington associations which are prone to leaching, wind erosion and drought (Soil Survey 1983; Gregory 2008, 63). The North Norfolk Heaths occupy two distinct areas of sandy soil, one to the north of Norwich and the other along the coast from Holt to Cromer. These areas encompass a range of soils but are dominated by the Newport 3 and 4 associations which, like the Breckland soils, are difficult and uneconomic to cultivate (Barnes and Williamson 2006, 46). During the medieval period and the early post-medieval period these areas of Norfolk were characterised by large areas of open heathland and sheep walks (Williamson 2002, 56). They were also subject to changing trends in landholding patterns, which saw large areas of land concentrated into compact blocks, and in fewer hands. This process was aided by the low land values in these areas due to the poor soil, which allowed some landowners to create estates that spanned several parishes by the nineteenth century (Gregory 2008, 136). The formation of large, powerful estates in these areas was to have profound implications for the development of the landscape in the post-medieval period, particularly in terms of agricultural improvement (Gregory 2008, 72).

5.3 The development of designed landscapes in Norfolk

The designed landscapes of Norfolk have been intensively studied, not least by historians from the University of East Anglia (Taigel and Williamson 1990; 1991; Williamson, 1995; 1998).

The sheer size of the county means that it has a far higher number, and variety, of designed landscapes than the other two counties which have been examined thus far.

In terms of garden design, walled enclosures remained an important feature of many Norfolk designed landscapes owned by all levels of elite society until well into the eighteenth century. Many of these gardens were created in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and there are some impressive survivals of decorative brickwork from this period in the county, including the gardens at Besthorpe and Kirby Cane (Taigel and Williamson 1991, 6). During the early-eighteenth century the type and size of gardens owned by the landed elite and the local gentry diverged to some extent. At Houghton, Raynham, Holkham, Melton Constable and Wolterton, amongst others, large late-geometric gardens were established at the cutting edge of garden design, represented by the illustrations in publications like Kip and Knyff's *Britannia Illustrata* (1707). Smaller gentry landowners meanwhile, had much smaller designed landscapes, although they contained many elements that echoed larger and more fashionable gardens, such as the classical summerhouse designed by Thomas Ivory at Thrigby Hall, or the geometric groves at Burnham Overy (Taigel and Williamson 1991, 14).

Later in the eighteenth century the grounds of the elite and the gentry began to converge on the 'natural' style, although those belonging to the local gentry remained relatively small in scale (Williamson 1998, 93-95). The possession of an elite residence surrounded by a 'sylvan' landscape was important at many levels of society, even if those grounds were not large enough to be described as a 'park'. During the eighteenth century the landscapes of the county elite at sites such as Kimberley, Gunton, Melton Constable and Holkham grew in size, and developed into large parks of the type associated with Brown and other contemporary designers (Williamson 1998, 99). During the same period there was also an overall increase in the number of designed landscapes in the county, with many new smaller parks and park-like landscapes.

Eighteenth-century Norfolk, therefore, contained a wide variety of designed landscapes which were adapted to the practical needs and social position of their owners. Particularly important, especially within the smaller grounds of the gentry, seems to have been the relationship between beauty and utility, and the productive walled gardens and orchards, which survived well into the eighteenth century in some cases, epitomised this link.

5.4 The distribution of designed landscapes in Norfolk

As in Hertfordshire and Northamptonshire, the distribution of designed landscapes in Norfolk can be analysed using late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century printed county maps. By the late-eighteenth century Norfolk had a high density of parks and gardens, with a notable concentration of small sites around Norwich, and a number of very large estates, such as Holkham and Houghton in the north-west of the county. The number of designed landscapes continued to increase into the nineteenth century, although, as discussed below, some of this apparent increase may be partly due to the different ways in which surveyors identified parkland in this period as well as a real rise in numbers. The same methodology has been used here as in previous chapters, sites have been classed according to their size in acres, and only those covering an area of more than ten acres have been included.

5.4.1 Faden's map of Norfolk, 1797

In 1797 William Faden published a county map of Norfolk at a scale of one inch to the mile, surveyed by Thomas Milne and Thomas Donald, which provides a useful comparison with Dury and Andrews' map of Hertfordshire and Eyre's map of Northamptonshire. Milne and Donald completed their survey in 1794, so the map gives an accurate snapshot of the number and types of designed landscapes in the early 1790s, thus a slightly later phase of development than that discussed above in Hertfordshire (1766) and Northamptonshire (1779) (Barringer 1989, 1).

In terms of its level of detail Faden's map sits somewhere between the contemporary maps for the other two counties studied here; it is more detailed than Eyre's map, although not as quite as rich in content as Dury and Andrews'. Similarly, it is reasonably accurate in terms of its depiction of designed landscapes, although there are some omissions, such as the grounds around Barnham Broom Hall, Shelton Hall and Fincham Hall, all of which were in existence when the map was surveyed (Macnair and Williamson forthcoming). The map is most accurate in recording the layout of landscape parks associated with large landed estates; a detail that is perhaps to be expected given that the owners of such houses were highly likely to have been subscribers to the map as well as important members of county society, and also that larger

parks are much easier to depict in detail at this scale than smaller ones. At Holkham, therefore, Milne and Donald plotted the clumps and plantations which had been created by 1793/4 accurately, which has been corroborated by comparison with the head gardener, John Sandys, planting book (Williamson 1998, 245-7). Smaller grounds are shown with much less detail and, as with Dury and Andrews map of Hertfordshire, in a fairly schematic fashion.

As with the other examples of county maps discussed for Hertfordshire and Northamptonshire above, Faden's map of Norfolk can be problematic when it comes to the delineation of parkland. In common with most contemporary county maps, parks are shown with grey shading, as at Beeston Hall to the north of Norwich, shown in Figure 5.1. Other designed landscapes recorded on the map are not shown in this manner, including the grounds around West Wretham Hall (Figure 5.1), which is clearly shown on the map with plantations and a serpentine lake but which was not shaded to distinguish it as a park. In addition, as on Eyre's map of Northamptonshire, a significant proportion of sites (184 in total) are shown with a house symbol and the owner's name, as at Talcolneston Hall (Figure 5.1).



Figure 5.1. Beeston Hall, West Wretham Hall and Talcolneston Hall shown on Faden's map of Norfolk, 1797.

Map 8 shows the distribution of the 383 designed landscapes identified on Faden's map. The pattern of sites can be strongly linked to soil type, for example, there are only two elite residences in the Fens where much of the landscape remained unenclosed, and in places undrained until the nineteenth century, and where the threat of malaria still loomed large (Williamson 2002, 103). Other marginal landscapes proved more attractive to landowners though, and there were a number of very large parks on the poorest light soils in the county;

Houghton and Holkham in the north-west, on the so-called Good Sands, and West Tofts and Buckenham Tofts in Breckland, as well as a number of other medium-sized parks in these areas, such as Hillington and Hunstanton. Many of these residences were also on old sites, settled perhaps in the eleventh or twelfth century, and with a long history of high-status occupation (Williamson 1993).

There are relatively few large designed landscapes on the heavy soils of the boulder clay plateau that runs through central and south Norfolk (the Beccles and Ratsborough associations). This was an area of dispersed settlement and large commons and greens, and was characterised by pastoral husbandry from the sixteenth into the eighteenth century (Williamson 2003, 92-3). As already noted, the landholding pattern in this area of Norfolk was one based on small owner-occupiers, and did not offer landowners the opportunity to establish large blocks of consolidated holdings in order to create extensive estates, as was the case on areas of lighter, poorer soil in north and west Norfolk (Gregory 2008, 73). Nor did this area prove attractive to the owners of small, villa-type residences. A significant proportion of small to medium sized designed landscapes were located on the loamy, fertile soils of north-east Norfolk (the fertile soils of the Wick association) where a number of sites were found along the valleys of the Rivers Bure, Thurne and the Ant.

The most obvious point to make about the distribution of designed landscapes in late eighteenth-century Norfolk, however, is that there was a dense clustering of sites around Norwich (Figure 5.2). Most of those near Norwich were small and covered an area of less than fifty acres, such as Trowse Newton Hall and a number of unnamed gardens shown in Catton and Lakenham. There was also a fairly even scatter of small designed landscapes over the county as a whole, with a particular concentration along the Broadland river valleys and around the marshes to the east of Norwich. When analysed by size, 40 per cent of those sites shown in detail on Faden's map covered an area of less than 50 acres, compared to 47 per cent in Hertfordshire (most of those shown on Eyre's map of Northamptonshire cannot be analysed by size) (Table 5.1). Although the proliferation of villa residences around Norwich has been noted, only a few have been studied in any depth. These include Catton and Bracondale, which have aroused more interest than other sites because of their connection with Humphry Repton (Daniels 1999, 79-80; Williamson 2004b).

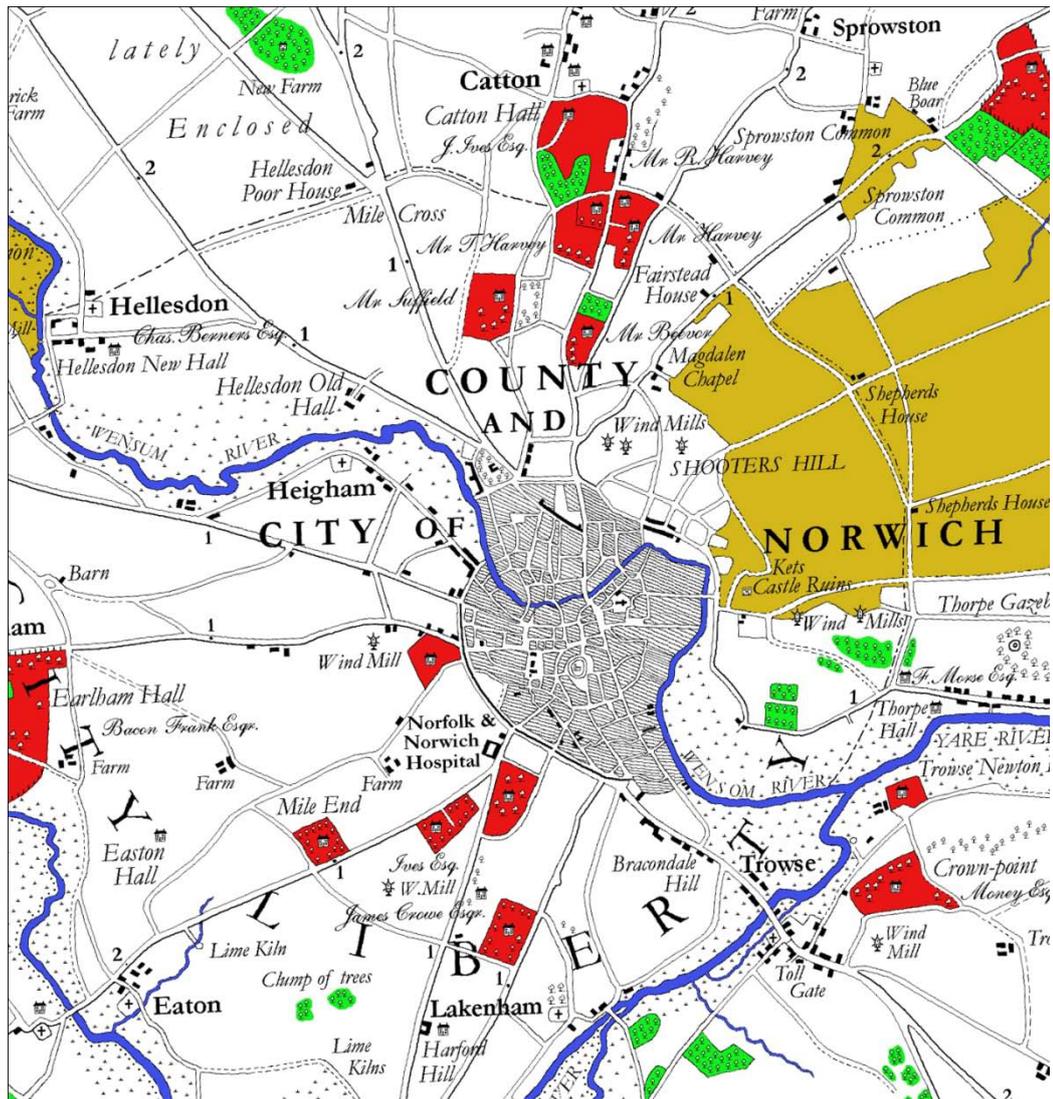


Figure 5.2. Designed landscapes around Norwich on Faden’s map of Norfolk, 1797 (reproduced from a digital tracing by Andrew Macnair). Some sites are shaded in red, and others are shown with a house symbol.

Acreage	Number of Designed Landscapes
House symbol only	185
10 to 50 acres	81
51 to 100 acres	42
101 to 250 acres	42
251 to 500 acres	24
501 to 750 acres	3
More than 751 acres	6

Table 5.1. Acreages of designed landscapes shown on Faden’s map of 1797.

During the eighteenth century Norwich was an important regional centre, not just in Norfolk, but in East Anglia as a whole. As well as being the centre of legal and ecclesiastical administration in the region, it was also the region’s cultural centre (Wilson 2004, xxiv). In 1701 the Norwich Post was the first provincial newspaper to be established outside of the capital, and the city also boasted a number of learned societies, booksellers, coffee shops, theatres and pleasure gardens, including one called Vauxhall Gardens (Dain 2004, 194-200). Within the city walls there were a number of large townhouses and gardens, and in the 1740s and 1750s the Chapelfield estate was developed as an area for polite entertainment and leisure, with avenues of trees around Chapelfield Gardens and a new bowling green. Close to this polite open space the newly remodelled Assembly Rooms were reopened in 1755, and the Theatre Royal, designed by the architect Thomas Ivory, opened in 1757 with an audience capacity of one thousand (Dain 2004, 216). The local brewer and diarist Jehosephat Postle attended the reopening of the Assembly Rooms and was impressed by the ‘brilliance’ of the company which numbered between six and seven hundred (NNRO MC 2375/1, 921X8).

As well as these developments within the city walls, an increasing number of wealthy citizens were building villas outside Norwich, and creating small designed landscapes to go with them. Jeremiah Ives, a prominent silk merchant and mayor, owned Catton Hall which enjoyed panoramic prospects of the city, including the Cathedral spire (Daniels 1999, 80). In 1788 Ives commissioned Repton to landscape the grounds at Catton, although it is clear that there were

already ornamental grounds around the house before that date (Daniels, 1999, 80; Williamson 2004b). Faden also shows a number of other small villa-type landscapes clustered close to Catton, belonging to Mr Harvey, Mr Suffield and Mr Beevor. To the south of the city, in Lakenham and Eaton, there were more small suburban residences and their grounds. Most of these landscapes, with the exception of Catton, were later subsumed underneath nineteenth and twentieth-century suburban housing. Beyond this inner ring of small sites immediately outside the city walls Faden shows another group of slightly larger parks. These included Bixley Hall, Kirby Bedon and Costessey, which covered areas of between one and two hundred acres, as well as a number of other sites of about one hundred acres or less, including Keswick Hall, Rackheath Hall and Crown Point House in Trowse.

5.4.2 Bryant's map of Norfolk, 1826

In 1826 a new county map of Norfolk was published by Andrew Bryant, which provides both a useful comparison with Faden's 1797 map and with Bryant's maps for Hertfordshire and Northamptonshire. The map contains a similar level of detail to Faden's in terms of the depiction of designed landscapes, and also follows the convention of shading areas of parkland in grey. Map 9 shows the distribution of the 420 designed landscapes identified on Bryant's map; revealing an increase of 37 gentlemen's residences in the county since Faden's map was surveyed in the 1790s.

Map 9 shows that the basic pattern of distribution remained similar to that depicted on Faden. In north-west Norfolk, the number of designed landscapes along the marshes and beaches along the coast had grown, with small clusters around Sandringham and Hillington. On the edge of the Fens a number of small residences and their grounds are shown around the town of Downham Market, in addition to larger parks at Ryston and Stow Bardolph. Along the Waveney valley, on the county boundary with Suffolk, Bryant records several small residences, including those around the market town of Diss. In particular, Bryant shows clearly how the dense packing of small designed landscapes around Norwich had intensified during the early-nineteenth century. Focal points of this increase included the fringes of the newly enclosed Mousehold Heath to the east of the city, the area around the sizeable park at Costessey to the west and in the Lakenham area to the south of the city where there were several new gardens

covering an area of less than twenty acres around houses such as ‘Fir Cottage’, ‘Gothic Cottage’ and ‘The Grove’ (Figure 5.3).

Acreage	Number of Designed Landscapes
10 to 50 acres	276
51 to 100 acres	60
101 to 250 acres	59
251 to 500 acres	16
501 to 750 acres	4
More than 751 acres	5

Table 5.2. Acreages of designed landscape shown on Bryant’s map of 1826.

By the end of the 1820s therefore, 65 per cent of the designed landscapes in Norfolk covered an area of less than fifty acres, compared to 55 per cent in Hertfordshire and 57 per cent in Northamptonshire. This increase is partly due to the growth of small villas around Norwich and other towns in Norfolk. However, some of this increase can also be explained by the types of designed landscapes included on Bryant’s map. Whilst undoubtedly there were a number of new, small sites created in Norfolk in the early-nineteenth century, many of those shown on Map 9 surround rectories and parsonages, as well as a number of large farms; Hall Farm in Appleton, for example, is shown with grounds of around 15 acres. Some of these landscapes may have been in existence when Faden’s map was surveyed, but were not included as gentlemen’s residences on that map. At East Tuddenham the vicarage was rebuilt in the early-nineteenth century and was modelled on classical proportions (English Heritage LBS 220716). Bryant shows the new house looking over a small area of parkland, surrounded by small plantations and with the River Tud running through the grounds. At Yaxham, the rectory was rebuilt in Italianate style between 1820 and 1822 by the architect Robert Lugar (English Heritage LBS 220893). Lugar was a reasonably well-known in the early-nineteenth century, and published extensively on the subject villa-style architecture, his works including *Architectural Sketches for Cottages, Rural Dwellings, and Villas* (1805) and *Villa Architecture* (1828) (Leach 2004). Bryant shows the grounds immediately around the rebuilt rectory, with a belt plantation

next to the road; a typical arrangement for a villa landscape, as discussed above in Hertfordshire (Figure 5.4).

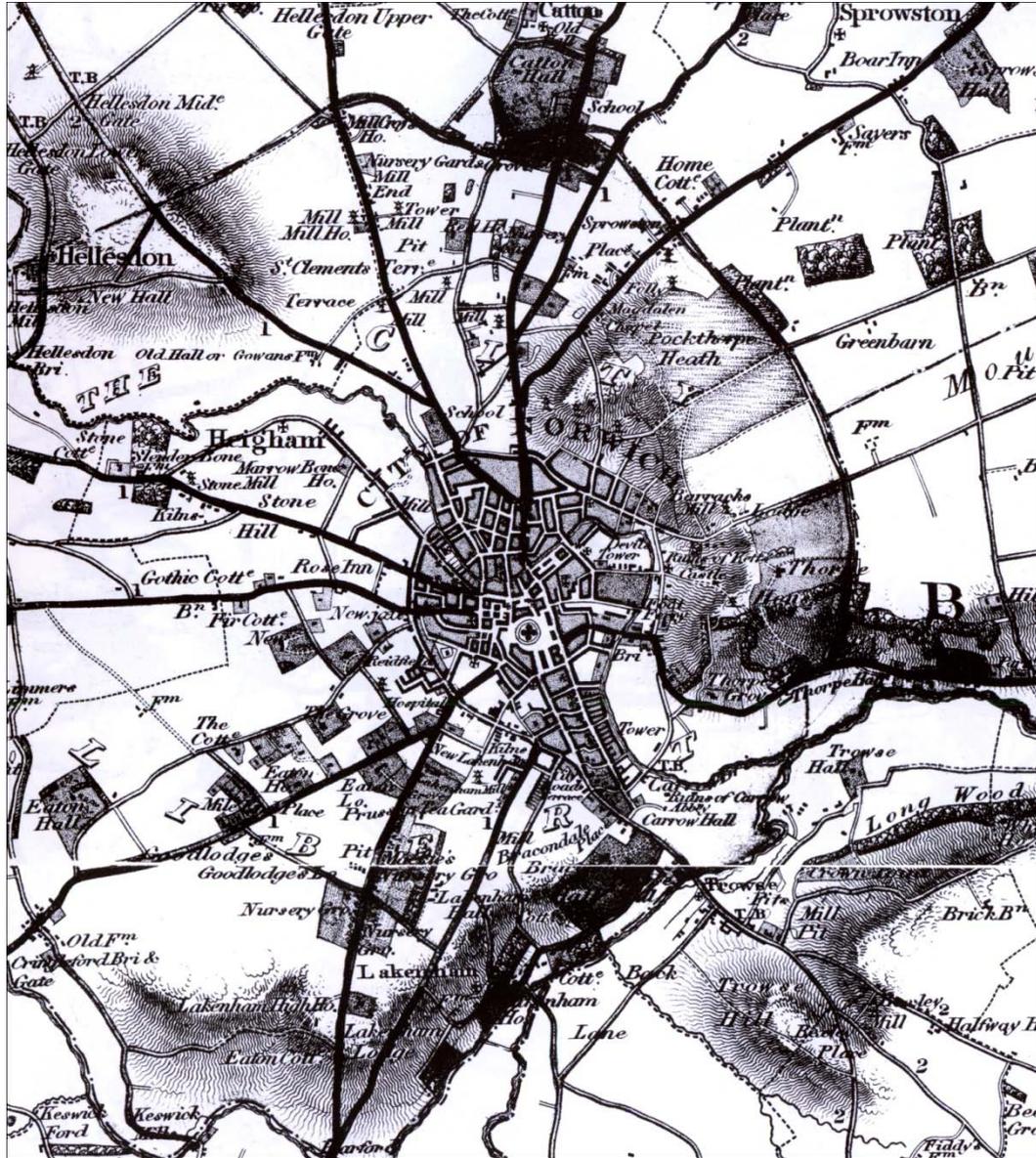


Figure 5.3. Small designed landscapes around Norwich shown on Bryant's map of 1826.



Figure 5.4. The small designed landscape around Yaxham parsonage shown on Bryant's map of Norfolk, 1826.

The rebuilding of many parsonages, rectories and vicarages in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries was prompted by new legislation (the Clergy Residences' Repair Act passed in 1779) which enabled the clergy to take out cheap mortgages in order to rebuild their homes to a higher standard of comfort. By the middle of the nineteenth century some 1,500 loans had been taken out for this purpose, and many parsonages were rebuilt in the decades either side of 1800, a building movement which was probably accompanied by the renewal or creation of the gardens and grounds (Brittain-Caitlin 2008). This is also apparent in Northamptonshire, where, as noted above, Bryant's map of that county similarly depicts a number of parsonages and rectories.

By studying the distribution of designed landscapes in the county it becomes clear that in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries smaller sites were the dominant form in Norfolk, whereas the very largest parks like Holkham and Houghton were atypical. Some of these small grounds surrounded villa residences around Norwich, owned by members of the urban elite, and similar in character to those discussed in Hertfordshire. These were often at the cutting edge of trends in garden design, compared to many of the larger sites at a greater distance from Norwich owned by members of the rural gentry, where walled gardens and other geometric features survived late into the eighteenth century (Williamson 1998, 95). Other smaller and medium-sized sites were associated with manor houses, parsonages and large farms. This

chapter will move on to consider two groups of designed landscapes in different areas of the county; one close to Norwich, around Mousehold Heath, and another group along the valley of the River Waveney.

5.5 Designed landscapes around Mousehold Heath

Mousehold Heath was an extensive area of heathland on the outskirts of Norwich, encompassing the eight parishes of Sprowston, Rackheath, Great and Little Plumstead, Thorpe, Salhouse, Hemblington and Blofield. The heath dominated the plateau above the River Yare from the medieval period until the last decades of the eighteenth century, when it was completely dismembered by parliamentary enclosure in the years around 1800. A comparison between Faden's map of 1797 and Bryant's map of 1826 demonstrates how much of the open heathland was converted to arable cultivation during this period (Figure 5.5). There were also notable concurrent changes in the designed landscapes on the edge of the heath, including the expansion of parks like Rackheath, and the creation of new villa-type landscapes at Little Plumstead and Sprowston. As in Northamptonshire, the development of the designed landscapes associated with Mousehold Heath is strongly linked to the process of parliamentary enclosure.

Heaths and other forms of common land were the subject of much aesthetic and social hand-wringing during the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, and many agricultural writers such as Arthur Young and William Cobbett, wrote about their unattractive appearance. In 1823 Cobbett rode across a heath in Horsham, Sussex, and wrote that,

It was a bare heath, with here and there, in the better parts of it, some scrubby birch. It has been, in part, planted with fir-trees, which are as ugly as the heath was; and, in short, it is a most villainous tract (Cobbett 1885, vol.1, 215).

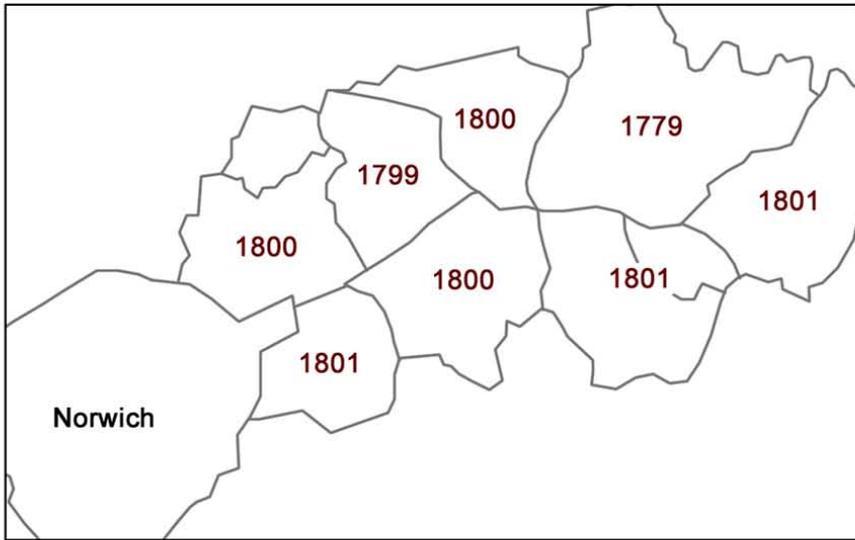
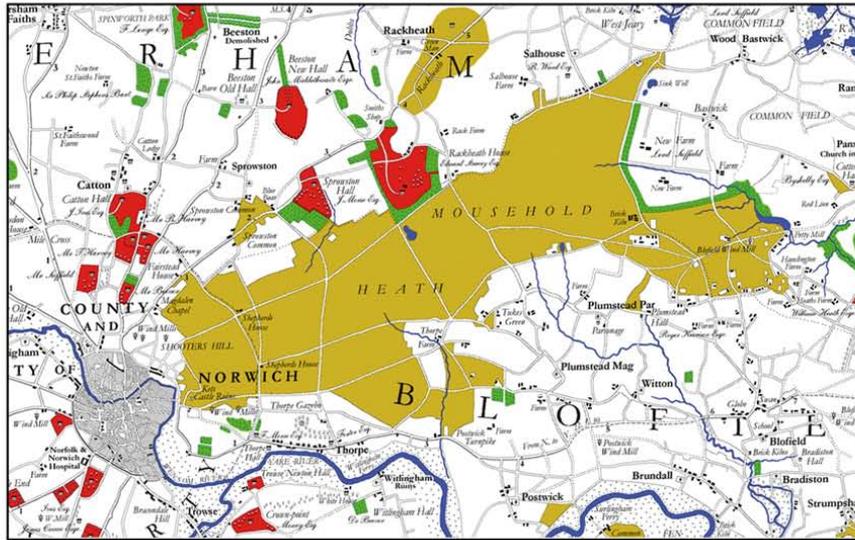


Figure 5.5. Mousehold Heath on Faden's map (1797) and on Bryant's map (1826), and the dates of the enclosure acts on the heath.

Improving agriculturalists during this period considered heathland to be unattractive due to their supposedly unproductive nature and outmoded methods of management (Gregory 2008, 35-40). Many heaths, therefore, were subjected to schemes of improvement and reclamation during the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. In Norfolk itself areas of Breckland and the North Norfolk Heaths were improved during this period by a combination of modern farming methods and enclosure, which transformed the appearance of the landscape and allowed the expansion of designed landscapes as well as the establishment of a significant number of new plantations (Gregory 2008).

Mousehold Heath was also the subject of a targeted campaign of agricultural improvement and reclamation in the years around 1800, a campaign that can be closely associated with the development of a number of estates that lay around its edges. Some of these, such as those in Thorpe, Sprowston and Rackheath, were in existence before the enclosure of the heath. Other smaller residences were created after parliamentary enclosure on the fringes of the former heath.

Prior to enclosure the heath had been organised into several large foldcourses, including Lathes Foldcourse at the eastern end closest to the city, Plumstead Foldcourse, which covered the parishes of Great and Little Plumstead, and Sprowston Foldcourse (NNRO CHC 11913; Rackham 1986, 301). A late sixteenth century-map of the heath and other seventeenth and early eighteenth-century maps show some development along the edge of the heath, especially to the west where the land immediately adjacent to the city and the River Wensum had already been enclosed by 1718 (Kirkpatrick 1889, 199; NNRO CHC 11913). Aside from this fringe development, the rest of the heath was depicted as an empty space, criss-crossed with roads and rights of way, shown in Figure 5.6 (NNRO CHC 11913). John Crome painted and sketched the heath repeatedly in the 1810s, and his works show the wide, open landscape with short grass, scrubby patches of trees, a network of tracks and pathways, as well as gravel and marl pits (Fawcett 1982).

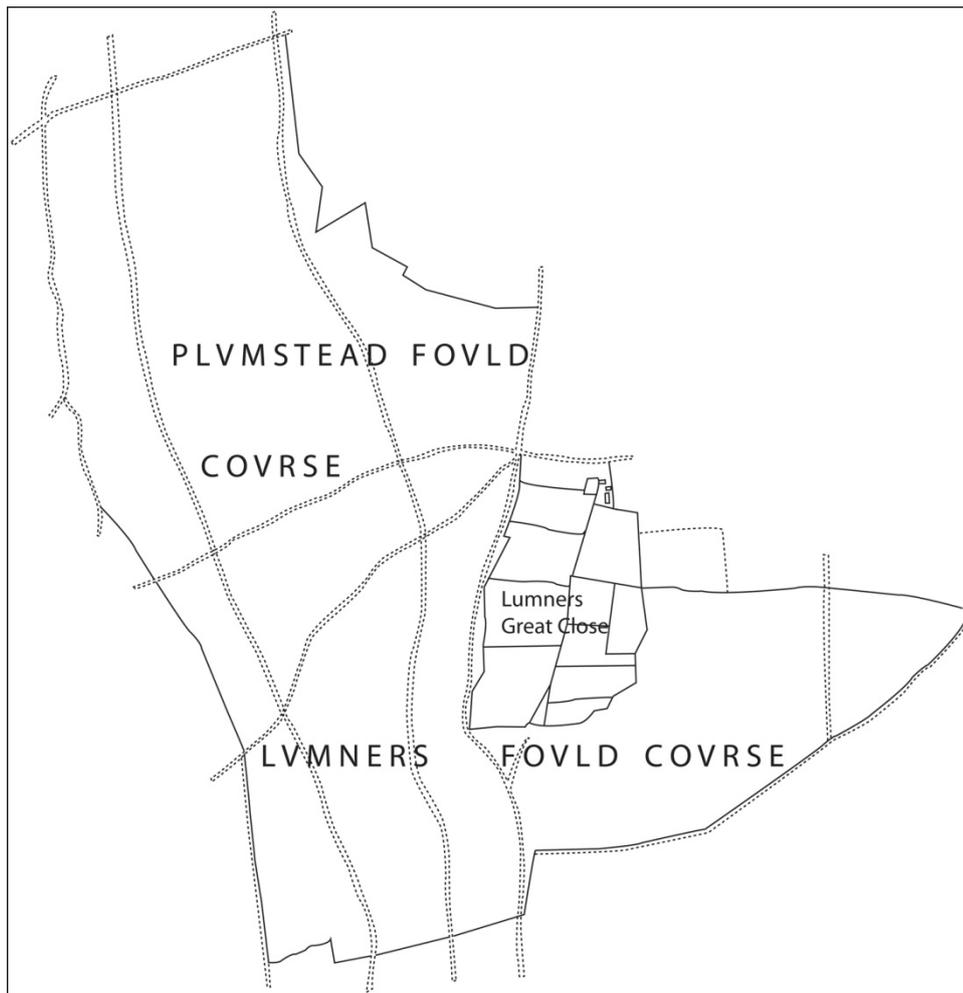


Figure 5.6. A digital tracing of a map of Plumstead and Lumnors foldcourses on Mousehold Heath, 1718 (NNRO CHC 11913).

