Charles Bridgeman: a reappraisal from a landscape history perspective

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Susan Haynes BA MA

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be submitted in whole or in part to any other university for the award of any other degree.

Susan Haynes

Abstract

Charles Bridgeman, an early eighteenth-century landscape designer and Royal Gardener from 1726 to 1738, has been neglected by garden-historical scholarship. In spite of the popularity of his work in his own period, it is generally represented as a footnote in the narrative of the rise of the English landscape garden, largely as a result of ideas articulated by Horace Walpole in the 1780 in an essay *The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening*. Walpole frames Bridgeman's work teleologically as a forerunner of the style which found its apotheosis in the work of William Kent, and Lancelot Brown. The single monograph on his work *Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape Garden* by Peter Willis, first published in 1977, consciously perpetuates this view. An alternative, though no less partial, narrative sees his work through a political lens; he is the chosen gardener of the Whig ascendancy. Bridgeman's shadowy presence in the canon of eighteenth century gardening is, in part, responsible for his neglect by garden historians. There is little on which to base any study; the majority of the evidence for his work is a corpus of plans identified by Willis, and the scant remains of it in the landscape.

There exists, then, space for a study which, while building on this body of knowledge, moves beyond the art-historical to challenge the accepted narratives it presents about Bridgeman's work. Placing his work within an alternative academic framework, landscape history, allows a more wide-ranging interdisciplinary investigation which might reveal other meanings in the data available. The first step of any new study is to establish a reliable corpus of Bridgeman's work from which to proceed. His work can then be considered as a process, from survey and design, through the mechanics of its execution, to its impact on the existing landscape; it can be placed in the context of the human interactions which facilitated it, and in the social, political and historical context which drove its creation.

Through this approach, it is hoped that a more comprehensive and accurate picture of Bridgeman as a designer, a gardener and a contractor can be established, and a more comprehensive assessment made of his place in the canon of English garden designers.

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List of abbreviations

BoL Bodleian Library

BH Boughton House

BL British Library

BP Blenheim Palace

CL Caird Library

ERO Essex Record Office

HALS Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies

HEH Henry E. Huntington Library

HFH Hatfield Hall

HH Hovingham Hall

LL Longleat House

NA National Archives

NLS National Library of Scotland

NRO Norfolk Record Office

NS Nationalmuseum, Stockholm

NT National Trust

NTS Northamptonshire Record Office

ORO Oxfordshire Record Office

OT Otterden Place

RC Royal Collection

SC Scarsdale Collection

SH Sandbeck Hall

SM Sir John Soane Museum

SRO Suffolk Record Office

V&A Victoria and Albert Museum

WH Wolterton Hall

WO Warwickshire Record Office

WRO Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre

Section 1

Chapter 1 Introduction

Charles Bridgeman, whose work is the subject of this thesis, is widely regarded as 'a key figure in the development of landscape design in the 1720s and 1730s' (Williamson 1998, 50). Bridgeman was Royal Gardener from 1726 until his death in 1738. Between 1709, when he worked at Blenheim Palace and 1738, the date of his design for Amesbury Abbey, he worked on a number of landscapes including Hampton Court (1714 – 1727), Claremont (1724 – 1728), and Richmond Gardens (1726 – 1738). In spite of the importance of many of the landscapes he designed, a number of which were for the ruling Whig elite, he is only mentioned in passing in much of the literature on eighteenth-century gardens. Only one text of any length has been devoted to his work, *Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape Garden* by Peter Willis, first published in 1977 and reprinted with extra material in 2002. Willis predominantly considers Bridgeman's work from an art history perspective, and this is the case with much, though not all, of the writing about him. The aim of this thesis is to re-evaluate his place in the development of the eighteenth-century designed landscape and to consider his work from a landscape history perspective.

Charles Bridgeman's work was characterized by its size and its relative simplicity. The landscapes he designed occupied significant areas of land, creating the illusion of 'incomprehensible vastness' (Switzer 1742, 12). Stylistically, the elaborate ornamentation of the formal, geometric gardens of the late seventeenth century was stripped away to leave a bare structure of grass plats, long spare avenues delineated only by the trees that framed them, groves sparsely cut through with straight and serpentine walks, water contained within simple geometric shapes, and sculpted earth in terraces and amphitheatres of audacious proportions. It was 'the late-geometric style…. taken to its logical conclusion' (Williamson 1995, 52).

Peter Willis and Charles Bridgeman

Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape Garden, perhaps most importantly, identifies the known corpus of Bridgeman's work. Willis notes that only three garden plans and two surveys could be considered directly attributable to him because his name appears somewhere on the manuscript. The plans are for Amesbury Abbey in Wiltshire, dated 1738, held in the Bodleian Library in Gough Drawings (MSGD a3* fo.33), for Blenheim Palace in Oxfordshire, the plan for which, dated 1709, is held at Blenheim, and for Hampton Court in Middlesex, undated, held at

Sir John Soane's Museum (SM 36/3/1). The surveys are for Windsor Forest, undated, and held in the National Archives (MR 1/279), and for Warwick Priory dated 1711, held at Warwickshire Record Office (CR 26.2. 2). The attribution of the latter to Bridgeman rests on the description in the accompanying document (CR 26.2). All of Willis's other attributions are stylistic, or are based on letters, or on payments made from bank accounts or mentioned in estate account books. Willis arranges his original catalogue of plans alphabetically at the end of the 1977 text. His supplementary catalogue, also arranged alphabetically but presented separately at the end of the 2002 edition, adds a small number of plans to this list, as well as other sites for which there is no plan, but on which Willis considers Bridgeman might have worked.

Willis is less successful in establishing a sequence for the plans, or for the events in Bridgeman's career, since so many of the dates are conjectural. What emerges from the monograph is a more generalized overview of Bridgeman's career in which a necessarily loose chronology is underpinned by the few reliable dates in the catalogue. The relative dearth of historical material about Bridgeman himself causes Willis to devote a significant proportion of his text to the clients for whom Bridgeman worked, and the architects, artists, and gardeners with whom he was professionally connected, and about whom considerably more is known. Bridgeman's work often appears as an adjunct to the lives and work of these literary, artistic and aristocratic figures. Willis acknowledges this in his preface, '[t]his very lack of material, with its accompanying fascination and frustration, has meant I have had to cast my net wide' (Willis 2002, 1).

Willis reproduces other surviving documents of Bridgeman's. There are, in transcript form, letters written by Bridgeman: the first is dated 28th September 1724 and is to Pope regarding his plan for Marble Hill; the second, dated 29th September 1733, is to Viscount Townsend about the parliamentary candidate for Hertford; and the third, dated 26th July 1734, is to the Earl of Oxford congratulating him on the marriage of his daughter (Willis 2002). In appendices II, III, V and VII, are Bridgeman's will and his probate inventory, and the documents of his Royal Appointment, first as partner to Henry Wise, Royal Gardener from 1702 and owner of Brompton Park Nursery in London, and then as sole Royal Gardener. There are also other documents which pertain to a study of Bridgeman's work. Willis transcribes a letter from Pope to Bridgeman in which Pope apologises for not being able to accompany Bridgeman to the Earl of Oxford's (Willis 2002), letters from Sarah Churchill, Duchess of Marlborough, to Bridgeman's widow, Sarah Bridgeman, Sarah Bridgeman's petition to the Lords dated 1738 and her will, dated 17th November 1743.

In his Preface to *Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape Garden,* Willis states 'Charles Bridgeman is the unsung pioneer of *le jardin anglais*, that remarkable English invention which was to sweep eighteenth-century Europe. Bridgeman's role in the transition from the geometric

layouts of the early 1700s to the freer designs of Capability Brown was a crucial one'. He states that the aim of the monograph is to 'bring together the widely scattered documentation of his career, and to place him securely in the context of these changes in taste' (Willis 2002, 1). The book clearly succeeds in both aims. With regard to Bridgeman's place in the development of the eighteenth-century garden, it is clear, as the title suggests, that Willis both sees him as firmly rooted in the English tradition of garden design, and slots him neatly and teleologically into a trajectory which ends with William Kent and Lancelot Brown and the 'natural' style of gardening.

Recent studies of Bridgeman landscapes

Recent scholarship has examined Bridgeman's place in the history of landscape design further, including in a number of studies which provide a detailed analysis of some of the sites attributed to him by Willis. These have not significantly changed our view of Bridgeman's work. Williamson devotes a significant section of the chapter 'The Challenge to Geometry' in *Polite Landscapes* to a consideration of Bridgeman's work (Williamson 1995). He places Bridgeman firmly in the tradition of late-geometric gardening suggesting that his designs have more in common with designs of the late seventeenth century, than with the 'natural' gardens of Lancelot Brown. He considers his work in the context of Whig politics, as designer of the landscapes for Houghton, the home of Sir Robert Walpole, Whig First Minister, and of Wolterton, for his brother Horatio, and in the architectural context of Palladianism, a style based on the work of the Italian architect Andrea Palladio (1508-1580); he points out how Bridgeman's landscapes of 'stark simplicity' echoed the Palladian houses for which they were designed (Williamson 1995, 52).

Eburne's 'Charles Bridgeman and the Gardens of the Robinocracy' (Eburne 2003) is also concerned with the political context of Bridgeman's work. He concentrates on the three landscapes in Norfolk which belonged to prominent Whig politicians during the Whig ascendancy under Sir Robert Walpole; Houghton, built in the 1720s for Sir Robert Walpole, Wolterton, built for his brother, Horatio Walpole, and Blickling, the home of Walpole's political allies, the Hobarts. Eburne questions Willis's certainty about Bridgeman's involvement at Houghton (Eburne 2003, 198) and at Wolterton (Eburne 2003, 204); he concludes that it is not possible to be certain that Bridgeman was responsible for the plans for Houghton, arguing that the creation of the landscape was a 'rather more complex affair' than Willis suggests, and that Joseph Carpenter, Royal Gardener with Wise from 1716 to 1726, was more involved in the evolution of the design at Wolterton than Willis suggests. He considers whether Bridgeman might also have had a role at Blickling. His contention is that garden historians have neglected these landscapes, preferring to concentrate on those of the Tory opposition, like Stowe.

In Hertfordshire, the work of the Hertfordshire Gardens Trust has led to some detailed work on two important Bridgeman designs: Tring Park and Sacombe. Sacombe Park is one of Bridgeman's earliest works, executed for Edward Rolt, whose father had been a Governor of the East India Company. Jenny Milledge's article in *Garden History* 'Sacombe Park, Hertfordshire: An Early Bridgeman Landscape' (Milledge 2009) is a detailed and comprehensive assessment of the landscape which sets it in both its historical context, and the context of Bridgeman's other work. It includes an analysis of the two plans of Sacombe attributed to Bridgeman by Willis (MSGD a4 fo.29 and MSGD a4 fo.64), and considers Bridgeman's possible collaboration with Vanbrugh at the site (Milledge 2009, 40). Milledge concludes from published accounts of visits to Sacombe by Decker, and Salmon, in 1728, and her own earthwork survey, that Bridgeman's design was constructed. Alan Fletcher, through close analysis of documentary, cartographic and pictorial evidence throws doubt on the assumption that Bridgeman was responsible for the entire landscape at Tring as shown by Badesdale in *Vitruvius Britannicus IV* (Fletcher 2009). Andrew Skelton has published investigations of two further sites owned by men who profited from the South Sea Company, Briggens, owned by Robert Chester (in *Hertfordshire Archaeology*), and Carshalton, owned by Sir John Fellowes (private publication) (Skelton 1995).

The discovery of a map in the Bodleian Library, wrongly catalogued as North Mimms Park, has led to a reassessement and re-evaluation of one of the most important of Bridgeman's designs, at Gobions, also in Hertfordshire, by Tom Williamson and Anne Rowe in 'New Light on Gobions' (Rowe and Williamson 2012). Gobions was bought by Jeremy Sambrook, whose wealth came from the East India Company, in 1708. Described by George Bickham in his Beauties of Stowe, and specifically mentioned by Horace Walpole as 'indicat[ing] the dawn of modern taste', Gobions was known from engravings, from an eighteenth-century estate map and from nineteenth-century plans (Walpole 1780, Dixon Hunt (ed.)). As well as offering a comprehensive comparison between a survey of the park executed by Thomas Holmes c.1735, and the newly discovered map from the Bodleian, Williamson and Rowe consider the rather confusing and incomplete nature of each separate piece of evidence, and highlight the inability of any one of the 'multi-layered artefact[s]' (Rowe and Williamson 2012, 92) to produce a reliable and complete account of the landscape at any one moment in time. The article also prompts a reassessment of Bridgeman's style since the landscape is not axially aligned on the house and, it appears, contains a sham gothic ruin, which Williamson and Rowe suggest 'represents a particularly early example of its kind designed for an English landscape garden' (Rowe and Williamson 2012, 89), although they think it doubtful that this was ever built.

A comprehensive study of the landscapes at Houghton, Gunton and Wolterton, in Norfolk, carried out by Tom Williamson, was published in 1998, and forms part of a wider investigation garden

design in Norfolk between 1680 and 1840. At Houghton, Williamson considers the expansion of the park to the south-west, east and south-east, and the removal of the village of Houghton to its present location in 1729. Williamson includes an earthwork survey of the features no longer present, including the deserted settlement. There is a detailed discussion of the extant plans and maps for Houghton with particular reference to the Isaac Ware plan which he suggests contains Bridgeman's proposals, not all of which seem to have been implemented. There is considerable detail of the planting, in particular on the species of trees, and Williamson points out that Bridgeman's design incorporated some features of earlier designs and that it was, itself, subject to considerable modification (Williamson 1998, 47-59). These observations provide a stark contrast to Willis's largely descriptive paragraphs on Houghton. Williamson affords Wolterton similar treatment. He discusses undated plans for the gardens and lake, attributed to Bridgeman by Willis, and the details of construction which appear in the letters of Walpole's land steward, Bayfield, and in those of Britiffe, the clerk of works. He also considers the involvement of Joseph Carpenter, one of Bridgeman's predecessors as Royal Gardener in the design for the garden (Williamson 1998, 72-80). At Gunton, where the current house was built in 1742 for Sir William Harbord by Matthew Brettingham, there are considerably fewer records to go on. Bridgeman's design is for a small geometric section in the west of the garden and focuses on a mount, fifteen metres high and twenty in diameter, and may be the remains of an earlier garden. Williamson notes that it must have been for the pre-Brettingham house since Bridgeman died in 1738, and the building of the new hall was begun in 1742. His examination of the site has revealed possible traces of the three transverse terraces shown on the plan, but Williamson notes that these are twenty metres to the south east and may be natural features (Williamson 1998, 84-86).

Nicky Smith has investigated Bridgeman's design for the seventeenth-century deer park at Lodge Park in Gloucestershire, the central focus of which is the seventeenth-century lodge and deer course, in 'Lodge Park and Charles Bridgeman, Master of 'Incomprehensible Vastness' in *Garden History* (Smith, 2006). Bridgeman's client here was Sir John Dutton and the design was created at some point following Bridgeman's visit to Sherborne in 1725. Nicky Smith's article in *Garden History* analyses Bridgeman's 1729 drawing (MSGD a4 f.68) and considers it in the light of aerial photographs, the topography of the site and an earthwork survey. Through this work, she places the design in the context of Bridgeman's corpus and considers the partial reconstruction of the design by the National Trust who now own the site.

My article in *Landscapes,* 'Constructing Eighteenth Century Meaning in a Prehistoric Landscape: Charles Bridgeman's Design for Amesbury Abbey' (Haynes 2013), explores the relationship between Bridgeman's design and the prehistory within which it sits, with regard, in particular, to Vespasian's Camp, an Iron Age hillfort which forms part of the garden. Both studies use the estate

survey, executed by Flitcroft in 1726 and other estate records, aerial photographs and earthwork surveys to unravel the process by which the landscape was created. Mark Bowden's Research Report on Vespasian's Camp for Historic England (Research Report Series no. 49/2016 2015-2016) has subsequently also examined the prehistoric context of Bridgeman's design (Bowden 2016).

It should also be noted that some RCHME surveys of surviving earthworks which can be clearly correlated to Bridgeman's designs have been available since the 1970s; for example, a survey of the earthworks at Eastbury, in Dorset, was published in 1972 (*An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the County of Dorset IV, North Dorset* 1972), and one of the earthworks on Vespasian's Camp, at Amesbury Abbey in Wiltshire, in 1979 (*The Stonehenge Environs: monuments and land use* 1979). Bridgeman also appears as a peripheral reference in a number of other modern academic works on eighteenth-century garden history (Green 1956; Willis and Dixon Hunt 1975; Stroud 1975; Harris 1985; Dixon Hunt 1986; Jacques 1990; Fretwell 1995; Mowl 2007; Dalton 2012).

Three separate, but interlocking, discourses within which Bridgeman's work has habitually been located emerge from these studies. His designs are considered, particularly by Willis, as an important stage on the trajectory from geometric gardening to the English landscape garden of Lancelot Brown and his contemporaries. He is placed in the context of the Whig ascendancy, as chosen gardener of the Whig political class. Lastly he is presented as the landscape designer whose work most closely echoes the Palladian architectural style of many of the houses for which he designed landscapes. All these contentions are considered in the following discussion.

The 'natural' garden discourse

In the introduction of *The Genius of the Place*, John Dixon Hunt and Willis set out in detail the teleological narrative within which Willis places Bridgeman, and in which the end point is the 'natural' style of gardening. Their contention is that the 'typical English landscape of undulating grass that leads somewhere down to an irregularly shaped piece of water over which a bridge arches, of trees grouped casually' and of 'houses…glimpsed in the middle or far distance' was the result of 'much exploration and experiment over at least one hundred and fifty years' and 'the outcome of a long process whereby the stiff and geometric gardens of Tudor and Stuart England were transformed into an art that the rest of Europe imitated' (Dixon Hunt and Willis 1990, 1). This is a curious argument, since it seems to suggest a planned two-century long development towards a style that cannot possibly have been envisaged. The assumption is also that the more a style of gardening apes nature, the better it is. Jacques expresses the pervasiveness of this view

when he suggests that ‘As mankind inhabits the Earth and is part of the biology of its surface, it is perfectly understandable that some of its more civilised minds should strive to establish a proper relation between Man and Nature’ (Jacques 1990, 12).

The source of this argument is writing on garden history from the later eighteenth century. Bending has argued that ‘eighteenth-century narrative history was largely responsible for creating the very *tradition* of the English Landscape Garden’ (Bending 1994, 213). Horace Walpole’s *The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening* published in 1780 has been a particularly potent influence. After briefly contemplating the Garden of Eden, from which the fall excluded mankind, Walpole considers the ancient Greek garden of Alcinous, as described by Homer, the ancient Roman garden of Pliny, and the hanging gardens of Babylon, and finds them too uniform, too full of evergreen sculpture, or too small. He ranges through the regrettable regularity and ‘impotent displays of false taste’ in the Dutch and French gardens of the seventeenth century, and English gardens of the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century gardens, such as those designed by George London, garden designer and joint proprietor of Brompton Park Nursery, and Henry Wise, displayed in the engravings of *Britannia Illustrata* by Kip and Knyff. He finds the embryonic beginnings of the ‘natural’ style in Paradise Lost. To this end, the essay presents Milton’s description of Eden in Paradise Lost as an instance of ‘natural’ tendencies in seventeenth-century gardening; Milton is credited with ‘the prophetic eye of taste’. Sir William Temple’s seventeenth-century description of Moor Park in Hertfordshire, is similarly singled out. However, he presents the work of William Kent as the apotheosis of this progression towards the English landscape garden; he was ‘painter enough to taste the charms of the landscape, bold and opinionative enough to dare and to dictate, and born with a genius to strike out a great system from the twilight of imperfect essays’ (Walpole in Dixon Hunt (ed. 1980, 43). Walpole’s essay was not alone in presenting the English landscape garden as a wholly superior, and entirely English, creation. His near contemporaries, William Falconer whose ‘Thoughts on the Style and Taste of Gardening among the Ancients’ appeared in 1789, and William Mason writing in 1772, present a similar notion, albeit with slightly different reasoning, as Bending has shown (Bending 1994).

Walpole establishes Bridgeman’s place in his narrative. He writes dismissively of all aspects of the formal style and casts Bridgeman as the first to move away from it. Bridgeman is, in a much quoted passage, the gardener who allowed ‘absurdity’ to go ‘no further’ and who ‘turned the tide’. He was ‘far more chaste’ and ‘banished verdant sculpture’. He ‘enlarged his plans, disdained to make every division tally with its opposite, and though he still adhered much to straight walks with high clipped hedges, they were only his great lines; the rest he diversified by wilderness, and with loose groves of oak, though still within surrounding hedges’. In Bridgeman’s work at Gobions, in Hertfordshire, Walpole ‘discerned many detached thoughts, that strongly indicate the

dawn of modern taste' (Walpole 1780, Dixon Hunt (ed.) 42). Bridgeman is also credited by Walpole with the invention of the haha; 'But the capital stroke, the leading step to all that followed, was [I believe the first thought was Bridgman's] the destruction of walls for boundaries, and the invention of fossés ….' (Walpole 1780, in Dixon Hunt (ed.) 1995, 43). The 'fosse' becomes the lynch pin of Walpole's argument because, in creating a link with the countryside uninterrupted, it allowed Kent to metaphorically '[leap] the fence and [see] all nature was a garden'. As Walpole puts it:

> No sooner was this simple enchantment made, than levelling, mowing and rolling, followed. The contiguous ground of the park without the sunk fence was to be harmonized with the lawn within; and the garden in its turn was to be set free from its prim regularity, that it might assort with the wider country without (Walpole 1780, in Dixon Hunt (ed.) 1995, 43).

Many modern garden historians, though by no means all, have broadly accepted this late-eighteenth century presentation of garden history. As Bending has suggested 'If not all Walpole's polemical claims are now accepted, his notion of an historical narrative of great gardens and great designers continues to have considerable influence as a framework for many modern accounts of the 'rise' of the mindscape garden in eighteenth-century England' (Bending 1994, 209). In the preface to *Georgian Gardens: the Reign of Nature* David Jacques divides the eighteenth-century gardening into two distinct phases; 'the great formal gardens up to and including the time of Charles Bridgeman' and 'the Natural Style' that followed him, first 'tried out by Kent' in 1733 (Jacques 1990, 11). In fact, as Williamson has shown, the development of fashion in landscape design in the eighteenth century is far more complicated. The late geometric garden continued to be popular into the 1730s and 1740s, and writers like Shaftesbury and Switzer were producing geometric gardens in apparent contradiction of their pronouncements in print (Williamson 1995, 49). Dixon Hunt also acknowledges that this approach is a 'striking example of history written in the light of subsequent events' (Dixon Hunt 1986,180).

The assimilation of Walpole's narrative into garden history has included a tacit acceptance of Bridgeman's place within it. Willis begins his brief analysis of Bridgeman's style by citing Walpole: 'Horace Walpole, whose analysis of the Royal Gardener's style, though brief, is the most comprehensive we have and [is] worth restating' (Willis 2002, 130). As a result, many modern writers on garden history have followed Walpole's lead in seeing Bridgeman as a bridge between the formality of the sixteenth and seventeenth century and 'leaping the fence and [seeing] that all nature was a garden' (Walpole, Dixon Hunt (ed.)1995, 43) (Dixon Hunt 1986; Jacques 1990; Mowl 2007). It is easy to see how Bridgeman's work slots neatly into this narrative. His

long straight avenues and geometric tree planting are seen as the heirs of the late seventeenth century gardens, while his relative austerity, apparently demonstrable interest in the 'genius of the place', and construction of vistas into the wider landscape, perhaps created by a haha, are seen as the precursors of the work of William Kent and ultimately of Lancelot Brown. Willis's attempt at defining Bridgeman's style, which divided his work into three separate, largely chronological, categories, also reflects this view. He suggests three categories for Bridgeman's work; formal, which includes parterres, straight avenues and lakes; transitional, which Willis suggests is 'combining established motifs in a new way', for example in the construction of amphitheatres, and his use of statues and garden buildings; and progressive, suggested by his use of cultivated fields and 'morsels of forest'.

So strong is the perception that Bridgeman has a place in rise of the English landscape garden that the possibility that he might have been influenced by his immediate contemporaries and those gardening in the generation before him is rarely considered. No rigorous attempt has been made to trace any stylistic links between his work and that of Joseph Carpenter, who preceded him as Royal Gardener, that of Henry Wise with whom he was joint Royal Gardener in 1726 and 1727, or that of George London who was so prolific in gardening that, in Switzer's words, he 'gave Directions once or twice a Year in most of the Noblemens and Gentlemens Gardens in *England*' (Switzer cited in Willis 2002, 15), or to link him with garden design in Europe. There has been little scholarly interrogation of the term 'Nature' as applied to gardening in the early part of the eighteenth century. There has been a general consensus that the meaning Walpole attaches to the term in 1760 can stand for the whole century.

The political dimension

Bridgeman worked for many high profile government, and opposition, Whigs, and for many with close ties to the Whigs, so that any reappraisal of his work must consider whether Whig ideology drove his designs. A number of high profile, and well-documented, gardens of the period explicitly reflect the political discourse current in the first part of the eighteenth century in overtly political iconography; for example, Stowe (Jacques 1983; Dixon Hunt 1986; Williamson 1998; Mowl 2006) and Chiswick (Dixon Hunt 1986; Williamson 1998; Garnham 2013). Bridgeman's working period, from Blenheim in 1709 to Amesbury Abbey in 1738, spans the early part of the eighteenth century during which the Whigs were the predominant political force. In broad terms, it was the Whigs who supported the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the accession of the Hanoverian monarchs in 1714 and took full control of the government from 1715 onwards, largely under Sir Robert Walpole, First Lord of the Treasury from 1722 and de facto First Minister (www.oxforddnb.com). Bridgeman was appointed Royal Gardener to George I in 1726, and

remained as Royal Gardener after the accession of George II in 1727, and appears to have been, to some degree, the gardener of choice for the Whig elite. As we have seen, there is evidence to suggest he was involved with the design of the landscape around Sir Robert Walpole's new house at Houghton (Williamson 1998, 55; Willis 2002, 85) and with Wolterton Hall, the new house of Horatio Walpole, his brother (Williamson 1998, 55; Klausmeier 1999, 269). He worked for other prominent Whig politicians including the Duke of Newcastle, and for Queen Caroline and Henrietta Howard, mistress of George II.

In the evolution of Whig political ideology, republican Rome provided an appropriate model for English society under the constitutional monarchy after the Glorious Revolution (Williamson 1998, 63; Ayers 1997, 1). 'Republican Rome was marked by struggles between would-be despots and defenders of liberty, by vigorous factional contention, and by a class structure that, without excessive distortion, could be made to appear like Britain's.' (Reed-Browning in Ayres 1997, 3). The concepts of 'libertas' and 'civitas', liberty and civic virtue, central to Republican Rome, administered by an enlightened oligarchy, was made to fit England, even though 'libertas' had to be accommodated within the framework of a constitutional monarchy (Ayers 1997, 2).