For the people of Norwich Mousehold Heath was associated with public sports and events, such as a boxing match in October 1767 which attracted ten thousand spectators (Norwich Mercury, 17th October 1767). In addition, the inhabitants of the nearby hamlet of Pockthorpe, mostly handloom weavers, had an infamous reputation and by the early-nineteenth century it was considered to be Norwich's most squalid slum (MacMaster 1990, 123). The late eighteenth-century enthusiasm for agricultural improvement, combined with a degree of antipathy for heathland commons and those that utilised their resources, spurred the landowners in the parishes surrounding Mousehold Heath to enclose and reclaim these acres for agriculture. However, enclosure also presented the opportunity for them to expand their own designed landscapes, and the aesthetic appeal of newly enclosed fields may have been one of the motivating factors in the enclosure of the heath.

From the sixteenth century onwards the open fields which bordered the heath were gradually enclosed, leaving parishes like Rackheath, Sprowston and Blofield with a mixture of enclosed fields and open heathland (Fawcett 1982, 171). However, some enclosure was taking place on the heath during the eighteenth century for the establishment of plantations around Sprowston Hall. In 1775 the owner of Sprowston Hall, John Boycott, obtained a private act of parliament in order to legitimate an existing plantation created on the heath (NNRO C/Sce/1/16). Wider calls for the enclosure of Mousehold began in 1783 when a letter in the Norwich Mercury tried to draw attention to ‘this disgraceful heath’ (Norwich Mercury, 1st November 1783). There was a suggestion, also in 1783, that part of the heath could be turned into a new burial ground with the intention of turning the overcrowded city churchyards into ‘handsome grass plats both for use and ornament’ (Chase 1783). In 1792 John Wagstaff, a resident of Norwich, appealed to the city’s Society of United Friars to promote the enclosure of the heath (NNRO COL 9/74). The United Friars were a small philanthropic and scientific society whose members included many prominent residents of Norwich, as well as Humphry Repton and John Sell Cotman. Wagstaff’s proposals were read out at several meetings, and caused some debate between members, culminating in the publication of a pamphlet by Henry Kett, a member of the Society, in 1792 which confirmed the benefits of Wagstaff’s proposal (NNRO COL 9/1).

Wagstaff’s proposal contains arguments for the benefits that the enclosure of the heath would bring to local inhabitants, particularly with respect to their employment. However, Wagstaff chose to conclude his proposal with these suggestions,

‘I conceive I am not very distant from the truth when I calculate that this tract contains about twenty thousand acres. If two thirds of which were enclosed with farms the other third might be parcelled into commons of numerous acres specific to each parish, that abuts on the heath, while at best a third part of the heath which is within the boundary of the city might be disposed of in planted areas (surrounded with trees) for exercise, which vistas of trees judiciously extended might at once form avenues for communication with the villages, encourage a growth of useful wood beneath which a tract would be improved for pasture. Finally part of this Wold might be converted into the most pleasureable grounds in the vicinity of Norwich’ (NNRO COL 9/74).

The suggestion to link the villages, including the large residences and designed landscapes that bordered the heath, with avenues of trees leading to a shared open pleasure ground for the people of Norwich never came to pass. However, Wagstaff's proposal shows that the desire for enclosure and agricultural improvement was underpinned by an aesthetic consideration of the landscape and a recognition of the benefits of shared open space. Although Mousehold was associated with raucous public events there is evidence to suggest that it was also used as a recreational open space by some members of the Norwich elite, for example Jehosephat Postle, a wealthy local brewer, often recorded his walks upon Mousehold Heath in his diary during the 1750s (NNRO MC 2375/1, 921X8).

Wagstaff reiterated his ideas in the Board of Agriculture report for Norfolk by Nathaniel Kent, published in 1796, and other comments on the state of the heath were published in 1794 in the *Norfolk Chronicle* which advocated the benefits to the poor if Mousehold were to be enclosed (Kent 1796; *Norfolk Chronicle*, October and November 1794). In 1799 the first parliamentary enclosure act was passed for Rackheath, and the neighbouring parishes followed suit in 1800 and 1801 (Figure 5.5).

This slight time lag between the calls for enclosure and the passing of the acts can be partly explained by the role that John Morse, owner of Sprowston Hall, played in the enclosure of the heath. Morse inherited the estate in 1783 when he was still a child, and didn't reach his majority until just before 1800 (NNRO NRS 6409/21A6). He received fairly substantial allotments in all the parishes discussed below, and his name appears repeatedly in the enclosure acts concerned with the heath, particularly in Sprowston, Rackheath and Thorpe. Morse may have pushed for the enclosure of the heath upon reaching his majority, a period when he also expanded the designed landscape around his house at Sprowston (Williamson 1998, 277).

By the early-nineteenth century there were a number of designed landscapes on the edges of Mousehold Heath, in Sprowston, Rackheath, Thorpe and the Plumsteads, some of which predated the parliamentary enclosure of the heath, and others which were created after enclosure. All exhibit the characteristics of landscapes similar to those discussed in Hertfordshire; they were relatively small and naturalistic in their design, several of them appear to have had elements drawn from the tradition of the *ferme ornée*, some were owned by merchants and businessmen, and they were grouped closely together on the periphery of a large

urban centre. However, unlike those examples discussed in Hertfordshire, there is little evidence here of shared views between these landscapes. This is not perhaps surprising given their location along the edge of a large area of open heathland, and Faden shows that the views across the heath from Rackheath and Sprowston Hall were blocked with plantations (Figure 5.7). Crucially after enclosure these views included improved fields and farms rather than the open landscape of the heath.

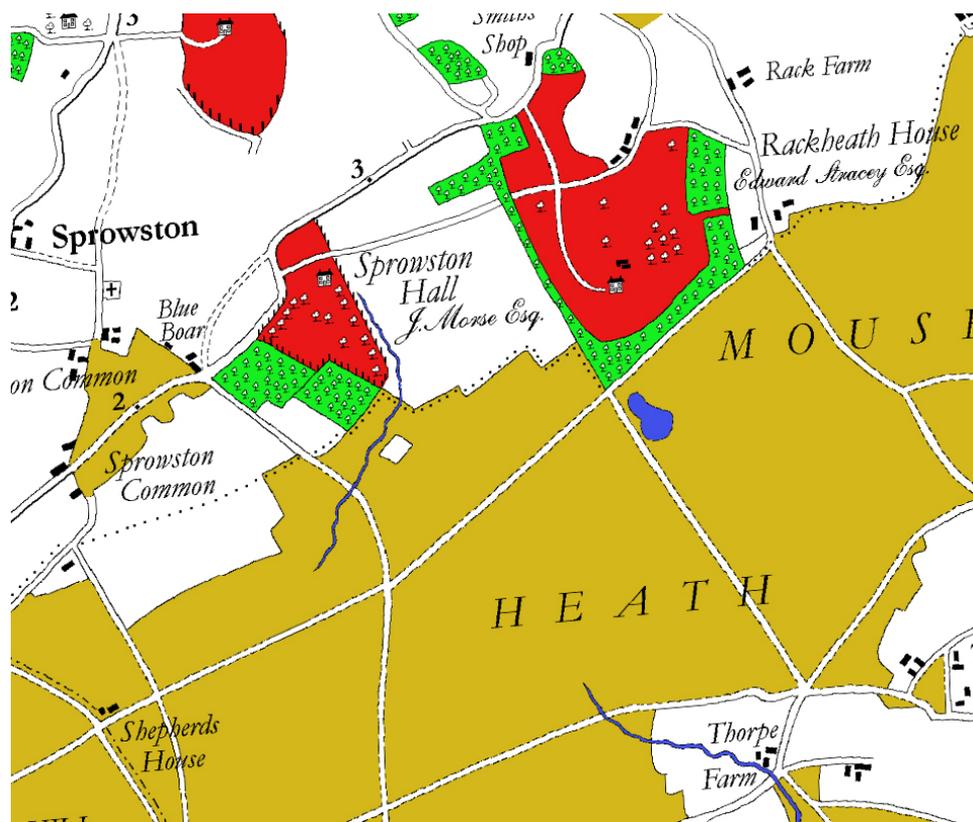


Figure 5.7. Sprowston and Rackheath shown on Faden’s map of 1797 (reproduced from a digital tracing by Andrew Macnair).

Sprowston Hall is on the main road from Norwich to Wroxham, and the mid sixteenth-century house was shown on the 1585 map of Mousehold Heath (Kirkpatrick 1889, 119). In 1710 the estate was purchased by Sir Lambert Blackwell, one of the directors of the South Sea Company, which became notorious for its collapse in 1721 (Cozens-Hardy 1960, 201). Blackwell, and his son, Charles, owned a house at 16 Great Marlborough Street in London, which had been furnished at a cost of £1306 in the 1720s (Figure 5.8) (Sheppard 1963, 250-267). Sir Lambert Blackwell, the grandson of the original purchaser, mortgaged the estate several times during the 1770s, and in 1782 it was sold to John Boycott, a local dyer, for £30,000 (NNRO NRS6049,

21A6). Boycott died the following year and left Sprowston to his grandson, John Morse, then still a minor, thus allowing Lambert Blackwell to remain at Sprowston Hall as a tenant until at least 1791 (General Evening Post, May 28 1791).

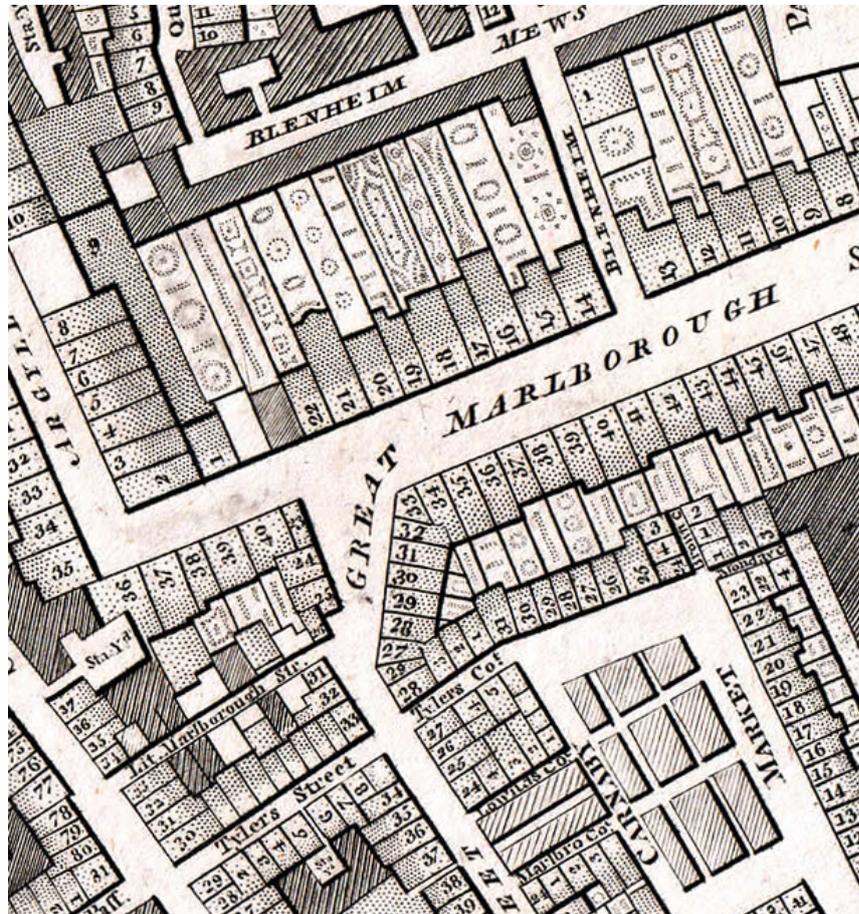


Figure 5.8. Great Marlborough Street, the London residence of Sir Lambert Blackwell, shown on Richard Horwood’s map of 1792-99.

The earliest eighteenth-century cartographic evidence for the appearance of the park at Sprowston is Faden’s map of 1797, which names John Morse as the owner (Figure 5.7). Faden shows a small designed landscape of about fifty acres, with a large plantation separating the hall and grounds from Mousehold Heath. A road closure order from 1792 shows the diversion of the main road away from the house, but little other details of the appearance of the grounds. Grigor, writing in 1841, noted that Sir Lambert Blackwell was a well-known naturalist and planter who ‘has left many examples of his good taste as an arborist’ (Grigor 1841, 200). This suggests that the small park shown on Faden was created by the Blackwells during the eighteenth century but prior to the parliamentary enclosure.

Much of the parish had already been enclosed by a process of piecemeal enclosure, and the parliamentary act of 1801 was targeted at the enclosure of the portion Mousehold Heath which lay within the parish, and to the south of Sprowston Hall. The enclosure award mentions that the new roads and boundaries across Mousehold Heath were carefully plotted to make sure they met the new divisions being created in the neighbouring parish of Rackheath (NNRO C/Sca 2/272). These new boundaries were ruler-straight, cutting across the heath with no consideration of the older foldcourse boundaries and rights of way. The juxtaposition of new, modern agricultural boundaries with the formerly open landscape of the heath represented a strong visual break with the past, emphasising the change that was also taking place in its management (NNRO C/Sca 2/272). The largest award of nearly eight hundred acres was made to John Morse, with only two other landowners receiving an allotment; Jeremiah Ives of nearby Catton received twenty acres whilst Thomas Harvey received just five acres. Interestingly, Bryant's map of 1826 shows that the plantation which had blocked views of the open heath was partially removed after enclosure to open up the views from the house over the newly enclosed fields on the heath (Figure 5.9). Viewshed analysis of the landscape around Sprowston Hall shows that the views from the house took in the area of the park, and some of the new enclosures, but that the immediately neighbouring designed landscape around Rackheath Hall could not be seen, despite the proximity of the two estates (Figure 5.10).



Figure 5.9. Designed landscapes around Mousehold Heath shown on Bryant's map of Norfolk, 1826.



Figure 5.10. Viewshed analysis of the landscape around Sprowston Hall, overlaid with the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map (c1880s). The house is shown with a purple dot.

As well the changes in the landscape around Sprowston Hall after enclosure, a completely new house and grounds were also created in the parish. Sprowston Lodge was located on the north side of the Norwich to Wroxham road, almost immediately opposite Rackheath Hall and Sprowston Hall, and adjoining the southern edge of the park at Beeston. A farm is shown on the site on the 1801 enclosure map, but after enclosure these buildings were replaced with a ‘neat white brick mansion’, a process already familiar from Hertfordshire (White 1836, 353). The fields immediately surrounding the new house were converted into a small designed landscape, which was already well established by the 1820s, when Bryant included it on his county map. Bryant shows a scatter of trees across the small landscape, which also used the immediately adjacent belt plantations around Rackheath Hall and Beeston St Andrew Hall as a backdrop

(Figure 5.9). A viewshed of the grounds of Sprowston Lodge shows that, again, the views from the house were restricted to the immediate grounds (Figure 5.11). Although the landscape is similar in style to those eighteenth-century landscapes discussed in Hertfordshire, like Birds Place for example, Sprowston Lodge does not share any views of the neighbouring parks, perhaps partly due to its topographical situation and the restrictions of the site itself.



Figure 5.11. Viewshed analysis of the landscape around Sprowston Lodge, overlaid with the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map (c1880s). The house is shown with a brown dot.

Sprowston Lodge was owned by John Morse in 1801, but by the 1840s was owned by John Stracey, a relative of Edward Stracey of Rackheath Hall. The lack of documentation for the Lodge means that it is unclear exactly who created the new house and landscape. Morse may have taken advantage of the opportunities arising from the enclosure of Mousehold to create a new villa residence as part of his landed estate. The tithe map shows the grounds around

Sprowston Lodge in some detail, and corroborates the details shown on Bryant's map. It also shows a thin plantation along the road, and pleasure grounds immediately around the house (NNRO DN/TA 768). The accompanying apportionment reveals that the landscape contained a mixture of arable and pasture fields. The area immediately in front of the house was a large pasture field, called 'The Lawn', whilst to the rear of the house three closes called 'Garden Piece', 'Fourteen Acres', and the 'Paddock' were recorded as arable in the tithe award (NNRO DN/TA 768). This pattern of land use within a small designed landscape is similar to that of nearby Rackheath, discussed below. In Hertfordshire, some small villa landscapes, like those in Essendon for example, did not contain arable, and instead relied on the surrounding countryside to provide a pastoral backdrop. Sprowston Lodge, therefore, may have been partly inspired by those types of *ferme ornée* which combined arable and pasture.

Rackheath Hall was owned by the Pettus family from the late-sixteenth century onwards, and is shown on the 1585 map of Mousehold (Blomefield 1805-10, 447; Kirkpatrick 1889, 119). The estate was owned by the Pettus family until 1777 when it was sold to Sir Edward Stracey (NNRO NRS6399), the eldest son of John Stracey who was a chief Judge and Recorder of London (Debrett 1835, 398). Stracey rebuilt the sixteenth and seventeenth-century hall, and improved the park, creating a landscape which the contemporary local writer Mostyn John Armstrong thought that 'judiciously blended modern taste with ancient splendor' (Armstrong 1781, 164).

Faden's map shows a park of about one hundred acres bounded on three sides by belts of trees, the thickest of which was to the south where the park met the open heath (Figure 5.7). The main drive to the house left the Norwich to Wroxham road to the north and wound through the park to the house, rather than using the new road across the heath. This very deliberate screening of the view towards Mousehold Heath from the house is unsurprising, given the attitudes of late eighteenth-century landowners towards open commons and heaths. Viewshed analysis of the topography around Rackheath shows that, from the hall at least, there was no clear view of the heath regardless of the presence of the plantations and the most distant views from the house are to the north of the park (Figure 5.12). However, when walking or riding through the park close to the heath, the southern plantations would then have blocked the view of the heath closer to the boundary.



Figure 5.12. Viewshed analysis of the landscape around Rackheath Hall, overlaid with the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map (c1880s). The house is shown with a blue dot.

The enclosure map of 1801 shows the area of the park divided into a number of enclosures (Figure 5.13) (NNRO C/Sca/2/222). Some are clearly pasture fields, such as ‘The Lawn’, ‘The Upper Lawn’ and ‘Obelisk Lawn’. However, in the north and east of the park the enclosures were under arable cultivation, and were threaded with winding drives and small plantations; it is this area which was partially visible from the house, as revealed by viewshed analysis (Figure 5.12) (NNRO C/Sca/2/222). This aesthetic blending of pasture and arable within a small parkland setting is reminiscent of the layout of nearby Sprowston Lodge, and of the ferme ornées already referred to in Hertfordshire such as Marden and Cole Green.

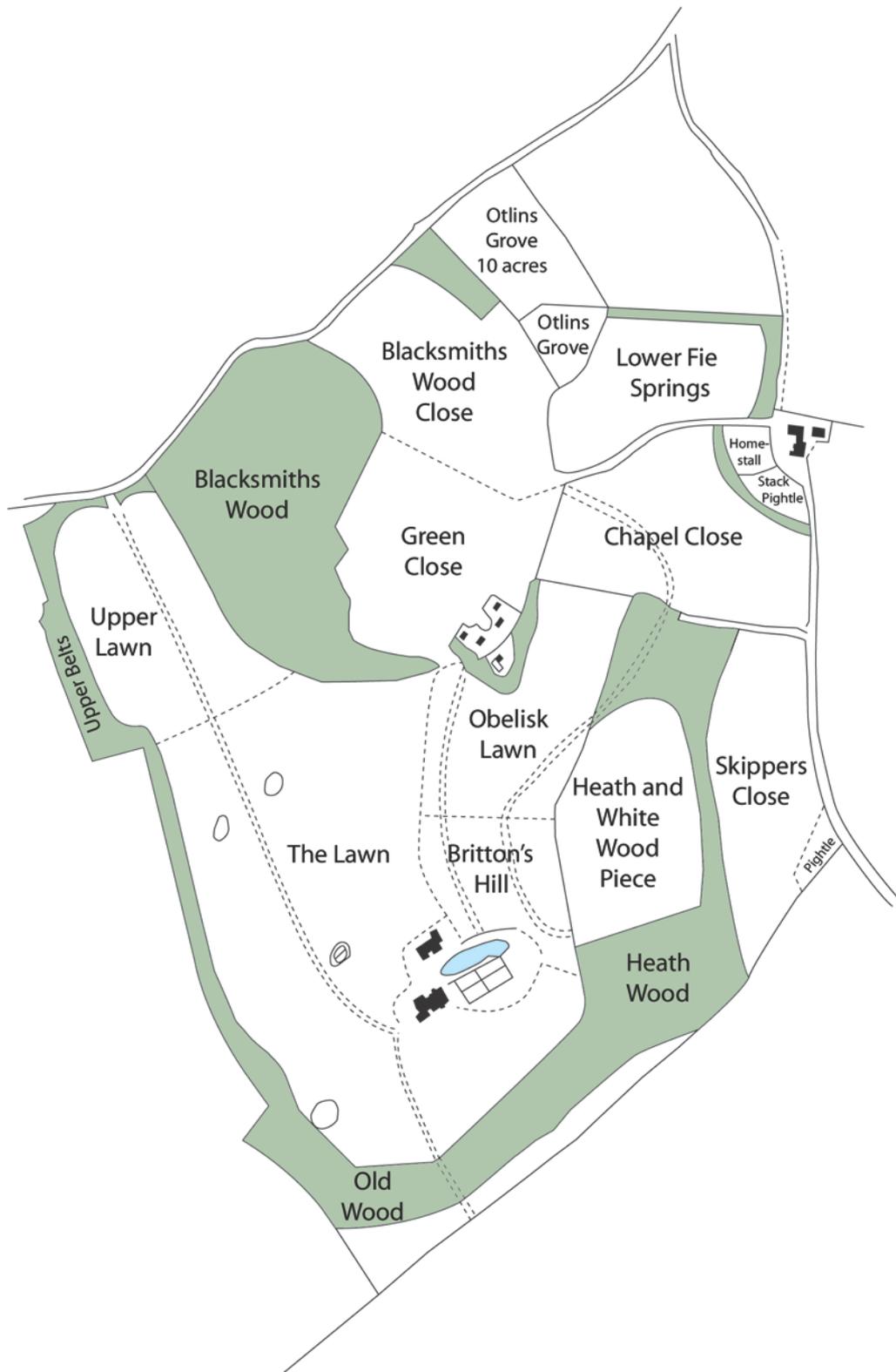


Figure 5.13. A digital tracing of the Rackheath enclosure map of 1801, showing the designed landscape around the Hall (NNRO C/Sca/2/222).

Much of the parish had already been enclosed by 1801 and only the heath remained open. In the enclosure award Stracey received the largest allotment of 307 acres, with the next largest allotment going to his neighbour, John Morse of Sprowston Hall, who received 108 acres (NNRO C/Sca/2/222). This caused some controversy, as Morse only owned five acres in Rackheath, but claimed to have ‘a sole and exclusive right of sheepwalk for an unlimited number of sheep’ over the common land in Rackheath, and was awarded 100 acres as compensation for the loss of this right. Stracey furiously disputed Morse’s claim, but failed to bring his objections before the enclosure commissioners in time and Morse’s allotment was confirmed (NNRO NRS 20715).

Once again, there was a clear contrast between the sinuous landscape of the park, the earlier enclosed fields of the parish and the straight lines of the new enclosure allotments across the heath. Stracey took the opportunity provided by enclosure to expand the park over the newly enclosed heath. Bryant’s map of 1826 shows this new expansion, with a belt planted along the new road that had been driven in a straight line across the heath, with new entrance lodges and a tree-lined drive (Figure 5.9). Interestingly, in terms of the definition and delineation of parkland on maps of this type, Bryant does not show this new extension as shaded parkland, suggesting that the expansion may have been still in progress when the map was surveyed. The tithe map more clearly shows this southern extension as parkland, indicating that the process of expansion had been completed by that date and this area converted to grassland, rather than to arable fields (Figure 5.14) (NNRO DN/TA 36).

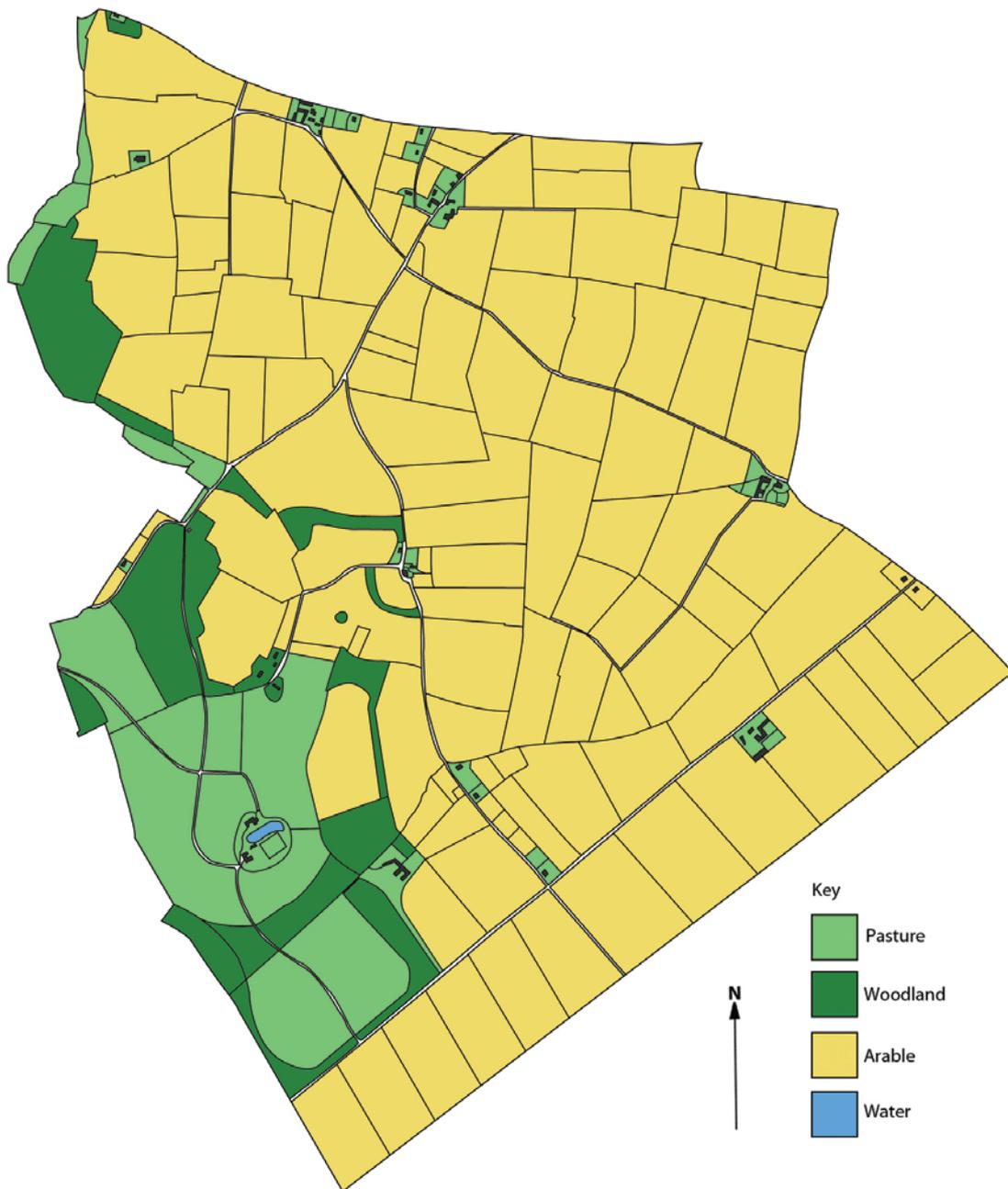


Figure 5.14. A digital tracing of the Rackheath tithe map, coloured according to the land use recorded in the apportionment (NNRO DN/TA 36).

The development of designed landscapes in Great and Little Plumstead is, as before, directly linked to the enclosure of Mousehold Heath. Little Plumstead, which lay on the southern edge of the heath, was enclosed in 1801, one of the swathe of enclosures aimed at dismantling the heath (NNRO C/Sca 2/217). Great Plumstead, meanwhile, was enclosed a few years later in 1810 (NNRO C/Sca 2/218). The enclosure award for Little Plumstead named just three

landowners, and Sir Roger Kerrison of Little Plumstead Hall received the largest allotment (NNRO C/Sca 2/217).

Kerrison was a wealthy banker, Mayor of Norwich in the 1770s, and owned a number of estates in the Norwich area, including Kirstead Hall, Thwaite Hall and his main seat at Brooke House (Ryan 2004, 363). Neither Faden's map or the enclosure map show any details of the designed landscape around Little Plumstead Hall, a sixteenth and seventeenth-century house which is now known as The Grange (English Heritage LBS 228484). Kerrison died in 1808, owing large sums of money to various creditors and accused of having embezzled a substantial sum in his role as Receiver General of Taxes (Daniels 1999, 91). His Little Plumstead estate was acquired by Charles Penrice who built a new house in the 1820s on a site 750 metres to the west of the old hall. The old hall itself was also rebuilt and converted into a rectory, whilst the new mansion took on the name Little Plumstead Hall (NNRO C/Sce/2/8/4). This was described in 1836 as a 'handsome cottage ornée, with embattled towers and turrets, surmounted by small octagonal spires' (White 1836, 341).

A series of road closures illustrate how the small designed landscape around Penrice's new gothic villa developed. In 1821 he obtained a road order to stop up the road that ran past the nearby church and several other buildings. A new, straight road was created on the eastern boundary of the grounds, and the buildings near the church demolished (Figure 5.15) (NNRO C/Sce/2/8/4). The effect of this change was evidently not satisfactory however, as in 1827 another road order diverted the course of the road created in 1821 further to the east. The map accompanying the second road order shows the small, park-like landscape laid out around the new house, complete with a perimeter belts of trees threaded with winding paths, and a number of round clumps of trees (Figure 5.16) (NNRO C/Sce 2/13/2). The area of the grounds had clearly expanded in the five years since its creation to encompass fields lying beyond the road laid out in 1821. Just two years later the course of the road was being altered yet again, with a third road order diverting the route to allow for new of plantations on the eastern edge of the park (NNRO C/Sce 2/14/5).

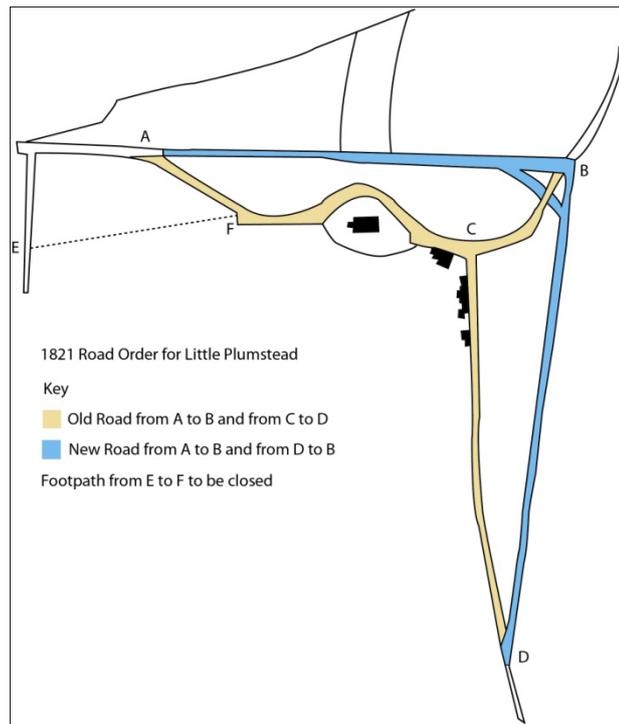


Figure 5.15. Digitally redrawn copy of 1821 road order map, Little Plumstead (NNRO C/Sce/2/8/4).



Figure 5.16. Digitally redrawn copy of 1827 road order map for Little Plumstead (NNRO C/Sce 2/13/2).

To the east of Little Plumstead Hall is the rectory, formerly the old hall belonging to Sir Roger Kerrison, which Penrice rebuilt at around the same time as the new hall, and in similar Gothic style. After the final road order in 1829 the rectory, and its grounds, were contiguous with those of the hall, separated from them by the new road. The sales particulars of the Little Plumstead Hall estate from 1855 describe the rectory in some detail as a ‘handsome castellated structure’ which was

Charmingly situated in a vale fronting an ornamental piece of water, flowing through extensive undulated and beautifully timbered pleasure grounds and lawn immediately adjoining Plumstead Park... The house is approached from the road by a carriage drive through the shrubbery and the lake is encompassed on one side by a *luxuriant park-like lawn* and on the other by extensive pleasure grounds of romantic beauty (NNRO MC389/31; my emphasis).

The grounds of the rectory covered an area of fifty-four acres, and their park-like appearance, overlooking the adjacent landscape of Little Plumstead Hall is immediately familiar from the examples discussed above in Hertfordshire. However, there is a key difference with those landscapes discussed in Hertfordshire; viewshed analysis makes it clear that the two landscapes did not have a strong visible relationship from either house, although views into each from other locations in the grounds were possible (Figures 5.17 and 5.18). From the rectory, the residents could look across their own grounds to the south, and the surrounding countryside in all directions apart from that of Little Plumstead Hall. From the hall, there were clear views across the park and some of the surrounding landscape, but none of the rectory.

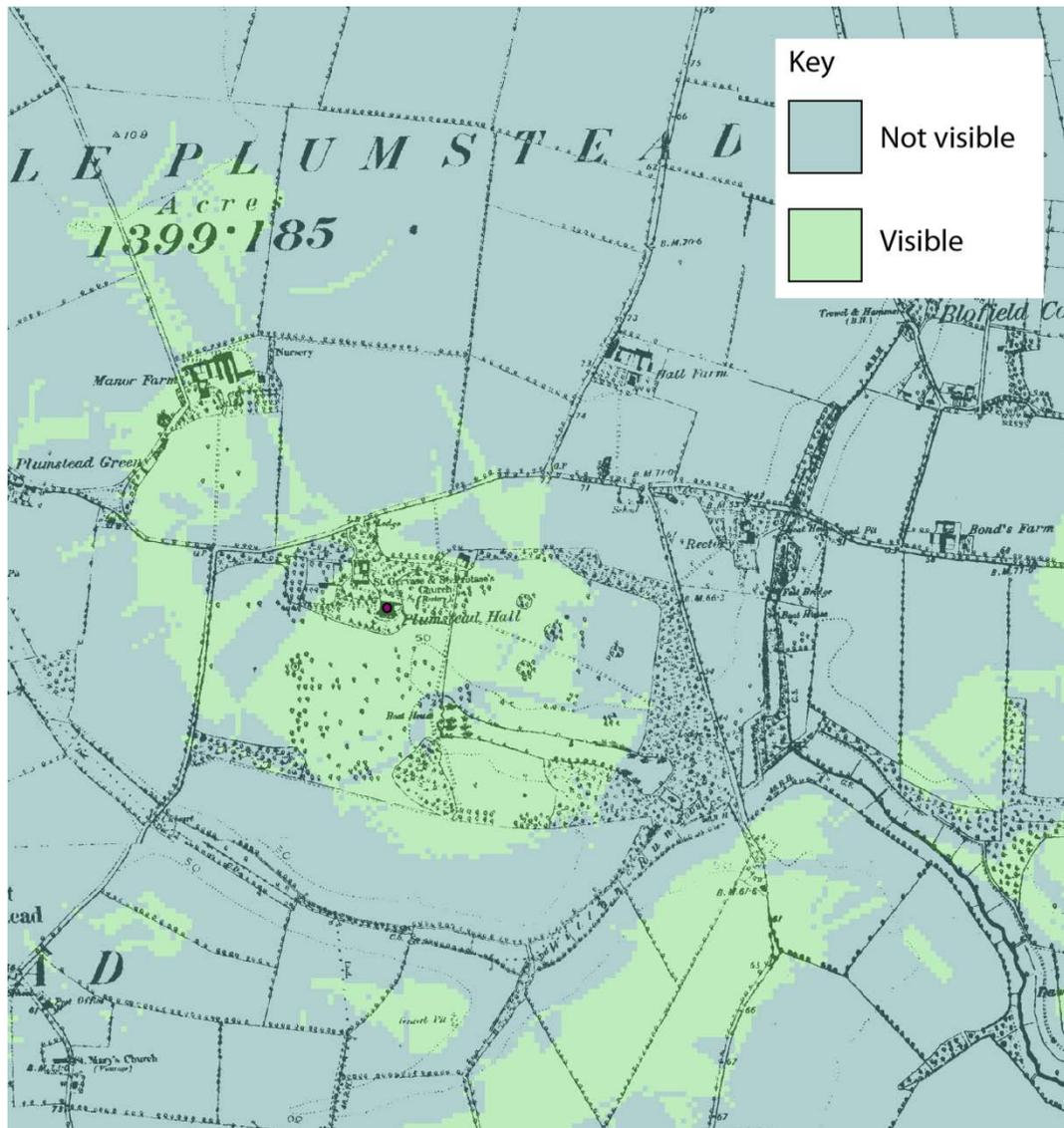


Figure 5.17. Viewshed analysis of the landscape around Little Plumstead Hall, overlaid with the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map (c1880s). The house is shown with a brown dot.



Figure 5.18. Viewshed analysis of the landscape around Little Plumstead Rectory, overlaid with the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map (c1880s). The house is shown with a green dot.

To the north of the Hall and rectory is Manor Farm, an early nineteenth-century farmhouse, with a range of contemporary farm buildings including an octagonal engine house. The 1855 sales particulars refer to Manor Farm, then in the occupation of Mr George Read, as ‘a handsome modern residence standing on an eminence overlooking surrounding country’, and describe the gardens, shrubbery and carriage drive (NNRO MC389/31). The title award map shows the field immediately in front of the farmhouse as arable land, but by the time the estate was sold in 1855 this large field had been subdivided to create a smaller enclosed area immediately in front of the house (Figure 5.19) (NNRO DN/TA 314). By the 1880s, when the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map was produced, this is shown as being planted with trees and was thus presumably under grass; a park-like paddock in front of this gentleman-farmer’s residence.



Figure 5.19. Digital tracing of the tithe map for Little Plumstead, coloured according to the land use recorded in the apportionment (NNRO DN/TA 314).

The three designed landscapes created in Great and Little Plumstead after enclosure were all small in scale, and shared a common style with some of those discussed above in Hertfordshire, although their owners did not share views of the surrounding rural landscape (from their houses at least). In Hertfordshire, such landscapes were being created in areas of ‘ancient’ countryside which had been enclosed centuries earlier, whereas in Norfolk the creation of this group of residences was a direct consequence of parliamentary enclosure in the early-nineteenth century. This casts doubt on the extent to which we can attribute the form and layout of designed landscapes such as these in Hertfordshire to the local landholding pattern and enclosure history

of the area, as very similar sites could evidently be found in places with very different landscape histories.

5.6 Designed landscapes in the Waveney Valley

The second cluster of designed landscapes to be examined in Norfolk is in Denton, located in the valley of the River Waveney, which forms the county boundary with Suffolk. This group lies on the heavy clay of the Beccles association, in an area of ‘ancient’ countryside, characterised by dispersed settlement, ancient patterns of piecemeal enclosure, and a number of ancient woods (Rackham 1986, 6). This area of the East Anglian claylands was mainly a pastoral landscape during the sixteenth, seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries; a similar pattern of land use to that found in south Hertfordshire, discussed above (Williamson 2000, 85). The grounds surrounding elite residences along the Waveney valley developed in an ancient, pastoral countryside filled with trees and woods; a landscape which provided a ready-made ‘sylvan’ backdrop for the development of new designed landscapes.

Denton House is the largest, and perhaps the most intriguing, of these designed landscapes. The landscape around the house was described in *The Norfolk Tour*, published in 1772, as the seat of Mr Stackhouse Thompson,

A country house, with about 40 acres of land, laid out in a most pleasing taste. There is a neat cottage, a garden, a rural Chinese temple, a grotto, and many natural curiosities; so happily disposed; and the whole is so different from every other place in the county, that it well deserves a traveller’s notice. You have a pleasing view of Flixton Hall, the residence of Alexander Adair Esq., at about a mile’s distance, situated in the centre of extensive woods (Beatniffe 1772, 234).

This quotation identifies, quite clearly, many of the key features of the small landscapes which have been discussed in this thesis. Firstly, it had a relatively small villa-type house, secondly, it had gardens containing a number of fashionable buildings and other features. Thirdly, and

perhaps most importantly, it had extensive views outside its own boundary which included not only the surrounding countryside, but also a much larger neighbouring designed landscape.

Stackhouse Thompson was a brewer from Norwich, who owned a number of premises in the city as well as Denton House, although it is unclear when he purchased the small estate at Denton (NNRO N/TC/D1/108/14, 307X3). The house itself was entirely rebuilt in the late-nineteenth century on the site of its eighteenth-century predecessor (Pevsner and Wilson 2002, 278). However, much of the grounds that surrounded the eighteenth-century house remained intact with relatively few changes being made in the late-nineteenth century. The earliest surviving map showing Denton House is Faden's map of 1797, which marks the area of the grounds as parkland, but with no other details (Figure 5.20). The first map depicting the grounds in greater detail is the enclosure map of 1807, when the house was owned by Samuel Henley, about whom little is known (NNRO MS4477). Most of the landscape of Denton had already been enclosed by 1807, and the field boundaries of the parish are characteristic of piecemeal enclosure from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. A number of long, thin greens or commons survived this process though, and it was these that the 1807 parliamentary enclosure act dealt with, at a time when many other similar commons were also being enclosed in the claylands (Williamson 2002, 92). The enclosure map, and a slightly later estate map of 1810, show the landscape created by Stackhouse Thompson in the 1770s as a large, open area of grassland called 'The Lawn', sloping down towards the river (NNRO MS4477 and NNRO NRS4076). The morphology of the boundaries and the disposition of probable former hedgerow trees suggests that the designed landscape was created out of pre-existing fields. The house sits within a small pleasure ground with shrubbery-style planting, and a single plantation called 'The Grove'. Neither map shows individual trees, although the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map shows a number of scattered trees across the area of 'The Lawn', including many which are from former field boundaries.

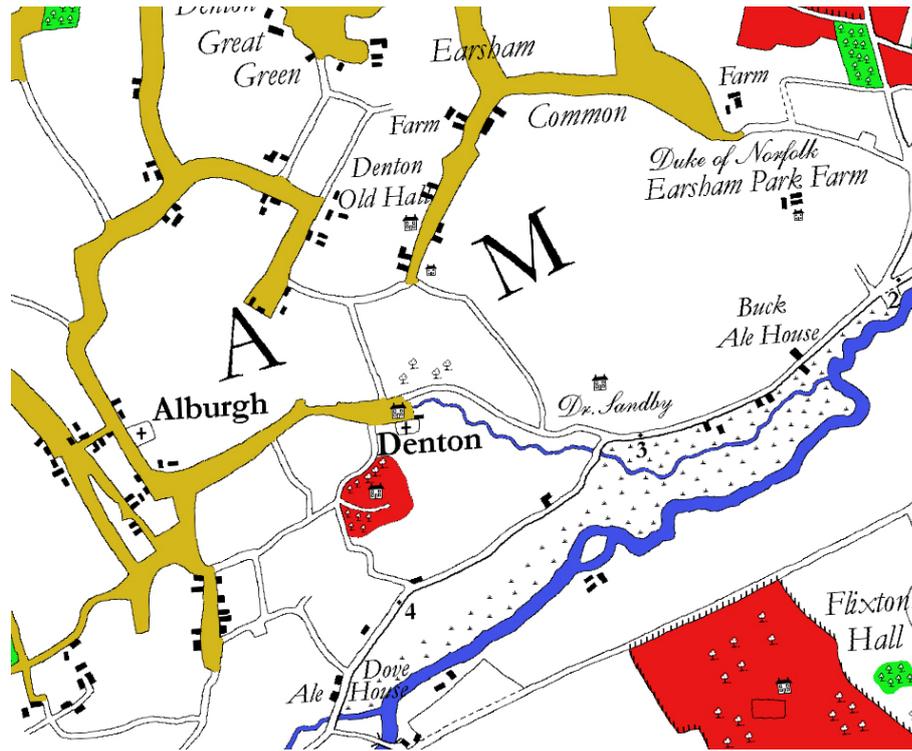


Figure 5.20. Denton on Faden’s map of Norfolk, 1797 (reproduced from a digital tracing by Andrew Macnair).

The garden buildings mentioned in the *Tour* are clearly marked on the 1810 estate map and on the tithe map (Figure 5.21) (NNRO NRS4076). The grotto lies within the shrubbery, facing a small ornamental pond. The building has a datestone of 1770, and the architecture is typical of an eighteenth-century grotto, with a pedimented facade and three arched entrances leading to a circular room decorated with shells (Jones 1974). The Chinese pagoda was the small building located on an island in a small circular pond to the north of the grotto on the tithe map (Figure 5.21) (NNRO DN/TA 209), and it also appears on an 1864 map from a set of sales particulars (NNRO MS18622/59). However, the pond was later filled in and the pagoda itself had been removed by the late-nineteenth century, as it is not shown on the Ordnance Survey six inch map from the 1880s. The date of 1770 for the grotto perhaps provides a broad date for the creation of the designed landscape itself, although the lack of other documentary evidence, and the loss of the original architectural fabric of the house, means that the early history of the site remain unclear. One of the challenges when studying designed landscapes of this type has been to attempt to assess their appearance in the eighteenth century in the face of a general lack of good cartographic, documentary and field evidence. We might expect small residences, owned by members of the urban elite, to have contained some garden buildings, or other ‘hard’ archaeological features, rather than being purely sylvan, park-like landscapes, but, as discussed

in Chapter 2, relatively few of these small eighteenth-century sites have been the subject of intensive research or archaeological excavation and analysis.



Figure 5.21. Denton House shown on the tithe map, c1840 (NNRO DN/TA 209).

Close to Denton House lies Denton Lodge, which was built in the late-eighteenth century with a severe, classically proportioned facade and a central pedimented entrance (English Heritage LBS 225222). It is shown on Faden's map of 1797 as belonging to the Rev. Dr George Sandby, but the map does not record any grounds around the house (Figure 5.20). Bryant's map of 1826 shows Denton Lodge in more detail with a small area of parkland around the house (Figure 5.22). The tithe map and the 1880s Ordnance Survey 6 inch map record Denton Lodge surrounded by a number of small paddocks containing scattered trees, perhaps the remains of former hedgerows (Figure 5.23) (NNRO DN/TA 209).

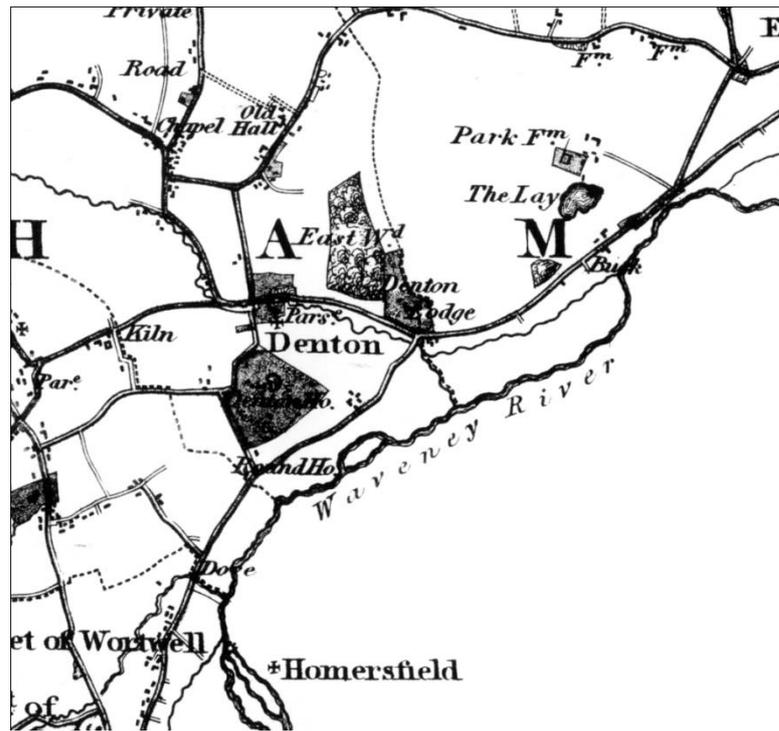


Figure 5.22. Denton on Bryant's map of Norfolk, 1826.



Figure 5.23. Denton Lodge on the tithe map, c1840 (NNRO DN/TA 209).

Between Denton Lodge and Denton House lies Denton Parsonage, also a late eighteenth-century house. Faden's map shows the house next to the church and a small green, with a group of trees immediately to the north on the far side of the adjacent road, but no clear details of the grounds (Figure 5.20). Bryant does show the area around the house, including the fields on the far side of the road as parkland, which is shown in more detail on the Ordnance Survey 1880s six inch map (Figure 5.22). Both maps show a group of paddocks and two small plantations framing the view across the road from the Rectory. The view to the south looked up a gentle slope towards the designed landscape at Denton House, which was also being created in the late-eighteenth century, while other views from the house were funnelled towards the church tower at Alburgh, clearly visible from the front of the house.

In late eighteenth-century Denton there seems to have been a small flurry of landscaping activity, with three new houses and their grounds being created in the parish, all are of 'villa' type, which is suggestive of a group of landowners all working on their estates in a similar period, perhaps inspired by, or attempting to compete with, their neighbours. However, there is a further important dimension to the relationship between these landscapes, and one which highlights the danger of restricting a study to a county basis. The three landscapes, although located very close to one another, did not share a strong visual relationship with *each other*, due to the nature of the local topography. However, if we turn our attention to the southern side of the Waveney valley and cross the county boundary into Suffolk, it immediately becomes apparent that they shared an important visual relationship with the large park at Flixton, in an area shown as empty, white space on my own distribution map and on some printed county maps such as Bryant's map of 1826 (Map 8 and Figure 5.22).

Flixton Hall was built in the early-seventeenth century by the Tasburgh family, but by the mid-eighteenth century it had passed to the Adairs (Williamson 2000, 173-4). The earliest map of the park at Flixton dates from 1760, and shows the house in the centre of an area of parkland, surrounded by a large number of small enclosed fields whose boundaries are suggestive of piecemeal enclosure (Suffolk Record Office HA12/6864/1-21) (Figure 5.24). The south of the park is filled with small plantations and scattered trees, but the views from the house to the north were over open grassland, sweeping down the valley towards the River Waveney. An excavation in the north of the park (an area which has now been destroyed by aggregate extraction) discovered the foundations of a small building dating from the late-seventeenth to early-eighteenth centuries, which has been interpreted as a garden building (Boulter and Anderson 2004, 18). This would have afforded views across to the other side of the valley, but

also expansive prospects along the river valley in both directions. It had, however, disappeared from the landscape by 1760, and the excavation revealed shallow footings, suggesting that the building may have been constructed from timber; another example of a relatively ephemeral garden structure which can only be revealed through excavation (Boulter and Anderson 2004, 56).

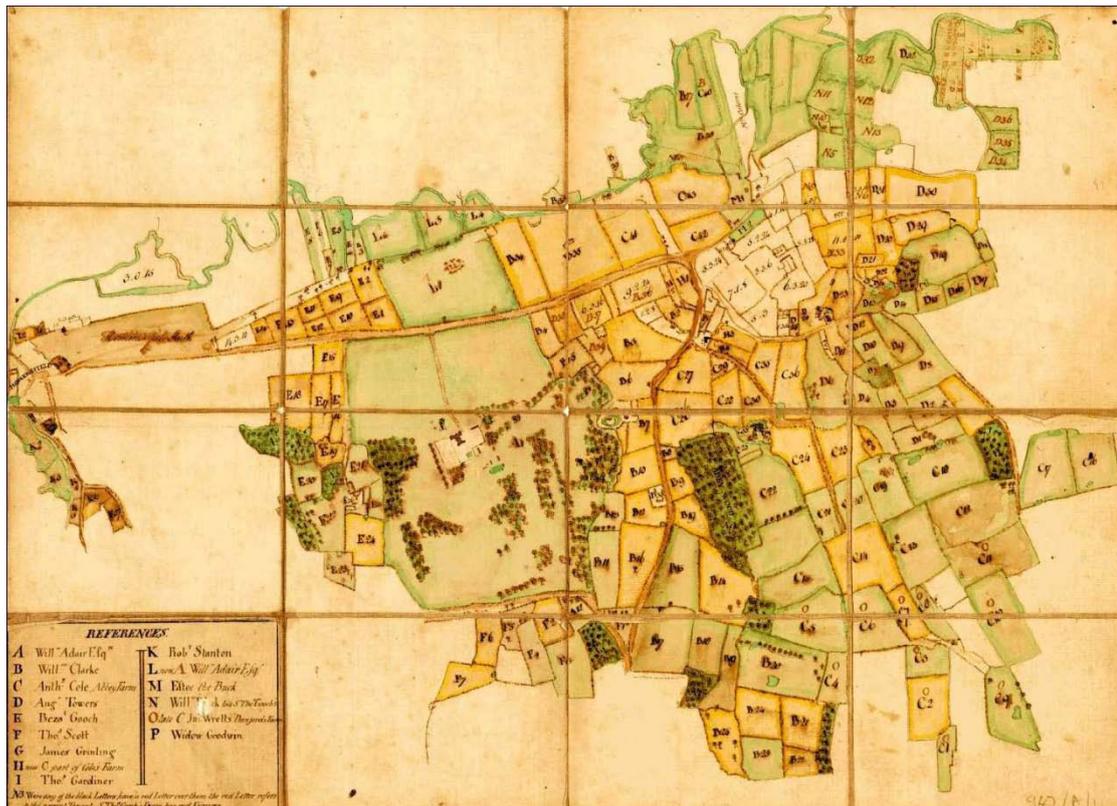


Figure 5.24. An estate map of Flixton, 1760 (Suffolk Record Office HA12/6864/1-21).

The 1760 estate map shows no planting in the northern part of the park at all, allowing clear and open views towards Denton on the other side of the river. Flixton Hall, like Denton House and Denton Lodge, is built on a contour line on the false crest of the high ground overlooking the River Waveney, and figure 5.25 shows the view from Denton House across the Waveney Valley towards Flixton. This intervisibility between this group of designed landscapes suggests that a conscious design decision was made by the creators of the smaller designed landscapes, Denton House and Denton Lodge, which were built on new sites carefully selected to have open views over the river valley, and of the neighbouring well-established parkland landscape around Flixton Hall. The location of Flixton Hall was established much earlier in the seventeenth century, so the impetus for the creation of strong visual relationships between designed

landscapes was coming from the owners of small, villa-type landscapes established in the late-eighteenth century.



Figure 5.25. The view from Denton towards Flixton. Photographed June 2010.

The shared views between these landscapes were modified in the early-nineteenth century when the ‘Long Plantation’ was planted along the fifteen metre contour line on the boundary of Flixton Park, which to some extent blocked the view from Denton House and Denton Lodge into the park at Flixton. This is paralleled in the relationship between Marden and Tewin House in Hertfordshire, where the strong visual connection between the two houses was also interrupted by the creation of a plantation between the two landscapes in the early-nineteenth century. The motives for creating such plantations in the early-nineteenth century were multi-faceted; the importance of woodland cover of all forms for game shooting, the economic value of timber, and the ideological and patriotic act of planting trees in itself were all important considerations for landowners (Daniels 1988). What is unclear is whether blocking the views from Flixton towards the two smaller designed landscapes was a motivating factor in the creation of this plantation by the Adairs, or whether it was an unintended consequence.

In the 1840s Flixton Hall was completely rebuilt by the Adair family and new formal gardens were designed by William Andrews Nesfield (Williamson 2000, 141). The park itself was expanded over the surrounding fields, the boundaries of which are visible on the Ordnance Survey six inch map as freestanding timber trees incorporated from former hedgerows. A double avenue of trees was also planted in the northern half of the park, focussed on the house and terminating at Long Plantation. The creation of this vista suggests that in the nineteenth century there was still some visibility from Flixton Hall to the far side of the Waveney valley, which was gradually lost as the trees in the plantation matured. The Nesfield gardens were laid out within the earlier walled gardens, and the rebuilding of the hall meant that the main views were reoriented towards the new formal gardens and the parkland on rising ground to the south, thus focusing the views from the principal rooms *away* from the river valley to the north. The 1760 estate map (Figure 5.24) makes it clear that one of the principal views from the house at that time was focussed on the river valley, and consequently the neighbouring designed landscapes.

This is further confirmed by the application of GIS-based analysis to this group of landscapes. Viewshed analysis was carried out on Denton Lodge, Denton House and Flixton Hall, following the methodology outlined in Chapter 3. Figure 5.26 shows the viewshed of the area around Denton Lodge and a large portion of the park around Flixton, including the site of the house, was visible from Denton Lodge, although very little of the neighbouring small designed landscape of Denton House could be seen. Figure 5.27 demonstrates that the view from Denton House was slightly different, although still included much of the park at Flixton and the surrounding slopes. The view from Flixton Hall itself, shown in Figure 5.28, makes it clear that this was a two-way relationship as the view from the hall included the two small residences on the far side of the valley. However, as discussed above in Chapter 3, this type of analysis, whilst extremely useful, has some limitations as it cannot take into account the height of features lying between the observation point and the surrounding landscape. Tree cover, such as the Long Plantation inbetween Flixton and Denton for example, would serve to obscure the view but this cannot be easily represented using this type of analysis.

This group of designed landscapes emphasises a number of points discussed earlier in this thesis. Despite being some distance from Norwich, and from other local urban centres such as Ipswich, the Waveney valley contained a number of small villa landscapes during this period.

Such residences were owned by members of the Norwich urban elite, such as brewer Stackhouse Thompson at Denton House, who may have wanted a rural retreat close to Norwich, but outside the main ring of the suburban development around the city. In this sense, such landscapes are similar to those in Hertfordshire, which are close to London but located outside the more heavily suburbanised villages immediately around the capital, like Hampstead or Tottenham. As in Hertfordshire, these small designed landscapes in Norfolk were created with clear visual links between neighbouring landscapes, perhaps reflecting a consciously urban aesthetic approach towards the rural landscape.

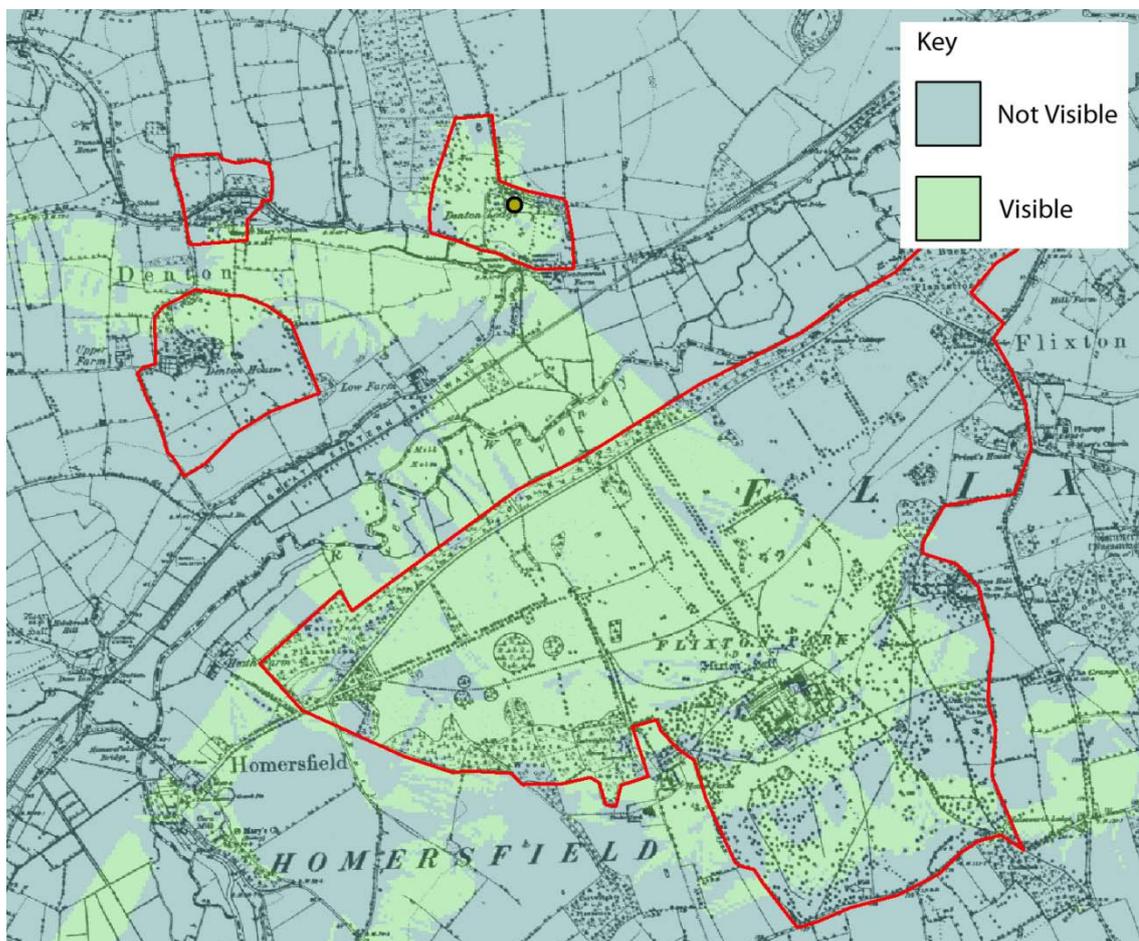


Figure 5.26. Viewshed analysis of the landscape around Denton Lodge, overlaid with the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map (c1880s). The house is shown with a green dot, and the parks are outlined in red.

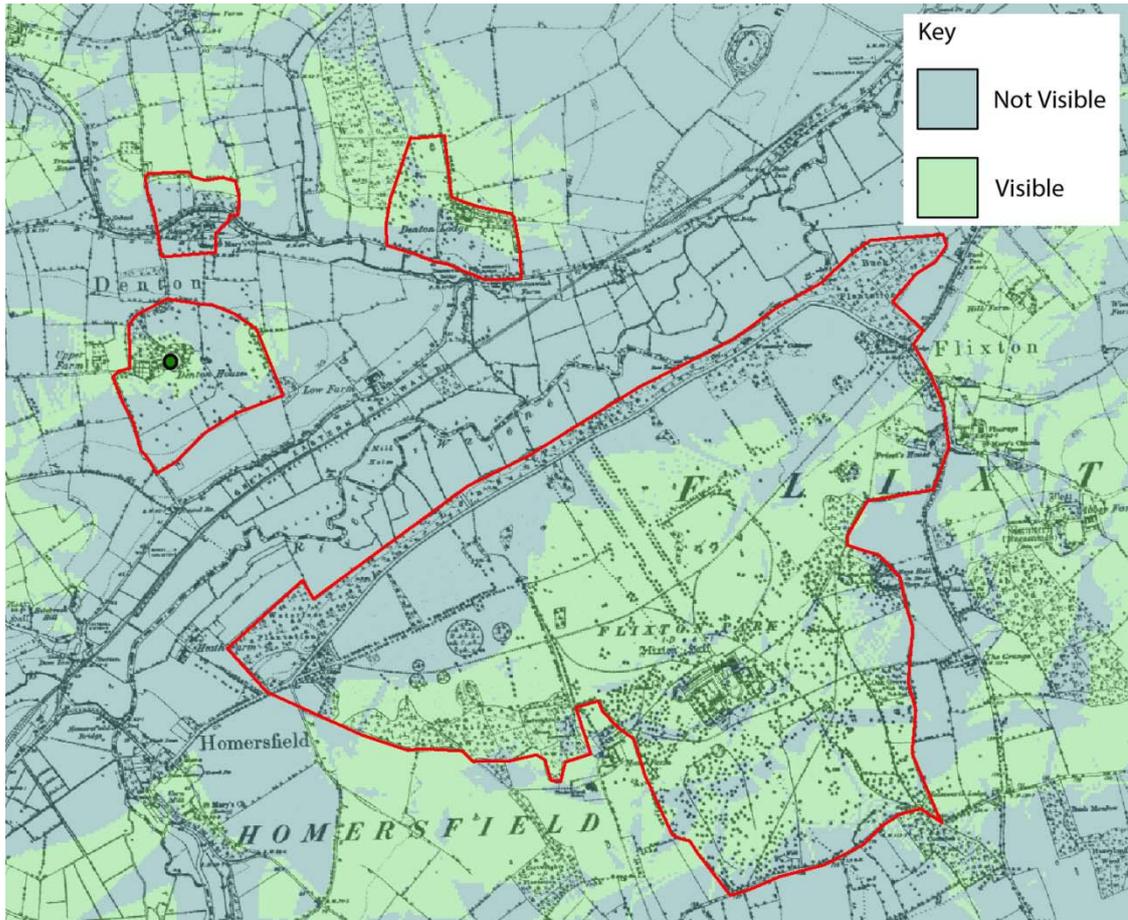


Figure 5.27. Viewshed analysis of the landscape around Denton House, overlaid with the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map (c1880s). The house is shown with a green dot, and the parks are outlined in red.