Although it is tempting to attempt to find echoes of this ideology in the gardens Bridgeman created for his government Whig clients, there are a number of caveats. Although it is assumed that Bridgeman was, in large part, the chosen gardener of the Whigs, and he did work predominantly for Whigs in government, in fact he drew clients from a number of political persuasions. Bridgeman worked for opposition Whigs, like the Duke of Queensberry at Amesbury, who served as Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Prince Frederick, for those with Tory sympathies, like Jacob Bouverie, and for those who had made money in the South Sea Company and the East India Company like Francis Hawes at Purley. It was also a period of shifting political allegiances not always determined by a deeply held ideology, especially as Walpole's power weakened (Langford 1999; Williamson 1998). Indeed, even the political labels of Whig and Tory might not be very helpful especially when considering the beliefs of the ruling oligarchy. In any case, Ayers suggests, it is too simplistic to assume that the ideals of republican Rome were entirely the preserve of the Whigs 'It is important to note that by 1720 men of all political persuasions, not just the Whigs, were regularly identifying their causes with the Roman Republic (Ayers 1997,18). There is considerable complexity about the political map of the early eighteenth century (Langford 1999; Black 2001). It is also important not to conflate classical allusion with political comment since the discourse of classical Rome pervaded early eighteenth century artistic expression, including garden design. There is also evidence that the association of the Italianate garden with political order predates the eighteenth century. Ayers points out that Inigo Jones and William Davenant used 'the beautiful garden of the Britandes' as a metaphor for England under

Stuart rule in the court masque *Luminalia*, and Italianate gardens continued to be designed during the Interregnum. He suggests that perhaps the resonances of republican Rome had some meaning for the Parliamentarians too (Dixon Hunt 1986, 143).

However, in spite of all these caveats, questions remain about the relationship between Bridgeman and the ruling elite. Eburne has argued that there were notable stylistic differences between the gardens of what he terms 'the Robinocracy', in particular Houghton, Wolterton and Blickling, and those of the opposition. This, he suggests is largely because they do not so clearly reflect 'a dominant creative spirit imposing itself on the landscape in a quasi-Roman fashion' (Eburne 2003, 207). It would be interesting to consider whether, in the light of this, Bridgeman's designs for his Whig patrons have some ideological and political subtext, and whether they do differ from those designed for those in opposition.

Bridgeman's landscapes and architecture

Because a designed landscape must be understood in the context of the house with which it is associated, it is possible that the architectural style of the houses of Bridgeman's clients had some influence on his proposals. Although Palladianism is generally considered to be the dominant architectural style of Bridgeman's period, in fact, the picture with regard to both newly built, and substantially remodeled houses, is more complicated. This is perhaps because, as Garnham argues, 'Art historical surveys present an orderly succession in time that implies an objective pattern. [However] cultural forms do not fit the evolutionary hypothesis of biology' (Garnham 2013,15).

In the late seventeenth century there was, in fact, a flourishing of the Baroque, largely to the exclusion of Palladianism, although as Worsley argues, neo-Classical buildings continued to be built, for example by Roger Pratt at Kingston Lacy in 1663. The principal architects associated with this style, Sir Christopher Wren, William Talman, Nicholas Hawksmoor and Sir John Vanbrugh (ba.1664 – 1726) were responsible for a number of the most iconic Baroque buildings of the period; for example, St Paul's Cathedral designed by Sir Christopher Wren, Chatsworth House by William Talman, Seaton Delaval by Nicholas Hawksmoor, and Blenheim Palace by Sir John Vanbrugh. It appears to have been the preferred court style of the Stuart monarchs particularly following the Restoration, as is shown by the appointment of Sir Christopher Wren as Surveyor-General at the Office of Works, when perhaps John Webb, pupil of the neo-classical architect, Inigo Jones, might have been expected to rise to prominence (Worsley 1995, 21).

However, the revival of Palladianism, closely linked, to the resurgent interest in republican Rome and Renaissance Italy, which took place once the Whigs had returned to power in 1715, is of most importance in this thesis, since this was the dominant architectural discourse within which Bridgeman was working (Garnham 2013,16). Although the early years of the eighteenth century saw a renewed interest in the work of Andrea Palladio, Worsley suggests that Inigo Jones, working a century earlier, had been Britain's 'first truly Classical architect' (Worsley 1995, 1). The Banqueting Hall in Whitehall (1614) was designed as an immediate response to Jones's journey to Italy between 1612 and 1613, during which he became interested in the work of the Vicentine architect, Andrea Palladio, who had died thirty years earlier, and that of his pupil Vincenzo Scamozzi, whom Jones met (Worsley 1995, 3). During the first half of the seventeenth century, Jones influenced the work of other architects, most notably his pupil and disciple, John Webb. This influence appears not to have ceased with the Civil War, since De Caus' front at Wilton was restored in 1648 by Webb with the advice of Jones (Worsley 1995,15).

The resurgence of Palladianism was in large part due to its popularity among the Whig elite. It became, Williamson suggests, the 'distinctive badge of Whig ideology' (Williamson 1995, 63). It was a rejection of the court taste of the Stuart dynasty (Summerson 1980, 197) and its architects, particularly Sir Christopher Wren, became legitimate target for criticism. The Earl of Shaftesbury, writing in a published letter, attacked him

> Thro' several reigns we have patiently seen the noblest publick Buildings perish (if I may say so) under the Hand of one single Court-Architect; who, if he had been able to profit by Experience, wou'd long since, at our expence, have prov'd the greatest Master of the World. But I question whether our Patience is like to hold much longer…Hardly…as the publick now stands, shou'd we bear to see a *Whitehall* treated like *Hampton-Court*, or even a new Cathedral like St Paul's (Shaftesbury 1712, 400).

Palladianism also served to define English taste as opposed to French and Dutch, and embraced, 'at one and the same time, a devotion to antiquity, a flexibility authorized jointly by Palladio and common sense, and a strong national loyalty to Inigo Jones' (Summerson 1980, 199). The publication of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Volume 1 by Colen Campbell in 1715, and of Leoni's translation of Palladio's *I Quattro libri dell'architectura* also in 1715 were significant. Indeed, Summerson credits Campbell with having 'invented what we loosely call the 'Palladian' house' (Summerson 1980, 201).

Although Palladianism was the most significant architectural style of the age, and a large proportion of new houses built in the early eighteenth century were in the Palladian style, what

emerges from a close study of the houses at the centre of Bridgeman's designs is a much more complex picture. It is true that a significant number were newly built Palladian mansions or villas. Of particular note are Marble Hill (1724 – 1729), designed by Lord Pembroke and Wolterton Hall (1724 – 29), designed by Thomas Ripley. Many of the garden buildings in the landscapes Bridgeman designed were Palladian too, as for example, the Water House at Houghton, designed by Lord Pembroke, or the summerhouse in Tring Park designed by Gibbs in 1722 (Fletcher 2007, 46). Equally significantly, however, a number of these houses and garden buildings architecturally predate the eighteenth century's renewed interest in Palladianism. Some, like Amesbury Abbey designed by Webb in 1660, in the style of Inigo Jones, belong to the first wave of neo-Classical buildings. Some, like Blenheim, built by Vanburgh (1705 – 1720), are Baroque. Some, like Ledston Hall and Moor Park, were houses with medieval, sixteenth or seventeenth century origins, remodelled several times, including at the time of Bridgeman's involvement. What seems clear is that Bridgeman's landscapes were largely designed to accompany some kind of updating of the grounds, sometimes involving a complete rebuilding of the house, sometimes a remodelling of existing features, usually in the Palladian style. Arguably, then, in these cases, Bridgeman's work represents a reworking of the geometric style to match Palladianism. As Williamson suggests 'It is probable that the development of this vast yet geometric style was closely associated with the emergence of Palladian architecture' (Williamson 1998, 55) although it is possible that a fashionably late-geometric garden by Bridgeman might have presented a less expensive option than rebuilding the house. It must also be noted that there are also notable Palladian houses with which it appears Bridgeman had no involvement, for example, Holkham Hall.

A summary of Bridgeman's life and work

In spite of recent research described briefly above, almost everything that is known about Bridgeman still comes from Willis's extensive study *Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape Garden* (Willis 2002). It has become the definitive point of reference for any study in which his work is considered. The recent studies considered above have added to our knowledge of what remains of his landscapes and by implication, how they were constructed. Synthesised, these studies present an overview of his life and work which forms a starting point for a new study.

Willis pieces together a biography of Bridgeman from what are, admittedly, scant details. He shows that he married Sarah Mist on May 2nd 1717 at Gray's Inn Chapel (Willis 2002, 26). Sarah Mist was the sister of John Mist, who worked extensively as a paviour for the Office of Works in the early eighteenth century, and the sister-in-law, through the marriage of her sister Elizabeth, to

George Duval, master plumber with the Office of Works. In 1719, Bridgeman's son Charles was born, and was baptised on March 12th 1719. In 1720 Bridgeman's second child, Sarah, was born. She was baptised on 18th February 1720. A second son, John, was baptised in November 1723, but he probably died in infancy since he is not mentioned in Bridgeman's will of 1738 (PROB. 11/692/74). Bridgeman's fourth child, a daughter, Elizabeth, was born in 1724, and baptised on November 26th, and in 1725 another daughter Charlotte was born, and baptised on November 21st. During 1729, two of more of Bridgeman's children died. Charlotte died and was buried on March 4th, and a child called Caroline was buried on 6th October. Since there is no record of her baptism, it is likely that she died at birth (Willis 2002, 29). Bridgeman's son, Charles, entered Westminster School in 1728 where he was a contemporary of the sons of Sir John Vanbrugh and Stephen Switzer, and went to Christchurch, Oxford, as a contemporary of Henry Wise's son (Willis 2002, 28).

It seems that Bridgeman's career began working in some capacity for Henry Wise at Brompton Park Nursery. Henry Wise was an important figure in gardening in the last part of the seventeenth century and the early part of the eighteenth. He became a partner with George London in Brompton Park Nursery, when Moses Cook sold his share in it to him in 1689, eight years after it was founded. Brompton Park Nursery was highly successful in the design and construction of gardens and the provision of plants for them (Harvey 1974, 56). Harvey suggests that its continued success was due to the partnership of George London and Henry Wise; while London visited the gardens, Wise administered the Nursery (Jacques and van der Horst 1988, 29). Bridgeman is linked with Wise through the survey he drew of Blenheim Palace when Wise was working there, and his collaboration on the survey of Wise's property in Warwick in 1711. There is an assumption both by Willis, and others, that Bridgeman worked with London and Wise at Brompton Park as a surveyor and perhaps in other capacities, although Willis suggests that 'any collaboration between Bridgeman and Wise was not strong enough to prevent Wise calling on Smith and Carpenter, not Bridgeman, to help run Brompton Park Nurseries after George London's death' (Willis 2002, 33).

Bridgeman was appointed as joint Royal Gardener with Henry Wise from Michaelmas 1726, following the death of Joseph Carpenter, George London's successor at Brompton Park Nursery. From Lady Day 1728, following the retirement of Henry Wise, Bridgeman was appointed as sole Royal Gardener. His appointment was by the monarch; his salary and all other payments were administered through the Office of Works. The role of Royal Gardener was lucrative; he was paid £2220 per annum from 1728. As Royal Gardener he was responsible for the maintenance of the gardens at Hampton Court, Kensington, Newmarket, Windsor and St James's, and was employed to remodel the landscape at Kensington, taking in some of Hyde Park at a cost of £5000.

He had use of the Royal Gardener's house at Hampton Court and an apartment in Kensington Palace.

Willis implies that Bridgeman worked, in some capacity, at the sites listed in the two catalogues in the 1977 and 2002 editions of his monograph. More recent studies, in particular Eburne (2003) and Fletcher (2009), have cast some doubt on whether a plan necessarily signals Bridgeman's involvement, but Willis's catalogue forms the most comprehensive summary of his work to date. The list below can be viewed as a working hypothesis of the locations where Bridgeman was involved. Further details of each site are available in the Gazetteer (Appendix II) and most are referred to in the text of this thesis. They are: Amesbury , Audley End, Badminton, Blenheim, Boughton, Bower House, Briggens, Brocket, Claremont, Cliveden, Dallington, Dawley, Down Hall, Eastbury, Gobions, Greenwich Park, Gunton, Hackwood, Houghton, Kedleston, Ledston, Lillington Manor, Lodge Park, Lumley Castle, Marble Hill, Mereworth, Moor Park, Purley, Richmond Gardens, Rousham, Sacombe, Scampston, Shardeloes, Standlynch (now Trafalgar House), Stowe, Tring, Warwick Priory, Wimbledon House, Wimpole, Wolterton, Wrest, and Wroxhall Manor.

Willis presents Bridgeman as an establishment figure, moving in court circles, and working for the rich and powerful. It is possible to piece together a list of his clients from Willis's text and from other studies. Whether or not it made a material difference to Bridgeman's work, Willis, and others (Williamson 1995; Eburne 2003) have divided his clients into three loose groupings: Whigs, Tories, and those whose wealth came from commerce. His clients from amongst those who were, broadly, Whigs, were: Sir Robert Walpole, Horatio Walpole, Sarah Churchill, John 2nd Duke of Montagu, Thomas Winnington, Duke of Newcastle, Matthew Prior, George Bubb Dodington, Sir William Harbord, Charles Powlett 3rd Duke of Bolton, George Hamilton Earl of Orkney, 2nd Earl of Scarborough, Hon. Henry Pelham, Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford, Henrietta Howard, Charles Howard, Sir John Dutton, General Sir James Dormer, Sir Peter Vandeput, Sir William St Quintin and the Duke of Queensberry. His clients also included a significant number of Tories: Lord Cobham, the Duke of Beaufort, Montagu Garrad Drake, Lady Betty Hastings and Jacob Bouverie 1st Viscount Folkestone. There were also those whose money came either from the South Sea Company, from the East India Company, or from other commercial enterprises: Robert Chester, Benjamin Styles, Francis Hawes, William Gore, Jeremy Sambrooke, Edward Rolt, and Sir John Fellowes. Other clients are less easy to categorize, either politically or by status; Lord Westmorland entered parliament as a Whig but became a Tory during the reign of George II, and Henry Wise kept his political sympathies to himself.

Willis, and other garden historians who discuss Bridgeman as a peripheral footnote to a wider artistic discussion (see above), place Bridgeman within the foremost artistic circles of his period. In his chapters 'Friends and Fellow-Artists' and 'Literati and Harley's Circle', Willis links Bridgeman personally and professionally with the Baroque architect, Sir John Vanbrugh and with Palladian architects Henry Flitcroft, Thomas Ripley, James Gibbs, Roger Morris, the Earl of Pembroke, Colen Campbell, Giacomo Leoni, Thomas Ripley, and architect and artist William Kent. He suggests working relationships between Bridgeman and the artists James Thornhill, and John Wootton, and friendships with the poets Matthew Prior, and Alexander Pope. In addition, he considers the influence on Bridgeman of Stephen Switzer, his contemporary at Brompton Park Nursery, and influential garden designer and writer.

Bridgeman died on 19th July 1738 '[o]f a Dropsy' as reported by Boyer in his *Political State of Great Britain* (Willis 2002, 41). His death was also reported in a number of other publications (Willis 2002, 41n.84). Dropsy is a term used to denote oedema, caused by heart failure, or kidney failure. Sufferers would find movement difficult since fluid accumulates in the lower limbs, but would also struggle with breathing, especially when lying down (Peitzman 2007). The Probate Inventory taken on behalf of Sarah Bridgeman, after his death, suggests that he died a man of substance. He left a house in Broad Street, although the Inventory suggests that this is 'of Little or no Value' because the lease had only fifteen years to run, a house in Henrietta Street with a lease of ninety-nine years of which only seven had run, the plates for the 'Views of Lord Cobham's Seat and Gardens', and 'Goods Chattells and Credits' of considerable value in his house in Broad Street, in his apartment in Kensington, and in Wilderness House at Hampton Court. The Inventory also states that Bridgeman was owed 'divers Sumes of Money' …. 'from the Crown and several of the Nobility and Gentry' although it was not possible 'till the Accounts thereof can be made up and adjusted' to say quite how much was owed. However, it would appear that there was less money than Bridgeman's will anticipated. Sarah Bridgeman, his widow, stated, in a petition to the Lords of the Treasury that she was in 'very narrow Circumstances' following his death (NA T 1/299).

A landscape history perspective

In recent years, landscape historians and archaeologists have begun to reappraise designed landscapes from a new perspective. This approach has placed an emphasis on the accurate recording of features, relict earthworks and trees, on the use of documentary and cartographic evidence to uncover the layers of the landscape, on the practicalities of the construction of a designed landscape, and on the economics of the management of a landed country estate.

Christopher Taylor suggests in his article 'From recording to recognition' in *There by Design: Field Archaeology in Parks and Gardens* (Taylor 1998), that garden historians have ignored the possibilities for greater understanding offered by the perspective these approaches, which are outlined below. A number of the studies considered here have used these methods (Williamson 1998; Smith 2006; Milledge 2009; Rowe and Williamson 2012; Haynes 2012).

One of most effective tools in this reappraisal has been ESRI's Arc GIS. It provides a digital means to work with data displayed on a map and two of its applications, Georeferencing and Viewshed, have proved to be of particular use to landscape historians. Georeferencing allows a map which is not aligned to a coordinate system to be layered with one that is, so that features on historical estate plans and garden designs, not aligned to British National Grid coordinates, can be pinned to a digital version of an Ordnance Survey map available on Digimap. A Viewshed allows the analysis of what is visible from a given point by using a Digital Terrain Model (DTM); this is composed of a grid of cells which each hold a value for the average height of land within in an area ranging from between 25cm squared, for highly detailed LIDAR, to 50m squared for Ordnance Survey elevation data. A viewpoint is set using known coordinates. An offset can also be applied to represent the height of the viewpoint above ground. The viewshed analysis will display visible terrain from that point. It is particularly useful when considering what might have been visible in the eighteenth century but, because of the development of land in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, no longer is. Recent studies in the history of designed landscapes to make use of GIS include *Regions and designed landscapes in Georgian England* (Spooner 2016) and *Sir John Vanbrugh and the Vitruvian Landscape* (Dalton 2012).

The starting point for any investigation of a designed landscape is the maps and documents pertaining to it. Johnson comments on the importance of map making and of accurate surveying from the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards (Johnson 1996, 92), a process which has been considered in detail by academics (Gerbino and Johnston 2009; Bouchenot-Dechin and Farhat 2013). However, as material culture, maps are encoded with a variety of meanings beyond the accuracy of their surveying. Johnson has shown how the continual renegotiation of meanings in an artefact such as a map or plan for a garden is important in understanding its role in the process of the construction of a designed landscape (Johnson 1996, 187). The renegotiation of meaning would also have involved the designer himself, the patron for whom it was designed and the foreman and work men for whom it became a working document.

Landscape historians have begun to use techniques more usually employed in the examination of prehistoric earthworks (Bowden 2006; Bowden and McOmish 2013) to produce accurate surveys of the layers in the chronology of a designed landscape because, as Rackham suggests, 'In reality,

virtually every park was formed out of a pre-existing landscape, some features of which were preserved, often out of their original context' (Rackham 2004, 2). Phibbs outlines the problems and pitfalls involved in the recording of all features present in an eighteenth-century designed landscape from the medieval period onwards and the need for accuracy and honesty in doing so, to achieve an accurate picture of the landscaping (Phibbs 1998). Some emphasis has also been placed on the accurate recording of the position and probable age of trees within a designed landscape. In this the first edition Ordnance Survey 6 inch has been useful in that it shows the location of every tree with a girth in excess of two feet (Williamson and Barnes 2011, 27). It has proved possible through a variety of methods to roughly calculate the age of trees. This kind of close study has shown that some trees, especially in avenues planted in the eighteenth century, survive, and are of great girth, and that tree planting in eighteenth-century landscape parks often involved the incorporation of existing hedgerow and woodland trees (Daniels and Watkins 1991; Rackham 2004; Barnes and Williamson 2011).

There has also been a move to evaluate the economic framework within which large designed landscapes of the kind designed by Bridgeman existed. There has been a growing recognition that the aesthetics of a designed landscape existed only because of the 'complex relationship between the productive estate land and the designed core' (Williamson 2000, 14). This kind of analysis examines the complicated inter-relationships between economic trends in the eighteenth century, the economy of the landed estate and development of a designed landscape. For example, Williamson links the rise of the large estate with the agricultural recession of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century when incomes from tenanted land fell. For a century, from c.1650 to c.1750, the population remained static (Williamson 1998,15; 2000, 14). This, and the Land Tax of 1691, he argues, coupled with the relative political stability brought by the Glorious Revolution of 1688, favoured the growth of large estates. Their owners were less reliant on rents from tenants for income, often having alternative sources derived from the offices they held, and were able not simply to keep their own estates, but also to expand those estates into those of the local gentry, who, having less diverse sources of income, were unable to maintain their estates financially. Daniels and Seymour draw attention to the way in which 'the most grandiose schemes were funded from other, still more lucrative, sources – urban ground rents, mineral leases, stocks and bonds, government sinecures, the spoils of war, overseas plantations, overseas trade' (Daniels and Seymour 1990), and that focusing on the aesthetic qualities of these parks has obscured the ways in which the aristocracy, in the eighteenth century, was beginning to participate in a much more diverse economy.

A particular focus of this approach has been the economic, as well as the aesthetic, importance of the trees which form part of the design of the landscape park in the eighteenth century (Daniels

1988; Daniels and Watkins 1991; Williamson 2000; Rackham 2004). Williamson suggests that after the Restoration, tree planting accelerated, and was seen as 'a more attractive form of medium- and long-term investment'. Here, not only was there economic value in the plantations, but, because of the land thus occupied for 'perhaps two generations', there was a clear statement of status and wealth of the landowner (Williamson 2000,17). Woods planted as part of the landscape design were sometimes coppiced to provide a source of revenue. Daniels and Watkins demonstrate how, on the Foxley estate, the property of the Price family, woods for both timber and coppice purposes were sown throughout the eighteenth century (Daniels and Watkins 1991, 146). It seems likely that, for example, at Holkham Hall, the planting of Obelisk Wood in 1727 was undertaken with a view to coppicing (Williamson 1998, 63). Plantations in parkland were a valuable source of revenue, yielding timber for such products as pit props and hop poles (Daniels and Seymour 1990; Seymour 1993). The growing of oaks for ship building predates the eighteenth century and is encouraged in John Evelyn's *Silva*, 'Those sapling oaks, which at Britannia's call/May heavy their trunks into the main/And float the bulwarks of her liberty' (Evelyn in Hunter (ed.) 1786, 3).

This interest in the economics of the landed estate has also led to the examination of the way revenue was produced through the grazing of livestock in the landscape park. Deer, although prohibited from open sale, were economically profitable precisely because of it. Venison was highly prized, both as a gift, and, after a cull, changed hands at high prices (Daniels and Seymour, 1990 492). This interest in deer is reflected by the movement of the deer park from its position in the medieval period as separate from the main house, to surrounding the owner's main residence from c.1660 onwards (Williamson 2000, 21). Sheep, too, were grazed on parkland and provided saleable products of mutton and wool (Daniels and Seymour 1990, 492).

The practicalities involved in the construction of a designed landscape have also been considered. Particular attention is paid to the soil type and its impact on what features were possible (Williamson 1995; Daniels and Watkins 1991). For example, Williamson discusses the very small and disparate deposits of boulder clay in an otherwise sandy site at Houghton, and its probable impact on the construction of a lake there; 'All of Walpole's power and money could not triumph over 'the genius of the place' and successive visitors commented unfavourably on the absence of a lake at Houghton' (Williamson 1998, 54). The impact of the Turnpikes, from the early eighteenth century onwards, has also been considered, both for the movement of plants and labour, and for the development of parks accessible to London. This is of particular relevance to Bridgeman, since a large number of his commissions were for houses in Hertfordshire, Essex, Surrey, Berkshire and Northamptonshire. 'By the end of the eighteenth century 'an energetic young man driving himself in a racing phaeton [the sports car of the time] could make weekend

visits within a hundred mile radius of London' (Daniels and Seymour 1990, 495). Fiona Cowell, in *Richard Woods: Master of the Pleasure Garden* stresses how 'the landscaper [was] perpetually on the move between commissions' something which was surely facilitated by the advent of the Turnpikes (Cowell 2009, 154).

Fiona Cowell has written, in detail, about the arrangement of the labour force in the construction of the landscapes of Richard Woods (Cowell 2009). She outlines the importance of the foreman, 'Woods, like Brown, and in common with most other major improvers, was heavily dependent on his foreman for the successful execution of his designs' (Cowell 2009, 153) and shows that labour for the works was available from the agricultural labourers on the estate and from a pool of labourers who often sought work in the market place (Cowell 2009, 148). She stresses that Woods, like his contemporary Lancelot Brown, was a contractor 'supplying the plan for improvements, advice and sporadic supervision of the foreman he established to execute his design' (Cowell 2009, 153). Whether, in fact, this model can be transferred to an early eighteenth century designer like Bridgeman, is arguable, but will be investigated.

Some work has also been done on the planting of eighteenth-century designed landscapes, on the species of plants used. It is clear that estate records often contain details of the purchase of plants as Cowell has shown in relation to Richard Woods (Cowell 2012, 57). Mark Laird has shown that the instructions to gardeners published by George Wise and Henry London (1706), Richard Bradley (1719), Philip Miller (1724) and Batty Langley (1728) contain explicit details of flowering shrubs and plants, and also on how to use plants in graduated ranks (Laird 1999). Largely because Horace Walpole describes the characteristics of Bridgeman's work as 'high clipped hedges' 'diversified by wilderness, and with loose groves of oak', the possibility that he used shrubs and flowers in his planting schemes has not been considered (Walpole in Dixon Hunt (ed.) 1995, 42). However, published advice of his contemporaries suggests he probably did.

Several texts have also considered the provenance of those plants (Williamson 1998; Laird 1999; Daniels and Seymour; Williamson 2000; Barnes and Williamson 2012). Cowell also considers the availability and the practicalities of obtaining plants. She has shown that Robert Furber's nursery catalogue of 1730 contained 285 flowering bulbs and plants (Cowell 2009, 59). By 1776 over a thousand varieties of spring bulbs were available in Robert Edmeades's *The Gentleman and Lady's Gardner* (Cowell 2012, 59). Cowell also makes sensible and detailed comments which can be extrapolated to shed light on Bridgeman's possible working practices on the sourcing of plants from nurseries. She suggests that in the first three decades of the eighteenth century, plants were mainly sourced from Brompton Park nursery, founded by George London in 1681 in South Kensington. It appears to have supplied not simply the forest trees, but fruit trees and some exotic

species like Constantinople chestnuts (Willis 2002, 16). However, Cowell shows that by 1730 the number of nurseries in the London area had risen to around thirty, using as an example the nursery developed by Philip Miller in Chelsea from 1722 onwards (Cowell 2009, 65). Cowell's book deals with Richard Woods whose work was largely done in the latter half of the eighteenth century but helpfully considers the practicalities involved in transporting 'bulky and perishable goods' slowly over long distances, in a way which raises a number of interesting questions about Bridgeman's own working practices (Cowell 2009, 67).

This chapter has sought to provide an overview of the existing research on Bridgeman and the landscapes he designed. It provides a synthesis of the key art-historical and political narratives within which Willis, and other garden historians have placed him. It outlines the approach that might be taken by using the tools and methods of landscape history. There is, then, a space for a study which seeks to view Bridgeman's work through the lens of landscape history. Section 2 of this thesis will attempt to establish a revised corpus from which to proceed with that reappraisal and where else, amongst his contemporaries and immediate predecessors both in England and Europe, we might look for the artistic influences which informed his manipulation of space and topography. Section 3 will examine the practical processes, largely ignored by most garden historians, by which a Bridgeman landscape was created. It is hoped that through this it will be possible to more satisfactorily evaluate Bridgeman's style and influences, and to define him less by his relationship with what his designed landscapes would become after his death.