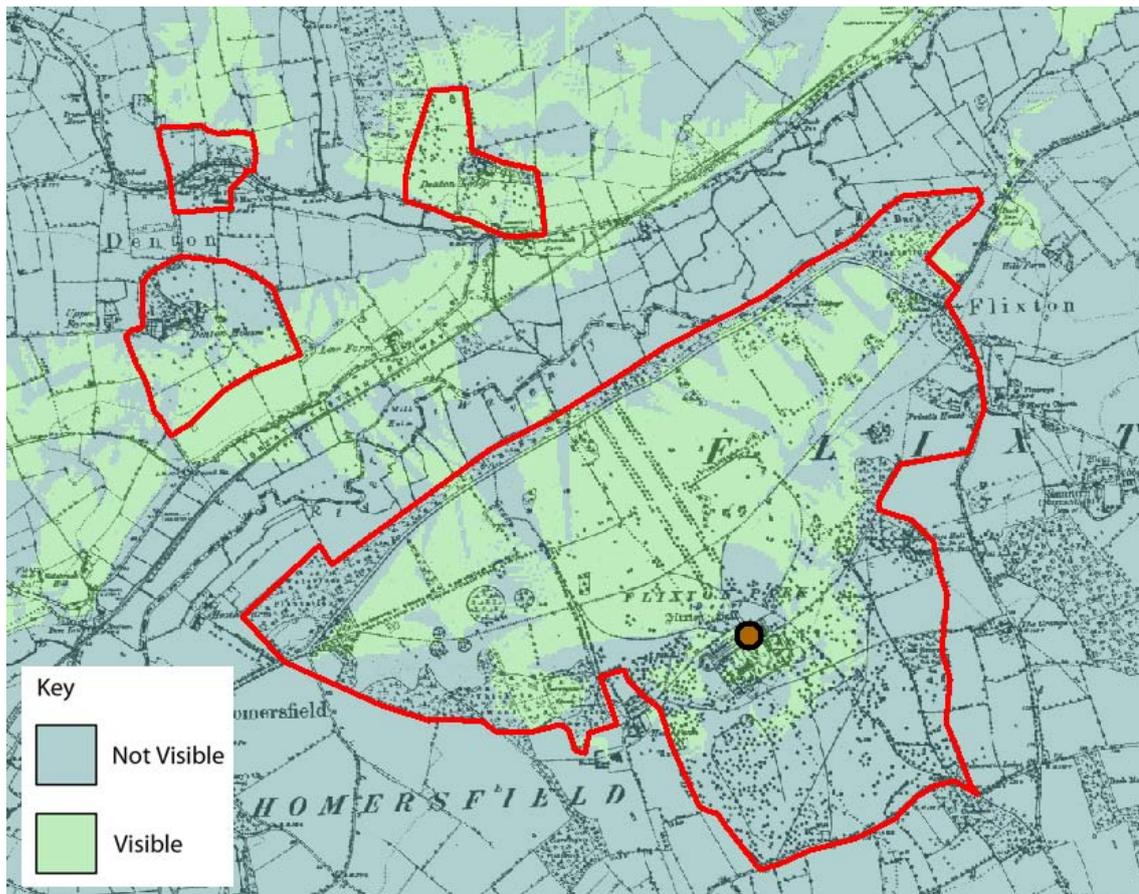


Figure 5.28. Viewshed analysis of the landscape around Flixton Hall, overlaid with the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map (c1880s). The house is shown with a brown dot, and the parks are outlined in red.

5.7 Conclusion

The designed landscapes examined in Norfolk, around Norwich and along the Waveney valley, illustrate a number of themes which have already developed from the earlier case studies discussed above. Perhaps the most important of these is the necessity to examine parks and gardens within their wider landscape context, which can shed light on their relationship to wider landscape improvements in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such as the enclosure of Mousehold Heath. The strong visual relationships between neighbouring designed landscapes in Hertfordshire is paralleled in Norfolk to some extent by the group of sites along the Waveney valley. This research suggests that a contrast could be drawn between the shared views of the eighteenth-century villa landscapes in the Waveney valley, and the lack of such views between the nineteenth-century sites on the edge of Mousehold Heath. There are, undoubtedly, a number

of reasons why one group would share such views and another does not, including the quirks of the local topography. Further research on a larger number of sites would help to establish whether the concept of shared views of neighbouring sites was an eighteenth-century phenomenon, that was less popular after 1800. The distribution of designed landscapes shown on Faden's map of 1797 (Map 8) shows that there a number of other clusters of sites in different landscape contexts which would repay further study, using the framework established here as a basis to compare more sites in the county.

6. Conclusion

A number of threads run through this thesis, but the most important is the variety of designed landscapes in eighteenth-century England. There were thousands of such sites in this period, and a significant proportion of them were not parks; nor were they attached to large landed estates. Their importance has been overlooked by historians, who have tended instead to concentrate on the parks and estates of the largest landowners. This is, in part, a consequence of the nature of the source material; larger parks are often well documented with surviving estate archives which include maps, letters, accounts and other documentary material. Smaller sites which were not attached to landed estates are often poorly documented with few surviving papers due, in part, to the high turnover of owners who did not built up extensive archives relating to one residence. In drawing attention to a wider range of designed landscapes I do not seek to undermine the importance of the landscape park as an aesthetic form, but rather to broaden the picture to include other forms of design, such as suburban villa landscapes and pastoral and arable ferme ornées. Like the landscape park, these reflected and codified specific social and cultural norms of their owners, and deserve to have greater attention paid to them in future.

In addition to recognising this variety, it is equally important that parks and gardens should not be examined in isolation from the wider landscape which surrounded them, not just in terms of the countryside (or indeed, the town) but also in terms of their relationships with other designed landscapes in the immediate area and further afield. This is where landscape history can make a real contribution to the study of designed landscapes, by combining documentary sources with fieldwork and GIS-based analysis to add to our understanding of the landscape context of parks and gardens. As well as studying the regional distribution of sites across a large area, I have demonstrated the value of considering small groups or clusters of sites *together*, rather than charting their histories individually. This approach has proved particularly useful in revealing the visual inter-relationships between neighbouring designed landscapes. These are only occasionally explicitly noted in the documentary record, but can be teased out by examining ‘the genius of the place’ on the ground and by using digital mapping techniques. These visual links are important for two reasons; firstly, they reveal the extent to which owners relied on the surrounding countryside to act as a backdrop to the grounds surrounding their residences; and secondly, they demonstrate the ways in which the rural landscape itself shaped and influenced the design of eighteenth-century parks and gardens, in a more fundamental manner than classical iconography or aesthetic theorising.

Those people who were responsible for planning, altering and managing designed landscapes in the eighteenth century did not form a homogenous group. From region to region the social make-up and economic standing of the social elite varied. Similar variation existed in the physical structure of the landscape, in its visual appearance and in the ways that the land was used. The combined influence of these varying factors necessarily meant that the development of parks and gardens also varied across the country, creating patterns of regional diversity that have not yet been fully explored by historians. Hertfordshire was a county on the metropolitan fringe, and attracted a diverse range of owners looking for rural properties. The county had a high proportion of small villa residences with grounds of less than fifty acres, which were owned by bankers, politicians, merchants, businessmen and other urban professionals, who did not, in the main, seek to establish themselves on large landed estates. Norwich, too, was surrounded by a cluster of similar sites, and other areas further from the city appear to have been partially suburbanised too, such as the Waveney valley which offered easy access to both Norwich and Ipswich. Some of the landscape gardens created in Norfolk in the eighteenth century were similar to those in Hertfordshire, using the surrounding countryside to act as a backdrop, and with shared views of neighbouring elite residences. Northamptonshire was more provincial in character than either Norfolk or Hertfordshire in terms of its proximity to major urban centres and the fluidity of the county elite. Northampton itself did not exert the same magnetism as London or Norwich when it came to small villa landscapes, and in the wider county the pattern of landowning families was much more stable. In Hertfordshire and the claylands of Norfolk the design of parks and gardens was linked to the existing 'ancient' countryside which surrounded them, with early enclosed pasture fields and a high proportion of woodland. The development of parks and gardens in Northamptonshire, on the other hand, was closely entwined with the enclosure of the open fields in the post-medieval period, and crucially, the change in land use from predominately arable to pastoral that gathered pace in the eighteenth century. In Norfolk, the designed landscapes on the edge of Mousehold Heath were also affected by enclosure, a process which often led to the expansion or redesign of parkland. At a basic level, therefore, whatever the location, the rural landscape had a fundamental impact on the development of parks and gardens.

I have emphasised throughout the importance of non-parkland landscapes, and the various forms which these could take. One of the traditions which I have singled out as being particularly important is that of the *ferme ornée*. Switzer, Addison, Whately and numerous other eighteenth-century writers emphasised the pleasure to be gained from a landscape in which

there was a close connection between the productive (in the form of pasture for grazing or arable crops) and the ornamental. This thesis has identified several different types of designed landscape which contain elements of this tradition: the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century pastoral fieldscapes found around elite residences (such as Cottesbrooke or Ecton), the mid to late eighteenth-century villa residences which utilised pre-existing meadows and pastures (such as Birds Place, Essendon Place or Denton House), and parks which combined both arable and pastoral cultivation (Marden, Cole Green, Overstone and Rackheath). These three broad types all share common elements, but in many other respects are far from identical. Further research is needed to identify more sites which could be considered as *ferme ornées*, although the problematic documentary, cartographic and field evidence encountered here may well be a more widespread issue which would complicate the interpretation of some sites. However, as my work has demonstrated, it is possible to successfully investigate such sites from a specifically landscape history perspective. Historians have used the term *ferme ornée* quite narrowly in relation to only a small number of sites, and its significance, and wider relevance is therefore in need of reassessment. At the same time we should also seek to move away from the tendency to automatically place the ideas of Switzer, Addison and others in the context of an inevitable march towards the triumph of the landscape park.

Although landscape parks and gardens have been studied intensively by historians, there is still much scope for further research to be carried out into their origins, meaning, form and variety in order to shape a clearer picture of landscape design in the eighteenth century. The diversity of parks, gardens and other forms of ornamental landscapes was closely linked to the diversity of eighteenth-century society itself. This is a field where landscape historians can potentially make a significant contribution through a more thorough consideration of the landscape context of parks and gardens. Such a picture may be more complex than has previously been the case, but it is nonetheless an exciting opportunity to get to grips with designed landscapes, and with eighteenth-century society as a whole.

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Appendix 1						
Designed landscapes identified on Dury and Andrews' map of Hertfordshire (1766)						
Code	Eastings	Northing	Name of park	Name of owner	Park Pale	Size in acres (approx)
HDA001	542700	225300	Albury Hall	John Calvert Esq	Yes	250
HDA002	544000	224000	Albury Lodge		No	100
HDA003	513700	198600	Aldenham	Robert Hulks Esq	No	60
HDA004	536400	212900	Amwell Bury	Bibye Lake Esq	No	80
HDA005	499100	206600	Ashlyns Hall	Mr Nicholl Esq	No	30
HDA006	499400	212100	Ashridge	Duke of Bridgewater	Yes	600
HDA007	535200	228500	Aspenden Hall	Richard Cox Esq	No	160
HDA008	524200	224700	Aston	Thomas Barner Esq	No	70
HDA009	527600	221600	Astonbury		No	10
HDA010	519500	217000	Ayot Place		No	15
HDA011	519000	216800	Ayot St Lawrence	Lord Lloyd	Yes	80
HDA012	533500	211900	Balls	Lady Townshend	Yes	600
HDA013	530600	207900	Bayford House	Robert Darling Esq	No	15
HDA014	531600	210400	Bayfordbury	Sir William Baker	Yes	600
HDA015	515600	222100	Beachwood Green	Lanb Esq	No	10
HDA016	511200	210800	Beamont Hall	Darken Esq	No	20
HDA017	527700	207600	Bedwell Park	Samuel Whitbread Esq	No	200
HDA018	544600	230400	Beeches		No	30
HDA019	503800	196300	Beechwood Park	Sir John Sebright	Yes	250
HDA020	529600	223600	Bennington Hall	Thomas Plummer-Byde Esq	No	30
HDA021	530900	223500	Bennington Park	John Cheshire Esq	Yes	300
HDA022	499000	208700	Berkhampstead Place	Robert Hucks Esq	No	50
HDA023	527300	207600	Birds Place	Gen. Cornwallis	No	40
HDA024	540700	216200	Blakesware	William Plummer Esq	Yes	130
HDA025	501600	203500	Bovingdon	Hector Dawley Esq	No	10
HDA026	526800	221100	Bragbury End	Lady Baxter	No	10
HDA027	528500	215300	Bramfield		No	25
HDA028	529500	215400	Bramfield Place	Lord Grandiston	No	130
HDA029	543100	230900	Brent Pelham Hall		No	20
HDA030	532100	207800	Brickdonbury	Thomas Morgan	Yes	600
HDA031	541400	211200	Briggins	Thomas Blackmoor Esq	No	120
HDA032	531700	229100	Broadfield	Anthony Chapman Esq	No	120

HDA033	521400	213000	Brocket Hall	Sir Matthew Lamb	Yes	300
HDA034	525500	204700	Brookmans	Cox Esq	No	30
HDA035	535300	207200	Broxbournebury	Lord Monson	Yes	200
HDA036	506000	195200	Bury Park	William Field Esq	Yes	140
HDA037	523800	209900	Bush Hall		No	120
HDA038	533500	195600	Bush Hill	Joseph Mellish Esq	No	50
HDA039	526800	206900	Camfield Place	John Brown Esq	Yes	80
HDA040	508800	197100	Cassiobury	Earl of Essex	Yes	800
HDA041	534600	202400	Cheshunt House	John Shaw Esq	Yes	30
HDA042	537200	202800	Cheshunt Priory	William Jenson Esq	No	50
HDA043	505500	215400	Cheveralls Green	Nicholas Westcombe Esq	No	10
HDA044	514000	210100	Childwickbury	Mr Lomax Esq	No	110
HDA045	504800	201300	Chipperfield Manor House	John Marriot Esq	No	10
HDA046	524600	227700	Chivefield Lodge	L. Sparhauke Esq	No	115
HDA047	503300	196800	Chorley Wood	Mr Finch esq	No	20
HDA048	539600	236100	Cockenhatch	Sir John Chapman	Yes	480
HDA049	521900	218500	Codicote Bury	G. Poynter Bisse Esq	Yes	60
HDA050	528000	212300	Cole Green Park	Earl Cowper	Yes	300
HDA051	517400	202800	Colney Chapel	Charles Woodhouse Esq	No	40
HDA052	523700	214800	Digswell House	Thomas Shallcross Esq	No	100
HDA053	523000	214200	Digswell Rectory		No	60
HDA054	522500	198400	Dyrham Park	General Keppel	Yes	190
HDA055	514500	198800	Edge Grove	John Skey esq	No	30
HDA056	518600	196200	Elstree	Captain Hueswell	No	20
HDA057	527300	207900	Essendon Place		No	10
HDA058	528900	220700	Frogmore End	Richard Lloyd Esq	Yes	10
HDA059	504800	207700	Gadebridge		No	15
HDA060	512100	200400	Garstons		No	40
HDA061	529800	217200	Gobions	Mrs Sambrooke	No	80
HDA062	531000	214200	Goldings	Lady St John	No	190
HDA063	511300	207800	Gorhambury	Lord Grimston	Yes	360
HDA064	523400	227900	Graveley Hall		No	20
HDA065	503600	212700	Great Gaddesdon Hoo		No	30
HDA066	505000	212500	Great Gaddesdon Parsonage		No	200
HDA067	508100	198700	Grove Park	Lord Hide	Yes	200
HDA068	545200	222700	Hadham Hall	Earl of Essex	No	200

HDA069	537500	224600	Hamels	Rev. Ralph Freeman	Yes	300
HDA070	512400	212200	Hammons End		No	50
HDA071	513600	214800	Harpenden	Samuel Martin Esq	No	10
HDA072	523700	208400	Hatfield	Earl of Salisbury	Yes	800
HDA073	530700	212200	Hertingfordbury	Ed Hughes Esq	No	20
HDA074	531300	211800	Hertingfordbury	Will Cowper Esq	No	200
HDA075	510800	230400	Hexton	Newdigate Pointz Esq	No	60
HDA076	514400	230500	High Down	John Ratcliff Esq	No	20
HDA077	523800	241200	Hinxworth Manor		No	70
HDA078	523900	239500	Hinxworth Place		No	20
HDA079	518300	228800	Hitchin Priory	John Radcliffe Esq	Yes	45
HDA080	537100	208100	Hoddesdon	Francis Hughes Esq	No	15
HDA081	541900	212700	Hunsden House	Captain Hinde	No	20
HDA082	541300	213000	Hunsdon House	Nicholas Calvert Esq	No	40
HDA083	549600	215400	Hyde Hall	Sir Conyers Jocelyn Bart.	No	230
HDA084	530700	232500	Julians	Adolph Medcalf Esq	No	20
HDA085	532900	236100	Kels Hall	Richard Hassel Esq	No	20
HDA086	517200	198100	Kendalls Hall	William Gabson Esq	No	60
HDA087	516100	223400	Kings Walden	William Hale Esq	Yes	200
HDA088	522900	220900	Knebworth	Mrs Lytton	Yes	300
HDA089	518100	216100	Lamer	Sir Bennet Garrad	Yes	180
HDA090	507700	507700	Langleybury	Lord Barkway	No	30
HDA091	511800	226300	Lilley	Fitzwilliam Barrington Esq	No	20
HDA092	529300	529300	Little Berkhamsted	Mr Gibbons	No	10
HDA093	520800	199000	Little Cannons	Thomas Every Esq	No	70
HDA094	513000	228500	Little Offley	Sir Thomas Shawsburry	No	100
HDA095	521200	227300	Little Wymondley	John Pim Esq	No	10
HDA096	523700	215900	Lockleys	Charles Gardiner Esq	Yes	300
HDA097	515600	215500	Mackery End	Mrs Garrard	No	15
HDA098	512400	224000	Mangrove Green	John Field Esq	No	20
HDA099	527900	213900	Marden	Richard Warren Esq	No	300
HDA100	505800	217200	Markyate Cell	Captain Copings	No	30
HDA101	517000	208900	Marshalswick		No	10
HDA102	505100	198300	Micklefield Green		No	40
HDA103	504900	194200	Money Hill		No	10
HDA104	507500	193300	Moor Park	Sir Lawerence Dundas	Yes	600

HDA105	508200	193900	Moore House	Timothy Earle Esq	No	40
HDA106	542200	542200	Moore Place	James Gordon Esq	Yes	160
HDA107	527900	195000	Mount Pleasant	Mr Richardson	No	50
HDA108	523700	203600	Muffets	Roper Esq	No	20
HDA109	515600	205300	New Barnes House		No	20
HDA110	544100	212800	New Place	William Plummer Esq	Yes	250
HDA111	517400	200400	Newberrys	Admiral Durell	No	40
HDA112	524200	237500	Newnham Manor	Jas. Hutton Esq	Yes	70
HDA113	538700	236900	Newsells Bury	George Jennings Esq	Unclear	480
HDA114	527200	202900	Nin Hall	John Grainger Leman Esq	Yes	80
HDA115	541700	213200	Nine Ashes	Peter Calvert Esq	No	15
HDA116	521700	204200	North Mimms Place	Duke of Leeds	Yes	300
HDA117	514500	227000	Offley Place	Sir Thomas Salisbury	Yes	95
HDA118	517100	199500	Organ Hall	Risrow Esq	No	10
HDA119	510500	192600	Oxhey Place	Ashell Bucknall Esq	No	200
HDA120	528800	213200	Panshanger	Earl Cowper	No	230
HDA121	545200	225600	Patmore Hall		No	60
HDA122	542700	227900	Pelham Hall	Nicholas Calvert Esq	Yes	120
HDA123	494200	211800	Pendley Hall	Richard Bard Harcourt Esq	No	80
HDA124	547900	213300	Pishobury	Edward Gardiner Esq	Yes	180
HDA125	511800	224700	Poderidge	Sir Benjamin Rowlings	No	120
HDA126	525900	207600	Popes	Sir Ben. Truman	Yes	160
HDA127	518400	199500	Porters	Dr Jubb	Yes	170
HDA128	523500	204600	Potrills	Charles Delaet Esq	No	10
HDA129	526000	195400	Prickler's Hill	Thomas Brand Esq	No	30
HDA130	527600	232900	Quickswood	Lord Salisbury	No	140
HDA131	523500	237100	Radwell Hall	William Pim Esq	No	10
HDA132	517100	234900	Ramer Wick		No	55
HDA133	506600	197100	Red Heath	Henry Finch Esq	Yes	35
HDA134	512500	213100	Rothamsted	John Bennet Esq	No	120
HDA135	530300	210400	Roxford	Nathaniel Brasey Esq	No	50
HDA136	509000	199200	Russells Farm	Lady Essex	No	110
HDA137	533900	218900	Sacombe Park	Timothy Caswell	Yes	600
HDA138	519500	202800	Salesbury	Thomas Snell Esq	No	10
HDA139	504200	199300	Sarret	David William Esq	Yes	25
HDA140	525400	222300	Sheephallbury		No	60

HDA141	519400	200900	Shenley	William Thatch Esq	No	30
HDA142	523800	205200	Skimpans	Coningsby Siphthorp Esq	No	10
HDA143	519300	228200	St Ippolytes	Mr Gravely Hurst	No	10
HDA144	514400	204700	St Julians	Mrs Amherst	No	15
HDA145	538100	211200	St Margarets	Bibye Lake Esq	No	50
HDA146	518700	221600	St Pauls Waldenbury		Yes	100
HDA147	518500	222700	Stagenhoe Park	Giles Thornston Haytham Esq	Yes	200
HDA148	539200	221300	Standon Lordship	Lord Aston	No	120
HDA149	540000	211100	Stansted Abbots	Paul Field Esq	No	30
HDA150	496100	213300	Stocks nr Aldbury	Arnold Duncomb Esq	No	30
HDA151	538600	228100	Stonebury		No	15
HDA152	532200	216800	Stony Hill	Will Wilson Esq	No	30
HDA153	547200	221600	Stortford Hall		No	10
HDA154	518400	224600	Temple Dinsley	Mrs Ithells	No	30
HDA155	526800	214300	Tewin House	Colonel Sabin	No	170
HDA156	525600	214500	Tewin Water	Joshua Steele Esq	Yes	160
HDA157	509600	217200	The Gibraltar		No	40
HDA158	503800	211000	The Grove	Thomas Halsey	No	70
HDA159	518800	219600	The Hoo (Kimpton)	Thomas Brand Esq	Yes	250
HDA160	547700	218700	Thorley Hall	John Raper Esq	No	40
HDA161	535800	217000	Thundridgebury	Mrs Gardiner	No	60
HDA162	536900	225800	Tillers End	Calvert Ben Esq	No	10
HDA165	525000	194000	Totteridge	Mrs Williams	No	20
HDA163	523300	194200	Totteridge	William Lee Esq	Yes	90
HDA164	524600	193800	Totteridge	Mr Chambers Esq	Yes	100
HDA166	492800	211900	Tring Grove	John Seare Esq	Yes	90
HDA167	492600	211100	Tring House	Mr Gore Esq	Yes	250
HDA168	509800	215500	Turners Hall		No	45
HDA169	549300	219400	Twyford Mill	Matt Raper Esq	No	100
HDA170	518100	205500	Tytenhanger	Henry York Esq	Yes	300
HDA171	540900	224200	Uphall		No	40
HDA172	533400	214600	Ware Park	Thomas Plummer-Byde Esq	Yes	300
HDA173	513500	229000	Wellbury Hall		No	30
HDA174	514100	229700	Wellbury House		No	20
HDA175	502600	502600	Westbrookhay		No	60
HDA176	543200	229100	White Barns	Councillor Cummings	No	40

HDA177	512900	195500	Wiggin Hall	Mr Capper	No	15
HDA179	526600	205900	Wood Hall	Mr Reed	No	10
HDA178	523500	210500	Wood Hall	Thomas Hutchinson Esq	Yes	300
HDA180	531700	218500	Wood Hall	John Boteler Esq	Yes	300
HDA181	528600	210300	Woolmers	Mr Godfrey	No	40
HDA182	535500	205700	Wormleybury	Alr. Hume Esq	No	200
HDA183	537400	231800	Wydia Hall	Richard Gulston Esq	Yes	290
HDA184	536900	217900	Youngsbury	Will Bucklee Esq	No	120

Appendix 2.

Designed landscapes shown on Bryant's map of Hertfordshire (1822)

Code	Easting	Northing	Name	Approx size (acres)
HBR001	509200	201800	Abbotts Langley Manor	25
HBR002	542700	225300	Albury Hall	300
HBR003	535400	201700	Albury House	15
HBR004	544000	224000	Albury Lodge	10
HBR005	535600	202400	Albury Place	15
HBR006	513700	199400	Aldenham Abbey	130
HBR007	516800	201200	Aldenham Lodge	130
HBR008	516900	196300	Aldenham Park	80
HBR009	537700	229400	Alswick Hall	40
HBR010	536400	212900	Amwellbury	40
HBR011	541300	232900	Anstey	20
HBR012	522300	195900	Arcley Hall	15
HBR013	530800	227200	Ardeley Place	25
HBR014	530100	227100	Ardeleybury	240
HBR015	499100	206600	Ashlyns Hall	160
HBR016	499400	212100	Ashridge	1500
HBR017	535200	228500	Aspenden Hall	110
HBR018	535400	228200	Aspenden Rectory	10
HBR019	527000	222200	Aston Place	50
HBR020	519500	217000	Ayot Place	160
HBR021	521700	215300	Ayot St Peter Rectory	45
HBR022	532800	212300	Bailey Hall	45
HBR023	523800	232500	Baldock	60
HBR024	533500	211900	Balls	160
HBR025	540000	233300	Bandons	15
HBR026	518500	196200	Barham House	25
HBR027	538200	235500	Barkway	20
HBR028	529100	194400	Barnet	55
HBR029	529000	193000	Barnet	30
HBR030	499700	207200	Bartletts	80
HBR031	531200	208700	Bayford Place	25
HBR032	531600	210400	Bayfordbury	350
HBR033	529200	192700	Beaver Hall	30
HBR034	527700	207600	Bedwell Park	180
HBR035	544600	230400	Beeches	15
HBR036	503800	196300	Beechwood Park	290
HBR037	537300	217000	Bellecroft Bury	15
HBR038	528000	196000	Belmont	60
HBR039	529600	223600	Bennington Lordship	80
HBR040	530900	223500	Bennington Place	100
HBR041	540800	213100	Benningtons	60
HBR042	499000	208700	Berkhampstead Place	90
HBR043	499100	207800	Berkhampstead Rectory	20
HBR043	527300	207600	Birds Place	35
HBR044	549600	221800	Bishops Stortford Parsonage	15
HBR045	528200	195500	Bohun Lodge	35
HBR046	501600	203500	Bovingdon	15
HBR047	503600	205700	Box Moor House	15
HBR048	526800	221100	Bragbury End	30
HBR049	528500	215300	Bramfield	25
HBR050	529500	215400	Bramfield Place	35
HBR051	539500	225400	Braughing Rectory	20
HBR052	543100	230900	Brent Pelham Hall	15
HBR053	532100	207800	Brickdonbury	160
HBR054	541400	211200	Briggins	50

HBR055	531700	229100	Broadfield	120
HBR056	524600	222100	Broadwater	10
HBR057	521400	213000	Brocket Hall	640
HBR058	541400	221200	Bromley Hall	10
HBR059	525500	204700	Brookmans	210
HBR060	535300	207200	Broxbournebury	220
HBR061	501500	194800	Bulls End	45
HBR062	523800	209900	Bush Hall	40
HBR063	513100	196600	Bushey	60
HBR064	513400	195000	Bushey	50
HBR065	512600	196700	Bushey Grove	60
HBR066	514700	194000	Bushey Heath	35
HBR067	512800	195400	Bushey Manor House	40
HBR068	526600	236000	Bygrave Place	50
HBR069	515500	195100	Caldecote	40
HBR070	526800	206900	Camfield Place	170
HBR071	512400	193300	Carpenders	40
HBR072	508800	197100	Cassiobury	1200
HBR073	509600	202200	Cecil Lodge House	25
HBR074	494800	208700	Champneys	50
HBR075	500500	202000	Chantock	15
HBR076	534600	202500	Cheshunt House	40
HBR077	534600	204200	Cheshunt Park	80
HBR078	505500	215400	Cheveralls Green	40
HBR079	514000	210100	Childwickbury	120
HBR080	503600	202000	Chipperfield House	30
HBR081	504800	201300	Chipperfield Manor House	120
HBR082	524600	227700	Chivefield House	110
HBR083	503300	196800	Chorley Wood	60
HBR084	533500	202700	Claremont	80
HBR085	539600	236100	Cockenhatch	120
HBR086	521900	218500	Codicote Bury	10
HBR087	521300	218200	Codicote Lodge	70
HBR088	512500	200200	Cold Harbour Farm	50
HBR089	536900	225800	Cole Park	160
HBR090	533300	202500	Coles Grove Cottage	30
HBR091	516500	203400	Colney House	180
HBR092	505900	206000	Corner Hall	45
HBR093	535800	230700	Corney Bury	150
HBR094	532100	229400	Cottered Rectory	15
HBR095	527800	196500	Dacre Lodge	20
HBR096	533400	221300	Dane End House	80
HBR097	532300	234200	Daniels	15
HBR098	539300	227100	Dassels	20
HBR099	526100	218900	Datchworth Rectory	15
HBR100	514300	197400	Delrow	40
HBR101	523700	214800	Digswell House	150
HBR102	523000	214200	Digswell Rectory	45
HBR103	522500	198400	Dyrham Park	240
HBR104	520300	221800	East Hall Farm	20
HBR105	514500	198800	Edge Grove	110
HBR106	529300	206700	Epping Green House	40
HBR107	527300	207900	Essendon Place	70
HBR108	528200	194300	Everley Lodge	45
HBR109	504200	204800	Felden	15
HBR110	505700	193700	Frogmoor	15
HBR111	505700	205800	Frogmore	25
HBR112	528900	220700	Frogmore End	20
HBR113	542800	227900	Furneaux Pelham Hall	10

HBR114	505300	212300	Gaddesden College	30
HBR115	503600	212700	Gaddesden Hoo	80
HBR116	503800	211000	Gaddesden Place	280
HBR117	504800	207700	Gadebridge	110
HBR118	522500	197200	Galley Lane Farm	20
HBR119	511800	200300	Garsten House	20
HBR120	544000	212900	Gilston Park	390
HBR121	529800	217200	Gobions	240
HBR122	531000	214100	Goldings	40
HBR123	511300	207800	Gorhambury	520
HBR124	523400	227900	Graveley	20
HBR125	539900	229500	Great Hormead Bury	50
HBR126	549600	215400	Great Hyde Hall	160
HBR127	533000	222300	Green Elm	40
HBR128	525800	195500	Greenhill Grove	35
HBR129	508100	198700	Grove Park	210
HBR130	525100	219200	Gun Lodge	20
HBR131	501600	207100	Hacksters End	15
HBR132	543600	221900	Hadham Ford House	25
HBR133	545200	222700	Hadham Hall	15
HBR134	546100	222300	Hadham Park	15
HBR135	535900	210800	Haileybury	40
HBR136	537500	224600	Hamels	320
HBR137	498500	206100	Haresfoot	160
HBR138	520500	209200	Harpsfield Hall	15
HBR139	514300	193500	Hartsborne Manor House	40
HBR140	523700	208400	Hatfield	850
HBR141	522400	208300	Hatfield Rectory	80
HBR142	524800	206000	Hatfield Woodside	70
HBR143	508900	200400	Hazelwood	45
HBR144	505000	206500	Hemel Hempstead	60
HBR145	505500	207300	Hemel Hempstead Bury	30
HBR146	530800	212200	Hertingfordbury	25
HBR147	531200	211900	Hertingfordbury Rectory	25
HBR148	510800	230400	Hexton	250
HBR149	512800	194900	Heydon Hill House, Bushey	60
HBR150	502100	194600	High Ash	30
HBR151	520800	199000	High Cannons	210
HBR152	514400	230500	High Down	20
HBR153	511100	201500	High Elms	60
HBR154	518000	205300	Highfield Hall	20
HBR155	515200	196200	Hilfield Castle	220
HBR156	508700	200900	Hill Cottage	10
HBR157	523900	239500	Hinxworth Place	40
HBR158	518300	228800	Hitchin Priory	150
HBR159	536800	207900	Hoddesdon	30
HBR160	514700	206500	Holywell House	20
HBR161	541900	212700	Hunsden House	110
HBR162	542000	211400	Hunsden Mill	10
HBR163	518200	231300	Ickleford	35
HBR164	530700	232500	Julians	280
HBR165	517200	198100	Kendalls Hall	110
HBR166	504400	218100	Kensworthy Lynch	10
HBR167	516600	218100	Kimpton Rectory	15
HBR168	516100	223400	Kings Walden	240
HBR169	498200	206700	Kingshill	40
HBR170	519000	199200	Kitwells	220
HBR171	522900	220900	Knebworth	360
HBR172	518100	216100	Lamer	240

HBR173	507700	200000	Langleybury	60
HBR174	514600	194500	Laurel Lodge	20
HBR175	514200	219700	Lawrence End	75
HBR176	511100	227600	Lilley Manor	25
HBR177	511800	226800	Lilley Rectory	10
HBR178	525500	196100	Lions Down	55
HBR179	529200	208100	Little Berkhamsted	45
HBR180	528900	207800	Little Berkhamsted	15
HBR181	527700	195400	Little Grove	50
HBR182	540400	229000	Little Hormead Rectory	10
HBR183	513000	228500	Little Offley	35
HBR184	513500	227700	Little Offley Vicarage	40
HBR185	504900	207200	Lockers Park	20
HBR186	523700	215900	Lockleys	270
HBR187	510400	218500	Luton Hoo	1500
HBR188	515600	215500	Mackery End	30
HBR189	538000	213400	Maddocks House	140
HBR190	505200	208600	Marchmont House	60
HBR191	527900	213900	Marden	150
HBR192	535000	236500	Mardleybury	15
HBR192	505800	217200	Markyate Cell	220
HBR193	543800	232400	Meesdon Hall	40
HBR194	513300	194300	Merry Hill House	50
HBR195	505100	198300	Micklefield Green	100
HBR196	505200	197400	Micklefield Hall	60
HBR197	504900	194200	Money Hill	20
HBR198	546700	218900	Moor Hall	15
HBR199	507500	193300	Moor Park	470
HBR200	508200	193900	Moore House	90
HBR201	542200	542200	Moore Place	220
HBR202	543100	219700	Much Hadham Lordship	110
HBR203	543100	219200	Much Hadham Rectory	40
HBR204	513600	200200	Munden	120
HBR205	527400	202300	Muscombe Park	70
HBR206	510300	197200	Nascott Farm	40
HBR207	515600	205300	New Barnes House	120
HBR208	500200	207300	New Lodge	25
HBR209	517100	199700	New Organ Hall	130
HBR210	538700	236900	Newsells Bury	150
HBR211	527200	202900	Nin Hall	80
HBR212	521700	204200	North Mimms Place	520
HBR213	527000	202400	Northaw	65
HBR214	496500	210300	Northcote Court	25
HBR215	536600	203800	Nunnery Farm	60
HBR216	528300	195100	Oak Hill	160
HBR217	529100	237700	Odsey House	120
HBR218	516700	226300	Offley Holes	60
HBR219	514500	227000	Offley Place	210
HBR220	537100	222000	Old Hall Green	45
HBR221	537700	228700	Owles Hall	40
HBR222	528800	213200	Panshanger	1300
HBR223	515600	202100	Parkbury Lodge	25
HBR224	494200	211800	Pendley Hall	150
HBR225	547900	213300	Pishobury	200
HBR226	535100	216200	Poles	90
HBR227	529600	208500	Pond Field End	25
HBR228	530400	205600	Ponsborne	120
HBR229	518400	199500	Porters	400
HBR230	523500	204600	Potrills	150

HBR231	517600	225100	Preston Castle	40
HBR232	511800	224700	Putteridge	120
HBR233	520600	201200	Rabley Hall	25
HBR234	523500	237100	Radwell Hall	80
HBR235	537400	208000	Rawdon House	20
HBR236	506600	197100	Red Heath	60
HBR237	505800	194100	Rickmansworth Bury	50
HBR238	505800	195400	Rickmansworth Park	220
HBR239	495900	207200	Ross Way	90
HBR240	512500	213100	Rothamsted	120
HBR241	509000	199200	Russells Farm	150
HBR242	533900	218900	Sacombe Park	200
HBR243	516600	208400	Sandridge Lodge	70
HBR244	504200	199300	Sarret	10
HBR245	510600	204000	Serge Hill House	50
HBR246	525400	222300	Sheephallbury	30
HBR247	518800	200300	Shenley	40
HBR248	519400	200900	Shenley Hill	80
HBR249	519600	201200	Shenley Parsonage	40
HBR250	543200	232800	Smaley Cottage	20
HBR251	519300	228200	St Ippolytes	40
HBR252	523300	217100	St John's Lodge	20
HBR253	518700	221600	St Pauls Waldenbury	150
HBR254	518500	222700	Stagenhoe Park	150
HBR255	506800	212000	Stags End	40
HBR256	539200	221300	Standon Lordship	20
HBR257	539200	211300	Stansted Abbots	40
HBR258	540000	211100	Stansted Abbots Bury	35
HBR259	544800	229300	Stocking Pelham Hall	10
HBR260	496100	213300	Stocks nr Aldbury	80
HBR261	538600	228100	Stonebury	15
HBR262	518400	224600	Temple Dinsley	50
HBR263	534100	200800	Temple House	30
HBR264	525600	214500	Tewin Water	220
HBR265	522400	215000	The Frythe	40
HBR266	505000	212500	The Golden Parsonage	55
HBR267	504100	211700	The Grove	60
HBR268	518800	219600	The Hoo (Kimpton)	480
HBR269	521600	220100	The Node	40
HBR270	534400	200700	Theobalds	240
HBR271	533500	236900	Therfield Rectory	10
HBR272	547700	218700	Thorley Hall	40
HBR273	547900	219100	Thorley Rectory	15
HBR274	533800	230000	Throcking Hall	10
HBR275	521300	226500	Titmore Cottage	20
HBR276	530200	204600	Tolmers	110
HBR277	525000	194000	Totteridge	40
HBR278	524600	193800	Totteridge	130
HBR279	524500	194500	Totteridge	40
HBR280	523300	194200	Totteridge Park	70
HBR281	492800	211900	Tring Grove	90
HBR282	492600	211100	Tring House	330
HBR283	549300	219400	Twyford Mill	50
HBR284	518100	205500	Tytenhanger	90
HBR285	525200	195400	Underhill	10
HBR286	545400	224000	Upwick Hall	10
HBR287	530000	224800	Walkern Hall	45
HBR288	529200	226700	Walkern Rectory	30
HBR289	533400	214600	Ware Park	180

HBR290	530100	219000	Watton	20
HBR291	526000	217300	Welches Farm	25
HBR292	514100	229700	Wellbury House	50
HBR293	502600	502600	Westbrookhay	220
HBR294	543200	229100	White Barns	40
HBR295	500300	208300	Whitehill	20
HBR296	523500	226000	Whitney Rectory	25
HBR297	547400	222900	Wickham Hall	15
HBR298	541200	215800	Widford	25
HBR299	522400	230400	Willian Rectory	20
HBR300	532500	201800	Wood Green	40
HBR301	531700	218500	Wood Hall	370
HBR302	497300	208000	Woodcock Hill	25
HBR303	518200	199400	Woodhall	100
HBR304	526500	205900	Woodhill	60
HBR305	525000	206800	Woodside Place	30
HBR306	528600	210300	Woolmers	200
HBR307	533500	206100	Wormley Cottage	30
HBR308	535500	205700	Wormleybury	180
HBR309	537400	231800	Wydial Hall	160
HBR310	520900	227200	Wymondley House	10
HBR311	542000	217600	Wynches	140
HBR312	536900	217900	Youngsbury	120

Appendix 3

Gentleman's Residences identified on Thomas Eyre's map of Northamptonshire (1779)

Code	Easting	Northing	Name of park	Name of owner	House symbol	Park Pale	Approx Size (acres)
NTE001	477400	261400	Abington	J.H. Thursby Esq	No	Yes	50
NTE002	500400	281700	Aldwinckle	Mrs Spinkes	Yes	No	
NTE003	450800	236700	Astrop	John Willes Esq	No	Yes	20
NTE004	468200	265100	Althorp	Earl Spencer	No	Yes	210
NTE005	502300	295400	Apethorpe	Earl of Westmorland	Yes	No	
NTE006	474700	281100	Arthingworth	Thomas Rokeby Esq	Yes	No	
NTE007	455400	269200	Ashby Lodge	Lumley Arnold Esq	No	Yes	70
NTE008	457300	268200	Ashby St Ledgers	John Ashley Esq	Yes	No	
NTE009	449300	250700	Aston Le Walls	Edmund Plowden Esq	Yes	No	
NTE010	451400	233000	Aynho	Cartwright Esq	Yes	No	
NTE011	488700	277300	Barton Seagrave	Joshua Wilcocks Esq	Yes	No	
NTE012	463200	239800	Biddlesden	Earl Verney	No	Yes	55
NTE013	501100	289100	Biggin	Charles Joye Esq	Yes	No	
NTE014	462100	249800	Blakesley Hall	Henry Wright Esq	Yes	No	
NTE015	497400	295700	Blatherwycke	Donatus O Brien Esq	No	Yes	250
NTE016	490000	281500	Boughton House	Duke of Montagu	No	Yes	650
NTE017	475000	265900	Boughton Park	Earl of Strafford	No	Yes	90
NTE018	464600	248300	Bradden	William Ives Esq	No	Yes	20
NTE019	475200	269400	Brixworth	Justinian Raynesford Esq	Yes	No	
NTE020	463400	262600	Brockhall	Thornton Esq	No	Yes	20
NTE021	467700	257700	Bugbrooke	Warren Esq	Yes	No	
NTE022	495800	294000	Bulwick	John Clarke Esq	Yes	No	
NTE023	504800	306000	Burghley	Earl of Exeter	No	Yes	850
NTE024	489800	275200	Burton Latimer	John Harper Esq	Yes	No	
NTE025	457700	250500	Canons Ashby	Lady Dryden	No	Yes	100
NTE026	483400	289300	Carlton	Sir John Palmer	No	Yes	55
NTE027	486200	259200	Castle Ashby	Earl of Northampton	No	Yes	70
NTE028	451600	259500	Catesby	Rev Mr Parkhurst	No	Yes	60
NTE029	449000	243400	Chacombe House	Charles Fox Esq	Yes	No	
NTE030	473000	265500	Chapel Brampton	Pearce Esq	Yes	No	
NTE031	453500	255800	Charwelton	Rev Mr Adams	Yes	No	
NTE032	491900	266800	Chester House, Irchester	Rev Dr Stonehouse	Yes	No	
NTE033	499700	302700	Collyweston	Steryne Esq [sic]	Yes	No	
NTE034	479100	242300	Cosgrove	John Mansell Esq	Yes	No	
NTE035	504500	290600	Cotterstock	Mrs Rose	Yes	No	

NTE036	471100	273900	Cottesbrooke Hall	Sir James Langham Bt	No	Yes	60
NTE037	484500	290100	Cottingham	G. Mill Esq	Yes	No	
NTE038	476100	253100	Courteenhall	Sir William Wake	No	Yes	60
NTE039	492400	277200	Cranford	Sir George Robinson	Yes	No	
NTE040	482800	276500	Cransley	John Robinson	Yes	No	
NTE041	454500	246900	Culworth	Sir Michael D'Anvers	Yes	No	
NTE042	454900	246600	Culworth	Richard Bond Esq	Yes	No	
NTE043	473700	261500	Dallington	George Wright Esq	No	Yes	20
NTE044	495000	292600	Deene	Duke of Montagu	No	Yes	750
NTE045	475900	259000	Delapre Abbey	Edward Bouverie	No	Yes	130
NTE046	499200	276400	Denford	L Burton Esq	Yes	No	
NTE047	480300	283000	Desborough	Charles Joye Esq	Yes	No	
NTE048	477100	287700	Dingley	John Peach Hungerford	No	Yes	60
NTE049	496300	280000	Drayton House	Lord George Germain	No	Yes	290
NTE050	466700	268300	East Haddon	Henry Sawbridge Esq	Yes	No	
NTE051	501100	304700	Easton	Charles Shuttleworth Esq	Yes	No	
NTE052	489100	258000	Easton Maudit	Earl of Sulser [sic]	No	Yes	280
NTE053	470200	249300	Easton Neston	Earl Pomfret	No	Yes	260
NTE054	482900	263600	Ecton	Ambrose Isted Esq	Yes	No	
NTE055	450500	247900	Edgcote House	William Chauney Esq	No	Yes	70
NTE056	508800	292900	Elton	Ld Carysford	Yes	No	
NTE057	458700	235600	Evenley Hall	Bassett Esq	No	Yes	40
NTE058	453900	249700	Eydon	Mr Williamson	Yes	No	
NTE059	495800	287000	Fermyn Woods	Earl of Upper Ossory	No	Yes	120
NTE060	456200	256700	Fawsley	Valentine Knightley Esq	No	Yes	470
NTE061	466700	250800	Field Burcote		No	Yes	20
NTE062	491200	271900	Finedon	Sir William Dolben	No	Yes	40
NTE063	497300	297700	Fineshade Abbey	Sir John Monckton Esq	Yes	No	
NTE064	464000	259900	Flore	Richard Kirby Esq	Yes	No	
NTE065	478600	243900	Furtho	John Biggins Esq	No	Yes	60
NTE066	470500	254800	Gayton	John Barker Esq	Yes	No	
NTE067	484500	281300	Glendon	John Booth Esq	Yes	No	
NTE068	495800	275000	Great Addington	Rev. Mr Lamb	Yes	No	
NTE069	480800	262800	Great Billing	Lord John Cavendish	Yes	No	
NTE070	488100	270800	Great Harrowden	Marquis of Rockingham	Yes	No	
NTE071	479300	258800	Great Houghton	Brownsmith	Yes	No	
NTE072	487100	285800	Great Oakley	Supple Esq	Yes	No	
NTE073	455000	242300	Greatworth	Rev Mr Higginson	Yes	No	10
NTE074	487900	260800	Grendon Hall	Charles Compton Esq	No	Yes	25

NTE075	467700	272900	Guildsborough	Sir Thomas Ward	Yes	No	
NTE076	467300	273300	Guildsborough	John Bateman Esq	Yes	No	
NTE077	470000	264400	Harlestone	Robert Andrew Esq	No	Yes	40
NTE078	493200	295200	Harringworth Park		No	Yes	750
NTE079	471300	277300	Haselbech	George Ashby Esq	Yes	No	
NTE080	498200	264200	Higham Park	Sir James Langham Bt	No	Yes	350
NTE081	453700	252500	Hinton	Lucy Knightley Esq	Yes	No	
NTE082	482000	254100	Horton	Lord Hinchinbrooke	No	Yes	330
NTE083	494700	270600	Irthlingborough	Simon Taylor Esq	Yes	No	
NTE084	473600	279500	Kelmarsh	William Hanbury Esq	Yes	No	
NTE085	486600	277900	Kettering	Duke of Montagu	Yes	No	
NTE086	474900	262800	Kingsthorpe	James Fremieux Esq	Yes	No	
NTE087	492500	292600	Kirby	Lord Hatton	Yes	No	
NTE088	469700	259600	Kislingbury	Rev Mr Jephcott	Yes	No	
NTE089	493900	266200	Knuston Hall	Benjamin Kidney Esq	No	Yes	70
NTE090	475800	274500	Lampport	Justin Isham Esq	No	Yes	40
NTE091	488400	273800	Langleys Lodge, Isham	Lucy Knightley Esq	Yes	No	
NTE092	495900	297000	Laxton	Ld Carberry	Yes	No	
NTE093	502800	284000	Lilford	Thomas Powys Esq	Yes	No	
NTE094	483300	279000	Loddington	Mrs Allicocke	Yes	No	
NTE095	517000	298500	Longthorpe	Sir Robert Bernard	Yes	No	
NTE096	465900	258700	Lower Heyford	Deval Esq	Yes	No	
NTE097	498200	285400	Lyveden		Yes	No	
NTE098	474900	276800	Maidwell	James Seawen Esq	Yes	No	
NTE099	453500	242000	Marston St Lawrence	Miss Botrys	Yes	No	
NTE100	453700	242100	Marston St Lawrence	John Polegrove Esq	No	Yes	30
NTE101	469000	285800	Marston Trussell	Mrs Barwell	Yes	No	
NTE102	514600	299800	Milton	Ld Fitzwilliam	No	Yes	780
NTE103	478300	266300	Moulton Park	Col. Keeting	No	Yes	100
NTE104	452300	236900	Newbottle	Earl of Thanet	No	Yes	50
NTE105	488100	283400	Newton	Lockwood Esq	Yes	No	
NTE106	460400	263700	Norton	Eliab Breton Esq	Yes	No	
NTE107	486100	272100	Orlingbury	Andrew Young Esq	Yes	No	
NTE108	516800	296500	Orton Longville	Sir Charles Cope	Yes	No	
NTE109	480800	265600	Overstone Park	Lord Brownlow	No	Yes	180
NTE110	467000	254200	Pattishall	Denys Esq	Yes	No	
NTE111	483700	285400	Pipewell Abbey	Colonel Harcourt	Yes	No	
NTE112	475400	268100	Pitsford	James Money Esq	Yes	No	
NTE113	506900	286900	Polbrook	Orme Esq	Yes	No	

NTE114	478700	255700	Preston Deanery	Charles Newman Esq	Yes	No	
NTE115	467000	270300	Ravensthorpe	Thomas Langton Esq	Yes	No	
NTE116	486700	291200	Rockingham Castle	Ld Sonds [sic]	Yes	No	
NTE117	481700	280900	Rothwell	George Hill Esq	Yes	No	
NTE118	483600	282700	Rushton	Lord Cullen	Yes	No	
NTE119	469700	244400	Sholebrooke Lodge		No	Yes	100
NTE120	477000	241300	Shrob Lodge		No	Yes	30
NTE121	468200	282600	Sibbertoft	Joseph Sturges Esq	Yes	No	
NTE122	502100	292100	Southwick	Rev Mr Broad	Yes	No	
NTE123	471300	269000	Spratton	Andrew Hacket	Yes	No	
NTE124	458700	279300	Stanford Hall	Sir Thomas Care Bt. [sic]	No	Yes	280
NTE125	455400	238900	Steane (near Halse)	Earl Spencer	No	Yes	50
NTE126	502500	285900	Stoke Doyle	Messrs Hunt and Brandon	No	Yes	50
NTE127	474000	248900	Stoke Bruerne	Mr Fordisse	No	Yes	40
NTE128	463000	256200	Stowe Nine Churches	Rev Dr Lloyd	Yes	No	
NTE129	466000	281800	Sulby Abbey		Yes	No	
NTE130	482300	267300	Sywell	Lord Brownlow	Yes	No	
NTE131	480200	251800	Salcey Lawn		No	Yes	60
NTE132	452200	241700	Thenford	Michael Woodhall Esq	Yes	No	
NTE133	483300	278900	Thorp Malsor	Thomas Cecil Mansell Esq	Yes	No	
NTE134	453300	244900	Thorpe Mandeville	William Panath Esq	No	Yes	10
NTE135	467300	275700	Thornby	Jas. Roberts Esq	Yes	No	
NTE136	495000	278200	Twywell	Thomas Mulso Esq	Yes	No	
NTE137	509300	304200	Ufford	Lord James Manners	Yes	No	
NTE138	471800	260000	Upton	Thomas Samwell Esq	No	Yes	30
NTE139	473800	242500	Wakefield Lodge	Duke of Grafton	No	Yes	100
NTE140	507900	304100	Walcot Hall	Thomas Noel Esq	Yes	No	
NTE141	480500	271800	Walgrave	Sir James Langham Bt	Yes	No	
NTE142	448800	240300	Warkworth	Francis Eyre Esq	No	Yes	30
NTE143	460200	269000	Watford Court	Mrs Clarke	No	Yes	60
NTE144	464000	280300	Welford Hall		Yes	No	
NTE145	488400	268600	Wellingborough	Mrs Frederick	Yes	No	
NTE146	488700	267200	Wellingborough	Earl Brookes	Yes	No	
NTE147	457400	265600	Welton	John Clarke Esq	Yes	No	
NTE148	458200	265400	Welton	John Adams Esq	Yes	No	
NTE149	459100	246700	Weston	Mr Barmardiston	Yes	No	
NTE150	468700	242800	Whittlebury	Hon Mr B- Ashby	No	Yes	15
NTE151	474400	238000	Wicken Park	Mrs Fion	No	Yes	120
NTE152	462500	273900	Winwick		Yes	No	

NTE153	491000	263100	Wollaston	F. Dickins Esq	Yes	No	
NTE154	496600	276900	Woodford	Lord St John	Yes	No	
NTE155	485000	254900	Yardley Chase		No	Yes	240

Appendix 4

Designed landscapes identified on Bryant's map of Northamptonshire (1827)

Code	Easting	Northing	Name of park	Approx Size (acres)
NTB001	477400	261400	Abington	90
NTB002	502100	283000	Achurch Parsonage	15
NTB003	468200	265100	Althorp	440
NTB004	513300	296000	Alwalton	30
NTB005	502300	295400	Apethorpe	60
NTB006	474700	281100	Arthingworth	25
NTB007	455400	269200	Ashby Lodge	270
NTB008	457300	268200	Ashby St Ledgers	50
NTB009	449300	250700	Aston Le Walls	10
NTB010	450800	236700	Astrop	50
NTB011	451400	233000	Aynho	320
NTB012	456100	261000	Badby House	50
NTB013	509200	306200	Bainton	20
NTB014	505000	285200	Barnwell Castle	120
NTB015	488900	276700	Barton Seagrave	20
NTB016	488700	277300	Barton Seagrave Hall	15
NTB017	501100	289100	Biggin	220
NTB018	462100	249800	Blakesley Hall	10
NTB019	497400	295700	Blatherwycke	420
NTB020	490000	281500	Boughton House	300
NTB021	475000	265900	Boughton Park	50
NTB022	464600	248300	Bradden	15
NTB023	456000	266400	Bragborough Hall	20
NTB024	478600	287400	Brampton Parsonage	10
NTB025	475200	269400	Brixworth	40
NTB026	475200	269400	Brixworth	10
NTB027	463400	262600	Brockhall	220
NTB028	467700	257700	Bugbrooke	20
NTB029	495800	294000	Bulwick	190
NTB030	504800	306000	Burghley	1050
NTB031	489800	275200	Burton Latimer	15
NTB032	457700	250500	Canons Ashby	100
NTB033	486200	259200	Castle Ashby	370
NTB034	451600	259500	Catesby	40
NTB035	449000	243400	Chacombe House	80
NTB036	473100	266600	Chapel Brampton	15
NTB037	453500	255800	Charwelton	10
NTB038	506300	280100	Clopton Hall	40
NTB039	483000	261100	Cogenhoe Parsonage	10
NTB040	466200	253500	Cold Higham Parsonage	10
NTB041	479100	242300	Cosgrove Hall	130
NTB042	479500	243100	Cosgrove Priory	20
NTB043	504500	290600	Cotterstock	10
NTB044	471100	273900	Cottesbrooke Hall	100
NTB045	484500	290100	Cottingham	10
NTB046	476100	253100	Courteenhall	160
NTB047	492400	277200	Cranford	140
NTB048	492000	277400	Cranford Parsonage	10
NTB049	454500	246900	Culworth	10
NTB050	454900	246600	Culworth	15
NTB051	473700	261500	Dallington	55
NTB052	495000	292600	Deene	450
NTB053	475900	259000	Delapre Abbey	200
NTB054	477100	287700	Dingley	100
NTB055	455000	262500	Drayton Grange	15

NTB056	496300	280000	Drayton House	210
NTB057	485300	264100	Earls Barton House	10
NTB058	483400	289300	East Carlton	120
NTB059	466700	268300	East Haddon	90
NTB060	470200	249300	Easton Neston	850
NTB061	482900	263600	Ecton	90
NTB062	450500	247900	Edgcote House	310
NTB063	508800	292900	Elton	240
NTB064	458700	235600	Evenley Hall	110
NTB065	453900	249700	Eydon	220
NTB066	453000	238900	Farthinghoe	25
NTB067	456200	256700	Fawsley	720
NTB068	495800	287000	Fermyn Woods	140
NTB069	491200	271900	Finedon	70
NTB070	464000	259900	Flore	50
NTB071	484500	281300	Glendon	70
NTB072	495800	275000	Great Addington	10
NTB073	480800	262800	Great Billing	90
NTB074	488100	270800	Great Harrowden	100
NTB075	479300	258800	Great Houghton	20
NTB076	487100	285800	Great Oakley	140
NTB077	455000	242300	Greatworth	10
NTB078	467100	249100	Green Norton Hall	10
NTB079	466800	250100	Green Norton Parsonage	10
NTB080	487900	260800	Grendon Hall	10
NTB081	466400	273300	Guilsborough Grange	10
NTB082	467600	272600	Guilsborough Hall	20
NTB083	467500	273000	Guilsborough Vicarage	10
NTB084	480900	254900	Hackleton	10
NTB085	470000	264400	Harlestone	240
NTB086	477500	280100	Harrington Parsonage	10
NTB087	471300	277300	Haselbech	10
NTB088	482000	254100	Horton	240
NTB089	494700	270600	Irthlingborough	15
NTB090	473600	279500	Kelmarsh	120
NTB091	474900	262800	Kingsthorpe	15
NTB092	492500	292600	Kirby	260
NTB093	469700	259600	Kislingbury	15
NTB094	493900	266200	Knuston Hall	60
NTB095	475800	274500	Lamport	100
NTB096	495900	297000	Laxton	140
NTB097	502800	284000	Lilford	150
NTB098	463000	254200	Litchborough	50
NTB099	459400	258200	Little Everdon Hall	15
NTB100	517000	298500	Longthorpe	90
NTB101	465900	258700	Lower Heyford	10
NTB102	497600	280900	Lowick Parsonage	10
NTB103	474900	276800	Maidwell	20
NTB104	453700	242100	Marston St Lawrence	110
NTB105	514600	299800	Milton	670
NTB106	476500	268900	Moulton Grange	40
NTB107	460400	263700	Norton	55
NTB108	486100	272100	Orlingbury	10
NTB109	480800	265600	Overstone Park	380
NTB110	518600	302500	Paston Hall	30
NTB111	467000	254200	Pattishall	10
NTB112	471500	245400	Paulerspury Parsonage	10
NTB113	502500	284500	Pilton	150
NTB114	475400	268100	Pitsford	10

NTB115	459900	248400	Plumpton Manor	10
NTB116	478700	255700	Preston Deanery	20
NTB117	486700	291200	Rockingham Castle	320
NTB118	483600	282700	Rushton	70
NTB119	480200	251800	Salcey Lawn	140
NTB120	469700	244400	Sholebrooke Lodge	190
NTB121	502100	292100	Southwick	25
NTB122	458700	279300	Stanford Hall	120
NTB123	497600	271100	Stanwick Hall	10
NTB124	474000	248900	Stoke Bruerne	380
NTB125	502500	285900	Stoke Doyle	10
NTB126	466000	281800	Sulby Abbey	20
NTB127	452200	241700	Thenford	60
NTB128	467300	275700	Thornby	10
NTB129	470400	286500	Thorpe Lubenham	20
NTB130	453300	244900	Thorpe Mandeville	10
NTB131	479000	264600	Thorplands	20
NTB132	499900	278500	Thrapston	10
NTB133	502000	279700	Titchmarsh Parsonage	30
NTB134	460100	237800	Turweston	30
NTB135	495000	278200	Twywell	10
NTB136	509300	304200	Ufford	30
NTB137	448200	253100	Upper Boddington Rectory	15
NTB138	471800	260000	Upton	60
NTB139	501300	283500	Wadenhoe	20
NTB140	473800	242500	Wakefield Lodge	250
NTB141	507900	304100	Walcot Hall	30
NTB142	460200	269000	Watford Court	130
NTB143	462500	259500	Weedon Bec	140
NTB144	489400	269500	Wellingborough	15
NTB145	458200	265400	Welton Manor	10
NTB146	457400	265600	Welton Place	140
NTB147	463600	264800	Whilton Rectory	10
NTB148	468700	242800	Whittlebury	90
NTB149	474400	238000	Wicken Park	160
NTB150	474300	239400	Wicken Rectory	35
NTB151	491000	263100	Wollaston	20
NTB152	494200	276300	Woodford Lodge	60
NTB153	496900	276900	Woodford Parsonage	15
NTB154	475200	257400	Wootton	30
NTB155	485000	254900	Yardley Chase	110

Appendix 5.

Designed Landscapes identified on Faden's map of Norfolk, 1797.