Section 2 The source material

Chapter 2 Interrogating the plans

In the Preface to the 1st edition of his *Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape Garden,* Willis comments on Bridgeman's 'elusiveness', suggesting that 'few art forms are so transient as a garden, and often as not (particularly after the passage of two centuries or more) our historical evidence is minimal: perhaps an account or two, an unsigned plan, some remarks by a traveller and, if we are lucky, a sketch or an engraved view' (Willis 2002, 1). With particular reference to Bridgeman, he quotes John Claudius Loudon who, in his *Encyclopaedia of Gardening* in 1822, identified Bridgeman was one of those who had 'established the modern style' in England, but about whom he had been able 'to procure no information' (Willis 2002, 1). Although this rather overstates the case in relation to Bridgeman, there is some truth in it. There is a paucity of documentary evidence for his work. Although his work as Royal Gardener is extensively documented in the records of the Office of Works, there are only passing references to him and his work in the letters of his private clients, and some payments to him in their accounts. As noted in the previous section, Willis publishes, in transcript form, three letters; one to Alexander Pope (lost but printed in Willis 2002, 156), one to Viscount Townsend (HMC/Townsend 352), and one to the Earl of Oxford (BL Loan 29/90). A fourth, to Horatio Walpole, is held in the archive at Wolterton Hall (WH 8/12 Box 3LX). This is in marked contrast to gardeners of the subsequent generation, for example, Lancelot Brown, whose work is often documented in the estate archives of the places he worked, although he, too, left little in the way of explanation of his artistic vision. In the physical landscape, Bridgeman's designs have been obscured by subsequent fashions in gardening and, in the modern era, by housing estates and golf courses. The majority of Bridgeman's work was undertaken in the counties around London, in an area where there has been the greatest pressure for building and amenity land in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. It is true that some traces of his landscapes are still visible on LIDAR and, occasionally, some of the residual landscaping survives intact, but by far the most important surviving evidence of his work is the archive of plans attributed to him by Willis in his catalogue, held in a variety of repositories in this country, in America and in Sweden (Willis 2002, 177-186 and 425- 438).

Those plans, then, represent the most significant resource in any reappraisal of Bridgeman's work. It is arguable that even if written texts, in which Bridgeman explained his artistic vision and working practices, had survived, the information encoded in the plans would have been important; in the absence of such documents, they become paramount. It is perhaps odd that their significance has been overlooked, both by Willis himself, and in the period after he identified a

corpus. Art-historical scholarship, the discipline that is most closely associated with research in garden design, seems to regard them simply as evidence that Bridgeman worked at a site, of the nature of that work, and of the style of his design. Keates suggests a map, or in this case, a plan, 'requires the application of both science and art in its construction' (Keates 1996, 207) and perhaps their association with the sciences, and their inherently functional nature, has led to this omission.

In fact, they can be interrogated as texts with meaning to be revealed through deconstruction. Eagleton has suggested that 'To deconstruct ….. is to reinscribe and reinstitute meanings, events and objects within broader movements and structures; it is, so to speak, to reverse the imposing tapestry in order to expose to all its unglamorously dishevelled tangle the threads constituting the well-heeled image it presents to the world' (Eagleton 1986 cited in Harley 2001, 159). Barthes has suggested that, '[Pictures] become a kind of writing as soon as they are meaningful: like writing, they call for a *lexis*' (Barthes 2000, 110). A Bridgeman plan holds meaning in its 'lexis', the marks made on the paper. These can be investigated for their grammar (their relationship to each other), their etymology (where they are derived from) and their meaning, both collectively and individually. The plan is also an artefact, with a provenance which holds meaning and, as Johnson has suggested (see Chapter 1), a purpose for which it was originally designed but which might, at any stage, have been renegotiated (Johnson 1996, 187). I have attempted to use all these ways of deconstructing Bridgeman's plans to wring out the meaning encoded in them and arrive at a clearer picture of his intentions as a designer.

Willis's corpus

Willis catalogues all the plans he attributes to Bridgeman in *Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape Garden*. Four, Windsor Forest (NA MR 1/279), Blenheim Palace (held at Blenheim Palace), Hampton Court (Soane 36/3/1) and Amesbury Abbey (MSGD a3* fo. 32) are annotated with his name. Willis creates his corpus by using these four plans, which he categorises as 'A' 'signed Drawings' (Willis 2002, 175), as a model to establish Bridgeman's draughtsmanship and design. In fact, none is actually signed in his hand with the signature that appears, for example, on a receipt for £25 for work done at Montagu House, London, for the Duke of Montagu (NSRO ZA/4221) (see Figure 35); however, for the purpose of identifying his graphic style, they can be categorized as 'signed drawings' on the assumption that the presence of his name marks them as his work. From the style of these he identifies unsigned drawings as being 'probably' (his category 'B') or 'possibly' (his category 'C') by Bridgeman (Willis 2002, 175). The fifth plan, (WCRO CR 26.2.2), is identified as being partly by Bridgeman on the title page of an accompanying survey (CR 26.2.1), but is categorised as 'B' by Willis, presumably because it is unclear which

part of the plan is by Bridgeman. In the 1977 edition of *Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape Garden,* he catalogued 97 plans which he attributed to Bridgeman in this way. In the revised 2002 edition, Willis withdrew attribution of five of these drawings: Fulham Road (MPE 1/482), Kensington Gardens and Hyde Park (712.5 Ken/F), Standlynch (MSGD a3 fo.25 and MSGD a3 fo.36), and Spring Gardens (MPE 1/555) making a total of 92 plans. However, in the same volume, he added a further seven drawings, Kedleston (SC), Lodge Park (MSGD a4 fo.68), Marble Hill (NRO MC 184/10/1 and MC 184/10/2) and three from an album held at Wimpole Hall bringing the total number of his attributions to 99. He also reassigned the plans MSGD a4 fos.24 and 34, which he originally designated as plans for Farley, as Hackwood, and identified Unidentified MSGD a4 fo.81 as Claremont. He withdrew the assignment of MSGD a4 fo.37 to Scampston but retained its attribution to Bridgeman. He did not use his categorisation A, B or C for these new drawings. Six of Willis's corpus are not plans of landscapes. Two are bird's-eye views, one of Boughton House in Northamptonshire, and one of Stowe (MSGD a4 fo.46). Four are plans and surveys of parts of the Bell Inn in Stilton which Bridgeman inherited in 1736 (Willis 2002, 29). A full list of Willis's attributions and suggestions appears in Appendix III.

Only four plans are dated; Blenheim Palace (BP)1709, Warwick Priory (WCRO CR 26.2.2) 1711 (the date is on the accompanying survey CR 26.2.1, not the plan CR 26.2.2), Down Hall 1720 (annotated on the reverse 'for Mr Prior 1720') (BL Add MS 70371), and Amesbury Abbey, (MSGD a3*fo.32), 1738. All other dating of plans can only be approximate, based on documentary or circumstantial evidence. The dates Willis gives in his corpus tend to cover the entire period, usually suggested by documentary evidence, of Bridgeman's involvement in the project, or sometimes a very much broader period, covering, for example, his entire career pre- or post- his appointment as Royal Gardener. Some plans are without dates entirely, presumably because it was not possible to date them.

Willis states, in his notes on his method of attributing 'Bridgemanic drawings' that he established 'features of Bridgeman's draughtsmanship and design' from the plans in his category 'A' and used those features to 'identify Unsigned Drawings which could *probably* (Category B) or *possibly* (Category C) be attributed to Bridgeman' (Willis 2002, 175). In fact, it seems that this method has produced a relatively securely attributed body of work, and one which has been largely, though not completely, accepted by academics and by garden historians, although this may well be for lack of investigation rather than for sound academic reasons. However, by failing to distinguish between 'draughtsmanship and design', Willis's corpus conflates two essentially separate areas of Bridgeman's expertise; his ability as a draughtsman, and his ability as a designer. This results in the mixing of three separate kinds of drawings; those which are simply in Bridgeman's hand and show no evidence of his designs, those that are his designs and in his hand,

and those which are his designs but appear not to have been drawn by him. Because the contents of his corpus is also informed by 'documentary evidence or published material' (Willis 2002, 175), Willis also adds a number of plans for landscapes where documentary evidence shows Bridgeman worked, even though the drawings themselves are apparently linked to neither Bridgeman's graphic techniques, or his style as a designer.

Towards a revised corpus

The problems Willis encountered in establishing a corpus remain. There are three different, but overlapping, criteria, all of which are implicit in Willis's catalogue, which might allow us to plausibly place a plan in Bridgeman's corpus: whether the provenance of the plan can in some way be traced to him; whether the style of the draughtsmanship, or design, or both, matches that on Bridgeman's signed drawings; and whether there is documentary evidence that Bridgeman worked at the site in some capacity. None of these can prove unequivocally that an unsigned plan is by Bridgeman, but the application of all three provides a more solid foundation from which to proceed with an analysis of his work. Even with these criteria, there are difficulties. Sometimes the provenance of a plan is largely an educated guess, and often the evidence of Bridgeman's presence at a site hangs on a tantalizingly glancing reference in estate correspondence with no details to explain it. It is also likely that a number of draughtsmen were involved in the preparation of Bridgeman's work. This last point is discussed more fully in Chapter 3 but it must be remembered in any discussion of how we might define a corpus. The following investigation of the three criteria listed above uses Willis's corpus as a starting point, and then considers whether we might add or subtract plans. It is important to realise that this is by no means a scientific process and is to some degree, at least, speculative.

Provenance

Although they are now held in a number of separate repositories, it is possible to trace the provenance of most of the plans Willis attributes to Bridgeman to a limited number of sources: to his own workshop; to the archive of Henry Wise; to the Office of Works; and to the estate archives of his clients. There are some plans for which this is not possible, but they are relatively few.

Plans from Bridgeman's workshop

The Gough Collection

By far the greatest number of the corpus created by Willis, 60 out of 99, are in the Gough Collection, documents bequeathed to the Bodleian Library by Richard Gough (1735 – 1809), an antiquary, on his death in 1809 (http://www.oxforddnb.com). Gough's father died in 1751 and, when his mother died in 1774, he inherited great wealth. He was interested almost exclusively in British topography and antiquities, and collected a large library of books, maps and engravings, chiefly to do with topography, including many volumes from the libraries of Ducarel, Lort, Blomefield, Peter Le Neve, Hutchins, West and others. He published *British Topography* in 1768 and 1780, *The Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain (1768 – 99)* and an augmented version of *Camden's Britannia* in 1789 and 1806. The Bodleian Library has no record of how Bridgeman's drawings were collected by Gough (pers. comm. Colin Harris). Nearly forty years separate Bridgeman's death and Gough's inheritance of his fortune. Willis suggests two possible routes by which the plans might have come into the Gough Collection, neither of which is particularly convincing. One is that Gough inherited the drawings from his father, Harry Gough, who was a confidante of Sir Robert Walpole (Willis 2002, 174). He does not suggest how Harry Gough came to have them or why they would have been of interest to him. The second is that Gough bought them at the sale of the possessions of the politician and antiquary, James West, in 1773. A page in one of West's manuscripts notes that he bought 'books, medals and prints' at 'Mrs: Bridgeman's Sale'. Although undated, this entry falls between 21st February 1742 and 15th June 1743. It is possible that the sale referred to in West's notes is of Sarah Bridgeman's possessions. Sarah Bridgeman's Will was proved on 21st January 1744 suggesting that she did not die until the end of 1743 (PROB 31/244/57). However, Willis points out that the note could refer to a sale in February 1743 of the library of a Mrs Katherine Bridgeman (Willis 2002, 174 n.4). This does seem more plausible. The sale of both Mrs Katherine Bridgeman's library, and subsequently of the contents of her house, was advertised in the Daily Advertiser from January to March 1743, and amongst the items advertised are 'Coins and Medalions' (Burney Collection). If the sale is of Mrs Katherine Bridgeman's library, then it is unlikely that this is the route by which Gough came by Bridgeman's drawings.

The plans in Gough Drawings probably need to be considered as a cohesive whole, because they do not appear to have been collected piecemeal. They were certainly catalogued together in 1809 when the Collection was bequeathed to the Bodleian Library. The *Summary Catalogue* of 1809 lists those drawings for which a location has been identified, on pages 167 and 168, under numbers 17593 and 17594. A handwritten note which is undated but clearly written after the

publication of Willis's book in 1977, on the page facing 168, draws the reader's attention to Willis's catalogue. The plans were classified under their size and placed in a3 or a4, by the librarian John Nichols (Colin Harris pers. comm. 2013). There is a partial typed list of MSGD a4 and handwritten list of the contents of MSGD a3 (Colin Harris pers. comm. 2013). Other than these there appears to be no full catalogue description of Gough Drawings a3 or a4 in the Bodleian Library (Colin Harris pers. comm. 2013). Fifteen plans are held in Gough Drawings a3, and 45 in a4. Those catalogued in a4 are all presented as separate documents, grouped in folders, making it easy to examine the reverse sides. All but three of those catalogued as a3 are stuck into a single bound volume, sometimes making it difficult to examine the manuscript. The remaining three, of Kensington Gardens (MSGD a3* fo.7), of Eastbury (MSGD a3* fo.9) and of Amesbury (MSGD a3* fo. 32), are presented individually in a single folder. Both a3 and a4 contain drawings which Willis does not identify as by Bridgeman, and are probably not by him. Some, such as a survey of Great Eltham from 1750 (MSGD a3 fo.2), clearly postdate Bridgeman. In the original 1809 catalogue there was a drawing of Boughton House, which is now no longer there. It is possible that this is one of the two plans now held at Boughton.

This evidence suggests that the drawings entered the Gough Collection together, and, as far as it is possible to establish, the history of the drawings immediately after Bridgeman's death seems to corroborate this. It appears that after Sarah Bridgeman's death, the plans in Gough Drawings a3 and a4 passed into the hands of Clement Lemprière (1683 – 1746), an artist and cartographer born in Jersey, who was appointed Draughtsman to the Civil Branch of the Ordnance Survey in 1727 (The Biographical Dictionary of Jersey by George Balleine cited in http://www.theislandwiki.org/index), and had an office in the Tower of London where military draughtsmen were housed (Sponberg Pedley 2005, 24). At the time of her death, Sarah Bridgeman was also living in the Tower of London although it is not clear why (PROB 31/244/57). Sarah Bridgeman's will appointed Lemprière as her executor, and one of two guardians of her daughter Anne (PROB 31/244/57). One set of drawings in Gough Drawings a3, 'Diagrams and descriptions of fortifications and different terrains' (MSGD a3 fos. 82-86), dated 1715, is catalogued by the Bodleian as by Lemprière. It is possible that some of the other drawings in a3, for example, a plan of the town of Nassau in New Providence (MSGD a3 fo. 20), architectural drawings of a temple in Sicily (MSGD a3 fos. 21, 22, and 23), Vigo in Portugal (MSGD a3 fo.34), and 'A Draught of Great and Little Exuma' and 'a Draught of Stocking Island Harbour', both in the Bahamas, (MSGD a3 fo. 35), may also have been drawn by him since he is known to have visited and sketched in those locations (The Biographical Dictionary of Jersey by George Balleine cited in http://www.theislandwiki.org/index). A further drawing, originally catalogued as by Bridgeman, (MSGD a4 fo.47) may well also be by Lemprière. It appears to be a map of the mouth of a river.

Legal documents, held at the National Archives, suggest that Bridgeman's drawings passed to Lemprière probably as a result of his executorship of Sarah Bridgeman's will, and possible friendship with her. The legal documents pertain to the suit of Sarah Bridgeman, the eldest daughter of Charles and Sarah, who sued, first her mother, and then Lemprière, after her mother's death, to recover £2000, left to her in her father's will to be inherited when she reached the age of 21, which she did sometime early in 1741 (C11/1596/8) (Willis 2002, 148). It appears from her deposition that she believed that her mother had deliberately defrauded her of her inheritance by a variety of obfuscating tactics including 'pretending that your Ora[tri]x father never made any such Will or gave any such Legacy to your Ora[tri]x as herein before set forth' and insisting 'very untruly that the said Charles Bridgeman your Ora[tri]x said father died greatly indebted to several persons in divers Large sums of money amounting in the whole to much more of his personal estate' (C11/1596/8).

Whatever the truth about Bridgeman's wealth, after her mother's death, at some point before 21st January 1744, the date on which her mother's will was proved by Clement Lemprière, Sarah Bridgeman began proceedings against Clement Lemprière. His 'Answer' of 2nd April 1744, exonerating himself from having appropriated any of the estate after Sarah Bridgeman's death, contains a reference to what appears to be the drawings:

> And he further says that no part of the Estate or Effects of the Plaintiff's said late Father or Brother have at any time before or since the death of his said Testatrix come to his hands custody possession or knowledge except the Copperplates of the several views of Stow Gardens & about two hundred setts of prints of the same views & a *parcel of other odd prints* and Drawings of Plans of various kinds & twenty pictures of various sorts part of the Estate & Effects of the Plaintiff's said late Father remaining unsold in the custody of his said Testatrix at the time of her death & are now in the Defendant's custody ready to be disposed of as the Hono[ur]able Court shall think fit…. (my italics) (C11/1842/23).

It seems likely that the 'parcel' referred to was, in fact, the drawings now in Gough Drawings a3 and a4.

There are two possibilities which might explain how these drawings came into Gough Drawings. Lemprière died in 1746. A note in the margin of Sarah Bridgeman's will states that:

> On the Sixteenth day of October in the Year of our Lord 1746 Admcon (with the Will annexed) of the Goods, Chattels and Credits of Sarah Bridgeman late of the Tower of London Widow dece'd left unadminstered by Clement Lemprière one of the Ex[ecu]tors

> named in the said Will now also dece'd was granted to Elizabeth Price (Wife of Philip Price) the Daughter and one of the residual Legatees named in the said Will….(PROB 11/731).

Elizabeth Price was Bridgeman's second daughter. Either the drawings had already been sold privately by the time Lemprière died, or, much more likely, Bridgeman's and Lemprière's drawings passed together to Elizabeth Price after Lemprière's death in 1746. It is possible that their fate was tied to that of the etched copper plates of the views of Stowe, and two hundred prints from those plates, which Lemprière states were in his possession in 1744. These views of Stowe, commissioned by Bridgeman from the French artist Rigaud at a cost, variously estimated by the classified sections of the newspapers, as £1,400 and £2,400, had been advertised for sale in 1739 through London booksellers and print makers, immediately after his death, by Sarah Bridgeman 'at the Proposer's House in Broad-Street' for 'four guineas'. It is not clear whether any were sold, but certainly a large residue of the prints, and the plates themselves which remained in Sarah Bridgeman's possession at the time of her death, passed to Lemprière, as his deposition suggests, and may have passed to Elizabeth Price in 1746 on Lemprière's death. It seems likely that this is the case because the views were offered for sale by the London booksellers T. and J. Bowles, C. Hitch and W. M. Toms, in the Classified sections of a variety of newspapers in London, and in Dublin, between February 22nd 1746 and May 1st 1752. After 1752, the advertisement disappears from the Classified sections (Burney Collection). It is also interesting, in this regard, that Toms sold engravings of Lemprière's sketches, made by Boydell, between 1738 and 1754 (www.cichw1.net/pmlempri.html). It is plausible that the drawings had passed to one of these booksellers with the views of Stowe, but were not perceived to have any saleable value. They are not listed with the views of Stowe in any advertisements (Burney Collection). It is possible that they remained in the possession of one of the booksellers and were eventually sold, once an interest in Bridgeman's work had been rekindled, perhaps by Horace Walpole's *History of Modern Gardening,* possibly to Gough himself. It is more likely that their connection with Bridgeman was lost when they became separated by one of the booksellers from the plates of Stowe, and identifying his authorship would have been difficult as his name only appears on the plan for Amesbury Abbey. Annotations on the reverse of a number of drawings suggest that attempts have been made to identify the client for whom the plan was intended. These are in two distinctly different hands. One is polished, and may be a designation written by Bridgeman or his draughtsman, or part of the cataloguing process after the plans were bought by Gough. For example, we find 'Mr Stiles' on the plan for Moor Park (MSGD a4 fo.58), and 'Esq Walpole' on the reverse of the plan for Houghton (MSGD a4 fo.57). However, there are also some annotations on the reverse in a much untidier hand, always on the very edge of the plan, which may be notes written about it by a bookseller. Perhaps notes on the very edge would have been easier to read

when the plans were in a pile. For example, a note on the edge of the plan for Mereworth (a4 fo.52) there is the annotation which reads ‘a small plan without a name’ heavily scored out, and, then ‘Lord Northumberland but of no use now’. This may indicate that at first a bookseller was unable to identify the plan at all, and then, that having identified it, realized that in its unfinished state it had no saleable value. Interestingly, in this regard, on the plan for Hackwood (a4 fo.24), in the same handwriting, and in a similar place, a note reads, ‘to be sold’.

The connection with Wise

A number of plans, now in a variety of repositories, can be traced to Bridgeman’s working relationship with Henry Wise, and to Wise’s personal archive. Wise was clearly both a successful business man, and had influence in the highest circles. He was appointed Royal Gardener to Queen Anne shortly after her accession in 1702, chosen over George London. Wise remained Royal Gardener for both George I and George II, sharing the post with Joseph Carpenter from 1717 to 1726 and then with Bridgeman from 1726 to 1727 when he retired.

There is a general scholarly consensus that Bridgeman worked as draughtsman for Wise (Green 1956; Thurley 2003; Jacques 2014). Green suggests that, at Brompton Nurseries, ‘London and Wise were joined by Charles Bridgman, a skilled draughtsman as well as a skilled gardener and planner of gardens’ (Green 1956, 31). He assumes that Bridgeman worked extensively as Wise’s draughtsman: ‘Wise, it is true, was no accomplished draughtsman; but what did that matter with Bridgman to draw for him as Hawksmoor often drew for Vanbrugh?’ (Green 1956,185). He conjectures that Bridgeman is likely to have been the surveyor referred to in the following quotation from Wise’s ‘State of the Royal Gardens and Plantations at Ladyday 1713’: ‘For making Severall Surveys and Draughts of Her Majesty’s Palaces, Gardens, Parks and Plantations Mr. Wise never had or Craved any thing, tho’ he has kept one Man constantly in pay and sometimes more for that purpose….’ (Green 1956, 105). David Jacques assumes, at several points in his article for the *Journal of Eighteenth-Century Studies* that this is, in fact, the case: ‘Bridgeman, after all, was the person that Wise employed to make his surveys and plans of [Queen Anne’s] gardens and parks….’ (Jacques 2014, 214). Simon Thurley also assumes that Bridgeman worked as Wise’s draughtsman from 1708 (Thurley 2003, 237). Willis, himself, recognises that Bridgeman worked for Wise as a draughtsman, using as evidence Bridgeman’s signed 1709 plan of Blenheim, his plan of Windsor Forest and the 1711 survey of Warwick Priory, recently purchased by Wise, which was executed with James Fish. It is also clear that Wise and Bridgeman worked at the same sites. The following payment by Edward Rolt at Sacombe is recorded in the archive of Hoare’s Bank, preceding payments to Bridgeman: ‘Customer Ledger 17, folio 136, 27 March 1714, To Henry Wise, £8-14-10’ (Pamela Hunter pers. comm.).

Documents and plans in Willis's corpus, held in the County Record Office, Warwick, unequivocally confirm Bridgeman's collaboration with Wise. The drawings and documents are part of the Waller Collection, passed to the Warwickshire County Record Office by the Waller family, direct descendants of Wise. They are documents relating to property bought by Henry Wise in Warwickshire in 1709. The 'Survey of Warwick Priory and its attendant Manors' (CR 26.2.1) identifies Bridgeman as one of its authors: 'An Exact Survey & Rental of ye Priory at Warwick, the Manors of Woodlow & Wodcote contiguous to it, & ye Lo[rdshi]p of Lillington in the said County As taken 1711 By Mr Fish, being assisted & Compleated by Cha[rle]s Bridgman'. It is accompanied by a map, (CR 26.2.2), for which Bridgeman is, presumably, at least partly responsible. Willis assumes that it is the bird's eye view at the bottom of the document for which Bridgeman is responsible, linking it to his bird's eye view of Stowe. He suggests that 'it is too accomplished for his collaborator James Fish, the Younger….' (Willis 2002, 184), a view endorsed by Dr Christine Hodgetts (pers. comm. 2016). A second version of this plan, without the bird's-eye view, is catalogued as CR 217. It is not clear whether this is also in part by Bridgeman, but it seems likely. The other plan is for Lillington Manor, part of Wise's newly acquired property (CR 556/197). Willis also plausibly attributes this to Bridgeman, too, since it is referred to in CR 26.2.1. (Another version of this plan was formerly at Lillington Vicarage, but has since been lost (Willis 2002, 181)).

The Waller Collection is also the source of other plans in Willis's corpus, via a single sale from the estate of Sir Wathen Arthur Waller, on 12th December 1947 at Christie's (Jeffrey Pilkington pers. comm. 2016). The sale catalogue identifies the contents of lots 126 – 131 as by Henry Wise, but contained within these lots are a plan of 'The Priory' in Lot 130, bought by a Mr Reinard, which is almost certainly the plan of Warwick Priory held by Warwickshire County Record Office (CR. 56), where it is also catalogued as by Wise. There is a possibility that the plan of Blenheim, dated 1709, which hangs on the wall at Blenheim Palace, is part of Lot 129 from the Christie's sale, which lists 'A Plan of Blenheim', together with 'two smaller versions of the same' and 'a preliminary draft of the same'. Unfortunately, the provenance of the drawing at Blenheim is not recorded and so it is impossible to verify (John Forster and Karen Wiseman pers. comm. 2016). A preliminary sketch, shown in *Gardener to Queen Anne*, Green's monograph on Henry Wise, shows an almost identical, though less finished version of the Blenheim Palace plan (Green 1956, plate 32). His reference for this plan is 'From a manuscript book in the possession of Mrs Disbrowe-Wise', which presumably means it was originally part of the Wise family archive. Green certainly suggests that he was responsible for diverting a plan of Blenheim to the Palace, sometime after 1947, although he is unspecific about the details. Writing in 1987, he says 'Some thirty years ago Providence saw to it that I was able to divert this noble plan to the Great Hall at

Blenheim, where it customarily hangs and surely belongs (Green in Bond and Tiller (eds.) 1987, 76).

The plan for Greenwich Park, although now held in the Caird Library at the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich, appears to have originally come from the sale of parts of the Waller Collection in 1947 too. It comes from Lot 128, and is recognisable by the wording in the catalogue, "An Exact Plan of Greenwich Park', as CMP/30 now held in the Caird Library. Evidence suggests that this plan of Greenwich (CMP/30) was probably drawn by Bridgeman for Wise, executed for a private sale of land belonging to Wise. As well as this plan of Greenwich, Lot 128 in the Christie's sale also included 'A small plan of Greenwich Hospital' which is reproduced by Green as Plate 17 (Green 1956). This plan, which is, as Green very plausibly suggests, through comparison to a bill for Melbourne, annotated in Wise's hand, shows only the Royal Hospital and its environs. To the west of the King William building, it shows a three-acre plot of land marked as 'Mr Wise's Ground'. This land was sold in 1714 to the Directors of Greenwich Hospital by a Mr Wise for £1800 for the erection of an Infirmary, because 'the original grant of land to the Hospital had been insufficient for any but the principal buildings and therefore any infirmary schemes were dependent on the acquisition of further ground', although this infirmary was not built on it until the 1760s (Bold 2000, 207 - 208). Both Bold and Green suggest that the seller of this land was Henry Wise, who Bold states was 'a big landowner around Deptford' (Bold 2000, 263 n. 25). The likelihood that both the plan CMP/30 and the smaller drawing relate to this sale is strengthened by the identical depiction, in both, of the, as yet unbuilt, hospital buildings. They are presented in a design put forward for these buildings by Hawksmoor in 1701, rather than the design to which they were finally built. Hawksmoor's proposal is reproduced by Bold as illustration 146 (Bold 2000, 107). Since Hawksmoor advised the Directors on the purchase of the land for the Infirmary (Bold 2000, 208), it is plausible to suggest that Bridgeman had access to that plan, through Wise, who had employed him, c.1714, to produce a presentation drawing of Greenwich Park, to show the land Wise was selling in the context of the rest of the park.

The Office of Works

The other major source of the plans Willis attributes to Bridgeman appears to be the Office of Works with which he was closely connected as Royal Gardener. The Office of Works was in charge of all construction work for the monarchy from the early medieval period until it became a government ministry in 1851 (Kerry Downes http://www.oxfordartonline.com). During the period in which Bridgeman was Royal Gardener, 1726 - 1738, the Office was run by a Board consisting of four members: the Surveyor General, the Comptroller, the Master Mason and the

Master Carpenter. From 1719 onwards, the roles of Master Mason and Master Carpenter were held by architects rather than artisans to stop them acting as contracting workmen (Colvin 1976, 48). In what Colvin refers to as its 'lower reaches' (Colvin 1976, 105) the Office of Works employed master artisans, one of whom, George Duvall, Master Plumber, was Bridgeman's relation by marriage. The Board met once a week, with a General Meeting once a month attended by all the officers (Colvin 1976, 67 - 68).

It is likely that the plans which derive from the Office of Works, now held in the National Archives, were sold back to the Board in two separate sales made by Sarah Bridgeman to alleviate what she refers to in her petition to the Lords of the Treasury as the 'very narrow Circumstances' in which she and her family apparently found themselves following Bridgeman's death on 19th July 1738 (T 1/299; Willis 2002, 168). However, we cannot rule out the possibility that some of Bridgeman's plans were lodged at the Office of Works after he drew them, and retained there. In 1738 Sarah Bridgeman offered the Lords of the Treasury '… Plans Curiously done by the Deceas'd, of all the Royall Gardens, which may be of Great Service to the Crown, and for which your Memorialist hopes may be worth £200.00'. Willis reproduces this document in his Appendix VI (Willis 2002, 168). It is not clear whether Sarah Bridgeman was paid for these plans. On a separate occasion, recorded in the minute book for 15th March 1743 for the Board of Works, Sarah Bridgeman sold plans of specified Royal gardens to the Board of Works:

> The Widow Bridgman having laid before the Board several fair drawings of His Majesty's Palaces & Royal Gardens of Hampton Court; Windsor Castle, Richmond and Kensington, the Board upon Examining them found them to be Correct and they being of great Use to this Office, Agreed to allow the Widow Bridgman the sum of Sixty pounds in full satisfaction to her for the said Drawings (Work 4/8 cited in Willis 2002, 92).

Because these are the only documented sales of Bridgeman's plans, they may be the source of all the plans of the Royal gardens in Willis's corpus, except those very few which are held in the Gough Collection. Most are finished plans that presumably would have had monetary value. It is hard to imagine that Sarah Bridgeman would have been able to sell unfinished or roughly annotated drawings to the Treasury or the Office of Works but it is possible. It is also possible that the second transaction refers to the same drawings as those in Sarah Bridgeman's original petition, referred on from the Treasury and finally bought by the Office of Works, but for the purposes of the following discussion, the assumption is that there were two sets of drawings.

These sales are probably, then, the source of the seven plans held in the National Archives, where their cataloguing may well reflect the particular sale from which they come. Assuming these plans

come from Sarah Bridgeman's two sales, the first transaction, with the Lords of the Treasury, is in all probability, the source, in the National Archives, of plans for Lamp Row (now known as Rotten Row) in Hyde Park (MPD 1/164) and for Hampton Court (MPD 1/23), since the prefix MPD denotes a document originally from the Treasury. It seems unlikely that these plans alone would have been valued at £200. It is possible that also included was a plan for Richmond Gardens (MR 1/696 or LRRO 1/399). This plan has the prefix MR which denotes a document that was moved to rolled storage from another department (http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk). Its alternative catalogue number beginning with LRRO shows that it originated in the Office of Land Revenue and Enrolments. It is possible that it was passed to these departments from the Treasury at some point after its purchase, although it is also equally likely that, since LR1 is part of a sub-series of documents which relate to the enrolments of grants and leases of crown lands, these surveys were originally done by Bridgeman for the Office of the Auditors of Land Revenue, and retained by them as an assessment of the value of crown lands. This is particularly likely in the case MR 1/696 (LRRO 1/399) since it is a survey of Richmond Park for the Prince and Princess of Wales. It has a key showing acreages, which suggests that its purpose was the measurement of land after the purchase of Richmond Park by the Prince of Wales and Princess Caroline in 1719. It is also possible that this sale included the plan showing the bank of the Thames in Richmond Park (MR 1/528) which originated from the War Office (WO 78/1232). It is not clear why a survey of the bank of the Thames in Richmond Park should be found in the War Office, which in the eighteenth century was the Office of the Secretary for War. It is possible that this plan came from either the Treasury or the Board of Works and was then transferred to the War Office during the Second World War. We might speculate that plans from Willis's corpus with the prefix 'Work' came from Sarah Bridgeman's second sale, this time to the Office of Works. The minutes are specific about the gardens these plans depict; 'Royal Gardens of Hampton Court; Windsor Castle, Richmond and Kensington Hampton Court'. This sale might then be the source of two plans of Richmond Gardens (Work 32/96 and 32/282), and possibly the plan of St James's Park (Work 32/70).

It is likely that the Office of Works was the source of three other plans for Royal landscapes currently held in other archives. Two plans are held by Sir John Soane's Museum; one is for Hampton Court (SM 36.3.1), and the other for St James's Park (SM 62.1.1). While it is not certain how they arrived there, Stephen Astley speculates that they may have originally come from the Office of Works where Soane was one of the attached architects in the late eighteenth century. He believes that other drawings did (Stephen Astley pers. comm. 2013). Hovingham Hall holds a plan of the Lower Wilderness at Hampton Court. Sir Thomas Worsley believes that the Office of Works was the source of the plan he holds. His ancestor Sir William Worsley was Surveyor-

General at the Office of Works under George III (http://www.oxforddnb.com) (Sir William Worsley pers. comm. 2014).

There are other more speculative links between the Office of Works and plans held in repositories both in England and abroad. There are plans for Royal landscapes, attributed to Bridgeman, held in the British Library, the Henry E. Huntington Library in San Marino, California, and the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm. The British Library plan is entitled 'Two different designs of Viewing the Thames & Country, from Great Elms, between Hampton Court Green and Hampton Town end' (Maps K. Top.XXIX 14.u). It is part of the King's Collection, a library of books and drawings established by George III after 1763 and donated to the British Museum in the 19th century (http://www.bl.uk/reshelp). It is therefore possible that this plan originated from Sarah Bridgeman's sale of material to the Office of Works, although it might originally have been held by the Crown. The provenance of the two, almost identical, plans of Kensington Gardens which are held in the Henry E. Huntington Library, (ST Map 147) and in the Cronstedt Collection in the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm, (CC.2753) respectively, is more of a puzzle. The plan in Nationalmuseum in Stockholm (CC.2753), is part of the Cronstedt Collection, collected in the second half of the eighteenth century by Carl-Johan Cronstedt and his son F.A.U. Cronstedt. Although neither is known to have visited England, F.A.U. Cronstedt visited France and Italy on his Grand Tour 1770 – 1773 (Magnus Olausson pers. comm. 2016). The provenance of the plan bought by Henry E. Huntington (1850 – 1927), a railway magnate and collector of antiquarian books, is also unknown. It may be of relevance that the provenance of the plans held in the British Library and the Cronstedt Collection can be traced back to the latter part of the eighteenth century, as, in fact, can those held in the Soane Museum and at Hovingham Hall. It is possible that, while they might all have left the Office of Works in separate ways, they might also have been part of a sale of manuscripts in the late eighteenth century.

Plans in the archives of Bridgeman's clients

Surprisingly few plans in Willis's corpus are found in the possession of the descendants of the clients for whom they were designed. A plan of cascades and a canal is in the Scarsdale Collection at Kedleston Hall; two plans and a bird's eye view are held at Boughton House; two plans for Lumley Castle, originally executed for the 2nd Earl of Scarborough, are currently held at Sandbeck House, in the collection of the current Earl of Scarborough; a plan for Ledston is held at Otterden Place in Kent; and four plans of Wimpole Hall are held in the Bambridge Collection curated by the National Trust, at Wimpole Hall. We might also add to these a plan for Wimpole (Add MS 36278, MI) currently held in the British Library, which appears to have been part of the papers of the Earl of Hardwicke to whom Wimpole was sold in 1740 (BL Add MS35349-36278).

Presumably these were originally in the possession of Bridgeman's clients and have remained with the estate. This is certainly the supposition of Crispin Powell, archivist at Boughton House (pers. comm. 2015) and the Earl of Scarborough (pers. comm. 2019). The signed plan for Blenheim which currently hangs on the wall in Blenheim Palace, may be an anomaly (see above).

There remain a number of plans in Willis's corpus for which it is difficult to trace the provenance. Willis catalogues a plan, for Down Hall held, not in Gough Drawings, but in the topographical section of the Gough Collection, in Gough Maps, in a bound volume (Gough Maps 46, fo.262). It shows a Bridgeman landscape for which there is both documentary (HMC 58: Bath III, 483, HMC 58: Bath III, 490) and LIDAR evidence, but is almost certainly not in Bridgeman's hand, but in the hand of Adrian Drift, private secretary to Matthew Prior, for whom Bridgeman designed the landscape. It is not clear how it was collected by Gough. A second plan, with the addition of serpentine paths and cabinets, and excluding the key, but otherwise very similar, is also in Drift's hand, and is part of the Harley Papers in the British Library (BL Loan 29/357) (see below); presumably it came from the archives of the Earl of Oxford. The annotation reads 'Copy of the first Plan/for Down Hall' and is inscribed in the back 'for Mr Prior 1720'. It is not clear why this plan which appears to have been specifically designed for Prior should have been part of the Harley archive, but perhaps it was because the Earl of Oxford was funding the development of Down Hall and owned half the freehold.

The plan for Claremont (SM 62.1.2), held at the Sir John Soane Museum poses even more of a problem. It is likely, stylistically and graphically, to be by Bridgeman and certainly seems to have been seen by Switzer because it seems to be the basis for his reworking of the design published in *An Introduction to a General System of Hydrostaticks and Hydraulicks* (1729). Perhaps it was originally in the hands of the Duke of Newcastle, or perhaps of Vanbrugh, with whom both Bridgeman and Switzer worked. Two plans for Marble Hill, the house built between 1724 and 1729 by Henrietta Howard, mistress of George II, now in the Norfolk Record Office, are also a mystery. Catalogued as MC 184/10 and /11, they form part of the Lothian (Blickling) papers from Blickling Hall, the home of the Hobarts, Henrietta Howard's family. It is possible that they were retained by the Hobart family in the Blickling archive, but one of the two (MC 184/10) has sketches of maps of the coast of Scotland, including 'Glenluss Bay', on the reverse. The handwriting is very close to that on Clement Lemprière's on his 1731 Military Map of Scotland now held in the National Library of Scotland (Acc.11104 (Map.Rol.a.42)). This suggests that this drawing, at least, might have come originally from the plans detailed by Clement Lemprière in his 1744 deposition, most of which are in Gough Drawings (see above).

Bridgeman as draughtsman

The second of the three parameters, set out above, which might determine whether a plan should form part of Bridgeman's corpus, is a consideration of draughtsmanship. However, it is likely that a number of draughtsmen were involved in the preparation of Bridgeman's plans and this must be considered in any discussion of how we might define a corpus. It appears to have been common practice that the drawing of estate maps, commercial maps and garden designs was a collaborative process. Sponberg Pedley makes the point that commercial mapmaking involved many workers. 'Mapmaking from observation to compilation was a labor-intensive process, but it was not lonely' (Sponberg Pedley 2005, 34). As Harley suggests 'Most maps are the product of a division of labour' (Harley 2001, 38).

It is likely that this was also true for the creation of plans for landscape designs, and it is partly what makes the attribution of a design so difficult. Wise employed draughtsmen, one of whom was Bridgeman (see above), and Switzer appears to have employed his son, certainly in the production of the plan for Beaumanor; 'T. Switzer, junr.' appears on the cartouche credited with ornamenting the plan (Brogden 1973). In the work of Le Nôtre the collaborative nature of the drawing process is well documented. Bouchenot-Déchin has shown that work which came from the offices of Le Nôtre was often 'executed for him by one or more colleagues working with assistants'. Their production was the work of a close-knit group many of whom 'had already worked for his father and were related, or became related by marriage' and who mostly lived in close proximity to each other and to Le Nôtre 'in a small area near the Tuileries, specifically between the house the King had placed at the gardener's disposal and the home of his in-laws opposite the church of St-Roch which he and his wife had inherited' (Bouchenot-Déchin 2014,150). The hands of Pierre II Desgots, Claude Desgots, Michel II Le Bouteux and his son Michel, as well as numbers of unknown draughtsmen are present in the work. Bouchenot-Déchin suggests that the enormous amount of work required to produce a drawing must have precluded it being only the work of one hand. 'It is in no way surprising that at the final design stage of a project by Le Nôtre, its material representation- the presentation drawing- should be the work of his colleagues, considering the dozens of hours required by its realisation' (Bouchenot-Déchin and Farhat 2014).

However, in spite of the number of hands which might have been involved in producing the drawing, it is likely that there was, to an extent at least, a style of draughtsmanship which identified the plan with a particular designer. This was certainly true of Le Nôtre. Bouchenot-Déchin cites many examples of his close supervision of both style and content. For example, she shows that 'even a close collaborator like Pierre II Desgots (c.1630-1688) had little room for

personal maneuver' since he had to wait for Le Nôtre's authorization to move a forecourt on the side of the menagerie at Issy (Bouchenot-Déchin 2014,152). It is often difficult to see different hands in plans attributed to Le Nôtre because the graphic style is largely homogenous. It is likely, then, other hands than Bridgeman's were involved in the production of his plans, but the same principle of a homogenous style of draughtsmanship may have applied, so that other hands are difficult to detect. However, it is possible to see more than one hand in a number of drawings; for example, on the plans for Boughton (Boughton 1), and for Rousham (MSGD a4 fo.63), very much more crudely drawn trees have been added in pencil. The name of another draughtsman and surveyor, Mr Ransom, appears on the plans for the Bell Inn at Stilton.

It is clear from Bridgeman's letter to Pope regarding plans for Henrietta Howard, the mistress of King George II for whom he eventually designed a garden at Marble Hill, that he drew plans himself: 'I begun on the plann & have not [lef]t from that time to this so long as I could see nor shall [I] leave it till 'tis finished which I hope will be about tomorrow Noon' (Willis 2002, 156). It is possible to identify Bridgeman's hand unequivocally in three of the four signed plans because the manner of his signing is deliberately chosen to mark them out as his draughtsmanship. Perhaps it was how Bridgeman, in a working environment where a number of draftsmen were involved, identified his own part in a work. The survey for Windsor Forest (MR 1/279) (Figure 1), is signed 'Bridgman Pinxit' on the cartouche, a term used, from the late Renaissance onwards to denote the painter of a work of art (Matthew 1998). 'Pinxit' is also commonly used when a drawing has been copied or engraved, to denote its original artist. It is difficult to date, but the National Archive online catalogue places it between 1702 and 1714, during the reign of Queen Anne (http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk). The plan of Blenheim, dated 1709 (Figure 2), is signed 'Bridgman discript.' which Willis uses as evidence that 'the Royal Gardener may have played a leading role in the design of the park' (Willis 2002, 46). However, Dalton has pointed out that the wording 'Bridgman discript.' is much more likely to indicate that Bridgeman was the draughtsman rather than the designer (Dalton 2012, 86). The third, of Hampton Court, SM 36/3/1, (Figure 3) held in the Soane Museum, is signed 'Bridgman Fect.', the convention used since the medieval period by sculptors and painters to their work to denote authorship. The Soane Museum online catalogue states that it is 'datable after the completion of the new canal within the Fountain Garden and to the early stages of the laying out of the Lower Wilderness, both in 1711' (collections.soane.org/OBJECT466), both of which were laid out by Wise in his capacity as Royal Gardener. The fourth signed plan, that of Amesbury Abbey (MSGD a3* fo.32) (Figure 4), will also be used as an example of his draughtsmanship. Although it lacks the specific indications of the previous three plans, we might assume that 'by Ch. Bridgeman' on the cartouche is an indication of his draughtsmanship.

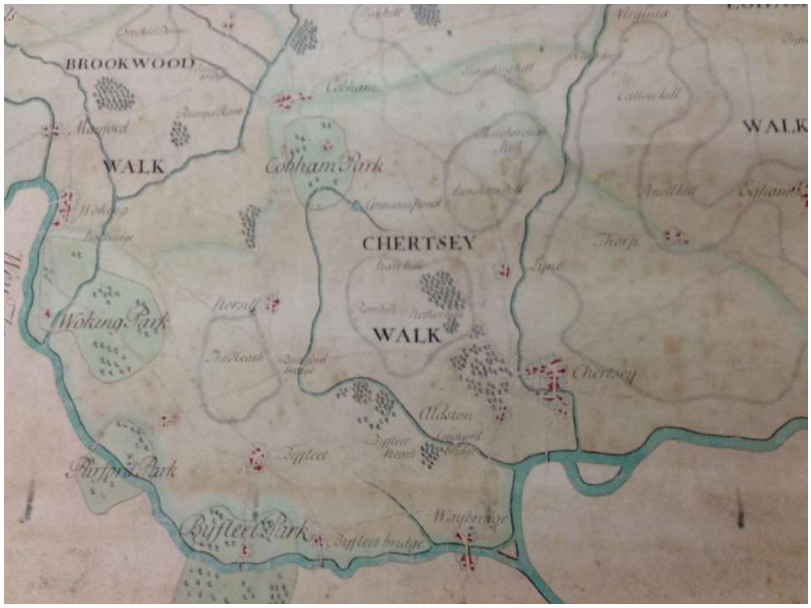


Figure 1 Windsor Forest (NA MR 1/279) (Detail)

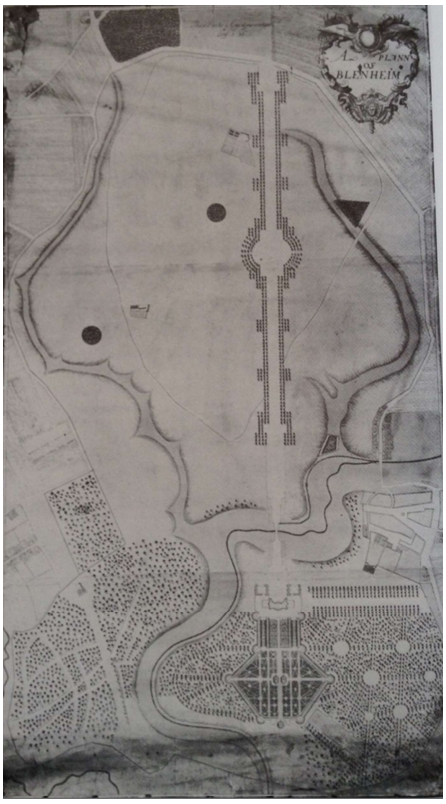


Figure 2 Blenheim Palace 1709

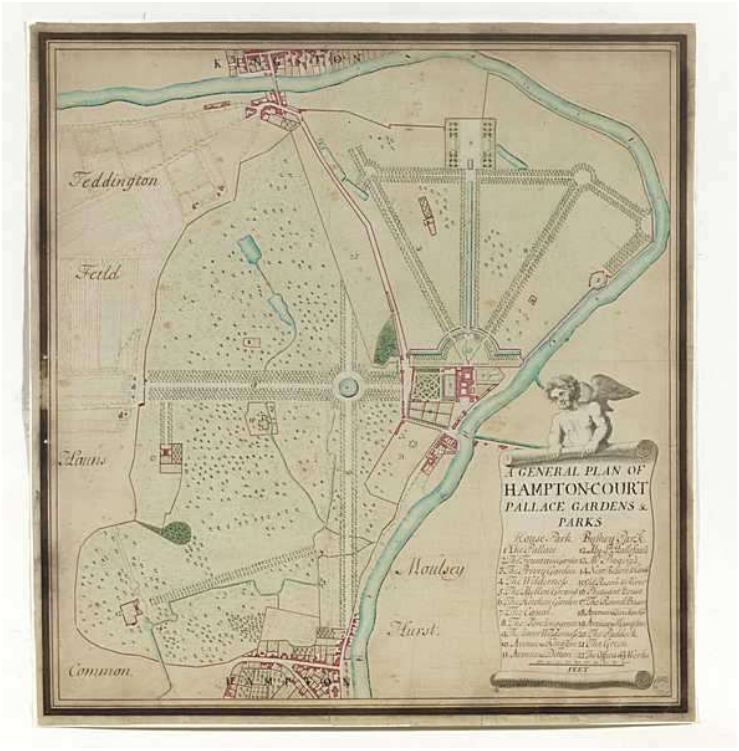


Figure 3 Hampton Court (SM 36/3/1)

Figure 4 Amesbury Abbey (MSGD a3* fo.32)

Because Bridgeman is very likely to be the draughtsman of these drawings, we can use them to attempt to recognise elements of draughtsmanship which might recur in other plans. It is clear that he was a skilled draughtsman and, indeed, artist. All the plans use ink and watercolour. Trees, presumably deciduous, whether in grey or brown ink or in bright green watercolour, are depicted in a triangular shape with foliage shadows, to the right. Close examination shows a remarkable conformity in shape and detail. They are particularly impressive when presented in geometric plantations or avenues, where their careful, regular placing and uniform depiction suggests considerable precision. This is particularly so in the drawing of Blenheim (Figure 2), where the trees forming the semi-circular feature half way up the avenue running north-west are especially skilful. Arable fields, usually on the margins of the landscape, are depicted with straight furrows, and, where fields abut, these furrows are made to run at right-angles to each other. In the plan for Hampton Court hedgerows are also sketched in (Figure 3). Buildings are shaded in pink and shown in plan. Water is shaded in blue, darker at its outer edges, and parterres are shown with meticulous, and often minute, detail. Shading is used in all but the plans of Hampton Court (Figure 3), which is a largely flat site, to denote the topography. At its simplest, in the plan of Blenheim, this takes the form of shading to show how deeply incised the valley of the River Glynne is. In the plan for Windsor Forest (Figure 1), a single thick line delineates an area of higher ground. On the plan for Amesbury (Figure 4), deep shading is used to show the steepness of the slope down to the River Avon. Sophisticated three-dimensional effects are used for the depiction of parterres, pools and landscaped lawns. Compass roses, where they are present, are in the same pattern; circles with compass points shown as triangles, and north denoted by a fleur-de-lys. Though similarly drawn they are in varying degrees of complexity, the compass rose for the plan of Greenwich being the most complex, with a rose at its centre. There is a quality of clarity about the depiction of each landscape. All four have sophisticated, ornate cartouches, three in shield form, the fourth, of Hampton Court, in a scroll. It is not clear whether these, or the lettering within them, are part of Bridgeman's draughtsmanship, or in another hand, but, as Willis has shown, by printing them on plates facing each other, the hands have strong similarities with each other (Willis, 2002, plates 162a, 162b, 163a and 163b).

Documentary evidence of Bridgeman's work

The third criterion for placing a plan in Bridgeman's corpus is whether there is documentary evidence of Bridgeman's work at a site. Although there is relatively little of this, at the following sites there is both a plan attributed to Bridgeman, and documentary evidence that he worked at the site. There are a number of entries in the accounts at Stowe which show that Bridgeman was paid for work there, for example, when 'John Gurnet was paid 9s 4d for having a trench dug for Mr Bridgman' (HEH L9F9 cited in Willis 2002, 111 n.19). At Sacombe, a number of payments

to Bridgeman were recorded from his account at Hoare's Bank (Customer Ledgers: 17 fo. 339, 18 fo.266, and 20 fos.6 and 436). At Purley, an undated entry records Bridgeman being paid £122.11s 'for laying out the Gardens at Purley' (South Sea Company *Particulars and Inventories* II,71 cited in Willis 2002, 61n.89). There is extensive correspondence between Prior and Harley, documenting the progress of the work at Down Hall and alluding to Bridgeman's presence at Wimpole (HMC III 483/490/492/498/504). At Kedleston, on 14th September 1722, Sir John Curzon paid 'Mr: Bridgeman's man a guinea' and on 10th November he was paid £51.11s (Hoare's Bank, Ledger G fo.157). Bridgeman's presence at Wolterton is extensively referred to in letters in the Wolterton archive between 1724 and 1738 (Boxes 8 and 29L). A letter from Bridgeman to Pope dated 28th September 1724 suggests that he is preparing plans for 'Mrs Howard' and although there is no mention of Marble Hill, it seems likely that this is the site on which he was working (BL Add MS 4809, fo.141V). Sir John Dutton's estate accounts record expenses paid to Bridgeman in 1725 and 1729 for visits to Lodge Park (Smith 20, 237). There are letters between Diston Stanley and the Duke of Montagu, and entries in the accounts at Boughton House, to suggest Bridgeman's involvement between 1728 and 1730 (Boughton House Archive Vol.16; NSRO X881 B; Montagu Archive Box 9). Three letters in 1731 between the Duchess of Queensbury and Henrietta Howard complain of Bridgeman's absence from Amesbury, with the implication that he was expected there (Murray Vol2.1824 20/21). In 1731, too, Sir Thomas Robinson wrote that 'Sir Robert and Bridgeman showed me the large design for the plantations in the country, which is the present undertaking…' (Willis 2002, 85) implicitly suggesting that Bridgeman was in some way involved at Houghton. There are records of payments from Lady Betty Hastings to Bridgeman in 1731 for work at Ledston (Hoare's Bank Ledgers K and L). In 1732 the Duchess of Marlborough wrote, presumably about her new house at Wimbledon, that 'Mr Bridgeman may finish the ground and gardens in the manner I agreed upon with him' (Willis 2002, 58n.78). A letter from Lord Hervey to Stephen Fox dated 10th August 1734, suggests some involvement at Brocket Park in a reference to 'the execution of my friend Winnington's commissions' including 'giving the plan to Bridgeman' (BL Add MS 51345). Forty guineas were also paid to Bridgeman's widow on June 14th 1739 (Hoare's Bank Ledger O). There are also extensive records in the Office of Works archive which explicitly record Bridgeman's work as Royal Gardener (Work 4). Those which pertain to the gardens at Richmond are held separately in the Royal Archives (Julie Crocker pers. comm. 2017). There are also references to Bridgeman's involvement in projects in contemporary published writing of the period. Switzer credits Bridgeman with the design of the amphitheatre and pond at Claremont in his *Introduction to a General System of Hydrostaticks and Hydraulicks* of 1729. Colen Campbell credits Bridgeman with the plan of Eastbury published in *Vitruvius Britannicus III*. Those sites for which there is evidence of involvement but no plans have been excluded, although plans may yet come to light.

A revised corpus

Below is a proposed revised corpus of Bridgeman's plans arranged by holding institution, in alphabetical order within each institution. These drawings probably come from two overlapping periods in his career; from his employment as a draughtsman probably principally for Wise, and from his later career as a designer; it is clear that, particularly in his capacity as Royal Gardener, Bridgeman was still producing surveys after 1715, the date of his first known solo commission at Sacombe. Those plans which are clearly intended only to be surveys, rather than surveys which would lead to a design, or are copies of the designs of others, are indicated by italics. A very large proportion of these drawings is in the corpus suggested by Willis. Most dates are approximate, but are included in an attempt to indicate, where possible, the chronology of Bridgeman's work. A section at the end deals with proposed additions to, and exclusions from, the corpus.

From the Bodleian Library

In Gough Drawings:

All these plans postdate Bridgeman's first commission at Sacombe suggesting that they are, indeed, drawings which passed from Bridgeman's drawing office to his wife and then on to Clement Lempriére after her death.