Code	Easting	Northing	Name of Park	Shaded	House Symbol	Name of Owner	Approx size (acres)
NFD001	644500	292800	Aldeby Hall	N	Y		0
NFD002	612500	318700	Alderford	N	Y	Mr Copland	0
NFD003	573900	329400	Anmer	Y	N	J. Coldham Esq	100
NFD004	625100	332600	Antingham	N	Y	R Baffield Esq	0
NFD005	625500	332200	Antingham Hall	N	Y		0
NFD006	612300	329400	Armingland Hall	N	Y		0
NFD007	588300	304000	Ashill Parsonage	Y	N	Rev John Stanhowe Watts	25
NFD008	631400	321000	Ashmanhaugh	Y	N	Anthony Aufrere Esq	60
NFD009	604900	295200	Attleborough	N	Y	Rev Mr Franklyn	0
NFD010	605500	292600	Attleborough	N	Y	Barlow Esq	0
NFD011	605000	296200	Attleborough Hall	N	Y		0
NFD012	613900	315600	Attlebridge Hall	N	Y		0
NFD013	612000	338000	Baconsthorpe Hall	N	Y	Zurrishaddi Girdlestone	0
NFD014	579800	332100	Bagthorpe Mount	N	Y		0
NFD015	600900	337200	Bale Hall	N	Y		0
NFD016	570900	305500	Barton Bendish Hall	N	Y	Sir John Berney	0
NFD017	580400	335800	Barwick Hall	Y	N	William Host	65
NFD018	615300	309400	Bawburgh	Y	N		15
NFD019	604700	321000	Bawdeswell Hall	N	Y	Richard Lloyd Esq	0
NFD020	604800	340400	Bayfield Hall	Y	N	Mrs Jodrels	70
NFD021	574800	305700	Beachamwell Hall	N	Y	John Molleux Esq	0
NFD022	551300	304300	Beaupre Hall	Y	N		90
NFD023	602100	320700	Beck Hall	N	Y	TW Coke Esq	0
NFD024	629300	293000	Bedingham	Y	N		35
NFD025	633100	321400	Beeston Hall	Y	N	J Preston Esq	200
NFD026	625600	313800	Beeston New Hall	Y	N	John Micklethwaite	100
NFD027	624900	313800	Beeston Old Hall	N	Y		0
NFD028	617400	342600	Beeston Regis Hall	Y	N	Cremer Cremer Esq	15
NFD029	590400	315300	Beeston with Bittering	N	Y	Mr Barnwell	0
NFD030	629000	317600	Belough Hall	N	Y	Sir Thomas Durrance	0
NFD031	574300	324900	Bellefont	Y	N		90
NFD032	630600	301500	Bergh Apton	Y	N	Mr Thompson	60

NFD033	601000	320000	Billingford	Y	N	Clarke Woodbine Esq	0
NFD034	626000	304300	Bixley Hall	Y	N	Lord Roseberry	340
NFD035	617800	328600	Blickling	Y	N	W Harbord	750
NFD036	600800	279600	Blo Norton Hall	N	Y	Rev J Brown	0
NFD037	647500	299000	Blocker Hall, near Herringfleet	N	Y		0
NFD038	583300	298500	Bodney Hall	Y	N		15
NFD039	611600	322600	Booton Hall	Y	N	P Elven Esq	135
NFD040	618000	300500	Bracon Ash	Y	N	John Berney	90
NFD041	618200	299300	Bracon Ash	Y	N	J Cobbold Esq	10
NFD042	627000	333900	Bradfield Hall	N	Y		0
NFD043	629600	305100	Bramerton Hall	N	Y		0
NFD044	596100	294400	Breccles Hall	N	Y	Taylor Esq	0
NFD045	592800	283000	Brettenham, Shadwell Lodge	N	Y	RJ Burton Esq	0
NFD046	606500	332500	Briston Hall	N	Y		0
NFD047	621100	280400	Brockdish Hall	N	Y		0
NFD048	621100	280400	Brockdish Red House	N	Y	John Dell Esq	0
NFD049	628900	298800	Brooke House	N	Y	Roger Kerrison Esq	0
NFD050	634800	292400	Broome Hall	Y	N	Mrs Fowle	80
NFD051	634800	292400	Broome Place	Y	N	Rev. Mr Colman	25
NFD052	650000	301700	Browston Hall	N	Y	Mrs Le Grys	0
NFD053	635600	305900	Buckenham Hall	N	Y		0
NFD054	584000	295500	Buckenham Tofts	Y	N		760
NFD055	649600	304500	Burgh Hall	N	Y	James Astley Esq	0
NFD056	635900	310700	Burlingham	N	Y	Jorrey Esq	0
NFD057	636800	310500	Burlingham Hall	Y	N	James B Burroughes Esq	250
NFD058	583000	342200	Burnham Market	Y	N		120
NFD059	585500	340500	Burnham Thorpe	Y	N	Captain Nelson	10
NFD060	595100	302700	Carbrooke	N	Y	Benjamin Barker Esq	0
NFD061	566400	324600	Castle Rising	Y	N	Charles Howard Esq	20
NFD062	595900	297700	Caston Hall	N	Y	Rev. Mr Twelves	0
NFD063	637700	321300	Catfield	N	Y	G Cubitt	0
NFD064	623000	312000	Catton	Y	N	J. Ives	110
NFD065	623400	311400	Catton	Y	N	Mr R Harvey	15
NFD066	623100	311100	Catton	Y	N	Mr T Harvey	40
NFD067	623300	311000	Catton	Y	N	Mr Harvey	20
NFD068	622300	310600	Catton	Y	N	Mr Suffield	35

NFD069	623200	310500	Catton	Y	N	Mr Beevor	20
NFD070	610200	301300	Cavick House Wymondham	Y	N	Rev Dr Drake	15
NFD071	614800	288400	Channons Hall	N	Y		0
NFD072	635400	299200	Chedgrave	Y	N	Red Mr Webster	10
NFD073	633500	303800	Claxton Hall	N	Y		0
NFD074	587600	298900	Clermont Lodge Threxton	Y	N	Earl of Clermont	140
NFD075	642500	314500	Clippesby Hall	N	Y	Romey Esq	0
NFD078	579900	304400	Cockley Cley	Y	N	J.R. Dashwood Esq	130
NFD079	617900	307900	Colney	Y	N	Joh. Postle Esq	110
NFD080	617000	308200	Colney Hall	Y	N		10
NFD081	627800	320300	Coltishall	N	Y	M Parker	0
NFD082	627100	319200	Coltishall	N	Y	H P Watts	0
NFD083	628000	319800	Coltishall Hall	Y	N	Chapman Ives Esq	60
NFD084	615900	311100	Costessey	Y	N	Jermingham	820
NFD085	634900	313100	Cottenham Hall, Panxworth	N	Y	Byshelly Esq	0
NFD086	588600	332600	Cranmer Hall	N	Y		0
NFD087	619700	305100	Cringleford Hall	Y	N	Mrs Bates	40
NFD088	621400	341600	Cromer Hall	N	Y	G. Windham Esq	0
NFD089	626600	316400	Croswick Hall	N	Y	Earl of Cholmondeley	0
NFD090	561300	302400	Crow Hall, Downham Market	Y	N		10
NFD091	625500	306900	Crown Point	Y	N	Money Esq	45
NFD092	628500	286900	Denton House	Y	N		30
NFD093	629500	287400	Denton Lodge	N	Y	Dr Sandby	0
NFD094	566100	300400	Dereham Abbey	Y	N	Thomas Kett Esq	80
NFD095	569300	330300	Dersingham	N	Y	Hammond Esq	0
NFD096	618100	282600	Dickleburgh White House	Y	N		25
NFD097	577900	296800	Didlington	Y	N	W.H. Wilson Esq	150
NFD098	633400	326100	Dilham Hall	N	Y		0
NFD099	611900	279800	Diss	N	Y	Rev Mr Manning	0
NFD100	633000	291600	Ditchingham Park	Y	N	Rev Bacon Bedingfield	130
NFD101	576700	336800	Docking	Y	N	John Hare Esq	35
NFD102	577900	335700	Docking Lodge	N	Y		0
NFD103	618600	313200	Drayton Hall	N	Y	Charles Weston Esq	0
NFD104	640300	291400	Dunberry Hall, Gillingham	N	Y		0
NFD105	622600	302000	Dunston Hall	Y	N	Mrs Long	80
NFD106	619100	307900	Earlham Hall	Y	N	Bacon Frank Esq	260

NFD107	630700	289800	Earsham House	Y	N	John Windham Esq	270
NFD108	591600	333900	East Barsham Hall	N	Y	Sir Edward Astley	0
NFD109	618400	302200	East Carleton	Y	N		15
NFD110	598600	313100	East Dereham	Y	N	Lady Fenn	10
NFD111	599600	311500	East Dereham	Y	N	Codd Esq	20
NFD112	598600	314500	East Dereham, Quebec House	N	Y		0
NFD113	599100	286600	East Harling Hall	Y	N	Rev Mr Wright	25
NFD114	586600	317100	East Lexham	Y	N	John Wodehouse Esq	110
NFD115	648100	319700	East Somerton Hall	Y	N	Ing. Knights Esq	25
NFD116	589800	291500	East Wretham Hall	Y	N	W Colhoun Esq	60
NFD117	614000	311600	Easton Lodge	Y	N	Lambert Blackwell	70
NFD118	602500	288800	Eccles Hall	Y	N	W Woodley Esq	30
NFD119	608600	334600	Edgefield	N	Y	Dr Theodorick	0
NFD120	609700	334300	Edgefield	N	Y	Rev Mr Francis	0
NFD121	604000	315900	Elsing Hall	Y	N	Mrs Mary Green	70
NFD122	619300	339400	Felbrigg Hall	Y	N	William Windham Esq	420
NFD123	572300	291100	Feltwell Lodge	N	Y	Denton Esq	0
NFD124	647600	313300	Filby	Y	N	Gil. Lucas Esq	15
NFD125	640100	311800	Fishley Hall	N	Y		0
NFD126	630400	285800	Flixton Hall	Y	N	Alexander Adair Esq	300
NFD127	616400	292800	Forncett Great House	N	Y		0
NFD128	603400	324800	Foulsham Hall	N	Y		0
NFD129	627400	302800	Framingham Earl	N	Y	Edward Rigby Esq	0
NFD130	624500	318400	Frettenham	N	Y	Lord Suffield	0
NFD131	599000	330100	Fulmondeston	N	Y	Rev Reeps Brown	0
NFD132	600500	282200	Garboldisham	Y	N	G Montgomery Esq	80
NFD133	601500	307900	Garvestone	N	Y	W Grigson Esq	0
NFD134	595900	323900	Gateley Hall	Y	N	R Sharrock Esq	120
NFD135	596300	324100	Gately	N	Y	J Elger	0
NFD136	624900	285300	Gawdy Hall	Y	N	Rev Mr Holmes	300
NFD137	638700	291700	Geldeston Staithe	N	Y	Mr Dawson	0
NFD138	639700	292400	Geldestone Hall	Y	N	Thomas Kerrick Esq	90
NFD139	641300	292200	Gillingham Hall	Y	N	Schultz Esq	50
NFD140	627700	336500	Gimingham Hall	N	Y		0
NFD141	590300	322300	Godwick Hall	N	Y	T.W. Coke Esq	0
NFD142	614700	335400	Great Barningham	N	Y	Mr Motte	0

NFD143	580300	335900	Great Barwick	Y	N	William Hoste Esq	70
NFD144	594900	291900	Great Hockham	Y	N	Jas. Dover Esq	35
NFD145	613500	306300	Great Melton Hall	Y	N	Sir John Lombe	135
NFD146	650100	314400	Great Ormesby	Y	N	Jas. Symonds Esq	50
NFD147	649300	314700	Great Ormesby	N	Y	Rev Mr Salmon	0
NFD148	649500	314500	Great Ormesby	N	Y	William Taylor Esq	0
NFD149	629300	310300	Great Plumstead Hall	N	Y	Roger Kerrison Esq	0
NFD150	618700	285700	Great Pulham	Y	N	Mrs Roper	55
NFD151	595700	315100	Gressenhall Hall	Y	N	John Hill Esq	120
NFD152	596400	315500	Gressenhall Parsonage	N	Y	Rev Benjamin Crofts	0
NFD153	606300	327300	Guestwick Hall	N	Y		0
NFD154	600700	334700	Gunthorpe Hall	Y	N	Charles Collyer Esq	180
NFD155	622700	334100	Gunton	Y	N	Hon. W. Asheton Harbord	450
NFD156	653700	296200	Gunton nr Lowestoft	N	Y	Dr Saunders	0
NFD157	549400	307300	Hackbeach Hall Emneth	N	Y		0
NFD158	643100	296700	Haddiscoe Hall	N	Y		0
NFD159	643600	298000	Haddiscoe Thorpe Hall	N	Y		0
NFD160	623100	318600	Handford Hall	N	Y	Wirral Esq	0
NFD161	619700	335100	Hanworth	Y	N	Robert Doughty Esq	240
NFD162	637700	329700	Happisburgh Hall	N	Y	Roger Kerrison	0
NFD163	604700	303600	Hardingham	Y	N	Hamd. Alpe Esq	25
NFD164	603200	304700	Hardingham	Y	N	T.G. Payne Esq	25
NFD165	602100	291900	Hargham Hall	Y	N	Hugh Hare Esq	110
NFD166	624300	282400	Harleston Dove House	Y	N		15
NFD167	568000	338000	Heacham	Y	N	Edward Rolfe Esq	70
NFD168	631900	292700	Hedenham Park	Y	N	Charles Gurney Esq	60
NFD169	627200	318200	Heggatt Hall nr Coltishall	Y	N		20
NFD170	620400	311300	Hellesdon Hall	N	Y	Charles Berners Esq	0
NFD171	635100	311200	Hemblington Hall	Y	N	William Heath Esq	20
NFD172	616300	300700	Hethel Hall	Y	N	Sir Thomas Beevor	320
NFD173	614800	303600	Hethersett	N	Y	Mr Norgate	0
NFD174	616300	305300	Hethersett	Y	N	Mr Brown	40
NFD175	616000	305000	Hethersett	Y	N	Mr Buckle	15
NFD176	615300	321300	Heveringland Hall	Y	N	William Fellowes Esq	160
NFD177	611600	327600	Heydon Hall	Y	N	W Bulwer Esq	100
NFD178	641200	324400	Hickling	N	Y	John Micklethwaite Esq	0

NFD179	587000	319200	High House Farm, Litcham	N	Y	Sir John Wodehouse	0
NFD180	582700	300200	Hilborough	Y	N	Ralph Caldwell Esq	80
NFD181	582700	300500	Hilborough	N	Y	Rev. William Nelson	0
NFD182	572500	326100	Hillington Park	Y	N	Sir M.B. Folkes Bart.	260
NFD183	598600	336800	Hindringham	N	Y	James Bate Esq	0
NFD184	597800	336600	Hindringham Hall	N	Y		0
NFD185	601700	302500	Hingham Hall	Y	N		35
NFD186	602000	302100	Hingham Parsonage	Y	N	Rev Phillip Wodehouse	15
NFD187	607700	313200	Hockering	N	Y	Rev H Howman	0
NFD188	572400	287900	Hockwold Hall	Y	N	Billingsby Esq	25
NFD189	599700	316400	Hoe Hall	N	Y		0
NFD190	588500	342800	Holkham	Y	N	Thomas Coke Esq	3200
NFD191	609500	330200	Hollywood House, nr Corpusty	N	Y	Mr Dickens	0
NFD192	607900	339700	Holt Hall	N	Y	Tomlinson Esq	0
NFD193	632700	329000	Honing Hall	Y	N	Thomas Cubbit Esq	45
NFD194	611200	312400	Honingham Hall	Y	N	Lord Bayning	720
NFD195	609600	312000	Honingham Parsonage	Y	N		25
NFD196	635700	317200	Horning High Street	N	Y	G Coldham Esq	0
NFD197	619700	315300	Horsford	N	Y	John Day Esq	0
NFD198	625200	320700	Horstead Hall	Y	N	Hon Bachelor Esq	180
NFD199	579100	328700	Houghton	Y	N	Earl of Cholmondeley	900
NFD200	631700	317600	Hoveton St John Hall	Y	N	John Blofield Esq	40
NFD201	631500	320000	Hoveton St Peter Hall	Y	N	H Negus Esq	120
NFD202	607000	316200	Hungate Hall	N	Y	Custance Esq	0
NFD203	569100	341800	Hunstanton	Y	N	Rev. Armine Styleman	220
NFD204	593500	309800	Huntingfield Hall	Y	N		10
NFD205	639400	326000	Ingham	N	Y	Mr Waites	0
NFD206	568700	332500	Ingoldisthorpe	N	Y	Rev W Davy	0
NFD207	569000	332800	Ingoldisthorpe	N	Y	Richard Ayton Lee Esq	0
NFD208	568000	332500	Ingoldisthorpe Old Hall	N	Y	Foster Esq	0
NFD209	619500	328300	Ingworth	N	N	G. Hunt Holly Esq	0
NFD210	619300	304200	Intwood Hall	Y	N	Hon. Henry Hobart	20
NFD211	616100	330700	Itteringham Hall	N	Y		0
NFD212	604700	325100	Keeling Hall, Themelthorpe	N	Y	Mr Copman	0
NFD213	609000	341700	Kelling Hall	N	Y	Gorrelston Esq	0
NFD214	588600	316100	Kempstone Hall	N	Y	Mr Johnston	0

NFD215	620800	304100	Keswick Hall	Y	N	Mr Gurney	90
NFD216	616400	302500	Ketteringham Hall	Y	N	Edward Atkins Esq	240
NFD217	589100	284100	Kilverstone Hall	Y	N	Wright Esq	90
NFD218	609000	304700	Kimberley	Y	N	Lord Wodehouse	570
NFD219	627800	305200	Kirby Bedon	Y	N	John Berney Esq	370
NFD220	637300	294100	Kirby Cane Hall	Y	Y	Wilson Esq	70
NFD221	637000	293600	Kirby Cane Parsonage	N	Y		0
NFD222	628900	298800	Kirstead Hall	Y	N	Roger Kerrison Esq	75
NFD223	622800	306600	Lakenham	Y	N	James Crowe	30
NFD224	622600	307600	Lakenham	Y	N		15
NFD225	622400	306700	Lakenham	N	Y		20
NFD226	622300	307300	Lakenham	Y	N	Ives Esq	20
NFD227	621700	307100	Lakenham Mile End Place	Y	N		15
NFD228	624500	323100	Lammas	N	Y	John Lubbock Esq	0
NFD229	635100	300600	Langley	Y	N	Sir Thomas Beauchamp Proctor	500
NFD230	597100	305800	Letton Hall	Y	N	Gurden Dillingham Esq	130
NFD231	588300	317700	Litcham	Y	N		30
NFD232	596900	293500	Little Breccles Hall	N	Y	Mr Gent. Barker	0
NFD233	587700	312800	Little Dunham Hall	N	Y	Edward Parry Esq	0
NFD234	648800	315200	Little Ormesby	N	Y	Mr Upcher	0
NFD235	647900	315000	Little Ormesby Hall	N	Y	Dr Bateman	0
NFD236	637200	297100	Loddon Hall	N	Y	Bramston Esq	0
NFD237	581900	294000	Lynford	N	Y	George Nelthorpe Esq	0
NFD238	621500	303000	Mangreen Hall	Y	N	Miss Churchman	70
NFD239	614300	331900	Mannington	N	Y	Lord Walpole	0
NFD240	614300	331900	Marsham Hall	Y	N	John Dashwood Esq	30
NFD241	645900	317500	Martham Hall	N	Y	Thomas Grove Esq	0
NFD242	603400	310800	Mattishall	N	Y	John Wright Esq	0
NFD243	603000	331900	Melton Constable	Y	N	Sir Edward Astley	460
NFD244	618200	299300	Mergate Hall, Bracon Ash	Y	N	Mrs Berney	25
NFD245	591100	297700	Merton	Y	N	Lord Walsingham	280
NFD246	612600	315800	Morton Hall	N	Y	Le Grece Esq	0
NFD247	619400	300400	Mulbarton	Y	N		40
NFD248	619500	301000	Mulbarton Hall	N	Y	F. Bedingfield Esq	0
NFD249	633400	297500	Mundham Old Hall	N	Y	Samuel Hoare Esq	0
NFD250	574800	313100	Narborough Hall	N	Y	Tyson Esq	0

NFD251	576600	313700	Narford Hall	Y	N	B.C. Fountain Esq	35
NFD252	586800	309500	Necton Hall	Y	N	W Mason Esq	100
NFD253	622400	313800	Newton St Faiths	N	Y	Sir Philip Stephens	0
NFD254	596600	322000	North Elmham, Elmham Park	Y	N	T W Coke	410
NFD255	598200	321600	North Elmham, Westfield Park	Y	N	R Milles Esq	220
NFD256	628400	329700	North Walsham	Y	N	Mr Ransom Esq	25
NFD257	628600	329900	North Walsham	Y	N	Cooper Esq	35
NFD258	641500	314400	Oby Hall	N	Y	Charles Cooper Esq	0
NFD259	607200	291200	Old Buckenham St Andrews Hall	Y	N	Miss Head	50
NFD260	613600	328600	Oulton Hall	N	Y	Coulson Bell Esq	0
NFD261	623600	340300	Overstrand	Y	N	B Gurney Esq	90
NFD262	623100	339900	Overstrand	N	Y	R. Gurney Esq	0
NFD263	574200	301200	Oxborough Hall	Y	N	Sir Richard Bedingfield	90
NFD264	623100	324000	Oxnead Hall	N	Y	Thomas Anson Esq	0
NFD265	583600	311400	Palgrave Hall	N	Y	Captain Gove	0
NFD266	632100	334400	Paston	N	Y	Thomas Anson Esq	0
NFD267	585600	328000	Pinkney Hall	N	Y		0
NFD268	612900	335600	Plumstead Hall (nr Mannington)	N	Y		0
NFD269	621700	285100	Pulham St Mary Hall	N	Y	W Donne Esq	0
NFD270	603200	287600	Quidenham	Y	N	Earl of Albemarle	210
NFD271	627400	312500	Rackheath Hall	Y	N	Edward Stracey Esq	260
NFD272	620200	297100	Rainthorpe Hall	N	Y	J. Gay Esq	0
NFD273	639900	296300	Raveningham Hall	Y	N	Sir Edmund Bacon	180
NFD274	610200	338200	Red House	N	Y	R Kerrison Esq	0
NFD275	642600	302600	Reedham Hall	N	Y	George Leigh Esq	0
NFD276	601300	306700	Reymerston	N	Y	Rev Mr Grigson	0
NFD277	596600	281200	Riddlesworth Hall	Y	N	Syles. Bevan Esq	380
NFD278	621000	322500	Rippon Hall, Hevingham	Y	N	Thomas Anson Esq	20
NFD279	566500	324500	Rising Lodge	N	Y	H Howard Esq	0
NFD280	598100	298300	Rockland St Mary Hall	N	Y		0
NFD281	644900	316700	Rollesby	Y	N	L Mapes Esq	90
NFD282	582900	320600	Rougham Hall	Y	N	Fountain North Esq	70
NFD283	609300	280600	Roydon	Y	N	John Frere Esq	20
NFD284	582100	325800	Rudham Grange	N	Y		0
NFD285	582600	331000	Rudham Lodge	N	Y	Marquess Townshend	0
NFD286	646500	311000	Runham Hall	N	Y	T Worship Esq	0

NFD287	562500	301100	Ryston Hall	Y	N	Richard Pratt Esq	140
NFD288	590400	302600	Saham Toney Parsonage	Y	N		25
NFD289	630100	314500	Salhouse	N	Y	R Ward Esq	0
NFD290	611600	324500	Salle Hall	Y	N	Edward Hase Esq	220
NFD291	569400	328700	Sandringham	Y	N	H. H. Henley Esq	220
NFD292	582900	287200	Santon Downham	Y	N	Lord Cadogan	90
NFD293	623200	297100	Saxlingham Nethergate	Y	N		10
NFD294	612900	329900	Saxthorpe Hall	N	Y	J Pearse Esq	0
NFD295	628500	322600	Scottow Hall	Y	N	Sir Thomas Durant	250
NFD296	650200	315400	Scratby Hall	N	Y	J Ramey Esq	0
NFD297	631800	298300	Seething Hall	Y	N	Thomas Kett Esq	140
NFD298	598100	325500	Sennowe Hall	Y	N	Lord Wodehouse	220
NFD299	595800	307300	Shipdham Parsonage	N	Y	Rev C Bullock	0
NFD300	623700	298700	Shotesham	Y	N	Fellowes Esq	270
NFD301	634400	298500	Sisland Hall	N	Y		0
NFD302	589100	284100	Snarehill Hall	Y	N	Ja. Pell Esq	450
NFD303	569000	333300	Snettisham	N	Y	Nic. Styleman Esq	0
NFD304	649200	297700	Somerleyton Hall	N	Y	Sir Thomas Allen	0
NFD305	637200	307800	South Burlingham Hall	N	Y	J. B. Burroughes	0
NFD306	585800	304000	South Pickenham	Y	N	Mr Lobb Chute	80
NFD307	623700	315200	Spixworth Hall	Y	N	F Longe Esq	120
NFD308	626000	312600	Sprowston Hall	Y	N	John Morse Esq	110
NFD309	594100	320600	Stanfield Hall	N	Y	Isaac Preston Esq	0
NFD310	580000	337000	Stanhoe Hall	N	Y		0
NFD311	625500	317400	Staninghall Hall	N	Y		0
NFD312	644000	310100	Stokesby Hall	N	Y	Miss Saunders	0
NFD313	563200	305900	Stow Bardolph Hall	N	Y	Thomas Hare Esq	0
NFD314	621200	319700	Stratton Strawless	Y	N	Robert Marsham Esq	140
NFD315	623000	331500	Suffield Hall	Y	N	Lord Suffield	110
NFD316	618400	336900	Sustead Hall	N	Y		0
NFD317	629100	332600	Swafield	Y	N	Rev Mr Meux	20
NFD318	629500	333100	Swafield Hall	N	Y	Rev Isaac Horsley	0
NFD319	613800	319300	Swannington Hall	N	Y		0
NFD320	613800	295400	Tacolneston	N	Y	Rev Thomas Warren	0
NFD321	619600	295700	Tasburgh	Y	N		10
NFD322	615000	313700	Taverham Hall	Y	N	Miles Branthwaite	360

NFD323	593900	326600	Testerton Hall	N	Y	Mr Phillip Case	0
NFD324	615700	280700	Thelveton	Y	N	Thomas Hayes Esq	30
NFD325	604800	336200	Thornage Hall	N	Y	Rev John Astley	0
NFD326	573400	343100	Thornham Hall	N	Y	G. Hogg Esq	0
NFD327	626600	308500	Thorp Lodge	Y	N	Mr J Humphrey	15
NFD328	625400	308600	Thorpe	N	Y	Foster Esq	0
NFD329	625800	308500	Thorpe Hall	N	Y		0
NFD330	585100	341700	Thorpe Hall, Burnham	N	Y		0
NFD331	624000	336000	Thorpe Hall, Thorpe Market	N	Y		0
NFD332	625400	308300	Thorpe Lodge	N	Y	F. Morse	0
NFD333	588900	298800	Threxton	N	Y	Rev. Mr Knopwood	0
NFD334	646100	312400	Thrigby Hall	N	Y	R. Woolmer Esq	0
NFD335	607400	328900	Thurning Beck Hall	N	Y	P Elven Esq	0
NFD336	598200	333500	Thursford Hall	Y	N	Sir George Chadd	45
NFD337	633000	300400	Thurton Hall	N	Y		0
NFD338	633300	295200	Thwaite Hall nr Broome	Y	N	Roger Kerrison Esq	50
NFD339	614000	290000	Tibenham New Hall	N	Y		0
NFD340	612900	290600	Tibenham Old Hall	N	Y	J.B. Petre Esq	0
NFD341	643300	295000	Toft Monks Hall	N	Y		0
NFD342	626800	292000	Topcroft Hall	Y	N	Jer. Smyth Esq	40
NFD343	624500	306800	Trowse Newton Hall	Y	N		10
NFD344	629200	334800	Trunch	N	Y	Mrs Preston	0
NFD345	622400	326800	Tuttington Hall	N	Y		0
NFD346	601800	324600	Twyford Hall	N	Y		0
NFD347	610200	317800	Tyes Hall	N	Y		0
NFD348	635500	332000	Walcot	Y	N	Mr Sealy	30
NFD349	636300	330800	Walcot Hall	N	Y		0
NFD350	562600	307500	Wallington Hall	Y	N	Hon. Bell Esq	30
NFD351	593600	336400	Walsingham Abbey	N	N	H.L. Warner Esq	0
NFD352	593900	341500	Warham Hall	Y	N	Thomas Coke Esq	160
NFD353	588500	335700	Waterden House	N	Y	William Money Hill Esq	0
NFD354	562200	311300	Watlington	Y	N	Thomas B Plasten Esq	110
NFD355	611000	297100	Wattlefield Hall	N	Y	W. Jackson Esq	0
NFD356	643800	326300	Waxham	Y	N	Sir George Brograve	10
NFD357	584900	321200	Weasenham Hall	Y	N	W Mason Esq	100
NFD358	577800	289100	Weeting	N	Y	Earl of Mountrath	100

NFD359	592000	309900	West Bradenham	Y	N	Jas. Smyth	35
NFD360	597400	285100	West Harling Hall	Y	N	Sir John Sebright	410
NFD361	588200	325700	West Raynham	Y	N	Marquis Townshend	980
NFD362	582000	327400	West Rudham	N	Y	Mr T Howard	0
NFD363	583800	292700	West Runton Parsonage	Y	N		10
NFD364	584000	292800	West Tofts	Y	N	Stephen Payne Galway Esq	1500
NFD365	589800	291500	West Wretham New House	Y	N	W Colhoun Esq	150
NFD366	578000	315000	Westacre Abbey Park	Y	N		80
NFD367	579300	318100	Westacre Hall	Y	N	Anthony Hammond Esq	90
NFD368	610900	317000	Weston House	Y	N	John Custance Esq	340
NFD369	628700	326300	Westwick Hall	Y	N	Petre Esq	280
NFD370	626700	626700	White House Whitlingham	N	Y		0
NFD371	627500	307500	Whitlingham Hall	Y	N	Dr Beevor	10
NFD372	608700	321400	Whitwell Hall	N	Y	Thomas Cook Esq	0
NFD373	617600	333300	Wickmere Hall	Y	N	Lord Walpole	20
NFD374	631300	309600	Witton Park	Y	N	Charlotte Laura Norris	200
NFD375	603900	344000	Wiveton Hall	N	Y		0
NFD376	616300	331800	Wolterton Hall	Y	N	Lord Walpole	300
NFD377	607400	327000	Wood Dalling Hall	Y	N	W Bulwer Esq	70
NFD378	601400	327600	Wood Norton Hall	N	Y	Norris Esq	0
NFD379	633300	315900	Woodbastwick Hall	N	Y	Lord Suffield	0
NFD380	628500	294700	Woodton Hall	Y	N	Suckling Esq	30
NFD381	630300	326100	Worstead Hall	Y	N	Sir G Brograve	210
NFD382	630400	316500	Wroxham Broad House	Y	N	J Howes Esq	70
NFD383	628100	316500	Wroxham Hall	Y	N	Rev Collyer	180

Appendix 6

Designed landscapes identified on Bryant's map of Norfolk (1826)

Code	Easting	Northing	Name of park	Shaded	Approx size (acres)
NBR001	644500	292800	Albeby Hall	Y	10
NBR002	627100	286400	Alburgh	Y	10
NBR003	617000	335000	Aldborough Hall	Y	60
NBR004	607100	291100	Andrews Hall, Old Buckenham	Y	90
NBR005	573900	329400	Anmer	Y	140
NBR006	571600	312600	Ash Wood Lodge, Pentney	Y	80
NBR007	588300	304000	Ashill Parsonage	Y	30
NBR008	605000	296200	Attleborough	Y	30
NBR009	579800	332100	Bagthorpe	Y	80
NBR010	600900	337200	Bale Hall	Y	40
NBR011	581300	333600	Barmer House	Y	65
NBR012	607900	308000	Barnham Broom	Y	40
NBR013	592500	329500	Barons Hall Fakenham	Y	10
NBR014	635400	322200	Barton Hall	Y	15
NBR015	580400	335800	Barwick House	Y	65
NBR016	615300	309400	Bawburgh	Y	40
NBR017	604800	340400	Bayfield	Y	120
NBR018	574800	305700	Beachamwell	Y	90
NBR019	551300	304300	Beaupre Hall	Y	25
NBR020	629300	293000	Bedingham	Y	50
NBR021	633100	321400	Beeston	Y	260
NBR022	590400	315400	Beeston Parsonage	Y	15
NBR023	617400	342600	Beeston Regis	Y	20
NBR024	625600	313800	Beeston St Andrews	Y	110
NBR025	556700	322400	Bentinck House	N	10
NBR026	630600	301500	Bergh Apton House	Y	20
NBR027	631000	301400	Bergh Apton Lodge	Y	50
NBR028	631000	299800	Bergh Apton Parsonage	Y	10
NBR029	563100	303300	Bexwell Hall	Y	20
NBR030	601000	320000	Billingford Hall	Y	10
NBR031	594600	319500	Bilney Lodge	Y	60
NBR032	593600	317800	Bittering Hall	N	10
NBR033	626000	304300	Bixley Hall	Y	110
NBR034	600800	279600	Blo Norton Hall	Y	10
NBR035	632200	310800	Blofield Hall	Y	20
NBR036	632900	310700	Blofield Place	Y	40
NBR037	583100	298600	Bodney Hall	Y	35
NBR038	611600	322600	Booton Hall	Y	40
NBR039	617800	309000	Bowthorpe Hall	Y	20
NBR040	617800	309000	Bowthorpe Hall	Y	10
NBR041	608500	284300	Boyland Hall	Y	120
NBR042	618000	300500	Bracon Lodge	Y	25
NBR043	618200	299300	Bracon New Hall	Y	35
NBR044	624000	307000	Bracondale	Y	50
NBR045	592000	309900	Bradenham Hall	Y	40
NBR046	629600	305100	Bramerton	Y	10
NBR047	578400	287100	Brandon Bridge	Y	35
NBR048	607900	280600	Bressingham	y	40
NBR049	603700	335700	Brinton	Y	70
NBR050	621100	280400	Brockdish Place	Y	10
NBR051	628900	298800	Brooke House	Y	120
NBR052	634800	292400	Broome Hall	Y	70
NBR053	584900	328300	Broomthorpe Hall	Y	10
NBR054	613000	301400	Browick Hall	Y	10
NBR055	633000	308300	Brundall House	Y	20