1. Audley End MSGD a4 fo. 60
2. Audley End MSGD a4 fo. 67
3. Brocket Hall MSGD a3 fo.7 1734
4. Brocket Hall MSGD a4 fo.40 1734

   Although neither 3. nor 4. are particularly characteristic of Bridgeman in design or draughtsmanship, their presence in Gough Drawings and documentary evidence which suggests that Bridgeman worked at Brocket Park for Sir Thomas Winnington make for a plausible attribution to Bridgeman, as both designer and draughtsman. The payment of £40 made in 1739 to Sarah Bridgeman may have been for a plan and survey. It is a similar amount to that paid at Lodge Park (see Chapter 5). The landscape shown appears in more degraded form on a survey of 1752, and is still visible in palimpsest today (HALS D/P/P9).
5. Eastbury MSGD a3* fo. 10 1723
6. Eastbury MSGD a3* fo. 9 1723
7. Eastbury MSGD a4 fo. 21 1723
8. Gunton MSGD a4 fo.75

9. Hackwood MSGD a4 fo.24,
10. Hackwood MSGD a4 fo.34
11. Hackwood MSGD a3 fo.4

    Although this plan appears to be a survey of Spring Wood, probably not in Bridgeman's hand, there are considerable annotations which closely resemble his proposal in the finished drawing MSGD a4 fo.34 and suggest that these, at least, are by Bridgeman, and probably represent both a resurveying of the wood and an embryonic design. It is therefore included in the corpus.
12. *Hampton Court MSGD a4 fo.62 1726*
13. *Hampton Court MSGD a4 fo.74 1726*
14. Houghton MSGD a4 fo.57 1722
15. Kensington Gardens and Hyde Park MSGD a3* fo.15 1726
16. Ledston MSGD a4 fo.85 1731
17. Lodge Park MSGD a4 fo.68 1729
18. Mereworth MSGD a4 fo.52 1722

    This plan is so embryonic that its presence in the corpus is negligible. However, it may be by Bridgeman and evidence of his involvement at Mereworth may yet emerge
19. Moor Park MSGD a4 fo 58 1720
20. Moor Park MSGD a4 fo.48 1720
21. Purley MSGD a4 fo.54 1720
22. Rousham MSGD a4 fo.63 c.1720

    Willis dates this plan to between 1725 and 1737, but a parish survey dated 1721 to which he alludes (PAR 226/17/M1/1) (Figure 5), shows the 'The New Garden' with two square ponds, the Elm Walk and two other walks, one of which is shown on Bridgeman's plan (MSGD a4 fo.63) (see Appendix I, Map 11i A and C). It is possible that Bridgeman adapted this garden in his plan, but it is also possible that the survey shows the bones of Bridgeman's garden, and that the date of his plan should be set much earlier. In the following annotation on MSGD a4 fo.63, 'The Current or Fall of the Water from the place propos'd to bring it from further springs to the great square pond is 15 foot 6 inches – The length from….. further springs to the Nether Spring is 890 foot & from thence to ye Garden water is 100 foot & from thence cross the Garden to the sd Square pond is 480 foot – in the whole 1670. foot', it appears that Bridgeman is giving instructions for the construction of the bigger of the two square ponds. This strongly suggests that he was responsible for the embryonic structure shown in Figure 5, especially as the survey probably shows the watercourse identified in the drawing at the bottom centre of the picture. The conjectural date has been changed.

Figure 5 Parish Survey of Rousham 1721 (ORO PAR 226/17/M1/1)

23. Sacombe MSGD a4 fo.64 1715
24. Scampston MSGD a4 fo.66
25. Scampston MSGD a4 fo.27
26. Scampston MSGD a4 fo.73
27. Standlynch MSGD a3 fo.25 1733

    In the 2002 reprint of his monograph, Willis withdrew his attribution of MSGD a3 fo.25 for Standlynch (or Trafalgar House). It should be reinstated because it is in Gough Drawings, and because both stylistically and in medium, it resembles the sketch map for the landscape at Wolterton (MSGD a4 fo.56).
28. Stowe (bird's eye view) MSGD a4 fo.46
29. Tring MSGD a4 fo.32
30. Tring MSGD a4 fo.78

    Alan Fletcher has questioned the identification of this plan as Tring (Willis 2002, 435). However, its provenance in Gough Drawings, and in draughtsmanship, suggests it is by Bridgeman.
31. Unidentified (catalogued as Tring) MSGD a4 fo.25

    This plan is catalogued by Willis as Tring but Anne Rowe has cast doubt on this (Anne Rowe pers. comm. 2014), in particular because the walk which runs diagonally across the top of the plan is annotated 'To Cowley Wood'. There is no Cowley Wood located near Tring.
32. Unidentified MSGD a4 fo.37 (catalogued by Willis as Scampston)
33. Wimbledon MSGD a3 fo.31 1732
34. Wimbledon MSGD a4 fo 44 1732
35. Wimpole MSGD a4 fo.30 1720
36. Wimpole MSGD a4 fo.31 1720
37. Wimpole MSGD a4 fo.35 1720

38. Wimpole MSGD a4 fo.69 1720
39. Wolterton MSGD a4 fo. 56 1725
40. Wolterton MSGD a4 fo.10 1725
41. Wolterton MSGD a4 fo.55 1725
42. Wolterton MSGD a4 fo.61 1725
43. Wolterton Hall MSGD a3 fo.18 1725
44. Wolterton Hall MSGD a4 fo.20 1725

In the wider Gough Collection:

45. Down Hall Gough Maps 46 fo.262.

    The two plans for Down Hall, Gough Maps 46 fo.262 (in this section) and BL Loan 29/357 (in the section on the British Library) are both finished drawings in ink and clearly in the same hand. Gough Maps 46 fo.262 has 'From Wimpole' inscribed on the back, while BL Loan 29/357 is entitled 'Copy of the first Plan/for Down Hall'. Although they are almost certainly in the hand of Adrian Drift, private secretary to Matthew Prior but documentary evidence suggests the design is Bridgeman's.

In the Bodleian Library Collections

46. Gobions Herts Map a1

    In the 2002 edition of *Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape Garden,* Willis adds Gobions in Hertfordshire to his corpus, based on the survey by Thomas Holmes map (undated but c.1735) in the Gloucestershire Record Office (Willis 2002, 428). In 2014, a map of the estate of Gobions (MSS Map Herts a.1) was found by Anne Rowe in the Bodleian Library, and has been analysed extensively by Rowe and Williamson (Rowe and Williamson 2014). They suggest that this plan is, at least in part, the work of Bridgeman, as both draughtsman and designer, and the graphic style of the map supports this. There is also considerable documentary evidence that Bridgeman designed a landscape at Gobions (Rowe and Williamson 2014). However, although in the Bodleian Library, it has no links with the Gough Collection, being part of a miscellaneous bequest to the Library in the nineteenth century, and catalogued by the Library then as 30629 (Colin Harris pers. comm. 2013). It is possible that it entered the Library after 1835 when the house at Gobions was demolished, but there is no direct evidence of this (Tom Williamson pers. comm. 2016).

From the National Archives:

47. *Hampton Court MPD 1/23*
48. *Lamp Row, or Hyde Park Road MPD 1/164*
49. *Richmond Gardens MR 1/528*
50. *Richmond Gardens MR 1/696 1725*
51. Richmond Gardens Work 32/282
52. *St James Park Work 32/70*
53. *Windsor Forest MR 1/279*

From the British Library:

54. Down Hall 1720 Add MS 70371(see note on 46.)
55. *Hampton Court K.XXIX.14.u*
56. Wimpole Add MS 36278 MI

From the Sir John Soane Museum:

57. Claremont 62/1/2
58. *Hampton Court 36/3/1*
59. *St James Park 62.1.1*

From Warwick County Record Office:

60. Warwick Priory CR 56 1727
61. *Warwick Town and Priory CR 217*
62. *Warwick Town and Priory CR 26.2.2*
63. *Lillington Manor CR 556/197*

From Norfolk Record Office:

64. Marble Hill MC 184/10/1
65. Marble Hill 184/10/2.

These seem to depict both stylistically and in terms of features, a Bridgeman landscape. However, they cannot be the plans referred to in Bridgeman's letter to Pope from 1724, since the cartouche refers to the 'Countess of Suffolk', a title to which Henrietta Howard did not accede until 1731.

From The Caird Library at the National Maritime Museum:

66. *Greenwich Park CMP/30*

From The Nationalmuseum, Stockholm:

67. Kensington Gardens and Hyde Park CC.2753

From The Henry E. Huntington Library:

68. Kensington Gardens and Hyde Park ST Map 147

From Hovingham Hall:

69. Hampton Court

From the houses of clients:

70. Boughton 1
71. Boughton 2
72. Boughton, bird's eye view
73. Blenheim Palace
74. Kedleston Hall
75. Ledston (held at Otterden Place)
76. Lumley Castle 1 (held at Sandbeck House)
77. Lumley Castle 2 (held at Sandbeck House)
78. Wimpole (Bambridge Collection) Wimpole Hall
79. Wimpole (Bambridge Collection) Wimpole Hall
80. Wimpole (Bambridge Collection) Wimpole Hall
81. Wimpole (Bambridge Collection) Wimpole Hall

Additions to the Corpus

A number of plans might be reliably added to Bridgeman's corpus, based on a combination of their provenance and graphic style.

From the Gough Collection:

82. MSGD a3 fo.41

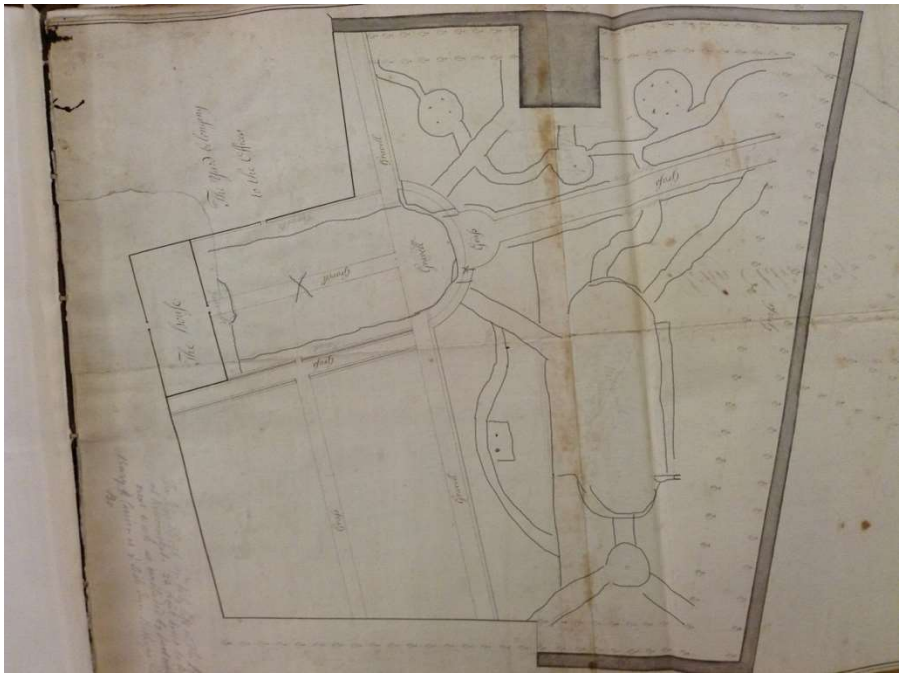


Figure 6 A survey of Great Saxham Hall in Suffolk with a sketch of Bridgeman's proposal for the landscape with pencil lines augmented (MSGD a3 fo.41)

This plan is catalogued as Gough Drawings MSGD a3 fo.41 (Figure 6). It is bound in the a3 volume of Gough Drawings, but the possibility that it might be attributable to Bridgeman has been overlooked. It seems to show the garden in the immediate vicinity of Great Saxham House, recognisable by its distinctive moat and square-sided pond from an estate map, part of a survey from 1729 held in Suffolk Record Office, in Ipswich, (t4/33/1.24). The location of the plan is confirmed by the annotation on the reverse, 'John Eldred Esq.' John Eldred, a Levant merchant, bought Great Saxham Hall in 1597. Bridgeman's client was a grandson. The Hall shown on the plan is presumably the seventeenth-century house which was demolished in 1774. The plan shows the garden enclosed by the geometric canal, with straight avenues and an apsidal-ended bowling green, delineated by solid and dotted lines in ink, and annotated with 'Gravell' and 'Grass', also in ink. Within this structure there are, roughly sketched in, pencil marks showing serpentine paths, cabinets and trees, and annotated, faintly, also in pencil, with the words 'Gravell' and 'Wilderness'. It appears to be a rough sketch map of alterations that might be made to an existing garden. The placement of cabinets and the serpentine paths that connect them are reminiscent of a number of other plans, including those for Down Hall and Moor Park. A pencil note at the bottom of the plan appears to read 'For John Eldred Esq. to be left at The Ram/ at Newmarket 22 fruit trees to be sent next week as concluded by (past?) (?)/ Bury Carrier at ye Bull Inn

Bishopsgate'. The message appears to be initialled 'B'. The features of the plan are picked out in pin pricks which suggests that either it was used to create a copy, or was itself a copy. There is little cartographic evidence to suggest that this garden was ever constructed. Neither the tithe map of 1840 (MR 11B.P15 Ts1/1), nor the map in the sale catalogue for the estate of 1924 (HD 1750/117) show any trace of it. However, this might be because the garden was redesigned in the later eighteenth century for Hutchinson Mure who bought the estate in 1754. William Mills recorded in his diary that he had spent 'considerable sums in embellishing the grounds under the great 'Capability' Brown' and although there appears to be no evidence that Brown was involved, some remodelling of the landscape clearly occurred (Smith 2011).

From the National Archives and the Royal Collection

Using the evidence of provenance, an analysis of Bridgeman's draughtsmanship, and written evidence which links him to sites, we might add the following nine drawings, all the subject of scholarly debate, to Bridgeman's corpus. The plans of Hampton Court Work 32/313 A&B, held in the National Archives are attributed to Wise (http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk), but are copies of the same survey of Hampton Court held by the Soane Museum (SM 36.3.1). In fact, Simon Thurley attributes them to Bridgeman, but suggests that 'It is likely that Work 32/313 A&B were part of the collection of drawings sold to the Office of Works in March 1742/3 by Bridgeman's widow' (Thurley 2003, 421 n.56). In fact, their provenance shows that they came to the National Archives (or the Public Record Office as it was) via a dealer, from the Christies' sale of 1947 at which the Waller Collection was sold (see above). Since they also come from the same sale, the plan of the Fountain Garden at Hampton Court (Work 32/311) and of Kensington Gardens (Work 32/312) both held in the National Archives, and the following plans, all held in the Royal Collection, 'A General Plan of Windsor Great Park' RCIN 929578, 'An Accurate Plan of Windsor 2 Parks and Forest' RCIN 929579, 'A Preliminary Sketch of the same' RCIN 929579 and a plan for the Octagon Basin, Windsor RCIN 929581are also likely to be by Bridgeman. All are attributed to Wise but have stronger stylistic links to Bridgeman's early work as described above. It is also unlikely, that if he was using Bridgeman as his draughtsman, Wise would have drawn them himself. A fifth drawing, of St James's Park, RCIN 929582, is part of the same numerical catalogue sequence and was part of the Christie's sale. It is unavailable to view on line, so it is not possible to see whether it is stylistically linked to the others, but it may well be. The plan of the Fountain Garden (Work 32/311) is identical to the Fountain Garden as depicted in Gough Drawings a4 fo.62 which suggests they are by the same hand.

From the National Archives:

83. Hampton Court Work 32/313A

84. Hampton Court Work 32/313B
85. Fountain Garden Work 32/311 (1708)

From the Royal Collection:

86. A General Plan of Windsor Great Park RCIN 929578
87. An Accurate Plan of Windsor 2 Parks and Forest RCIN 929579
88. A Preliminary Sketch of the same RCIN 929579
89. Octagon Basin, Windsor RCIN 929581
90. St James's Park, RCIN 929582

With the caveats considered above, it seems likely that these 90 drawings make up a reliable corpus of plans either drawn, or designed, or both, by Bridgeman. However, it may well be that new plans will come to light at a later date which can be added to the corpus.

Excluded plans

I have excluded a number of plans which appeared in Willis's original corpus because it is clear that he had attributed them erroneously. Work 32/96, in the National Archives, which depicts Richmond Gardens, is actually in Willis's category 'B'; he suggests it 'reveals how the Royal Gardener proposed to loosen the outline of fields and replace clumps by wavy belts of trees'. It is, in fact, identified as by Lancelot Brown by Stroud in her 1984 biography of him (Stroud 1984, 128 n.12), an attribution supported by Tom Williamson (pers. comm. 2016). It is not, however, identified as by Lancelot Brown in the National Archives catalogue (http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk). The plan of Kensington Gardens, K. Top XXVIII 10 d.1, in the British Library, is in a bound volume, and is followed, on the next page, by K.Top XXVIII 10 d.2, 'A Survey and particular Admeasurement of the Royal Gardens at Kensington', two pages detailing the acreages of parcels of land in Kensington Gardens. Although it is painted in colours characteristic of Bridgeman, it is, as the (probably) contemporary title page which immediately precedes it in the bound volume (catalogued as K Top XXVIII 1.c) suggests, a survey by Joshua Rhodes dated 1762, and engraved in 1764 by George Bickham; 'Plan of the Palace Gardens & of Kensington by Joshua Rhodes 1762: engraved by G. Bickham, 1764 8 sheets A Roll 2 Tables (K Top XXVIII 1 c). The description here clearly fits the plan and survey. The plan of Brampton Bryan (Soane Misc. drawings), is not a landscape on which Bridgeman is known to have worked. The drawing is held in Sir John Soane's Museum, the online catalogue of which offers no attribution. Willis bases his putative attribution on the style of the plan, which he suggests is Bridgemanic, although this is questionable, and a letter from Alexander Pope to Bridgeman, dated 1725, which refers to a journey they were both to have made to 'My Lord

Oxford's', which he suggests might be a visit to the first Earl of Oxford at Brampton Castle. Unfortunately, although the plan is for the first Earl of Oxford and dated 1722, the journey referred to, on which Willis bases his attribution, postdates the death of the first Earl by a year. It is much more likely, as Willis himself conjectures, that the visit referred to is for Wimpole. It also seems likely that the plan of Greenwich contained in a bound volume (MSS ART/2 II) is by Hawksmoor. It is in the second volume of three containing prints and plans compiled by Robert Mylne, Clerk of Works at Greenwich Hospital between 1776 and 1782. The library catalogue attributes this plan to Hawksmoor; it reads 'These plans were originally drawn by Nicholas Hawksmoor, Architect, 1728'.

Scholarly opinion has also been at variance with some of Willis's attributions. Sir John Soane's Museum attributes plans for Buckingham House (c.1702) (SM 111/42) to Wise; it suggests that 'the drawing is strikingly similar in its conventions to those for the gardens of Hampton Court c.1710 -11 (SM 111/39 and 40)' which it identifies as by Wise (www.soane.org). The online catalogue also attributes the plan of the Maestricht Garden at Windsor Castle c.1708 (SM 111/45) to Wise because of its stylistic similarities to Wise's final design for the garden in the Royal Collection. Both of these objections seem reasonable, although Jacques joins Willis in attributing the drawing for the Maestricht Garden to Bridgeman (Jacques 2014, fig 9). Willis attributes two sketches for Blenheim held in the Bodleian Library to Bridgeman (Top. Oxon a37 and a37*). However, these are identified by Green as being by Wise or Vanbrugh (Green 1956, 98). It seems likely that they are by Vanbrugh. The draughtsmanship bears a close resemblance to that in 'Plan and elevation of a garden pavilion' by Vanbrugh, held in the V&A (D107-1891). Dalton suggests that they are part of Vanbrugh's design for the park and dates them to c.1705 (Dalton 2012, 105-107). She does not attribute them to Vanbrugh, although this is the implication of what she writes. It is possible that they were drawn by Bridgeman for Vanbrugh, but the draughtsmanship is stylistically unrelated to any of his other work (see below). It is also possible that they are by Henry Joynes, clerk of works for Wise at Blenheim from 1704, who the Duchess of Marlborough said was 'a sort of a Foot-man to [Wise]' and 'an Ingenious person and skilled in drawing Draughts of buildings' (Green 1956, 97).

The following plans are therefore excluded from the corpus either because there is clear evidence that they are the work of someone else, or because of the weight of academic opinion:

1. Richmond Gardens Work 32/96
2. Kensington Gardens, K. Top XXVIII 10 d.1,
3. Brampton Bryan Soane, Box of Misc. drawings
4. MSS ART/2 II
5. Buckingham House (c.1702) (SM 111/42)

6. Maestricht Garden at Windsor Castle c.1708 (SM 111/45)
7. Bodleian Library (Top. Oxon a37 and a37*)

The intention has been to create a reliable corpus from which to proceed with analysis, and the balance of probability is against the inclusion of a number of other plans even though they are for landscapes on which Bridgeman is known to have worked. All are in Gough Drawings, which may account for their inclusion by Willis.

There is some doubt about the attribution to Bridgeman of the drawing MSGD a4 fo.29, which presumably because it is annotated with 'Mr Rolt Sacomb' on the reverse, Willis suggests is a sketch map of Sacombe which he attributes it to Bridgeman (Figure 7). It is very rudimentary and has proved very difficult to georeference (see Appendix IV) with an Ordnance Survey map of Sacombe. In fact, the handwritten key seems to match the hand of Adrian Drift, Matthew Prior's private secretary which suggests that it may, in fact, be a rough sketch map of Down Hall. The boundary hedges shown in the north of the sketch appear roughly in the shape of the northern boundary of Down Hall, and a small triangular parcel of land, to the north-east of the estate appears on the 1st Edition Ordnance Survey map of Down Hall. The plan shows what appears to be a road running around the south-eastern corner of the estate, joining with the pencilled drive to the house, in roughly the same position as Matching Road and a track at right-angles to it, also on the 1st Edition Ordnance Survey. This does not preclude it being by Bridgeman, but the balance of probability suggests that it is not; it seems more likely that it might be a preliminary sketch map annotated by Adrian Drift for Bridgeman's use in his planning. Figure 7 shows it georeferenced with OS Digimap 1:10000 2019.

Figure 7 The sketch plan (MSGD a4 fo.29) georeferenced with OS Digimap 1:10000 of Down Hall.

A plan for Wolterton Hall, (MSGD a3 fo.33), an ink and pencil survey entitled 'A Survey of Woolterton Hall &c. belonging to Horatio Walpole Esq.' is undated but shows the landscape with a small canal in the eventual location of Bridgeman's lake. This canal appears to have been part of a design by Joseph Carpenter, George London's successor at Brompton Park Nurseries. Carpenter's design, and the difficulties of constructing it, are mentioned in a letter from Britiffe, the clerk of works, to Horatio Walpole in 1724: 'I Have been at Wolterton And found your worke about the House as forward as needful Harvest being begun your Canal works is at a Stop for the present indeed the wett Season wee had some time befor prevented the workmen getting on so well as otherwise the w[ou]ld…' (Box73L 8/5A). It is mentioned again later in the year in a further letter from Britiffe in which he states that work on the canal has stopped '….[b]y an order from Mr Carpenter…' and it is clear from the same letter that Britiffe considers Carpenter to be in charge '…I durst not pretend to advise in this case what will be proper to be done where you have so great a Master as he is…'(Box 73L 8/5A). Previous research has dated this letter as 2nd November 1726 (Peters 1991; Klausmeier, 1999). In fact, closer examination shows that it is actually dated 2nd November 1724, which seems more likely since Carpenter died in 1726. The canal was unfinished at the time of the fire which destroyed the house in 1724 (Box 8/5A Box 73L). It seems likely, then, that this is a survey that preceded Bridgeman's work; possibly it was part of Joseph Carpenter's proposal.

A plan for Ledston (MSGD a3 fo.19), probably falls into the same category. It does not appear to show any of the graphic techniques characteristic of Bridgeman's draughtsmanship and may well also be a survey that preceded Bridgeman's involvement. The survey of Greenwich Park (MSGD a4 fo.49), is also unlikely to be by Bridgeman. Graphically is does not suggest his hand, and although it is possible that it is a survey for Bridgeman's plan CMP/30, its provenance, in Gough Drawings, suggests it is not; it is unlikely that Bridgeman's rough preliminary sketch for a survey for Wise in 1711 would have found its way to the workshop from which he conducted his business later in his career.

Five of the plans which Willis catalogues as 'unidentified' in the 1977 edition of *Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape Garden* have been excluded. One of these, catalogued as MSGD a4 fo.81, he assigns to Claremont in the 2002 edition of the book, on the basis of a suggestion by John Harris (Willis 2002, 427). It shows the landscape at Claremont before Bridgeman's amphitheatre and pond. On the reverse is a rough sketch, probably by Vanbrugh, of part of the garden at Eastbury. Dalton's suggestion is also that this plan is of Claremont, but in Vanbrugh's hand (Dalton 2012, 132). Two of the 'unidentified' plans, identical except that one, MSGD a4 fo.43, is in pencil, and the other, MSGD a4 fo.33, is in ink and watercolour have been

correctly identified as of Donington Park, by Camilla Beresford in 2016 (//www.treeandwoodland.co.uk/unidentified-map-discovery-donington-park). She does not, however, suggest any links with Bridgeman, other than the presence of these two plans in Willis's corpus. The two plans show a landscape that might loosely be described as Bridgemanic, but neither the graphic style of the plans nor any written evidence available to date, link them to Bridgeman. In fact, the compass arrow on both identifies north in French, 'Nord', which suggests that the draughtsman was not Bridgeman. They may be maps of an unrecorded Bridgeman landscape at Donington Park, but the link is too tenuous for inclusion in a reliable corpus. The remaining two plans, MSGD a4 fo.22 and MSGD a4 fo.36, have some tangential similarity to Bridgeman's style as a designer, but there is nothing to suggest his graphic style, and no evidence of the sites they are for. Again it is difficult to include them in a reliable corpus.

In the 1977 edition of *Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape Garden*, Willis attributes three plans for Standlynch House (now Trafalgar House) to Bridgeman, MSGD a4 fo.24, MSGD a3 fo.25 and MSGD a3 fo.36. He withdraws his attribution for MSGD a3 fo.25 and MSGD a3 fo.36 in the 2002 edition. In fact, it seems likely that MSGD a3 fo.25 is by Bridgeman, as shown above. It has strong similarities to the pencil sketch of Wolterton (MSGD a4 fo.56) (see above). However, Willis's withdrawal of MSGD a3 fo.36 is justified. I am also withdrawing the plan for Standlynch, MSGD a3 fo.24. since it does not resemble his graphic style, in depiction of features, particularly of the river, or in the lettering with which the plan is annotated.

The drawings for the Bell Inn, in Stilton in Cambridgeshire, MSGD a3 fo.40v and r, MSGD a4 fo.3 and MSGD a4 fo.51, included in Willis's corpus have also been excluded. They are clearly not landscape designs and are annotated 'Mr Ransom's Plan for the Bell-Inn at Stilton' and dated 29th July 1736, which suggests that, although the building belonged to Bridgeman, the plans themselves are in 'Mr Ransom's' hand.

This results in the following exclusions, all from Gough Drawings:

1. The Bell Inn MSGD a3 fo.40v and r,
2. The Bell Inn MSGD a4 fo.3
3. The Bell Inn MSGD a4 fo.51
4. Down Hall (?) MSGD a4 fo.29
5. Greenwich Park MSGD a4 fo.49
6. Claremont MSGD a4 fo.81
7. Donington Park MSGD a4 fo.33
8. Donington Park MSGD a4 fo.43
9. Unidentified MSGD a4 fo.22

10. Ledston MSGD a3 fo.19
11. Scampston MSGD a4 fo.37
12. Standlynch MSGD a3 fo.24
13. Standlynch MSGD a3 fo.36
14. Wolterton MSGD a3 fo.33

Sites with no plans

There are also a number of sites where documentary evidence suggests Bridgeman worked, but for which no plans survive. Without plans, it is impossible to evaluate the significance of these sites in Bridgeman's work, but plans for them may yet be discovered. The sites are:

1. Badminton
2. Bower House
3. Briggens
4. Carshalton
5. Cliveden
6. Compton Place
7. Dallington/Rolls House
8. Esher Place
9. Kings' College, Cambridge
10. Langleys
11. Longford
12. Montagu House
13. Shardeloes
14. Stanmer
15. Twickenham

The survival of attributed plans

In spite of these sites for which no plans survive, the modified corpus suggested above does represent a surprisingly large survival of attributed plans, especially in comparison with the number surviving from Bridgeman's immediate predecessors and contemporaries in England. It is only possible to find twenty-four examples surviving of the work of Henry Wise, fifteen of which relate to royal landscapes (Green 1956). Even fewer by George London appear to have survived, although Switzer describes his tireless pursuit of business (*The Nobleman, Gentleman, and Gardener's Recreation* 52-53 in Green 1956, 7). It is difficult, without a gazeteer of his work, to quantify the number of plans that might have been produced although some examples have

survived; a parterre at Herriard in Hampshire for Thomas Jervoise (Jeffrey 1985, Pl. 14 No.61), and a design for Castle Howard (V&A E433.1951 and E434.1951). It would also appear that Vanbrugh represented few of his projects cartographically. Much of the evidence for his work rests on entries in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and on contemporary drawings and engravings by artists such as Kip and Knyff, for example Kings Weston (Special Collections University of Bristol), Stukeley, for example of Grimsthorpe 1736 (MS Top. Gen D.14 fo.36v), and Rocque, for example of Claremont 1738 (BL Maps K.Top.40 19a).

Fewer examples of the work of Bridgeman's close contemporaries seem to have survived. Perhaps the closest comparison available is the work of Stephen Switzer, Bridgeman's exact contemporary. William Brogden's PhD thesis (Brogden 1973) gives a comprehensive list of Switzer's commissions. Of the twenty-three projects listed, it appears that plans survive for only four: Exton Park in Rutland (MSGD a4 fo.7), Nostell Priory (plan held at Nostell Priory), Beaumanor in Leicestershire (Leicestershire Record Office DG 9/2738) and Audley End (MSGD a4 fos. 60 and 67), although these last two plans for Audley End are attributed to Bridgeman by Willis (Willis 2002). Of the remaining nineteen landscapes with which he is associated, five appear in *Ichnographia Rustica*, two in Vitruvius Britannicus, one was drawn by Kip and Knyff, three rest on accounts or contracts in estate records and it appears that no evidence exists for the remaining eight. William Kent, also Bridgeman's contemporary, appears to have presented his designs for landscapes in the form of sketches and paintings only, perhaps because his background was in painting rather than in surveying (Dixon Hunt 1986; Mowl 2006). This is true, for example, of Rousham (Dixon Hunt 1986, Fig 111), at Chatsworth (Mowl 2006) and Twickenham (Mowl 2006). A significant number of Kent's designs survive in the form of pen and ink sketches of the finished landscape, executed in elevation. Half of Kent's corpus is in the Devonshire Collection at Chatsworth House, deposited there by Lord Burlington, while at least half of the remainder are in the places for which they were designed (Dixon Hunt 1987, 41). Even after the middle of the eighteenth century, survival of plans was not guaranteed. Fiona Cowell's Gazeteer lists Richard Woods' forty- five commissions dated between 1758 and 1783 (Cowell 2009, 176 – 242). Of these twenty-four plans still survive in repositories, or are known to have existed, mentioned in estate accounts or letters, but subsequently lost.

The survival of so many of the drawings attributed to Bridgeman, then, seems to be an anomaly when placed in the context of his contemporaries. It is largely, perhaps, because of the happy accident of the survival of the material in Gough Drawings. The only comparable survival of this sort of material in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, on such a large scale, seems to be material from the workshops of Le Nôtre in France. Here there seems to be a wealth drawings of various stages of the process of design held in the Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France

in Paris and the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm. A sample of 39 of these drawings by Le Nôtre himself, and his associates, is published in *André Le Nôtre in Perspective* (Bouchenot-Déchin and Farhat 2014). In England, the survival of plans in these numbers in the eighteenth century only seems to occur in the case of Lancelot Brown.

This chapter has sought to create frameworks to establish a more reliable corpus of Bridgeman's work from which to move forward. It is still not possible to be certain that these plans are by Bridgeman (or any draughtsmen he employed), but they represent a more solid basis from which to investigate his style and modus operandi.

Chapter 3 The purpose of the plans

The plans in this revised corpus create a baffling sense of heterogeneity. However, we must assume that this variety is the direct result of the purpose for which the plans were intended. The intention of this chapter is to deconstruct the plans further to place them in the historical and artistic context within which they were created, and interrogate the coding through which their meaning is conveyed, to shed light on their purpose.

Bridgeman's plans represent the communication of the design he had imagined in a coded form, a 'culturally based means of mediating environmental experience through symbolism' (Ehrensvärd cited in Bendall 2009, 5). As Bendall suggests, the 'code' 'can be seen as all the marks with which a plan is made up, such as conventional signs, written captions, place-names and the decorative elements of its design' (Bendall 2009, 5). Keates has argued, in relation to maps that 'A sign system only functions because the creator and the user attempt to agree on the meanings of the signs and their relationships' and that '[a]lthough the designation of a map sign may be determined by the map maker, the interpretation of that sign is a function of the map user' (Keates 1996, 72). At the beginning of Bridgeman's design process, it must have been of paramount importance to establish a coded language that Bridgeman could share with his clients. If we assume that the presence of a design indicates that the new landscape had already been commissioned, then the purpose of the drawing, for the landowner, must have been to help him (and very occasionally, her) to visualize an entirely new landscape, or new features, in an existing landscape. The plan had to do this with clarity, and presumably in such a way that it was not even always necessary for Bridgeman to be present. We know that Bridgeman also supplied plans to clients to be studied in his absence. For example, the Duchess of Beaufort wrote to Lord Noel Somerset on 11th March 1733/34 'The draught Bridgeman sent down is one of the Grandest things I have seen, and will I believe answer in execution as well as it does on paper. My Ld. Seems much pleas'd with it., and I hope it meets with your favourable opinion, least I should be oblige'd to call my own judgement in question' (Willis 2002, 425). A plan, although not necessarily the same one, was also needed to provide accurate measurements and instructions to stewards, and to foremen and labourers, either his own or his client's, for the construction of the design.

The decisions Bridgeman made, consciously or unconsciously, with regard to the way a plan was created, were based on custom and practice, and presumably informed by the graphic conventions with which he and his clients were most familiar. It is helpful to place Bridgeman's plans within the context of those artefacts which were, in form, purpose and coding, most like the plans he presented to his clients, and with which they would have been most familiar. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries both Bridgeman and his clients would have been

familiar with the coding used on estate maps and surveys, usually the work of a surveyor employed by the estate. Many estate stewards were also accomplished surveyors and map makers, as, for example, John Booth (d.1737), chief land steward to the Duke of Montagu at Boughton House whose surveys, framed, line its corridors (Crispin Powell pers. comm. 2015). We might also consider commercially produced maps which were, as Sponberg Pedley points out, readily available, by the early eighteenth century. She highlights their popularity as part of a 'dramatic increase in the quantity and quality of consumer goods and an equally dramatic increase in the spending power not only of the wealthy, but also of the middling, and even working, classes (Sponberg Pedley 2005, 1). The graphic codes which Bridgeman's immediate predecessors and contemporaries in the field of landscape design employed in the presentation of their proposals is also relevant in this regard. Presumably, both Bridgeman and his clients were familiar with these too. Although essentially discrete in purpose, these maps were clearly subject to substantial cross-fertilisation in their use of symbols, and there is a fluidity about the conventions of coding within each which has to do with the practical circumstances in which each artefact is produced and the competence of the artist. It is therefore difficult to trace any clear lines of influence; it is rather that, by placing Bridgeman's graphic work in the context of the contemporary ways in which a two-dimensional version of a three-dimensional landscape was presented, we might come to a clearer understanding of why there is so much diversity within the corpus, what Bridgeman's plans were for, and how they help us to understand his working methods.

The historical and artistic context

Estate maps and surveys

In the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries there was a sharp rise in the number of surveyors, and a corresponding increase in the number of surveys of estate maps produced. The practice became 'so widespread that Harley was able to call the period from 1700 to 1850 'the golden age of the local land surveyor' (Bendall 2009, 25). Although there was considerable variety in both the appearance of estate maps and in the technical competence with which they were surveyed and drawn, in form and purpose they were multifunctional. Their primary function was 'to show an individual's landed property' (Bendall 2009, 160). However, many estate maps were often also intended for display, and were decorated as a result. As Andrews and Harley point out, decoration 'is not a marginal exercise' but 'both decorative and geographical images on a map are unified parts of a total image' (Andrews in Harley 2001, 110). Bendall links the amount of decoration to the purpose for which the map was intended. Those estate maps intended, originally, for display contain decorative elements, '[t]hus, the degree of a map's decoration depended on the reasons for which it was drawn; maps which were used to show off a landowner's

estate and status were often highly ornamented' (Bendall 2009, 49). She also highlights the inevitable intertextuality of art forms: 'Decoration of maps was affected by national developments in cartographic style, which in turn mirrored trends in other art forms….' (Bendall 2009, 46). Cartouches were present in over half the Cambridgeshire maps drawn before 1766 for private clients and in 70% drawn for private owners before 1716. Decorative borders disappeared after 1715. She adds in relation to the role of both the surveyor and the landowner in the final appearance of the maps: 'The surveyor and his desire to advertise his skills also affected decoration…..Landowners also demonstrated their ability to employ the best surveyors by the currency of the techniques which were used' (Bendall 2009, 49). There is also a tradition in estate mapping of plans, both those intended for display and those not, to become working documents on which were recorded subsequent developments to the land of the estate. Sometimes they were extensively annotated, as happened for example, with the Hatfield map of Gobions on which successive sales and purchases of land are recorded (Hatfield House Archives). It would appear that maps were not sacrosanct even when intended for display, and the distinction we make between working drawings, and those for display, is probably not so relevant in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.

This discussion of the coding used in estate surveys that follows is to some degree based on the extensive study of Cambridgeshire estate maps undertaken by Sarah Bendall. Her research discusses the coding present in estate maps in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century (Bendall 2009, 9). Woodland, consisting either of pre-existing standard trees felled for timber and a coppiced understorey, or plantations planted deliberately without a coppiced understorey partly for profit and partly as cover for game birds, was productive, and so drawn on an estate map, and its value was often quantified in the estate survey (Barnes and Williamson 2011, 91). Its depiction was largely homogenous across a number of geographically diverse regions. Trees were drawn as 'stylised lollipops' (Pannett 1985, 70), usually in straight lines, in elevation, and not to scale, in estate maps from as geographically disparate locations as Great Saxham in Suffolk, 1729 (SRO t4/33/1.24), Gobions in Hertfordshire, c.1718 (Hatfield Archive), Arbury in Warwickshire, dated 1700 (CR 136/m/11), Amesbury Abbey in Wiltshire 1726 (WRO 944/1) and for Boughton House in Northamptonshire (Boughton House). The symbol rarely attempted to differentiate between species of tree although Bendall suggests that they were often shown in their correct positions, especially when they occurred in hedgerows (Bendall 2009, 66). Coppice, and the understorey, when they were shown on estate maps, were represented as a mottled green backdrop, as in the Holmes map of Gobions, or sometimes simply as green, as in the Booth survey (1715) of Boughton House. The boundaries of water courses or ponds were shown although the water was not always coloured. Distances were shown using a scale, either in words or using a scale bar. These were present on 80% of estate maps in Cambridge between 1716 and 1765.

Compass roses were the most common way to show orientation until 1766 (Bendall 2009, 40). Estate maps were often accompanied by some kind of table, either as an explanation or a key, as a description of tenurial arrangements or as a list of acreages. Bendall shows that keys became increasingly popular in both Cambridgeshire and Derbyshire in the early eighteenth century, although acreages and tenurial arrangements were also shown as annotations on the land to which they applied (Bendall 2009, 41).

Buildings on estate maps could be shown in plan, or in elevation, often in sufficient detail for architectural features to be discerned (Bendall 2009, 67). However, both Pannett and Bendall show that the conventions for the presentation of buildings was in the process of change in the early eighteenth century. Pannet shows that, between 1597 and 1710, while buildings were 'shown in 'bird's eye view' either conventionally or faithfully drawn according to their importance' (Pannett 70), their replacement with buildings in plan form was a general trend throughout the early eighteenth century. Buildings in plan appeared in Cumberland in 1694, in Norfolk in 1708, in Essex in 1721 and in Worcestershire in 1731 (Bendall 2009, 49; Pannett 70). In Cambridgeshire, Bendall shows that 'plan form was common in maps drawn for private owners from 1716 (20% of maps), and increased rapidly over the next 50 years to 70% of maps' (Bendall 2009, 49).

Bridgeman was clearly familiar with the coded symbolism used in estate maps and surveys. There was substantial cross-fertilisation of both technique and personnel between the making of estate maps and landscape design. Indeed, it is possible that a rise in the number of surveyors, and their increased competence, had a direct impact on the greater size and complexity of landscape garden design. As shown above, some of the plans in Bridgeman's corpus are, in fact, surveys rather than designs; his survey of Warwick Town and Priory conducted with James Fish (CR.26.2.2), and those for Hampton Court (MPD 1/23/3) and Richmond Gardens (MR 1/696), for example. The presence of estate surveys for the landscapes on which Bridgeman worked, in Gough Drawings, such as for Ledston Hall or for Wolterton Hall, suggests that he was also familiar with the work of other surveyors.

Commercially produced maps

It is also likely that commercially produced maps provided a shared language with which Bridgeman and his clients at least, would have been familiar. Mary Sponberg Pedley makes the point that '[b]y the eighteenth century, maps and globes had become a regular feature in the life of the literate' (Sponberg Pedley 2005, 6). She quotes William Leybourne, who, in his *Treatise on plots* (1653) writes that maps were a 'neat ornament for the lord of the manor' (Sponberg

Pedley 2005, 6). Sponberg Pedley highlights their popularity as part of a 'dramatic increase in the quantity and quality of consumer goods and an equally dramatic increase in the spending power not only of the wealthy, but also of the middling and even working classes (Sponberg Pedley 2005, 1). It is, perhaps, in the depiction of topography that Bridgeman's plans most closely resemble commercially produced maps. In these maps hachures began to replace 'the previously flattened landscape with isolated mountain symbols' during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, slopes were always depicted in hachures, the steeper the slope, the darker and denser the hachures, although level areas were left blank. It was not until 1799 that a system of slope hachuring was developed (Karen A. Mulcahy in http://www.geo.hunter.cuny.edu).

The designs of other gardeners

Bridgeman's work exists within a tradition in which a gardener or designer presents their design in such a way that it can be visualised by a client, and then constructed by labourers. The ways in which the most prominent of Bridgeman's immediate predecessors, André Le Nôtre, George London and Henry Wise, and his contemporary Stephen Switzer chose to present their designs has been analysed for comparison purposes.

A selection of Le Nôtre's plans is presented in *André Le Nôtre in Perspective*. The plans are displayed in two discrete sections, *Notebook 1* and *Notebook 2* and a range of drawings from both sections has been explored here. It is difficult to find drawings which can be accurately attributed to George London, but three drawings, two in the V&A, both of Castle Howard in North Yorkshire, E.433-1951 and E.434 – 1951 and a drawing of the garden at Herriard House in Hampshire (shown as no.61, Pl.14 in Jeffrey 1985), appear to be reliably attributed to London by their holding institutions, and are examined here. Since, as suggested above, Wise employed draughtsmen to draw for him, it is also difficult to find plans in his hand, but there are four drawings held by the Sir John Soane Museum, which are identified as in Wise's hand by an extensive scholarly explanation on the website; two for Hampton Court Palace (SM 111/39 and SM 111/40), one for Buckingham House (SM 111/42), and one for the Maestricht Garden at Windsor Castle (SM 111/45). Relatively few of Switzer's original plans have survived, but a plan for a cascade at Exton Park in Rutland (MSGD a4 fo.7), and a plan for Beaumanor in Leicestershire dated 1737 (LRO DG9/Ma/362/2) are both his original drawings, and the plan for Claremont in Surrey, published in *An Introduction to a General System of Hydrostaticks and Hydraulicks* can also be reliably attributed to him.

Each designer has a recognisable graphic style which identifies their work, but unsurprisingly, given the need to communicate with a client in an easily understood code, there is also a strong sense of a shared symbolic coding, albeit modified by the artistic ability of individual draughtsmen, which all designers used. Also, perhaps unsurprisingly, given the likely cultural cross-fertilisation between separate disciplines caused by the blurring of professional boundaries, it is also a code shared with estate maps and surveys. Le Nôtre's designs depict features in a mixture of plan and elevation. Universally, in Notebooks 1 and 2, trees, fountains, and landscaped features, such as amphitheatres, steps and sometimes garden buildings are shown in elevation, while pre-existing buildings, designs for parterres, the non-specific elements of the understorey or coppicing, and the outlines of allées, basins and canals and rond points, are shown in plan. Plans in Notebook 2 tend to show the design in the context of the wider landscape. London's symbolic depiction of features is more perfunctory. Similar coding is on his plans for Castle Howard, E.433-1951, in watercolour, ink and pencil and E. 434-1951, which is in ink and pencil only. Trees are depicted as dots, flanking avenues and double planted on either side of walks which frame a cruciform canal feature. Buildings are shown in plan. The water in the canal and pool is roughly filled in with grey ink. There is a scale in feet. Wise's plans show the the trees and fountains within his parterres in elevation and the patterning of the parterres and pools in plan. No attempt is made to place the features depicted in the context of the wider landscape. Any buildings are drawn in plan, with internal walls marked in, or other geographical features, such as water, appear in pen and ink, or in pencil, usually accurately drawn. Switzer's three drawings show water with uneven strokes of a brush, and fountains in elevation. The trees are drawn realistically and in elevation, although without elegance, and in the plan for Exton Park (MSGD a4 fo.7), their apparently random distribution may indicate accurate locations. They are, for example, shown on the boundaries of what appear to be the disused open fields. Buildings are in plan. The plans for Beaumanor and Exton Park have scales in feet. Beaumanor has a cartouche, and a decorated key which refers to letters on the plan.

The wide diversity of character in Bridgeman's plans is matched by those of Le Nôtre. Bouchenot-Déchin and Farhat have divided their sample of Le Nôtre's work into two Notebooks, precisely to demonstrate what they see as the reason for this diversity. They contend that the 'first notebook contains preliminary graphic items, while *Notebook 2* is the 'final design stage' (Bouchenot-Déchin and Farhat, 2014). In *Notebook 1,* even though the medium of watercolour is used extensively, the drawings are rough sketches, some, for example no.19 'A Sketch for a Demi-Lune at the End of a Garden' in ink and Le Nôtre's characteristic red chalk, others, for example, no.8 'Design for a New Access to the Chateau of Saint Cloud' in red chalk only (Bouchenot-Déchin and Farhat 2014). In several sketches a new design has been superimposed, in a different medium, on the existing landscape. Nos. 7 and 8 showing the new entrance at St

Cloud, and no. 9, 'Design for a New Terrace for the Chateau of Saint Germain, Corrected and Annotated by Le Nôtre' are examples of this. Many plans in *Notebook 1* have scales, instructions and measurements. In *Notebook 2*, all are in watercolour and ink. Some drawings also place the design within its wider landscape as, for example, no. 15; 'Design Plan for the Chateau, the Garden and the Park at Anet and its Surroundings' c.1682 by Claude Desgots. These plans use shading to show topography, as for example no. 10 'Design for End of the Grand Canal (with Dam and Waterfall) at Chantilly*'* by Pierre II Desgots, where the slope of the hill is indicated by pencil hachures.

Switzer's plans also show a division between plans intended as finished drawings, and those which were intended as working drawings. The plan for Claremont, published in *An Introduction to a General System of Hydrostaticks and Hydraulicks* is the most polished drawing, clearly designed for publication as an exemplar. The implication is that it improves Bridgeman's design as Switzer himself explained: 'The upper Part of the Work may very easily be seen to be a Sketch of the fine Amphitheatre at *Claremont* …. The Design of the very ingenious *Mr Bridgeman*; and the lower Part, where the Water Spouts out, is an Addition of my own, from a Work of that kind I have done for the Right Honourable the Earl of *Orrery* at *Marston* in *Somersetshire*' (Switzer 1729, 405). The plan of Beaumanor, is polished and its cartouche and key suggest that it might have had a dual purpose. It was perhaps intended for display but its scale and detailed symbolic coding suggest that it might also have been intended as a template for the transformation of the landscape. The drawing of Exton Park (a4 fo.7) on the other hand, in ink, pencil and wash, appears to have been drawn as a working drawing from which the cascade might be constructed. It shows the southern end of the lake at Exton Park, with the dam and a moat around the site of a house in the deserted village of Horn. Superimposed on this is a section of the drop of a cascade, labelled with letters, although there does not seem to be a key for this. Its character is rough.

The plans of London and Wise do not reflect this division. London's drawing for Herriard House is annotated with planting instructions (Jeffrey 1985, Plate 14 No.16). The shorthand of dots for trees may also have been dictated by the need for speed. The same appears to be true of Henry Wise. The drawings indicated above (SM 111/39, SM111/40, SM111/42, and SM111/45) are distinctly functional, rather than decorative. They show, in water colour, only the parterres to be constructed. The Soane Museum website indicates that, with regard to the drawing for Hampton Court Palace (SM111/39) '[t[he main purpose of this drawing appears to have been to provide an exact survey of the palace at ground level and illustrate the boundaries, occupancies and access points in all areas of the walled garden and building adjoining the palace but excluding the parks' (http://collections.soane.org/OBJECT462). The lack of polish in drawings in the hands of London and Wise is, perhaps, unexpected since both were apparently heavily influenced by the work of

Le Nôtre in France. London visited France and returned with plans (Green 1956; Dixon Hunt and Willis 1975), and Dixon Hunt and Willis suggest that 'Wise was responsible establishing French taste and adapting it to the royal grounds at Kensington, St James's, Windsor and Hampton and to Chatsworth (Dixon Hunt and Willis 1975, 106). Their plans are certainly in marked contrast to the work of Le Nôtre. Perhaps it is that, because both London and Wise's plans are usually of parterres, relatively small, simple to construct, close to the house and without the need to identify natural features such as slopes and springs, it was largely unnecessary to produce more than a functional drawing that identified the relationship of features to each other.

Wlliam Kent's work seems to take a different approach. From Dixon Hunt's catalogue in *William Kent Landscape Garden Designer* it is clear that Kent never produced a surveyed plan for a garden design. Some of his designs for buildings are in plan and elevation, such as those on plates 90, 91 and 92 (Dixon Hunt 1987, 159) and one, a very rough sketch for the Hermitage in Richmond Park has a measurement, '16ft' (Dixon Hunt 1987, plate 57). Only one, 'A garden plan with boathouse' Plate 94, is in plan, although with garden buildings and trees in elevation. Most of Kent's proposals for gardens are in the form of painterly scenes in elevation in black ink and pencil, with outlines washed in yellowish-brown. Dixon-Hunt suggests that there is a strong influence both of the painter Claude and of Kent's involvement in theatre designs in his depictions (Dixon-Hunt 1987, 29, 42). Kent provided the settings and costumes for a production at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane in 1724 and Dixon-Hunt considers this to be 'the tip of the iceberg' as far as Kent's theatrical involvement went (Dixon-Hunt 1987, 30). His proposals are often filled with characters as a stage set might be. For example, his proposal for the Exedra at Chiswick shows four figures in the bowling green (Chatsworth 26A, item 24) and his 'proposal for a seat on the mount' at Holkham Hall in Norfolk shows a gondola with three people in it. Although Sir Thomas Robinson, writing to the Earl of Carlisle in 1734, suggested Kent laid gardens out, 'without level or line…..' (Williamson 1995, 59) it cannot have been the case, that, when the landscape was created, no surveying was done. This suggests that Kent had some different modus operandi. It is probably the case that there was no necessity for Kent to produce competent, surveyed, garden plans because he was not responsible for the moving of earth, or the creation of waterworks. Kent's proposals allow the client to visualize the design as though looking at a painting or a stage set. He was creating something akin to an advertising image which did not rely on a shared knowledge of signifiers and was instantly accessible. We might assume that Repton's red books fulfilled a similar function.

The coding used in a plan, then, probably reflects its purpose and function. Estate surveys, having limited function beyond the recording of the value of land and other assets on an estate, or the relationship of parcels of land to each other, need clarity, but require no particular artistic ability.

A drawing which has the functional purpose of conveying a pattern to be produced on a small piece or pieces of land, the parterres designed and executed by London or Wise for example, need only rudimentary symbols, and can show only the area to be created. The visualization of a large designed landscape which does not yet exist, and if it did, could not be encompassed in one view, on the other hand, requires drawing which creates an imagined landscape visually accessible to its audience, with some degree of three-dimensionality and an anchoring of the design within the landscape which is its wider context. This can be achieved, as it was by Kent or Repton, through a fully three-dimensional picture. However, if it is necessary for a drawing to also function in some way as an accurate survey, then there has to be a compromise. Thus, Le Nôtre, Switzer, and, as we shall see Bridgeman, choose coding which can be adapted to both presenting a design on a landscape scale with some three-dimensional features and allow for the accurate placing of earthworks and water features.

The coding and purpose of Bridgeman's designs

We can see from this discussion that, in the period in which Bridgeman was working, there were a number of shifting variables that affected the final appearance and coding of any hand drawn, or indeed, published map or plan, which were dependent on historical and artistic context, purpose and intended audience, and we might use them as a comparison for the coding used by Bridgeman. We might note that the symbol Bridgeman uses to signify trees was also used by Le Nôtre and in estate surveys, and that the predominance of buildings in plan rather than in elevation, echoes the trend in the early eighteenth century; whether this was conscious imitation or a much more organic process of cultural osmosis is harder to determine. What follows is an examination of the coding and forms that Bridgeman used in his own landscape designs, what it can tell us about his purpose in creating those designs, and the audience for which they were intended. Because this is an examination of Bridgeman's designs, those drawings by Bridgeman which are clearly intended as only as surveys, or are the copies of the designs of others, have been excluded. They are those italicised in Chapter 3. The interest here is in Bridgeman's presentation of his newly designed work. The remainder of the drawings in the corpus present, if not finished designs, new work. These drawings are considered by grouping them in terms of medium used, those predominantly painted in watercolour, those executed in ink and pencil, and those only in pencil, since the discussion above, particularly in relation to the work of Le Nôtre, seems to indicate a link between medium used and the purpose for which the drawing was intended. The numbering in all three sections refers to the revised corpus in Chapter 2. The catalogue numbers for plans are given in the list in each section. They are only repeated in the following discussions where there is more than one plan for each site. All plans are shown in the Gazetteer in Appendix II.