NBR056	584000	295500	Buckenham Tofts	Y	750
NBR057	609100	299600	Burfield Hall	Y	30
NBR058	649600	304500	Burgh Hall	Y	20
NBR059	636800	310500	Burlingham Hall	Y	130
NBR060	635900	310700	Burlingham House	Y	40
NBR061	582900	342200	Burnham Hall	Y	30
NBR062	650400	312200	Caister Hall	Y	10
NBR063	623500	303700	Caister New Hall	Y	10
NBR064	638400	303900	Cantley House	Y	30
NBR065	595100	302700	Carbrooke	Y	15
NBR066	639000	313000	Cargate Hall	Y	20
NBR067	618600	301500	Carlton Lodge	Y	10
NBR068	618400	302200	Carlton St Mary	Y	35
NBR069	637700	321300	Catfield Hall	Y	30
NBR070	623400	311400	Catton	Y	10
NBR071	623100	311100	Catton	Y	10
NBR072	623300	311000	Catton	Y	10
NBR073	622300	310600	Catton	Y	10
NBR074	623200	310500	Catton	Y	10
NBR075	623000	312000	Catton	Y	110
NBR076	568900	302600	Cavenham House	Y	30
NBR077	610200	301300	Cavick House Wymondham	Y	15
NBR078	614800	288400	Channoze	Y	10
NBR079	633500	303800	Claxton Hall	Y	40
NBR080	558400	320600	Clenchwarton Hall	Y	10
NBR081	587600	298900	Clermont	Y	90
NBR082	642500	314500	Clippesby Hall	N	20
NBR083	579900	304400	Cockley Cley	Y	90
NBR084	617900	307900	Colney Cottage	Y	10
NBR085	617000	308200	Colney Hall	Y	150
NBR086	610800	310000	Colton	Y	30
NBR087	561600	301600	Coney Gill House	Y	40
NBR088	571100	322800	Congham Hall	Y	50
NBR089	571300	324700	Congham Lodge	Y	60
NBR090	571200	323600	Congham Rectory	Y	20
NBR091	615900	311100	Costessey	Y	930
NBR092	588600	332600	Cranmer Hall	Y	20
NBR093	578100	294800	Cranwich	Y	25
NBR094	598400	304500	Cranworth Parsonage	Y	10
NBR095	564700	303800	Crimplesham Hall	Y	10
NBR096	619700	305100	Cringleford Hall	Y	60
NBR097	626600	316400	Crostwight House	Y	20
NBR098	561300	302400	Crow Hall	Y	70
NBR099	625500	306900	Crown Point	Y	90
NBR100	585900	288100	Croxton	Y	20
NBR101	588700	312400	Curds Hall	Y	35
NBR102	628500	286900	Denton	Y	60
NBR103	628600	287400	Denton Parsonage	Y	10
NBR104	561500	301500	Denver Manor House	Y	10
NBR105	566100	300400	Dereham Abbey	Y	80
NBR106	569300	330300	Dersingham	Y	10
NBR107	617100	281300	Dickleburgh High House	Y	25
NBR108	617500	282300	Dickleburgh Rectory	Y	10
NBR109	577900	296800	Didlington	Y	120
NBR110	597600	314600	Dillington Hall	Y	10
NBR111	612000	279700	Diss Parsonage	Y	20
NBR112	612400	280500	Diss Walcot House	Y	20
NBR113	633000	291600	Ditchingham Hall	Y	90
NBR114	576700	336800	Docking Hall	Y	60

NBR115	612400	303200	Downham Grove	Y	15
NBR116	561000	302900	Downham Market	Y	10
NBR117	561400	302800	Downham Market	Y	15
NBR118	561400	303600	Downham Market	Y	20
NBR119	622300	322100	Dudwick House	Y	10
NBR120	622600	302000	Dunstan Hall	Y	60
NBR121	619100	307900	Earlham Hall	Y	120
NBR122	630700	289800	Earsham Hall	Y	180
NBR123	632700	289300	Earsham Parsonage	Y	15
NBR124	616100	339800	East Beckham Hall	Y	10
NBR125	599100	286600	East Harling Parsonage	Y	20
NBR126	586600	317100	East Lexham	Y	150
NBR127	648100	319700	East Somerton Hall	Y	40
NBR128	608800	311000	East Tuddenham	Y	35
NBR129	570200	316100	East Winch Hall	Y	40
NBR130	589800	291500	East Wretham	Y	340
NBR131	614000	311600	Easton Lodge	Y	360
NBR132	620700	306600	Eaton Hall	Y	50
NBR133	602500	288800	Eccles	Y	25
NBR134	635900	292800	Ellingham Hall	Y	35
NBR135	604000	315900	Elsing Hall	Y	35
NBR136	619300	339400	Felbrigg	Y	960
NBR137	572300	291100	Feltwell Place	Y	50
NBR138	606600	282700	Fersfield	Y	15
NBR139	647600	313300	Filby Hall	Y	40
NBR140	640100	311800	Fishley Hall	N	10
NBR141	616400	292800	Fornsett St Peter Parsonage	Y	10
NBR142	576900	298500	Foulden New Hall	Y	15
NBR143	627300	303800	Framingham	Y	40
NBR144	627400	302800	Framingham	Y	40
NBR145	613500	280300	Frenze Hall	Y	10
NBR146	573800	335200	Fring Hall	Y	65
NBR147	615000	296500	Fundenhall	Y	15
NBR148	613900	296400	Fundenhall Parsonage	Y	20
NBR149	600500	282200	Garboldisham Hall	Y	70
NBR150	595900	323900	Gateley	Y	80
NBR151	624900	285300	Gawdy Hall	Y	180
NBR152	573100	319000	Gayton	Y	60
NBR153	563600	320300	Gaywood Hall	Y	10
NBR154	639700	292400	Geldestone Hall	y	70
NBR155	641300	292200	Gillingham Hall	Y	70
NBR156	590300	322300	Godwick	Y	40
NBR157	614700	335400	Great Barningham	Y	260
NBR158	587000	315300	Great Dunham Hall	Y	10
NBR159	594900	291900	Great Hockham	Y	150
NBR160	596000	327200	Great Ryburgh Rectory	Y	10
NBR161	612200	320500	Great Witchingham Hall	Y	60
NBR162	595700	315100	Gressenhall	Y	110
NBR163	622800	341300	Grove House Cromer	Y	10
NBR164	581900	327900	Grove House, West Rudham	N	20
NBR165	600700	334700	Gunthorpe Hall	Y	90
NBR166	622700	334100	Gunton	Y	700
NBR167	601700	301200	Gurney Manor, Hingham	Y	25
NBR168	605900	302200	Hackford Hall	Y	30
NBR169	643100	296700	Haddiscoe Cottage	Y	15
NBR170	623200	318600	Hainford Hall	Y	30
NBR171	622500	318900	Hainford Parsonage	Y	10
NBR172	623300	317800	Hainford Place	Y	10
NBR173	592500	295600	Hall Cottage Thompson	Y	10

NBR174	619700	335100	Hanworth Hall	Y	230
NBR175	603200	304700	Hardingham	Y	40
NBR176	604700	303600	Hardingham Hall	Y	35
NBR177	615300	321300	Haveringland	Y	180
NBR178	568000	338000	Heacham Hall	Y	60
NBR179	631900	292700	Hedenham Hall	Y	60
NBR180	620400	311300	Hellesdon	Y	15
NBR181	635100	311200	Hemblington Hall	Y	10
NBR182	648700	316800	Hemsby Hall	Y	10
NBR183	615200	304000	Hethersett Hall	Y	30
NBR184	616300	305300	Hethersett Hill House	Y	30
NBR185	615800	304500	Hethersett New Hall	Y	50
NBR186	615800	304900	Hethersett Parsonage	Y	10
NBR187	611600	327600	Heydon Hall	Y	170
NBR188	595000	335900	High House New Walsingham	Y	260
NBR189	582700	300200	Hilborough Hall	Y	80
NBR190	572500	326100	Hillington Hall	Y	220
NBR191	572200	325400	Hillington Parsonage	Y	20
NBR192	602200	301900	Hingham	Y	25
NBR193	601700	302500	Hingham Hall	Y	50
NBR194	601900	302100	Hingham Parsonage	Y	25
NBR195	570100	288500	Hockwold Grange Farm	Y	25
NBR196	572400	287900	Hockwold Hall	Y	75
NBR197	573500	287900	Hockwold Parsonage	Y	10
NBR198	588500	342800	Holkham	Y	3000
NBR199	608800	339100	Holt Grove House	Y	10
NBR200	607900	337900	Holt Lodge	N	20
NBR201	632700	329000	Honing Hall	Y	80
NBR202	611200	312400	Honingham	Y	130
NBR203	619700	315300	Horsford House	Y	25
NBR204	627100	319200	Horstead Hall	Y	40
NBR205	625200	320700	Horstead Hall	Y	120
NBR206	626400	318800	Horstead Lodge	Y	20
NBR207	579100	328700	Houghton	Y	950
NBR208	630800	320400	Hoveton Hall	Y	70
NBR209	631500	320000	Hoveton Park	Y	160
NBR210	631900	317500	Hoveton St John Hall	Y	40
NBR211	569100	341800	Hunstanton	Y	250
NBR212	639400	326000	Ingham Hall	Y	10
NBR213	569000	332800	Ingoldisthope Rectory	Y	20
NBR214	568700	332500	Ingoldisthorpe	Y	30
NBR215	568700	332500	Ingoldisthorpe Hall	Y	120
NBR216	568000	332500	Ingoldisthorpe Old Hall	Y	10
NBR217	619500	328300	Ingworth	Y	15
NBR218	619300	304200	Intwood Hall	Y	60
NBR219	636200	320000	Irstead Grove	Y	10
NBR220	636500	320400	Irstead Parsonage	Y	10
NBR221	608800	341700	Kelling Parsonage	Y	20
NBR222	588600	316100	Kempstone Lodge	Y	30
NBR223	606800	285500	KenninghallHall	Y	60
NBR224	620900	304600	Keswick New Hall	Y	40
NBR225	620700	304100	Keswick Old Hall	Y	20
NBR226	616400	302500	Ketteringham Hall	Y	140
NBR227	589100	284100	Kilverstone Hall	Y	25
NBR228	609000	304700	Kimberley	Y	600
NBR229	627800	305200	Kirby Bedon	Y	60
NBR230	637300	294100	Kirby Cane Hall	Y	70
NBR231	623700	306200	Lakenham Cottage	Y	10
NBR232	621800	307300	Lakenham Eaton House	Y	10

NBR233	622300	307300	Lakenham Eaton Lodge	Y	10
NBR234	621300	308400	Lakenham Fir Cottage	Y	10
NBR235	621400	308600	Lakenham Gothic Cottage	Y	10
NBR236	622500	307200	Lakenham Grove	Y	10
NBR237	622200	305800	Lakenham High House	Y	10
NBR238	623100	305700	Lakenham House	Y	15
NBR239	621500	307000	Lakenham Mile End Place	Y	10
NBR240	622000	308200	Lakenham Reidfield	Y	10
NBR241	621500	307500	Lakenham The Cottage	Y	10
NBR242	621900	307700	Lakenham The Grove	Y	10
NBR243	624500	323100	Lammas Old Hall	Y	10
NBR244	624700	322900	Lammas Parsonage	Y	15
NBR245	635100	300600	Langley	Y	300
NBR246	635500	299200	Langley Manor House	Y	15
NBR247	586600	333600	Leicester Square Farm	Y	25
NBR248	606200	339100	Letheringsett Hall	N	10
NBR249	597100	305800	Letton	Y	140
NBR250	637000	308900	Lingwood Lodge	Y	10
NBR251	588300	317700	Litcham	Y	15
NBR252	587200	300100	Little Cressingham	N	60
NBR253	587700	312800	Little Dunham Hall	Y	190
NBR254	586400	312900	Little Dunham Parsonage	Y	25
NBR255	590200	311700	Little Fransham Parsonage	Y	15
NBR256	579100	323700	Little Massingham Rectory	Y	15
NBR257	630400	311200	Little Plumstead	Y	15
NBR258	630800	310800	Little Plumstead Hall	Y	80
NBR259	631400	310900	Little Plumstead Parsonage	Y	35
NBR260	619800	292300	Long Stratton Parsonage	Y	40
NBR261	604000	281800	Lopham Parsonage	Y	10
NBR262	581900	294000	Lynford	Y	120
NBR263	621500	303000	Mangreen Hall	Y	70
NBR264	614300	331900	Mannington Hall	Y	10
NBR265	600600	341100	Manor Cottage Langham	Y	30
NBR266	570200	308800	Marham	Y	65
NBR267	614300	331900	Marsham Hall	Y	15
NBR268	615300	334900	Matlask	Y	20
NBR269	603400	310800	Mattishall	Y	10
NBR270	603000	331900	Melton Constable Hall	Y	700
NBR271	613500	306300	Melton Park	Y	120
NBR272	591100	297700	Merton	Y	270
NBR273	573200	294800	Methwold	Y	15
NBR274	566000	316900	Middleton	Y	25
NBR275	612600	315800	Moreton	Y	10
NBR276	622400	294300	Morningthorpe	Y	35
NBR277	619500	301000	Mulbarton Hall	Y	40
NBR278	620100	300800	Mulbarton Lodge	Y	15
NBR279	573200	313200	Narborough	Y	15
NBR280	574800	313100	Narborough Hall	Y	90
NBR281	574600	312800	Narborough Parsonage	Y	10
NBR282	576600	313700	Narford	Y	120
NBR283	604400	333900	near Melton Constable	Y	10
NBR284	616600	297700	near Wreningham	Y	15
NBR285	586800	309500	Necton Hall	Y	240
NBR286	598200	321600	North Elmham	Y	350
NBR287	596600	322000	North Elmham	Y	350
NBR288	564300	316000	North Runcton	Y	35
NBR289	605600	312900	North Tuddenham Parsonage	Y	15
NBR290	641500	314400	Oby Hall	Y	10
NBR291	607200	291200	Old Buckenham Lodge	Y	90

NBR292	649500	314500	Ormesby Hall	Y	50
NBR293	650000	314300	Ormesby Park	Y	60
NBR294	613600	328600	Oulton Hall	Y	25
NBR295	623600	340300	Overstrand Hall	Y	30
NBR296	574200	301200	Oxborough	Y	120
NBR297	623100	324000	Oxnead	N	15
NBR298	612900	335600	Plumstead Hall	Y	15
NBR299	613300	334600	Plumstead House	Y	50
NBR300	622100	305400	Prussian Tea Garden	Y	10
NBR301	592200	327900	Pudding Norton Hall	N	20
NBR302	618700	285700	Pulham Hall	Y	10
NBR303	621700	285100	Pulham St Mary	Y	10
NBR304	598600	314500	Quebec Castle	Y	130
NBR305	603200	287600	Quidenham Hall	Y	240
NBR306	602600	288400	Quidenham Parsonage	Y	20
NBR307	627400	312500	Rackheath	Y	300
NBR308	588000	323800	Rainham Cottage	N	10
NBR309	639900	296300	Raveningham Hall	Y	180
NBR310	626600	284300	Redenhall	Y	10
NBR311	601300	306700	Reymerstone	Y	50
NBR312	596600	281200	Riddlesworth	Y	290
NBR313	621000	322500	Ripon Hall	Y	15
NBR314	644900	316700	Rollesby Hall	Y	80
NBR315	609300	280600	Roydon Hall	Y	25
NBR316	569300	323300	Roydon Hall	Y	60
NBR317	609800	281200	Roydon Parsonage	Y	20
NBR318	582100	325800	Rudham Grange	N	40
NBR319	646500	311000	Runham House	Y	50
NBR320	562500	301100	Ryston	Y	220
NBR321	590400	302700	Saham Toney	Y	20
NBR322	589500	302500	Saham Toney Hall	Y	20
NBR323	590100	301200	Saham Toney Parsonage	Y	50
NBR324	592900	306600	Saham Weight House	Y	80
NBR325	630100	314500	Salhouse Hall	Y	50
NBR326	611600	324500	Salle	Y	150
NBR327	569400	328700	Sandringham	Y	220
NBR328	623200	297100	Saxlingham New Hall	Y	15
NBR329	628500	322600	Scottow Hall	Y	35
NBR330	650200	315400	Scratby Hall	Y	40
NBR331	631800	298300	Seething Hall	Y	110
NBR332	598100	325500	Sennowe	Y	120
NBR333	592800	283000	Shadwell Court, Brettenham	Y	160
NBR334	613300	342300	Sheringham	Y	250
NBR335	570700	332100	Shernbourne Hall	Y	10
NBR336	595800	307300	Shipdham	Y	50
NBR337	622400	298800	Shotesham	Y	280
NBR338	624800	298900	Shotesham Parsonage	Y	60
NBR339	598500	293200	Shropham Hall	Y	110
NBR340	629400	323300	Sloley House	Y	40
NBR341	632600	323400	Smallburgh Hall	Y	20
NBR342	589100	283400	Snarehill Hall	Y	140
NBR343	569000	333300	Snettisham Hall	Y	20
NBR344	585800	304000	South Pickenham Hall	Y	110
NBR345	600300	304800	Southburgh	N	40
NBR346	607900	320200	Sparham Rectory	Y	20
NBR347	623700	315200	Spixworth	Y	130
NBR348	626000	312600	Sprowston Hall	Y	50
NBR349	626400	313400	Sprowston Lodge	Y	40
NBR350	624500	312500	Sprowston Place	Y	20

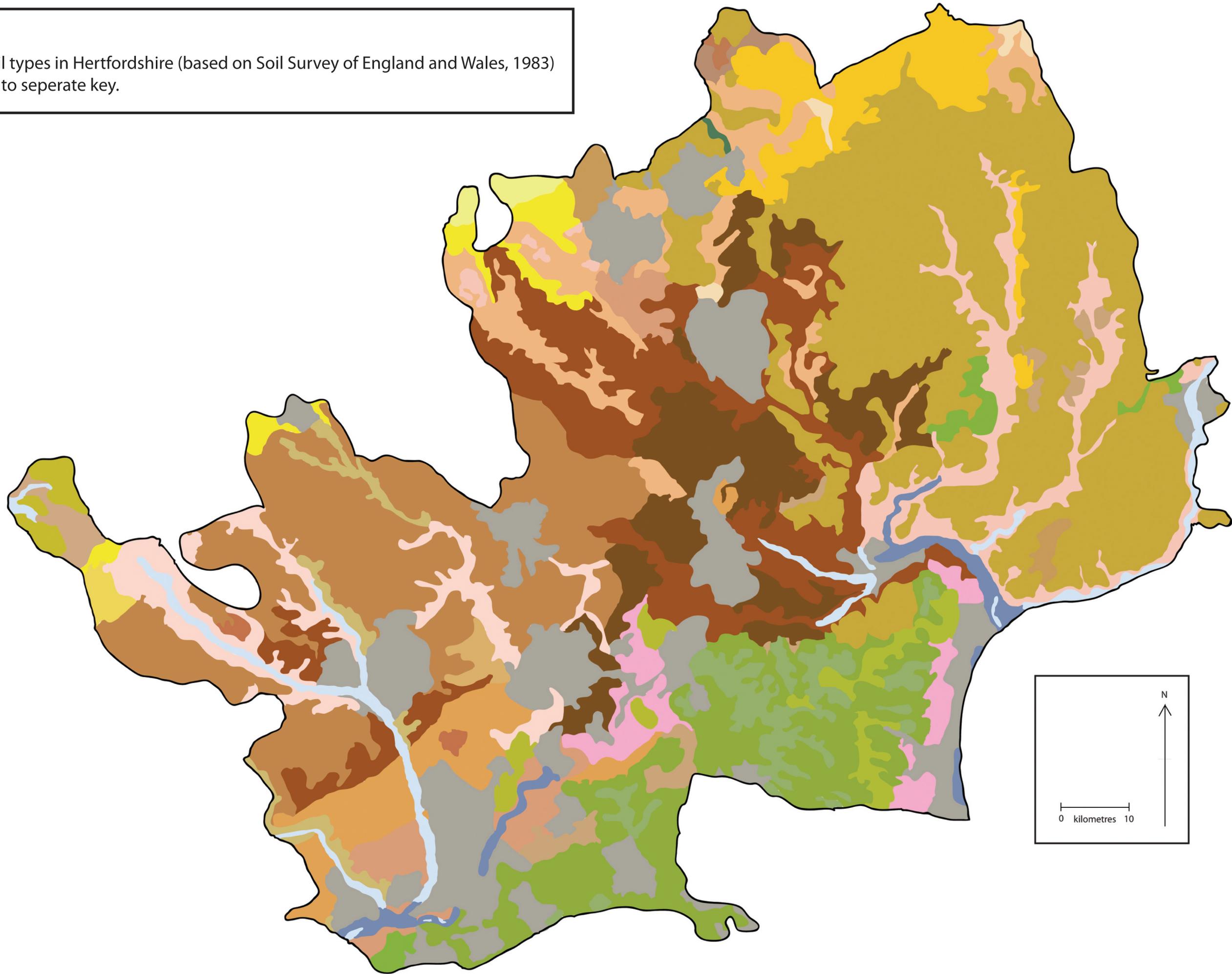
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NBR352	594100	320600	Stanfield Hall	Y	110
NBR353	644000	310100	Stokesby Hall	Y	20
NBR354	563200	305900	Stow Bardolph Hall	Y	380
NBR355	566600	305700	Stradsett Hall	Y	240
NBR356	621200	319700	Stratton Strawless Hall	Y	120
NBR357	634700	306500	Strumpshaw Hall	Y	40
NBR358	623000	331500	Suffield Hall	Y	25
NBR359	567300	336400	Summerfield House	N	20
NBR360	629100	332600	Swafield Hall	Y	15
NBR361	601500	294400	Swangay	Y	110
NBR362	602300	331900	Swanton House	Y	20
NBR363	613800	295400	Tacolneston	Y	20
NBR364	619600	295700	Tasburgh	Y	15
NBR365	586600	328300	Tatterford Parsonage	Y	10
NBR366	615000	313700	Taverham Hall	Y	200
NBR367	555000	319500	Terrington St Clements	Y	15
NBR368	593900	326600	Testerton Hall	Y	50
NBR369	605500	299400	The Oval Morley	Y	15
NBR370	615700	280700	Thelveton Hall	Y	20
NBR371	617500	305200	Thickthorn	Y	10
NBR372	573400	343100	Thornham	Y	70
NBR373	624600	308200	Thorpe Grove	Y	30
NBR374	625000	308900	Thorpe House	Y	170
NBR375	626600	308500	Thorpe Lodge	Y	60
NBR376	646100	312400	Thrigby Hall	Y	15
NBR377	607400	328900	Thurning Hall	Y	40
NBR378	598200	333500	Thursford Hall	Y	70
NBR379	556800	317100	Tilney Hall	Y	75
NBR380	643300	295000	Toft Place	Y	15
NBR381	589900	327200	Toftrees	Y	25
NBR382	624500	306800	Trowse Hall	Y	10
NBR383	622400	326800	Tuttington Hall	Y	10
NBR384	601800	324600	Twyford Hall	Y	20
NBR385	618000	290200	Wacton Hall	Y	10
NBR386	562600	307500	Wallington Hall	Y	200
NBR387	562200	311300	Watlington	Y	150
NBR388	591300	300800	Watton	Y	10
NBR389	593600	300800	Watton Grange	Y	20
NBR390	643800	326300	Waxham Hall	Y	10
NBR391	584900	321200	Weasenham Hall	N	90
NBR392	577800	289100	Weeting	Y	350
NBR393	593200	312600	Wendling	Y	15
NBR394	568000	301600	Wereham Hall	Y	10
NBR395	566100	300400	West Dereham	Y	15
NBR396	597400	285100	West Harling	Y	180
NBR397	588200	325700	West Raynham	Y	950
NBR398	584000	292800	West Tofts	Y	120
NBR399	610200	317800	Weston	Y	10
NBR400	610900	317000	Weston Hall	Y	180
NBR401	628700	326300	Westwick	Y	350
NBR402	584700	332800	White Hall Syderstone	Y	60
NBR403	627500	307500	Whitlingham Hall	Y	10
NBR404	608700	321400	Whitwell Hall	Y	30
NBR405	649100	319500	Winterton Parsonage	Y	10
NBR406	631300	309600	Witton Hall	Y	10
NBR407	631300	309600	Witton Hall	Y	200
NBR408	566000	328100	Wolferton Place	Y	10
NBR409	562800	297400	Wood Hall	Y	70

NBR410	601400	327600	Wood Norton Hall	Y	10
NBR411	601000	327700	Wood Norton Rectory	Y	20
NBR412	599100	302600	Wood Rising Hall	Y	100
NBR413	628500	294700	Woodton	Y	80
NBR414	630300	326100	worstead Hall	Y	300
NBR415	610800	305900	Wramplingham Parsonage	Y	50
NBR416	568900	299900	Wretton	Y	20
NBR417	630400	316500	Wroxham Hall	Y	25
NBR418	628100	316500	Wroxham New Hall	Y	60
NBR419	630200	317200	Wroxham Park	Y	40
NBR420	600800	310700	Yaxham Parsonage	Y	10

Map 1

Principal soil types in Hertfordshire (based on Soil Survey of England and Wales, 1983)

Please refer to separate key.



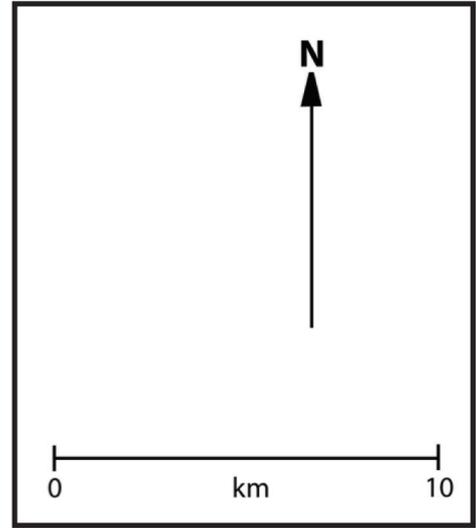
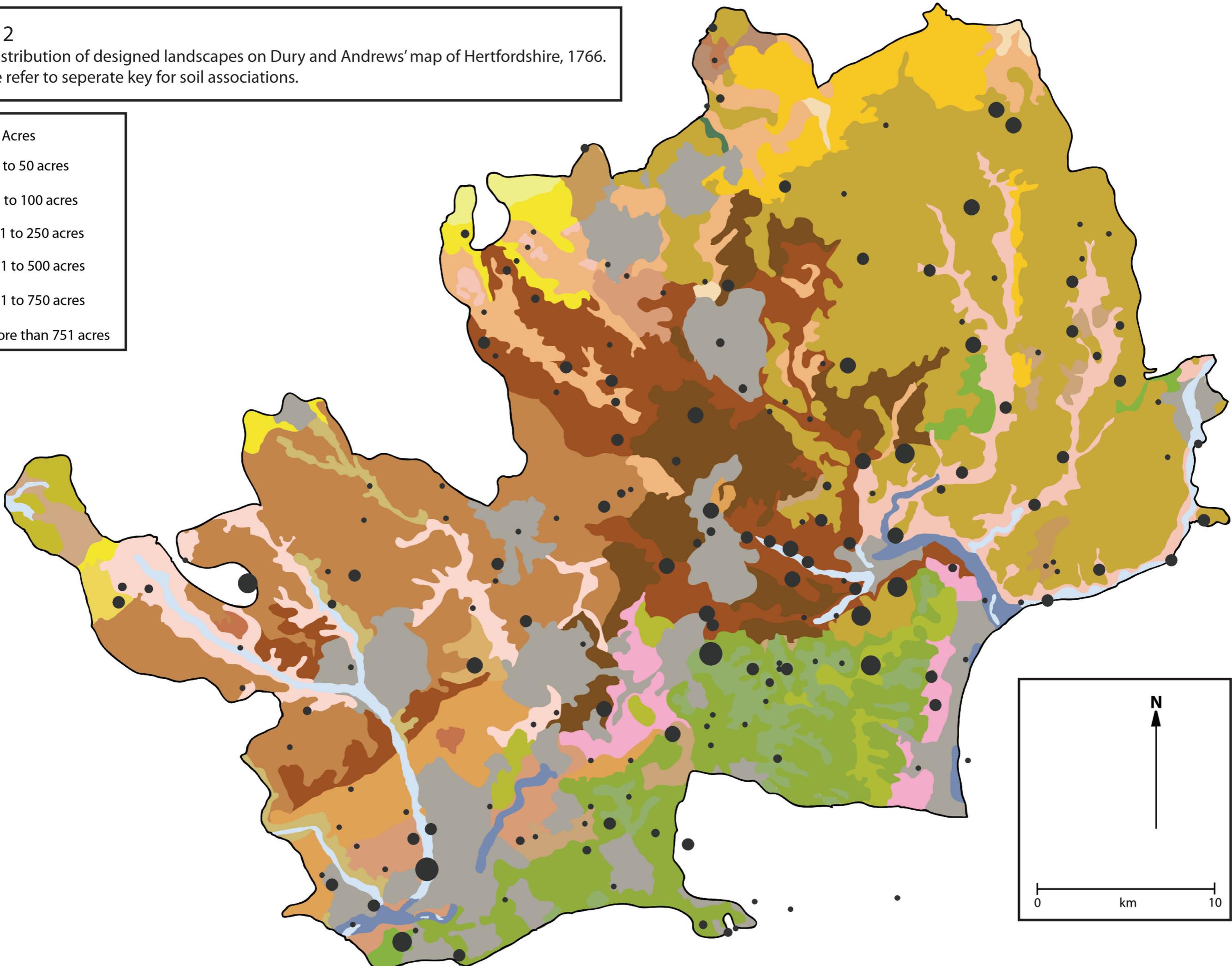
Key to Maps 1 to 3 - Soil Associations in Hertfordshire (based on Soil Survey of England and Wales, 1983)

	Upton 1 (342a) Well drained calcareous silt soil over chalk - rough grazing and some arable		Bursledon (572j) Fine and coarse loam soil with slowly permeable subsoil - arable
	Wantage 1 (342c) Well drained calcareous silt soil over chalk - dairying and arable		Ashley (572q) Fine loam over clay soil with slowly permeable subsoil - arable
	Wantage 2 (342d) Well drained calcareous silt soil over chalk - arable		Sonning 1 (581b) Well drained flinty and coarse loam soil over clay - dairying
	Andover 1 (343h) Well drained calcareous silt soil over chalk - dairying and arable		Carstens (581d) Well drained flinty fine silt soil over clay - arable
	Evesham 2 (411b) Slowly permeable calcareous clay soil - dairying and arable		Marlow (581e) Well drained fine loam soil over clay - arable
	Hanslope (411d) Slowly permeable calcareous clay soil - arable		Batcombe (582a) Fine silt or loam soil over clay with slowly permeable subsoil - arable and grassland
	Swaffham Prior (511e) Well drained calcareous coarse and fine loam over chalk rubble - arable		Hornbeam 1 (582b) Fine or coarse loam soil over clay with slowly permeable subsoil - woodland and grassland
	Coombe 1 (511f) Well drained calcareous fine silt soil - dairying and arable		Hornbeam 2 (582c) Fine or coarse loam soil over clay with slowly permeable subsoil - arable and grassland
	Block (512e) Permeable calcareous loam soil over chalky gravel - dairying and arable		Hornbeam 3 (582d) Fine loam soil over clay with slowly permeable subsoil - arable
	Milton (512f) Permeable calcareous fine loam soil - arable		Wickham 4 (711h) Slowly permeable fine loam or silt over clay soil - pasture and dairying
	Cannamore (513) Seasonally waterlogged fine loam and clay soil - arable		Beccles 3 (711t) Slowly permeable fine loam over clay soil - arable
	Moulton (571k) Well drained coarse and fine loam soil over chalk - arable		Gresham (711v) Slowly permeable coarse loam soil and silt over clay soil - arable
	Charity 2 (571m) Well drained fine silt soil or fine silt soil over chalk - grassland and arable		Windsor (712c) Slowly permeable clay soil with brown subsoil - dairying and some arable
	Melford (571o) Well drained coarse and fine loam over clay soil - arable		Essendon (714d) Slowly permeable coarse loam over clay soil - dairying and some arable
	Hamble 1 (571x) Well drained fine silt soil - arable		Fladbury 1 (813b) River alluvium, stoneless clay soil - permanent grassland
	Hamble 2 (571z) Well drained silt soil - arable		Thames (814a) River alluvium, stoneless clay soil - permanent grassland
			Kelmscott (832) Calcareous fine loam over gravel soil - arable and some permanent grassland
			Urban area

Map 2
The distribution of designed landscapes on Dury and Andrews' map of Hertfordshire, 1766.
Please refer to separate key for soil associations.