Watercolour plans

In the work of other designers, and to some extent, in estate surveys, watercolour seems to have meant, in some sense, presentation. While it is impossible to say with certainty whether a plan was intended for presentation to or by a client, those in the following list are all largely finished, painted in watercolour and four, two for Eastbury, (MSGD a3 fo.9 and fo.10), Amesbury, and Lumley Castle, have a cartouche, although it is empty on the plan for Lumley Castle. They are:

1. Amesbury Abbey, Wiltshire MSGD a3* fo.32
3. Audley End, Essex MSGD a4 fo.67(c.1726)
4. Brocket Park, Hertfordshire MSGD a3 fo.7 (c.1731)
6. Eastbury, Dorset MSGD a3* fo 10 (c) (c.1723)
7. Eastbury, Dorset MSGD a3 fo 9 (c) (c.1723)
8. Eastbury, Dorset MSGD a4 fo.21(c.1723)
9. Gunton, Norfolk MSGD a4 fo.75
16. Kensington Gardens, Middlesex MSGD a3* fo.15 (c.1728)
24. Sacombe, Hertfordshire MSGD a4 fo.64 (1714)
27. Scampston, North Yorkshire MSGD a4 fo.73
34. Wimbledon, Surrey MSGD a3 fo31(1732)
41. Wolterton, Norfolk MSGD a3 fo 10 (c.1725)
42. Wolterton, Norfolk MSGD a4 fo.55 (c.1725)
43. Wolterton, Norfolk MSGD a4 fo.61 (c.1725)
44. Wolterton, Norfolk MSGD a4 fo18 (c.1725)
45. Wolterton, Norfolk MSGD a4 fo.20 (c.1725)
58. Claremont, Surrey SM 62.1.2 (c.1724)
61. Warwick Priory, Warwickshire CR 56 (1727)
68. Kensington Gardens, Middlesex CC.2753 (c.1731)
69. Kensington Gardens, Middlesex ST Map 147 (c.1731)
75. Kedleston, Derbyshire Scarsdale Collection
76. Ledston, West Yorkshire Otterden Place
77. Lumley Castle, County Durham (1)
78. Lumley Castle, County Durham (2)
79. Wimpole, Cambridgeshire National Trust Bainbridge Collection

The coding of all of these watercolour plans is similar. Almost all show individual stylised trees, carefully drawn in a triangular shape, with shadows to the right. Only one, for Wolterton (MSGD a3 fo.55), shows individual trees in an avenue as dots. Wherever they appear in these watercolour plans, it is likely that their placing is intended to be stylised rather than an accurate representation

of where Bridgeman intended the trees to be planted. When drawn in avenues, they are meticulously evenly distributed. However, at Amesbury Abbey, Bridgeman's plan shows a double avenue of twenty-six pairs of trees stretching from the house to the precinct wall west of the house. Arthur Phelps, writing in the mid nineteenth century, records only thirteen pairs of tree throws in same geographical location, in the rough sketch he makes: '…In a straight line to the church there was a double avenue of lime trees…..we could distinctly trace where the greater part of those trees stood' (WRO 1552/1/2/13) (see Figure 8). This suggests that, at Amesbury Abbey at least, either Bridgeman's design was not intended to represent tree planting accurately, or the avenue was not planted as he proposed. Perhaps the relatively short distance involved, roughly 160m, meant that it was impractical to plant twenty-six full sized limes.

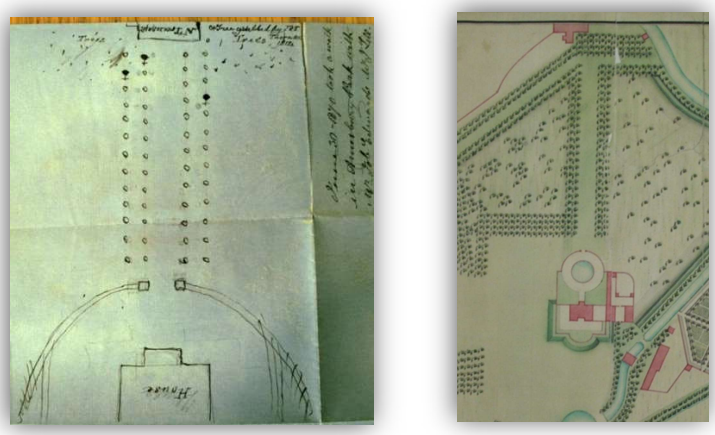


Figure 8 Arthur Phelps sketch map (WRO 1552/1/2/13) and Bridgeman's plan for Amesbury MSGD a3* fo32 showing the discrepancy in tree planting.

Bridgeman's representation of groves is distinctive. Individual trees, arranged on a regular grid pattern, are picked out in a darker green. The space around them is filled, often also on a regular grid, with ghostly partial representations of the same symbol, and the whole is coloured with a mottled green wash (Figure 9). These signifiers appear in a significant number of the watercolour plans and can be seen on the maps in Appendix I for Amesbury (Map 1i) and Eastbury (Map 5i). Only on the plans for Sacombe (Map 12i) and for Ledston, is the depiction different. On these two plans the groves are depicted by a much more thickly painted mottled green background without the addition of standard trees. It is hard to tell what these symbols are actually intended to represent, and, indeed, whether the different representations on the plans for Sacombe and Ledstone are intended to signify different planting. They may represent the planting of forest

trees, or depict a coppiced understorey, or some kind of underplanting with shrubs. Williamson and Barnes present an example of the specifics of a grove planted at Raynham in Norfolk, roughly contemporary with Bridgeman's work: 'an undated contract of c.1700 had paths lined with hedges of hornbeam running through woodland planted with spruce 'silver fir', lime, horse chestnut, wild service, beech, sycamore and birch, underplanted with laburnam, guelder rose, lilac and other flowering shrubs' (Barnes and Williamson 2011, 123). It certainly seems that at Wolterton, Bridgeman's original planting of the groves had involved both trees and shrubs. In a letter to Walpole, dated 1736, Bridgeman writes of cutting down the shrubs under the trees in the grove, presumably those planted in 1724 when the grove was laid out (WH 8/12 box 3lx). Salmon's description of Sacombe in 1728 suggests that trees were not planted in the sort of regular lines depicted on the plans: 'At the end of one Walk is a sort of Theatrical Work. Shaded by oaks at unequal distances, as they happened to grow, such as one would wish represented in a Landshape. The Woods are full of well-grown Timber, which makes the Park extreamely pleasant' (Salmon cited in Milledge 2009, 42). It is likely that Bridgeman's is a generic representation which stands for a grove, regardless of the specifics of the planting.

Figure 9 Bridgeman's symbolic depiction of a grove on the plan for Eastbury (MSGD a3* fo.9).

Houses are shown in red, or pink, and are all presented in plan. There is no attempt to show any internal divisions, or architectural details, although the footprint is accurately represented. Garden buildings are also shown in plan, making it difficult to interpret what they are intended to be. For example, a small circle is shown on the top of the mounts at Eastbury (Map 5i), presumably presenting a building but there is no indication of what form it would take. However, other structures and earthworks are treated in a way that suggests a three-dimensionality. Shading is

applied to one face of the amphitheatres at Eastbury (Map 5i), at Sacombe (Map 12i), at Claremont (Map 3i), at Wimbledon and at Amesbury (Map 1i), the terraces at Gunton, the edges of the Round Pond in Kensington Gardens (Map 8i) and the lake at Wolterton (Map 13i). Water, where it is present, is shown in blue, in all but two plans for Wolterton (MSGD a3 fo.55 and MSGD a4 fo.61) (Map 13i). All make liberal use of shades of green although it is never clear whether the variation in the vibrancy of the shade is due to deterioration in the manuscript or whether it was intentional from the inception of the plan.

Many of these plans, though not all, fix the design in its geographical or topographical space, or both. At Brocket Hall annotations suggest the towns which might be seen from the view points to the north of the site, and in the plan for Lumley Castle, the 'River Were' is labelled. Topography is often indicated with hachures, shaded in pencil, as on the plans for Eastbury (MSGD a3* fo.9 and 10) (Map 5i), Brocket Hall, Warwick Priory, Amesbury (Map 1i) and Lumley Castle, perhaps sites in which there are very marked changes in the height of the land. Brocket Hall, and Audley End show the fields and hedgerows of surrounding farm land. Warwick Priory sets the design for the garden in the context of the town of Warwick. In others, such as Wolterton (MSGD a3 fo.20) and Scampston, the immediate surroundings are sketched in. Perhaps Bridgeman's intention here was to show how a plan, not visible in its entirety from the house, fitted into the wider estate. Only Brocket Hall shows any kind of orientation, a compass. However, in the designs for Sacombe, Gunton and Wolterton (MSGD a4 fo.55.and fo.61), only the area to be constructed is shown.

It would be reasonable to assume that these watercolour plans, which span Bridgeman's whole career, from Sacombe in 1715, to Amesbury Abbey in 1738, were intended to present a design to the client, once the work had been commissioned. Perhaps those with a cartouche, Amesbury Abbey, Eastbury, Marble Hill and Lumley Castle, echo the estate map tradition and were intended for display purposes; this may also be the case with the plan for Brocket Park which has a title (Bendall 2009). Indeed, the plan for Lumley Castle (1) currently hangs, framed, in the study of the Earl of Scarborough (Earl of Scarborough pers. comm. 2019). It is clear that it is now considered an artefact in its own right, whether or not that was Bridgeman's original intention. However, the principal purpose of the plan must have been to help the client visualize the landscape that Bridgeman had designed. Presumably, the choice of coding reflects this purpose. If we assume that the primary function of the plans in watercolour was to present a design to a client, then the depiction of the new earthworks, and newly planted trees, three-dimensionally, and the presentation of features in naturalistic colour, may have facilitated the process of visualisation. Perhaps we might have expected the presentation of both the house at the centre of the design, and garden buildings, to be in elevation, if the purpose was to enable the client to

visualise Bridgeman's imagined landscape. The absence of this in almost all the watercolour plans may reflect the extent of Bridgeman's responsibilities. he was the garden designer, not the architect. It may simply be consistent with the early eighteenth-century trend in estate maps towards presenting buildings in plan.

However, these plans seem to have had a purpose beyond display. Many of them might be seen as working documents, in the manner of estate maps or surveys. There is evidence that, at the very least, they facilitated discussion. This certainly seems to be the case with Brocket Hall, where an alternative to the course of the river is shown, at Wolterton, where there are several plans showing small alterations in design, or at Eastbury where the plan (MSGD a3* fo.9) offers a flap with alternative versions of the mount. More importantly, there is also evidence that they were able to double as designs from which other, more functional plans could be derived. Several have pinpricks along the lines of the principle features, as for example the plans for Gunton, for Sacombe and for Audley End; these show that other plans were copied from them, or that they themselves are copies (Stephen Astley pers. comm). It may be that this is why most remained in Bridgeman's workshop, and are found in Gough Drawings. It is possible that the plans copied from these presentation plans disappeared, when the landscape was being built. On the plan for Wolterton, (MSGD a4 fo.20), pencil measurements, '196' and '301' have been added to the geometric grove to the west of the house, suggesting that even this immaculately presented plan was used, in some way, during construction. Perhaps the use of hachures to show topography, where it was significant, also reflects the practical purpose that these plans fulfilled. Some, though not all, also have a scale; those for Eastbury (MSGD a3 fo.9 and fo.10), Wolterton (MSGD a3 fo.18 and fo.20), Gunton, Hampton Court, and Kensington Gardens (CC.2753); the plans for Lumley Castle (1 and 2) have scales in feet while Brocket Park and Amesbury have scales in feet and in chains, again perhaps reflecting their purpose both to be a presentation drawing, and a survey.

Ink drawings

A large proportion of Bridgeman's corpus were executed in brown or grey ink and pencil with additional wash. With the exception of the two drawings for Boughton which are held at Boughton House, some plans for Wimpole, held in the Bambridge Collection by the National Trust, and the plan for Gobions, held in Herts Maps a1 in the Bodelian Library, these are all in Gough Drawings. We may exclude Mereworth (MSGD a4 fo.52) from the following discussion since it is so rudimentary there is little to discuss. The plans for discussion are the following:

9. Hackwood, Hampshire MSGD a4 fo.24
10. Hackwood, Hampshire MSGD a4 fo.34

14. Houghton, Norfolk MSGD a4 fo.57
16. Ledston, West Yorkshire MSGD a4 fo.85
17. Lodge Park, Gloucestershire MSGD a4 fo.68
19. Moor Park, Hertforshire MSGD a4 fo.58
21. Purley, Berkshire MSGD a4 fo.54 pin marks
22. Rousham, Oxfordshire MSGD a4 fo.63
24. Scampston, North Yorkshire MSGD a4 fo.66
25. Scampston, North Yorkshire MSGD a4 fo.27
27. Standlynch, Wiltshire MSGD a3 fo.25
29. Tring, Hertfordshire MSGD a4 fo.32
30. Tring, Hertfordshire MSGD a4 fo.78
31. Unidentified a4 fo.25
35. Wimpole, Cambridgeshire MSGD a4 fo.30
36. Wimpole, Cambridgeshire MSGD a4 fo.31
38. Wimpole, Cambridgeshire MSGD a3 fo.69
46. Gobions, Hertfordshire a1 Herts Map
70. Boughton, Northamptonshire 1
71. Boughton, Northamptonshire 2
78. Wimpole, Cambridgeshire Bambridge collection.
79. Wimpole, Cambridgeshire Bambridge collection
80. Wimpole, Cambridgeshire Bambridge collection
81. Wimpole, Cambridgeshire Bambridge collection

While ink is the predominant medium, many of these have pencil marks as well. Some are clearly a roughing out of the drawing, to be inked in later, as in the plan for Rousham, some are alterations to the plan, some are a depiction of pre-existing features, either in the area to be constructed, as in the plan for Lodge Park, or outside it, as at Moor Park. Pencil is often used to show existing features. The canal at Lodge Park is depicted in this way underneath the proposed serpentine river, and what appear to be pre-existing trees appear in pencil, the intention apparently being to use new planting to fill in the gaps. Topographical shading is also always done in pencil. On the plan for Purley, the surveying lines remain in pencil. As far as has been possible, all these plans have been geo-referenced with 1st Edition Ordnance Survey 1:2500, or, with the most recent Ordnance Survey map 1:2000 using Digimap (http://digimap.edina.ac.uk).

In spite of the similarity in their medium, these drawings are not by any means homogenous. This said, a group of twelve, all in Gough Drawings, are so similar in their characteristics that there is a high probability that they were all done by the same hand. Since one of them, unidentified as

yet, although catalogued by Willis as Tring (MSGD a4 fo.25), has the initials 'CB' at the end of an extensive note of the right hand side of the plan, it seems likely that they are all the work of Bridgeman. They are the plans for (with approximate dates): Hackwood (MSGD a4 fo.24) c.1720, Hackwood (MSGD a4 fo.34a) c.1720, Houghton c.1722, Lodge Park c.1725, Moor Park c.1720, Purley c.1720, Rousham c.1720, Tring (MSGD a4 fo.78) c.1720, an unidentified plan (MSGD a4 fo.25) and three for Wimpole (MSGD a4 fo.30, MSGD a4 fo.31 and MSGD a3 fo.69). As far as it is possible to date these plans accurately, they appear to come from the earlier part of his career, before, or just after, his appointment as Royal Gardener.

Largely, these twelve plans share the same coding. Almost all show buildings, regardless of status, in plan; only in two plans is this not the case; for Hackwood (MSGD a4 fo.34) (Map 7i) where the roof of the house is shown faceted, and Moor Park where some peripheral buildings beyond the edge of the designed landscape are shown in elevation. Earthworks are shown with pencil shading giving the same the sense of three-dimensionality as in the watercolour plans. Groves are shown using the same unformed tree symbols as in the watercolour plans. On the other hand, avenues of trees are shown as dots, rather than in elevation, except at Houghton and Lodge Park where some trees are shown in elevation. Water is shown either in a grey wash, or sketched in with short strokes in ink.

All have annotations of some kind which pertain to the practicalities of creating the design depicted. On some there are measurements, apparently of distances, in feet. These occur on the plans for Purley, Tring, Hackwood (MSGD a4 fo.34), unidentified MSGD a4 fo.25 and Houghton. On some, there are specific planting instructions. The plan for Wimpole (MSGD a4 fo. 31), details the 'Number of trees in this plantation': 'From the further end to the Circle round the Great Bason 358/Round the said Circle 98/From the Circle to the Great Parade 456/Rund the said Parades 304/1216. The plan for Tring has an annotation which reads '106 Standard Yews for the/2 Inward Lines &/106 Standard Elms for the/ outward Lines'.

There are also detailed instructions about building. Sometimes, as on the plan for Lodge Park, this is a single sentence, 'Platform at A to be rais'd. 10ft.'. or, for Tring (MSGD a4 fo.78), two sentences: 'Bason remov'd within 32 feet of the walk near ye Gt. Elms/ fall of ye Theater from * to * 34 feet'. In others, notably Hackwood, Tring (MSGD a4 fo.32), Rousham, and, particularly, the unidentified plan MSGD a4 fo.25, these are very detailed instructions about the construction of elements of the landscape. On the plan for Tring, the levels of the stepped land down to the canal are given: 'The Canall 3 feet lower than the Gravell Garden', '3 foot below ye Gravell Garden', and 'the Levell of ye Gravell Garden'. On the plan for Rousham, these are measurements to do with the flow of water into the square pools: 'The Current or Fall of the Water from the

place propos'd to bring it from further springs to the great square pond is 15 foot 6 inches – The length from ye s[ai]d further springs to the Nether Spring is 890 foot & from thence to ye Garden water is 100 foot & from thence cross the Garden to the sd Square pond is 480 foot – in the whole 1670. foot'. On the plan for Hackwood (MSGD a4 fo.34), there are two sets of instructions. One, above a section entitled 'A Section of the Terrace, Stocades/& Fosse', is for constructing the ditches and bastions around the woodland garden: 'The stocades are to be each 6 feet 6 inches long & 4 Inches Square/ & to be placed in the Slope according to the Section at 6 Inches assunder/ [illegible word] is a parapet yew hedge of 2 feet high that seperates the Terrace from Stocade'. The other is at the top of the plan. Damage means that there is probably a line missing, and the words of the first half of the next line are obscured. It is about construction of walks: ' ….Which gives the Situation of the Bason and [illegilble] /the Levell of the Walk AA must be the Level of the Walks/of each Side of ye Canall as farr as from the Letters/A to the Letters B which are the ends of the Side Walks of the /parterr./The inside line of trees of the sd Walk AABB are to be …. /same lines as ye pyramid yews on ye side Tarrace of the Parterre & ye Walks are to stand ….. / a parelell of 7 feet within ye side Walks of ye Parterr/ the trees that form ye sd Walks are to stand 2 feet apart/ in ye lines'.

The unidentified plan MSGD a4 fo.25 has the most extensive set of annotations of all (see Figure 10). A column of instructions, quoted here in full, appears on the right hand side of the plan:

> The several falls of the Theater from/ the center of the walk to Cowley Wood/ at A to the Bason at B which is/ 34 feet perpendicular/These severall falls must be sete out on the side lines of the theatre/The first fall from * to C (the head of the first stone) is 2 foot ……. 2.0/Perpendicular height (crossed out) fall of this slope 4.0/fall of the first platform wch is 57 feet broad 5.0/fall of ye 2d slope 4.0/fall of the 2d platform 5.0/fall of the 3d slope 4.0/fall of ye 3d platform 5.0/fall of ye 4th slope 4.0/fall from foot of ye 4th slope to edge of bason 1.0/ 34.0
>
> The fall of one foot from the foot of the 4th/ slope to the edge of the Bason must be/ in like manner continued round the/ bason wch will make the walk lye dry/ & occasion sinking into the hillside at/ D less by one foot.
>
> Notwithstanding The walk from E to F/ must be quite flat the width of the/ opening at F, because it has regard to the/ level of the Terras before the house.
>
> Memorandm
>
> The whole bason must be removed 10 feet/ nearer the hill than sett out by me/ there being an absolute necessity for it/ wch I have not room here to insert/ but levell thereof to continue the/ same as find(?) by me. CB'.
>
> The breaks D & G may be omitted/but are better to be as drawn on the/plan.

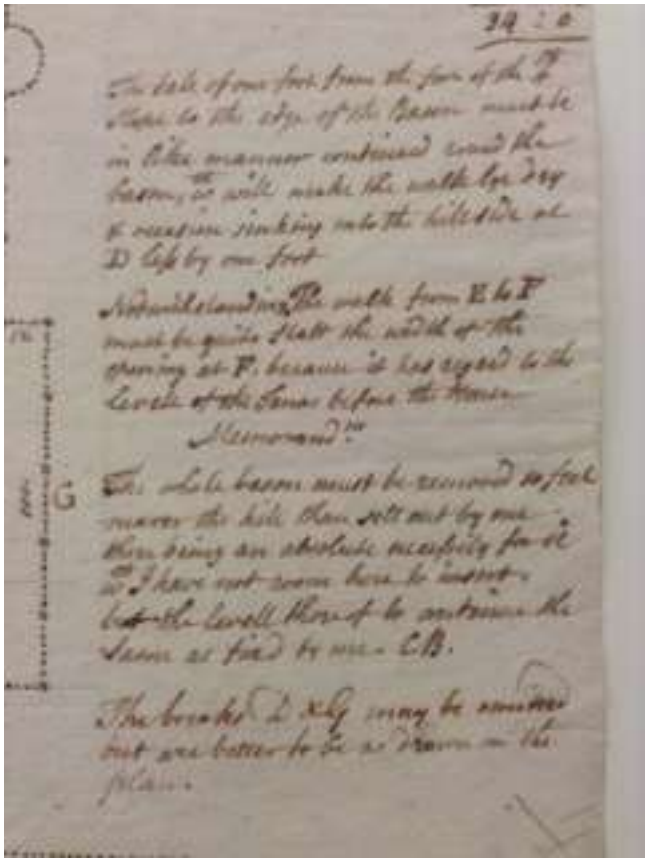


Figure 10 Unidentified plan (MSGD a4 fo.25) showing the second half of the instructions with Bridgeman's initials.

These plans appear to have been, more or less, accurately surveyed. Where enough features shown on Bridgeman's plan are identifiable in the landscape on any OS map, from the 1st Edition onwards, and georeferencing is possible, there is usually a close match with Bridgeman's design (see Appendix I). This is certainly true of Lodge Park. Here georeferencing with 1st Edition Ordnance Survey 1887 reveals a very close, almost perfect, correlation between Bridgeman's plan and the stands of trees, particularly on the west of the deeply incised valley (Figure 11). A palimpsest of the tree lines in Bridgeman's design is still visible today (Map 9ii). There are some discrepancies which may be accounted for either through inadequacies in early eighteenth century surveying techniques, or because the plan, as Bridgeman drew it, was executed with some modifications. Some of the twelve seem also to be designed to facilitate negotiation with the client. Some show alterations or alternatives. On the plans for Lodge Park, Houghton and Hackwood are what look like corrections sketched in pencil, although it is possible that these are the original lines, and the ink lines represent the corrections. The plan for Hackwood also has a flap on which two different alternatives for the same feature are shown.

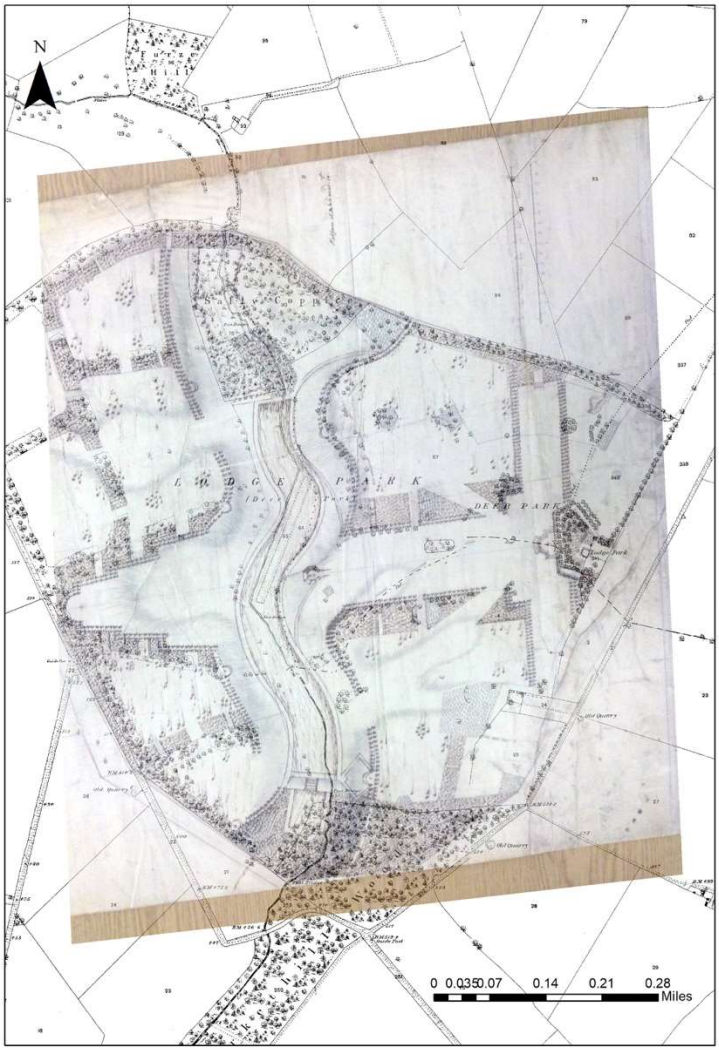


Figure 11 Bridgeman's plan for Lodge Park (MSGD a4 fo.68) georeferenced with OS Digimap 1880.

It is hard to avoid the conclusion that these twelve plans represent working drawings, the result of discussions with the client, and from which a landscape might be constructed, with or without Bridgeman's direct and continuous supervision. The detailed instructions for building and planting suggest that Bridgeman did not intend to be personally present during the construction. It is not entirely clear, in this regard, why they should have remained in Bridgeman's drawing office and come to us as part of Gough Drawings, but it is likely that copies were taken from them, as probably happened at Moor Park (see MSGD a4 fo.48 in the following section), perhaps in pencil, for easier use in the field. The plans for Houghton, Moor Park, Purley, and Wimpole (MSGD a4 fo. 69) all have a series of pin pricks along the ink lines, also noted on some of the watercolour plans discussed above, and presumably for the same purpose; that of making accurate copies (Stephen Astley pers. comm. 2013). Indeed, the pencil drawing of Moor Park (MSGD a4

fo.48) appears to be an almost identical copy of the ink drawing (MSGD a4 fo.58), although on a bigger scale. It is not unreasonable to posit that Bridgeman might have retained oversight, and a copy of the design, from which other functional drawings might have been taken. None of the twelve appear to have an accompanying watercolour presentation plan, which may be significant, suggesting that they were in some way the finished product, rather than a stage in the design process. While they are detailed and rigorous in their practical presentation of the landscape, the absence of trees presented in elevation suggests a tension between the need for speed and the need for clarity. Trees in elevation, drawn to the standard of Bridgeman's presentation work, must have taken a long time to produce. The need for speed may also be the reason why the drawings are executed in ink and pencil, which would surely a much quicker process.

There is evidence that at Lodge Park, at least, the intention was to use the plan to construct a landscape without the continuous presence of Bridgeman or his workforce. The design is mentioned in Sir John Dutton's will (1742):

> I strictly enjoin and desire every person in whom my estate shall vest this my will to finish and perfect the plantations I have begun at my new park and all other work I entended there pursuant to a plan made by Mr Charles Bridgeman for that purpose which plan I desire may be strictly pursued excepting only those particulars which I shall direct to be varied from in a paper in my own handwriting which I leave enclosed in this my will and when the same are finished I desire they may be always kept on good order (GRO D678 FAM 57).