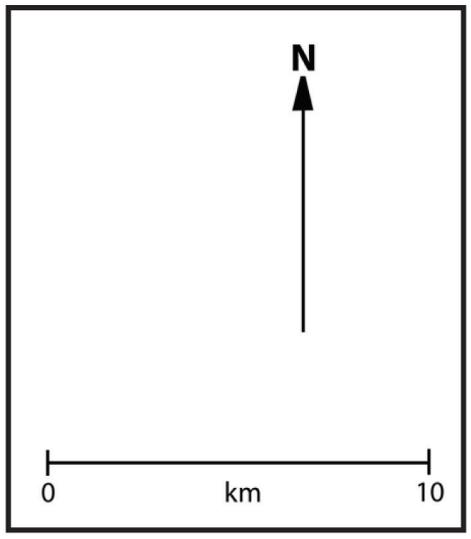
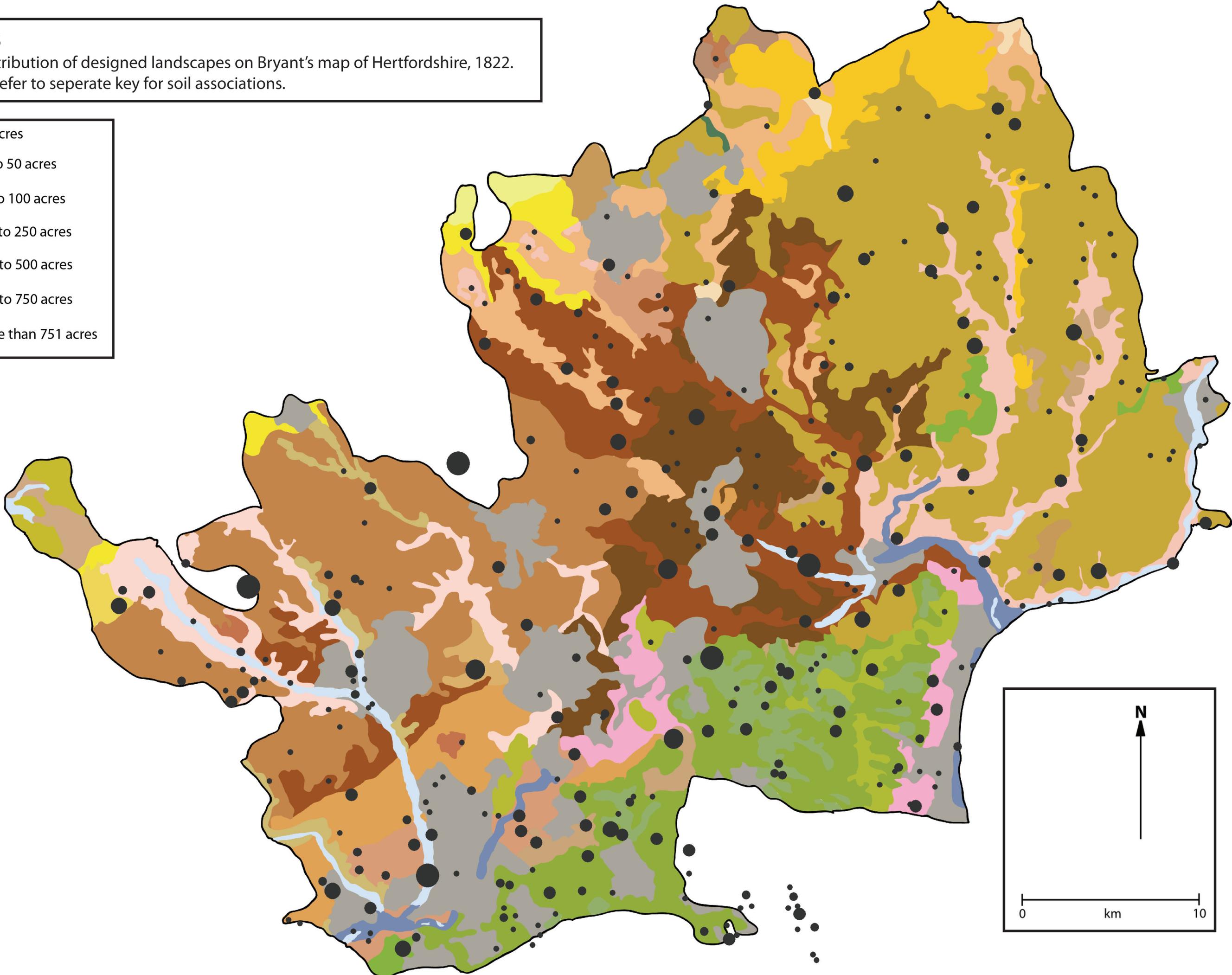
Size in Acres

- 10 to 50 acres
- 51 to 100 acres
- 101 to 250 acres
- 251 to 500 acres
- 501 to 750 acres
- More than 751 acres



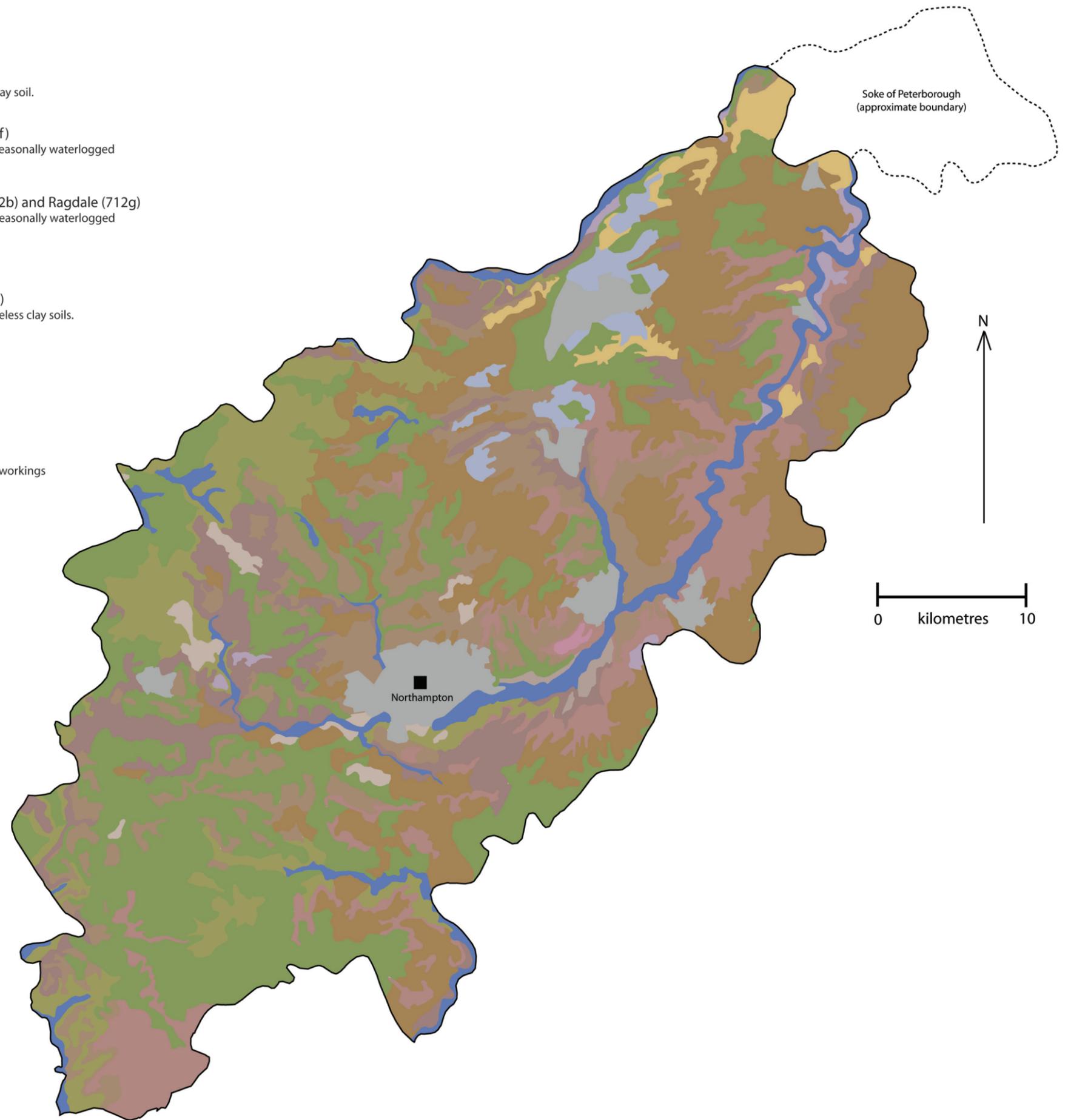
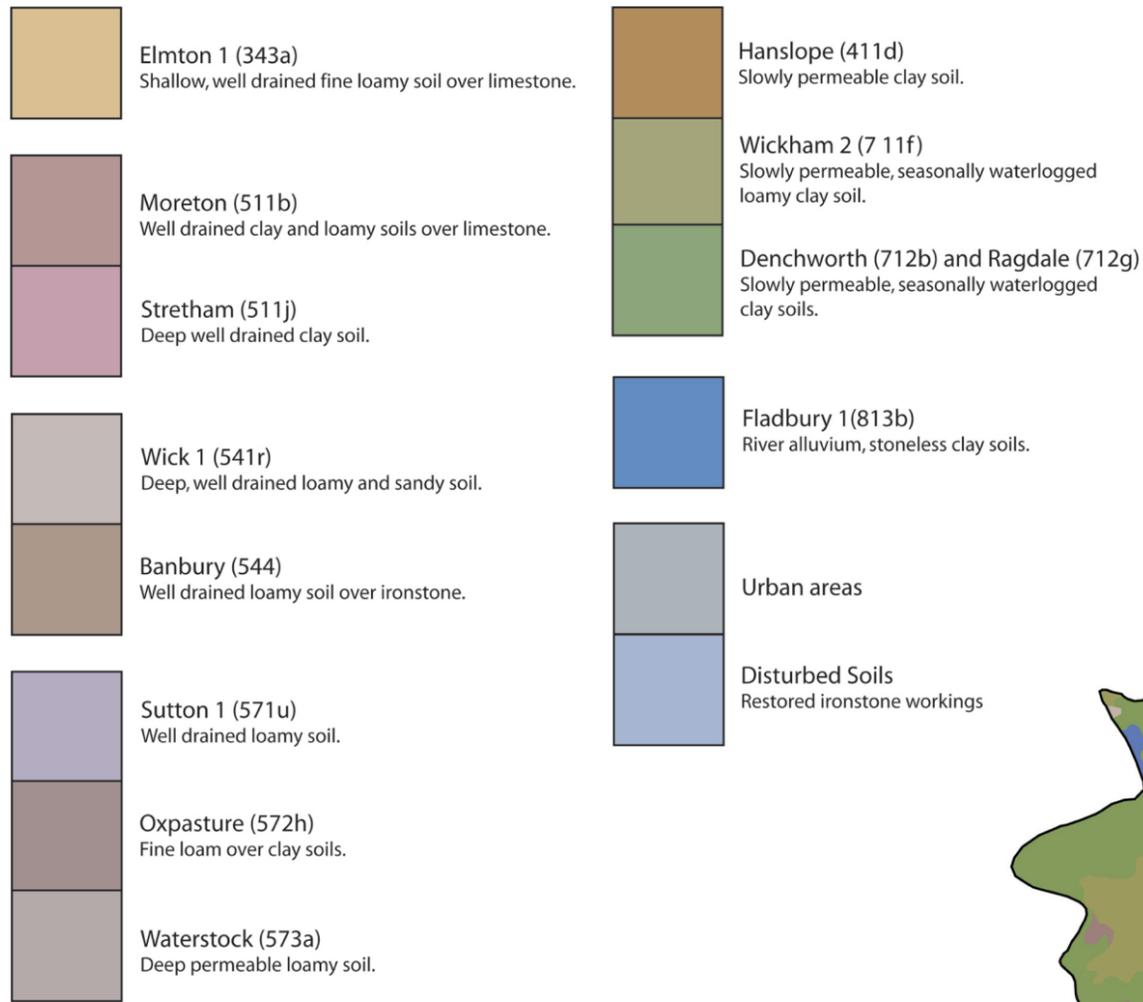
Map 3
The distribution of designed landscapes on Bryant's map of Hertfordshire, 1822.
Please refer to separate key for soil associations.

- Size in Acres
- 10 to 50 acres
 - 51 to 100 acres
 - 101 to 250 acres
 - 251 to 500 acres
 - 501 to 750 acres
 - More than 751 acres



Map 4
Principal Soil Types of Northamptonshire (based on Soil Survey of England and Wales, 1983)

Key

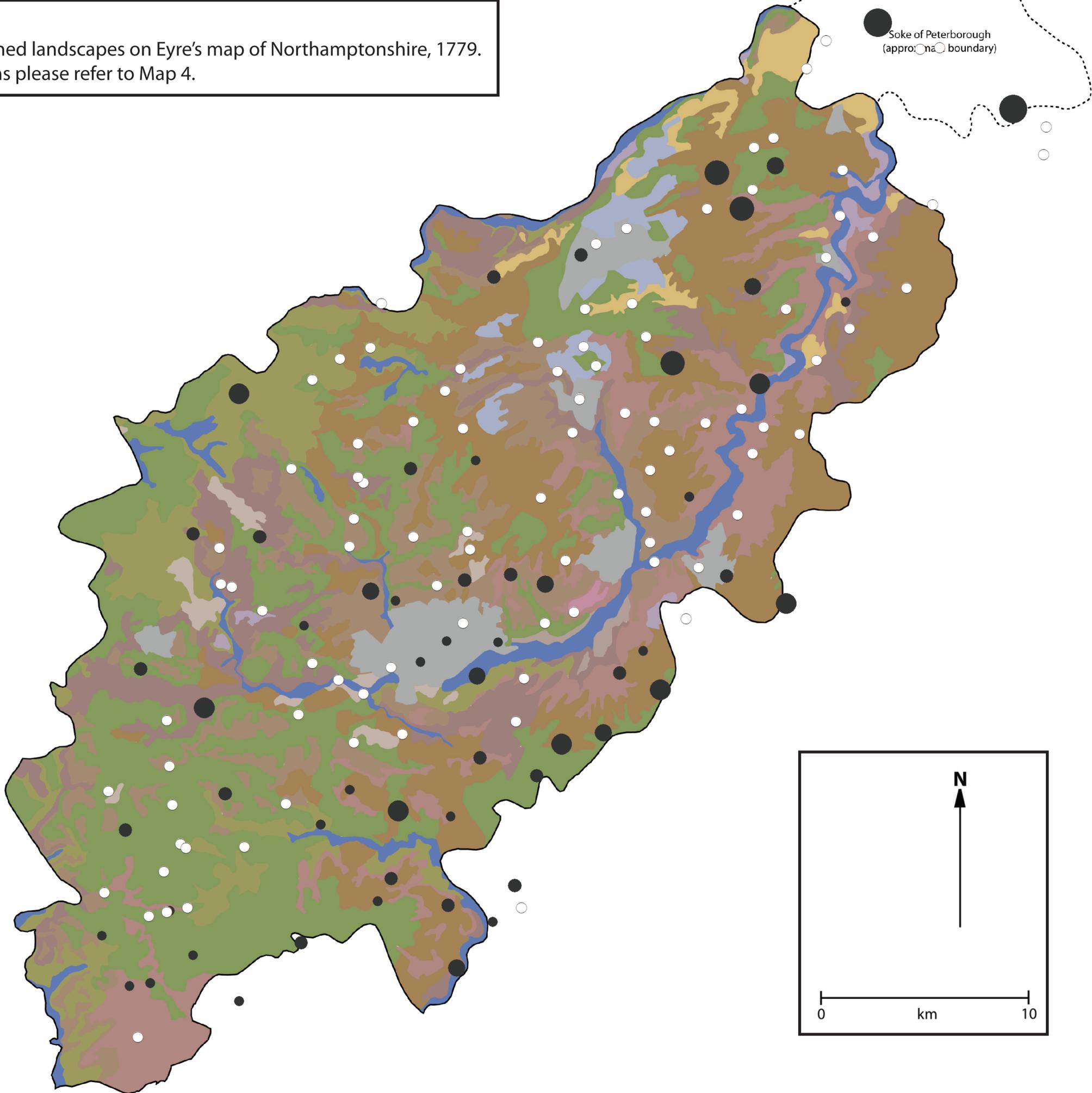


Map 5

The distribution of designed landscapes on Eyre's map of Northamptonshire, 1779.
For key to soil associations please refer to Map 4.

Size in Acres

- House symbol only
- 10 to 50 acres
- 51 to 100 acres
- 101 to 250 acres
- 251 to 500 acres
- 501 to 750 acres
- More than 751 acres



Soke of Peterborough
(approximate boundary)

N

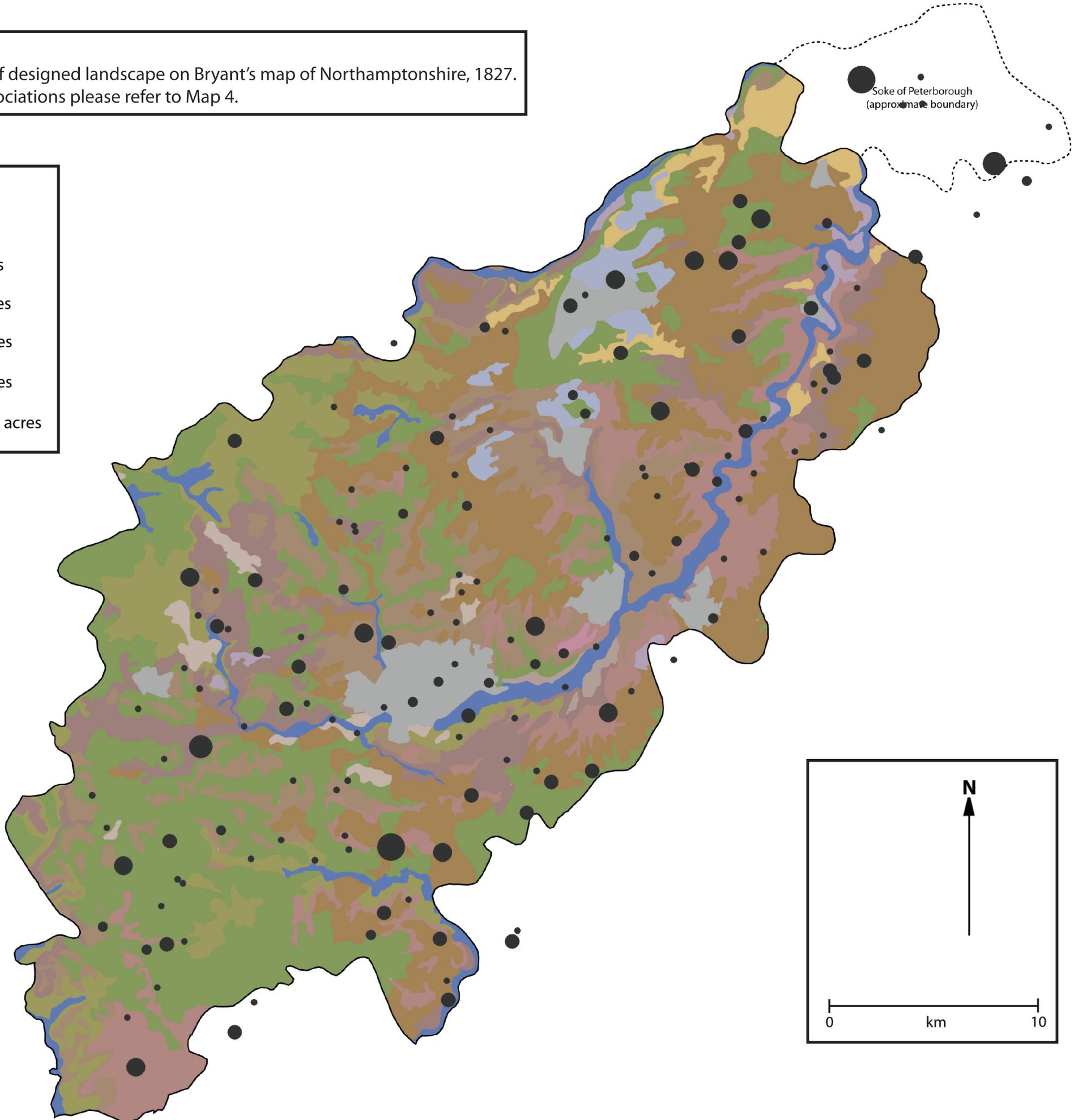
0 km 10

Map 6

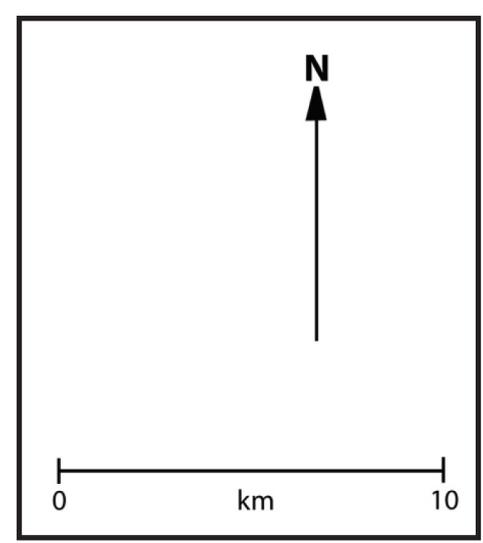
The distribution of designed landscape on Bryant's map of Northamptonshire, 1827.
For key to soil associations please refer to Map 4.

Size in Acres

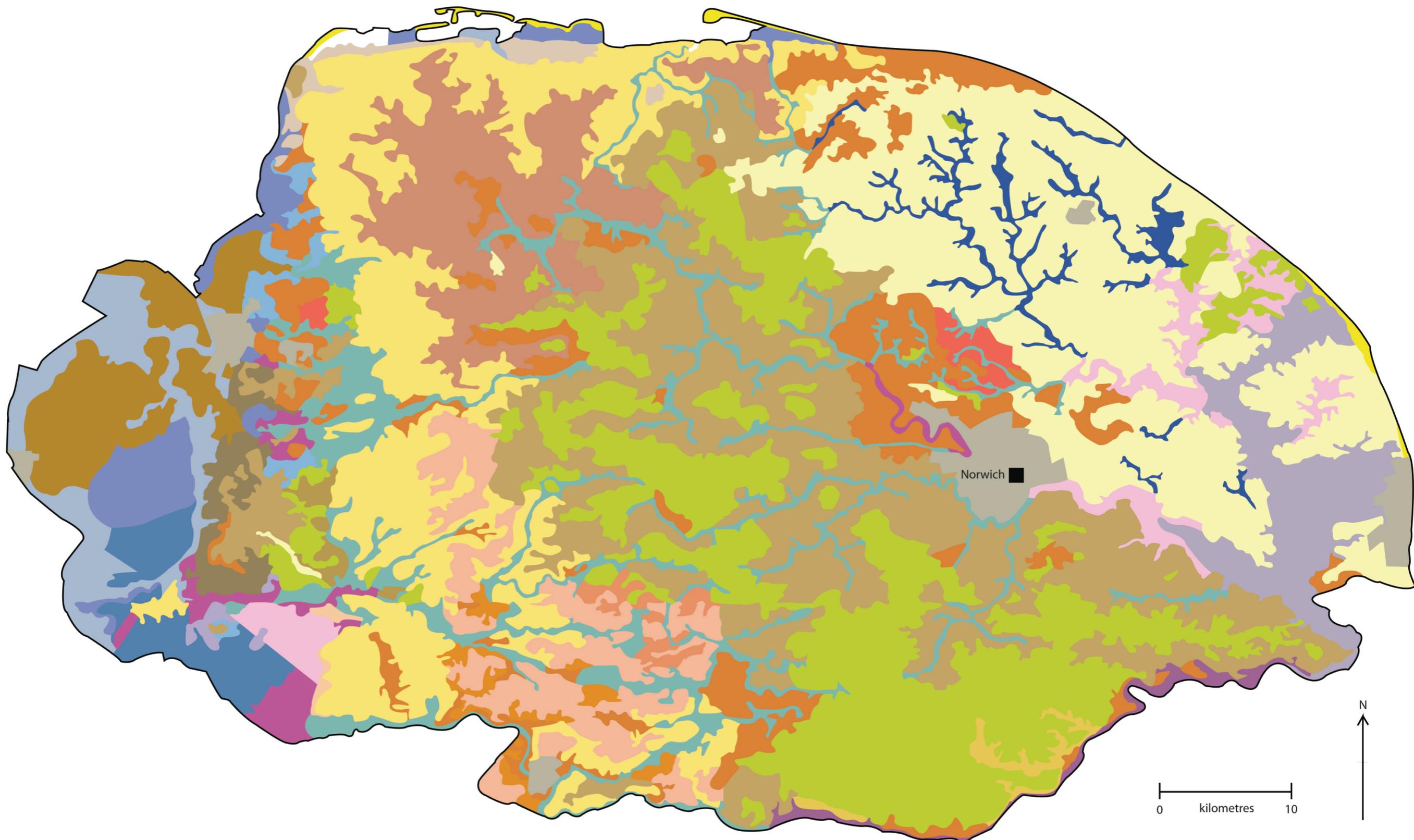
- 10 to 50 acres
- 51 to 100 acres
- 101 to 250 acres
- 251 to 500 acres
- 501 to 750 acres
- More than 751 acres



Soke of Peterborough
(approximate boundary)



Map 7
Principal soil types of Norfolk (based on Soil Survey of England and Wales, 1983)
Please refer to separate key.



Key to soil association of Norfolk (based on Soil Survey of England and Wales, 1983)

	Newmarket 2 (343g) Calcareous sandy and loamy soil over chalk rubble		Felthorpe (643d) Sandy and very acid soils
	Reach (346) Fine loamy calcareous soil over chalk rubble		Beccles (711) Seasonally waterlogged loam and clay soil
	Sandwich (361) Well drained sandy soil		Wisbech (812b) Coarse silty soil
	Evesham and Hanslope (411) Slowly permeable calcareous clay soil		Wallasea 2 (813g) Deep clay and silt soil
	Swaffham Prior (511e) Well drained calcareous loamy soil over chalk rubble		Newchurch 2 (814c) Calcareous clay soil
	Methwold (521) Well drained calcareous sandy soil		Blackwood (821b) Sand and coarse loam
	Blacktoft and Romney (532) Permeable calcareous silty soil		Downholland (851) Clay, peat and silt
	Wick 1 and 2 (541t/s) Well drained coarse loamy soil		Isleham (861) Sandy and peaty soils
	Newport 4 (551g) Deep well drained sandy soil		Hanworth (871c) Coarse peaty loam
	Ollerton (552b) Deep permeable sandy and coarse loamy soil		Peacock (872a) Clay, loam and peat
	Worlington (554b) Deep well drained sandy soil		Altcar (1022) Deep peat
	Downham (555) Deep permeable sandy and coarse loamy soils		Adventurers (1024) Deep peat
	Hunstanton (571r) Deep well drained loamy soils		Mendham (1025) Deep peat
	Burlingham 1 (572n) Deep coarse and fine loamy soils		Urban
	Barrow (581f) Well drained coarse loam		

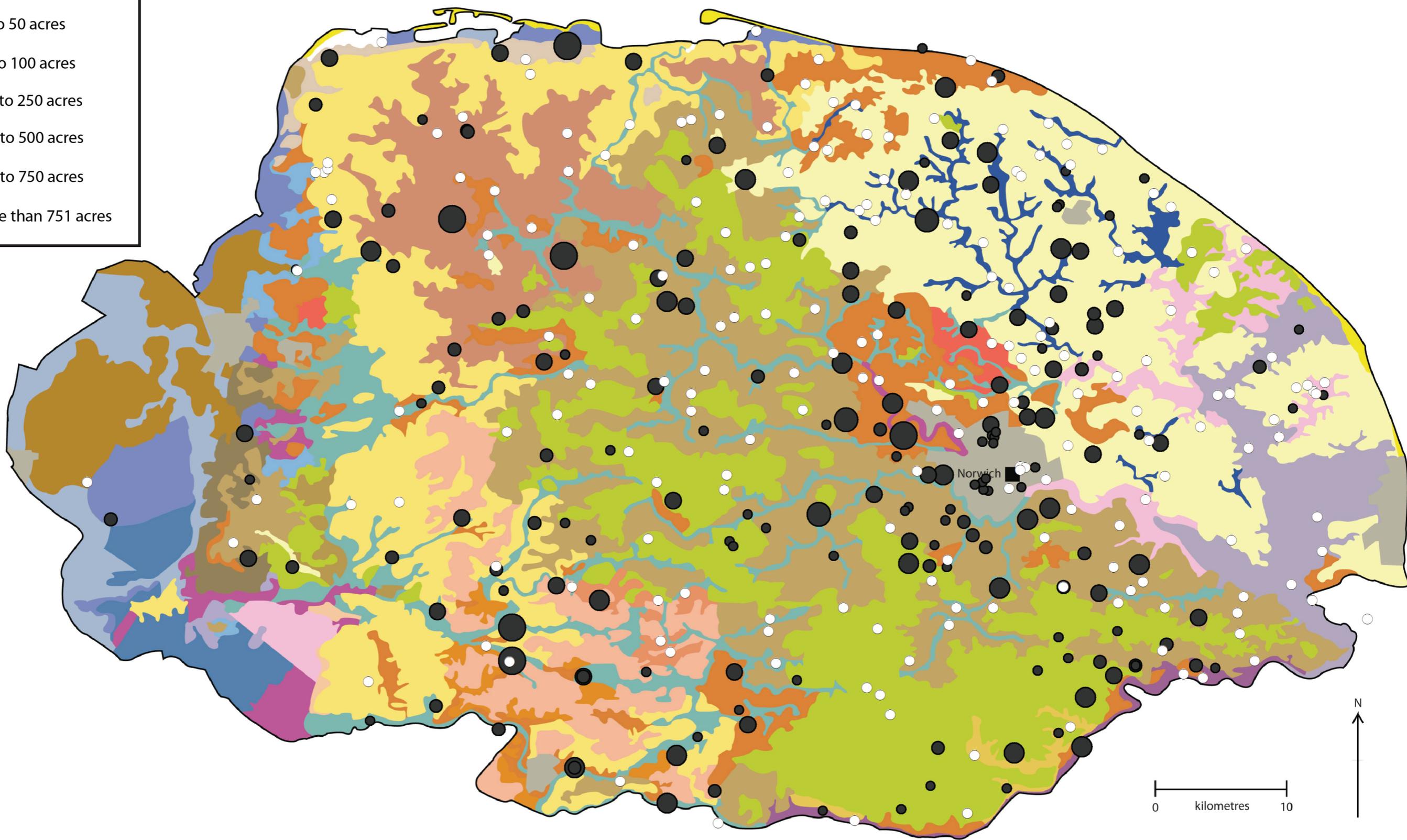
Map 8

The distribution of designed landscapes on Faden's map of Norfolk, 1797.

Please refer to separate key for soil associations.

Size in Acres

- House symbol only
- 10 to 50 acres
- 51 to 100 acres
- 101 to 250 acres
- 251 to 500 acres
- 501 to 750 acres
- More than 751 acres



Map 9

The distribution of designed landscapes on Bryant's map of Norfolk, 1826.
Please refer to separate key for soil associations.

- Size in Acres
- 10 to 50 acres
 - 51 to 100 acres
 - 101 to 250 acres
 - 251 to 500 acres
 - 501 to 750 acres
 - More than 751 acres