The phrasing of this section of the will suggests that the work at Lodge Park had been begun by Sir John Dutton himself working from a plan by Bridgeman. Two payments to Bridgeman were made from his accounts on 22nd December 1729; 18s 6d was paid for 'Expenses at Oxford Fetching Mr Bridgeman to make a plan for my New Park' and £70 paid to 'Mr Bridgeman for his journeys to Shireborn and making a plan for my New Park' (Smith 2006, 237). These payments suggest a visit to make the plan, rather than a prolonged supervision of work. A survey done by English Heritage in 2004, including an aerial survey, as well as georeferencing, suggests that Bridgeman's plan was carried out exactly as it appears on paper, except for the serpentine lake which may well have proved too costly to build and that work on it continued after Sir John Dutton's death (Smith 2006, 242). Bridgeman's working methods will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

It is plausible that the other plans in ink fulfilled a similar function, even though they do not necessarily share the coding of the twelve discussed above. The plans for Scampston (MSGD a4

fo.66 and MSGD a4 fo.27) seem to be two stages in the planning and negotiation of the design for the landscape, with planting suggestions and annotations. One, (MSGD a4 fo.66) seems to be the earlier stage of the two. Unlike the twelve above, these plans seem to have been the rough drafts for the watercolour presentation plan (MSGD a4 fo.73). The purpose of the ink drawing for Ledston (MSGD a4 fo.85) is less clear. Although clearly of Ledston, and marked with the name of the client, Lady Betty Hastings, it is not a particularly close match for the watercolour plan held at Otterden Place, published in Willis (2002) Plate 48b. Whereas the Otterden Place plan shows only the garden to the west of the house, this plan (MSGD a4 fo.85) shows the garden both to the east and west of the house. It is much more crudely drawn than any of the drawings dealt with above; trees are shown in elevation although the drawing of them is rudimentary. Features are labelled with letters as though there should be a key, raising the possibility that it might, in fact be a survey. Bridgeman's involvement at Ledston appears to have been late in his career. Three payments of, respectively £5.19s 6d, £21 and £7 10s 6d were made to him from Lady Betty Hastings account in 1731 (see Chapter 7). Given that Bridgeman was paid £70 for his design for Lodge Park by Sir John Dutton, these payments are not very substantial. It is also difficult to fit the Otterden plan into this chronology; it is dated 1716 in the Historic England list and certainly, stylistically, is like the plan for Sacombe (1715). More research is needed into Bridgeman's work at Ledston.

Six of the ink plans, two for Boughton House and four for Wimpole Hall, appear to have been retained by Bridgeman's clients and remain in estate archives. This provenance makes it less likely that they were Bridgeman's master copies, but it is not impossible. There is certainly evidence that the two Boughton plans functioned as discussion documents and finally, in the case of Boughton 1, as a plan for work done by the estate, although there is very little evidence that much of Bridgeman's design was implemented. Both plans closely resemble a survey of the estate done in 1715 by John Booth, the chief land steward, and both largely depict the water garden created in the French style by van der Meulen for Ralph, Duke of Montagu, in 1685, and modified between 1724 and 1726. At this point the Octagon Pool was replaced by a single sheet of water, and the spoil created was piled to the south-west to form a square sided mount as shown in *Vitruvius Britannicus III*. Both Bridgeman's plans show these modifications suggesting that they postdate them. Both plans appear to propose changes to this established landscape. Boughton 1 is limited in its changes. Dotted lines trace perimeter walks and rond-points on the eastern perimeter of the park. Boughton 2 proposes more radical additions to the existing landscape (Map 2i). Two alternatives are offered for walks and rond-points to the east of the house, and there is an amphitheatre of trees framing the view to the south and another with an apsidal end to the east, the proposed planting represented by dots, rather than trees in elevation. The kitchen garden was relocated to south of the water garden and the annotation 'kitchin garden' is probably in

Bridgeman's hand. The terrace leading down to the Broad Water was to be sculpted into three levels. In fact, it appears from the evidence of the restored garden today that only the sculpting of the terrace was done. It is clear from archival correspondence that the Duke of Montagu had ideas of his own about the reshaping of his park. In September 1728 the Duke of Montague wrote to John Booth wishing that Bridgeman would 'go down with you to see the ground of the Park in order to see the scheme I propose' (BH Archive Vol.16). It is clear from estate accounts that work on the garden was done by estate labourers (see Chapter 6), so perhaps the purpose of Boughton 2 was to furnish the Duke with a plan he could work from.

The plan for Gobions, made for Jeremy Sambrooke sometime between 1708 and 1732, but probably closer to 1732, may well also be considered to have a similar purpose to that suggested above for the initial twelve plans (Map 6i). It is some ways anomalous, because although it is in the Bodleian Library it is in Herts Maps rather than Gough Drawings, and is also a1 in size, significantly larger than any of the other plans, not just in this section but in the corpus as a whole. It is in poor condition, with a number of holes including one where the house would have stood. As Rowe and Williamson note, it appears unfinished (Rowe and Williamson 2012, 86). Although it is not possible to say whether the house would have appeared in plan, the buildings depicted in the garden are shown in elevation. The draughtsmanship clearly suggests it is in Bridgeman's hand. The delineation of trees and groves, the hedges on the field boundaries, the drawing of the terraces in the amphitheatre, although not shaded, and the pencil shading of the topography are all recognisable elements of his characteristic style. Like Lodge Park, there is also ample documentary and archaeological evidence that what appears on the plan was executed. Although none of the written accounts are contemporary with the creation of the landscape, Bickham's account from 1750, Toldervy's from 1762 and Walpole's essay probably written in the 1750s and 1760s but not published until 1780, make it clear the landscape was created as the plan suggests, as do engravings offering a visual representation of the garden, and both the Canal and the Bowling Green, by Chatelain, (Rowe and Williamson 2012). Even more persuasive is the evidence of earthworks in Gobions Wood. Mapped and recorded by Tom Williamson, these clearly follow accurately the Bridgeman plan (Rowe and Williamson 2012, 88) (Map 6iii). It follows then that, in spite of its size, the Gobions plan must have been effective enough in conveying the layout of the site for construction to take place. Its large size may have been necessary because the design shows a wilderness detached from the house, and at a distance from it, containing a large number of features, and then avenues which fan out a surprising distance into the park terminating in eye catchers. If we imagine the medium in which the plan was executed meant that Sambrooke intended to create the garden without the continuous supervision from Bridgeman, he would have needed detailed drawings in elevation of the summerhouses and

other garden buildings, careful, scaled drawings of the earthworks in the wilderness, and accurate depictions of the ends of long avenues. The size of the map and its nature is then less surprising.

Very few plans which were obviously designed for labourers or foreman survive from other designers. It may be that Switzer's plan for a cascade at Exton Park in Rutland (MSGD a4 fo.7) was intended for a similar purpose to the ink plans, and it is possible that Kent's plan of Claremont in the British Museum (1962 -7-14-50) which is annotated with what appear to be instructions, 'a John's level terras to be taken away', fronting ye great room, 'ye stable road' and 'path sunk' may be designed as a drawing for workmen, but Dixon Hunt admits that these might also be notes by Kent to himself (Dixon Hunt 1987, 42). It may be that they were not created in the first place, or that they were so ephemeral in nature that they were lost. As Dixon Hunt suggests (in relation to Kent's drawings, but it is as likely to apply to all designers): 'This absence of instructional drawings may, of course, be explained by the fact that any papers used on site by gardeners are likely to be in no state for retention' (Dixon Hunt 1987, 42). This may also, incidentally, explain the general absence of evidence of plans taken from Bridgeman's master drawings, although some of the pencil drawings in the next section might derive from this source. Plans were often drawn on an ad hoc basis to solve problems on site. There is certainly evidence that Le Nôtre worked in this way: 'Once a project was validated, its actual realization on site gave rise to further working drawings that could be modified at will' (Bouchenot-Déchin 2014, 146). This was apparently quite common practice amongst seventeenth-century architects including Sir Christopher Wren and his draughtsman in the building of St Paul's (Gerbhino 2009, 102). It may also be that Bridgeman developed modus operandi which were different from that of his contemporaries, facilitated by the ink drawings.

Pencil drawings

There are also a small number of drawings in the corpus which are entirely, or almost entirely, in pencil. These are:

1. Audley End, Essex MSGD a4 fo.60
20. Moor Park, Hertfordshire MSGD a4 fo.48
36. Wimbledon Surrey MSGD a3 fo.31
37. Wimpole Cambridgeshire MSGD a4 fo.35
39. Wolterton, Norfolk MSGD a4 fo.56
56. Wimpole Cambridgeshire BL Add MS 36278, MI

Three, those for Audley End, Wimbledon and Moor Park, are copies of drawings in watercolour or ink. Audley End has an exact equivalent in watercolour, and pin pricks suggest one was copied

from the other (see above). The plan for Wimpole (a4 fo.35) also has an exact equivalent in ink, MSGD a4 fo.69. These seem to suggest that either the original drawing was done in pencil, which might well be the case if these drawings represent a survey taken in the field using a plane table (see Chapter 5), or that a copy was made of the original drawing for use by the client, and others, while Bridgeman retained the original. The pencil drawing of Moor Park (MSGD a4 fo.48) represents something more complex. While pin pricks in it suggest that it was a copy or was used to make a copy, there are significant differences between it and the similar ink drawing of Moor Park (MSGD a4 fo.58). The pencil drawing does not show anything beyond Bridgeman's proposal for the formal garden. It ignores the wider park and, in particular, does not show the avenues radiating from the house, whereas the ink drawing includes a large proportion of the park and the roads through it. It shows, with dots, the siting of individual trees in the avenues, possibly those which already exist, and the drawing is marked with measurements, although it is not clear quite what these refer to. It also shows a reworking of ideas for the south-eastern triangle. Serpentine paths have been superimposed over straight ones, and cabinets re-sited. In other places, steps have been roughly sketched in over the existing walls, and terracing added and then crossed through. It is not clear from this which of these drawings preceded the other, but it does show that some sort of revision of the design was taking place, perhaps in consultation with the client, Benjamin Styles.

The pencil drawing of Wolterton (MSGD a4 fo.56) appears to be a rough sketch of a possible design for the landscape. It deals with only the area closest to the Hall. It shows an arc, perhaps of trees, stretching out to the east of the Hall, wider at its eastern end than its western. Otherwise the drawing appears to be identical to the survey of Wolterton which shows the canal designed by Joseph Carpenter, partner at Brompton Park Nursery, and clearly predates Bridgeman's involvement. In fact, georeferencing the two plans reveals that they are identical; possibly the pencil sketch is an exact copy onto which has been drawn a putative new design. Incidentally, it is evidence that Bridgeman used surveys by others to plan his designs.

Although the pencil plan for Wimbledon Park in Surrey, bought by the Duchess of Marlborough in 1731(MSGD a4 fo.44) has some major lines inked in, it is predominantly in pencil. As suggested above, this is almost certainly the survey, or early plan, for the finished watercolour drawing of Wimbledon, MSGD a3 fo.31. It shows surveying lines and a grid. It is annotated with measurements and the curves of the turning circle on either side of the house, which are shown on the watercolour version. It probably shows the scaffolding of earth works which underpins the dramatic curving bowl through which the house is approached in the watercolour version (MSGD a3 fo.31). It is possible that it was the result of Bridgeman's visit to Wimbledon with the Duchess of Marlborough on 21st August, of which she wrote 'I was yesterday at Wimbledon from 10 in

the morning till eight at night, and I want but very little to make the place complete according to my own taste. Mr Bridgman went with me to take measures to make the way from the common to the house. He says it will be done in a month, and will be a vast addition to the place' (Scott Thompson 1946, 169).

Bridgeman's design process

This analysis suggests that there are, broadly, three types of plans in Bridgeman's corpus fulfilling three essentially separate, but probably, in practice, overlapping functions. The first type, watercolour plans, were designed for presentation, either to help the client envisage Bridgeman's proposal or to be hung in the client's house, or both. There is some doubt about the latter function since only three, two for Lumley Castle and one for Ledston, appear to have remained with the client. The second type were ink master plans designed to provide practical instructions for building, especially useful in the absence of Bridgeman, or as tools for consultation, and from which it is likely that other plans in pencil, a medium more suitable for outdoor work, were devised. The third type were working sketches in pencil, some of which must have been preparatory for the other two types, and some of which must have been derived from them. They were probably designed for use in the field, since both ink and watercolour would have been impractical outdoors. As Chapter 2 has suggested, there were also surveys done by others, given to Bridgeman as a starting point for his own work. It seems that he rarely produced a survey of his own which preceded a design. The design and the survey were incorporated into one plan, although, as at Hackwood, he seems sometimes to have resurveyed a landscape and annotated the original survey with his own amendments.

These three loose categories of plans do not necessarily represent stages in any kind of formulaic linear process, especially since there is currently only one site, Scampston, with both a watercolour plan and an ink plan. The categorisation above is simply a way of considering the function of different kinds of plans within a process from commission to execution. There are a number of sites for which multiple drawings were created; there are certainly at least two versions of the same designs, sometimes showing minor differences, sometimes not, for Audley End, Boughton, Down Hall, Eastbury, Kensington Gardens, Ledston, Moor Park, Scampston, Standlynch, Wimpole and Wolterton. It is likely that the process involved in creating the design meant that many different drawings were created, some of which have survived, some of which have not.

The Wolterton Plans

Perhaps only the plans for Wolterton represent something approaching the complete process of design: seven plans (MSGD a4 fo.10, MSGD a4 fo.18, MSGD a4 fo.20, MSGD a3 fo.33, MSGD a4 fo.55, MSGD a4 fo.56, MSGD a4 fo.61) may well represent the passage of an idea from the preliminary planning stage using an extant survey, through embryonic ideas shown in a pencil sketch and then a number of draft versions, to a final presentation drawing. All seven have been discussed separately in Chapter 2 and in the earlier part of this chapter, but without identifying their place in a sequence.

The plans can be placed in the historical context of Horatio Walpole's purchase of the estate at Wolterton, and the rebuilding of both house and landscape. The plans probably date from between 1722 and 1725; in 1722 Horatio Walpole bought the estate at Wolterton in Norfolk and began remodeling the existing house with Thomas Ripley, the Palladian architect. He seems to have commissioned Joseph Carpenter, gardener and partner at Brompton Park Nursery, to redesign the landscape. In November 1724 the existing house burnt down. William Britiffe, Walpole's chief steward at Wolterton, wrote to Walpole to inform him of this on November 29th 1724:

> Today the 11th instant about Eleven a Clockatt night a ffire hapned in your House att Woolter-ton which Demolished the Dwelling House the Gardiners Boy was Burnt …..The whole House as Farr as the Brew House was burnt ….Mr Bayfield sends me word there is not a piece of timber left in the whole House worth anything, very Little of the furniture saved ….(WH 8/5A Box 73L).

At the suggestion of Ripley, the site of the house was moved a little to the west and north. Ripley wrote, in a letter to Walpole on 17th December 1724: 'I think you should put an Entire Stop to all your works at Woolterton; Because I believe you will find a More Convenient Place to set your House in then were it now is' (WH 8/5A Box 73L). It is clear that planning a new landscape to go with the new house began at roughly the same time, although apparently not with Joseph Carpenter. Britiffe reported to Walpole on 9th December 1724 in the immediate aftermath of the fire that he had met 'Mr Ripley & Mr Bridjely' so that he could 'Impart to them what [Walpole] desired'. The letter contains the following 'P.S. Since the writing of this Mr Badjely have been with me, he saith that he have his old draught from whence he will prepare you a Plan to Answer the Severall matters wherein you desire satisfaction he wd deliver itt to Mr Ripley to be sent to you Mr Ripley now with me wee have talked the matter over and he will write to you the next week' (WH 8/5A Box 73L). There is some ambiguity about the identity of Ripley's companion,

but it does seem likely, given the fluid approach to spelling in the early eighteenth century, that the ‘Mr Bridjely’ and ‘Mr Badjely’ referred to in this letter are both, in fact, Bridgeman.

The first in the series of plans, (MSGD a3 fo.33) (Figure 12), probably comes from the period when Carpenter was in charge of remodeling the landscape; it is a survey of the estate and may well be by Carpenter, because, in addition to showing measurements pertaining to the size of each parcel of land, it depicts the canal, the design and construction of which estate records show he was responsible for (see Chapter 2 under ‘Excluded Plans’). The remaining plans probably come from the period following the fire and may be directly connected to the visit of Ripley and Bridgeman to Britiffe in December 1724.

The survey (MSGD a 3 fo.33), although unaltered by Bridgeman, seems to provide a base map for the pencil drawing (MSGD a4 fo.56) (Figure 13), which is derived from it. On flimsy, light paper it shows, superimposed over ponds and plant nurseries to the east of the house, a semi-circular area with a belt of trees, tapering towards the west. The design shown extends into the land which was, at the time, leased to a tenant named Mr Jackson, suggesting that it is a tentative idea, sketched in, probably by Bridgeman, rather than any kind of concrete suggestion. It is possible that, since it does not show the canal, it predates Carpenter’s survey (MSGD a3 fo.33) and might be a preparatory sketch for it, but the presence of what appears to be a design idea, the semi-circular feature with trees, suggests that it is not.

All the remaining plans seem to postdate the pencil drawing (MSGD a4 fo.56), since they do not show the original house, but all appear to predate 1729 because none show the stable block, the foundations of which were laid in that year (Beverly Peters, 1991). The next plan in the sequence seems to be an ink and watercolour drawing of the more northerly half of the garden, immediately adjacent to the house (MSGD a4 fo.18) (Figure 14). It is annotated with a key which is instrumental in showing the proposed features of a new landscape in relation to what remains of the original one, with a key which explains what is proposed. The relict features are labelled: 5 is ‘Firr trees to be took away’, 7 is ‘The hole that was before the old House, Planted round with evergreens’, 11 is ‘Present Stables’ and 12 is ‘Kitchen Ground now’. New work is also indicated: 1 ‘Is your House’, 8 is ‘New Grove of Firrs which is at present Kitchen Ground’, and 13 is part of a new kitchen garden ‘took out of Jacksons Field’. A very much larger plan in watercolour and ink (MSGD a3 fo.55), shown below in three parts (Figure 15), may be next in the sequence. There is no attempt now to show the remains of the relict landscape and it offers a pared down version of the area around the house, although there are light pencil annotations of ‘For ye Citchen Garden’ and ‘Nursery’ in the relevant locations. However, the only significantly new features in the drawing are an avenue axially aligned to the eastern boundary of Brick Kiln Close running

south towards the lake and ending in a small apsidal cabinet with some kind of building at its southern end, and the first depiction of the lake itself. Again, this may well be a plan designed for discussion.

The final three plans are all identical in size, which suggests that some kind of template provided the basis for them, and are all executed in watercolour. One (MSGD a4 fo.10) (Figure 16) may be earlier because it still shows oval avenues on the bowling green to the south of the house, which were part of the earlier design (MSGD a4 fo.55). These disappear on the other two plans (MSGD a4 fo.61 and MSGD a4 fo.20). It seems that part of its purpose was to facilitate the construction of the lake. Along one side there is a section to scale, extending from the terrace immediately to the south of the house, to the end of the lake. It is annotated with measurements: 'Fall from the Terras before the house to ye Ferosee 10 feet' and 'Fall from the Ferosee to the Water 21 feet' and shows the depth of the Lake tapering towards its southern end.

The other two plans are very closely linked indeed. One, (MSGD a4 fo.61) (Figure 17) seems to be unfinished. It is shown below in two separate figures; the first shows the southern area around the Lake, painted in watercolour, while the second is a close up of part of the grove to the west of the house and is in pencil. It shows the design for the groves as it appears on the finished presentation drawing (MSGD a4 fo.20) (Figure 19). It is even possible to see dotted lines which are the guide lines for the three-dimensional effect Bridgeman uses to show what are perhaps hedges in the grove on the final version. Pin pricks are visible at key points of the design. Its unfinished state, and the preparatory nature of the pencil section, strongly suggest that it is a rough version of the final design, MSGD a4 fo.20 which seems to represent the end of the process.

Figure 12 Wolterton Hall MSGD a3 fo.33

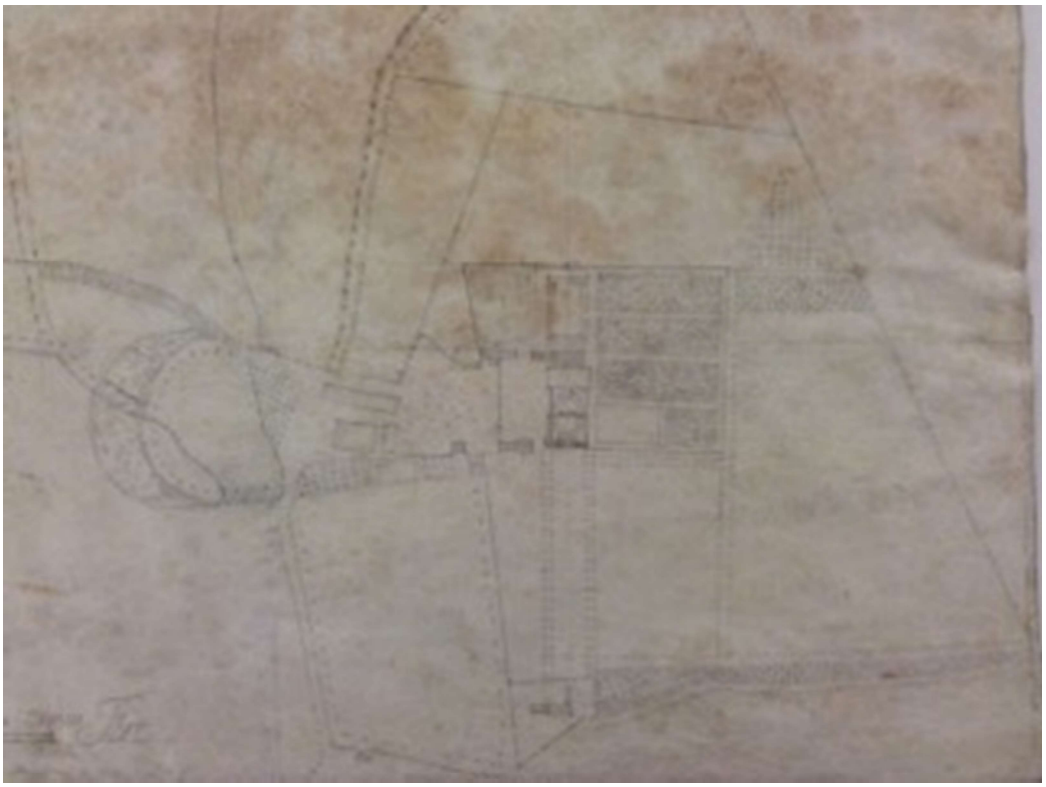


Figure 13 Wolterton Hall (MSGD a4 fo.56)

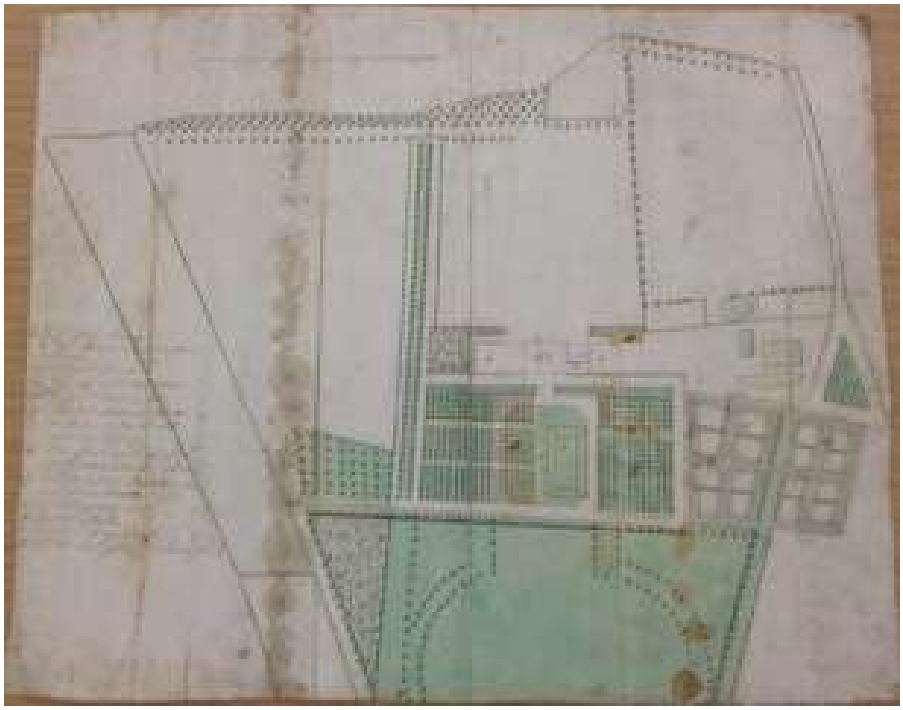


Figure 14 Wolterton Hall MSGD a4 fo.18

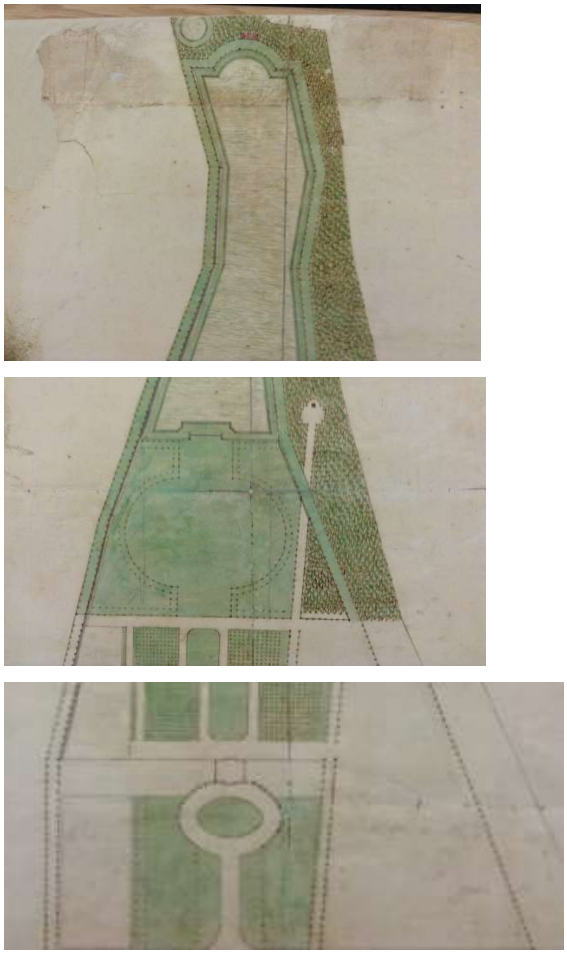


Figure 15 Wolterton Hall MSGD a4 fo.55

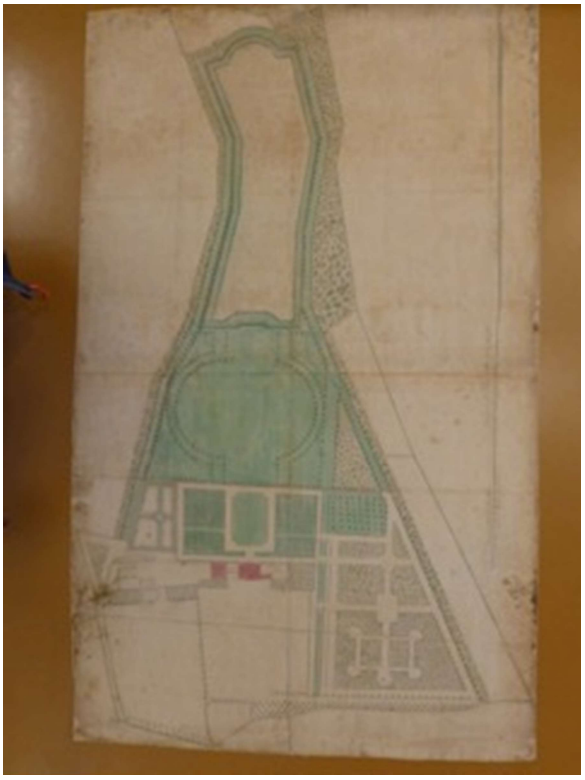


Figure 16 Wolterton Hall MSGD a4 fo.10

Figure 17 Wolterton Hall MSGD a4 fo.61

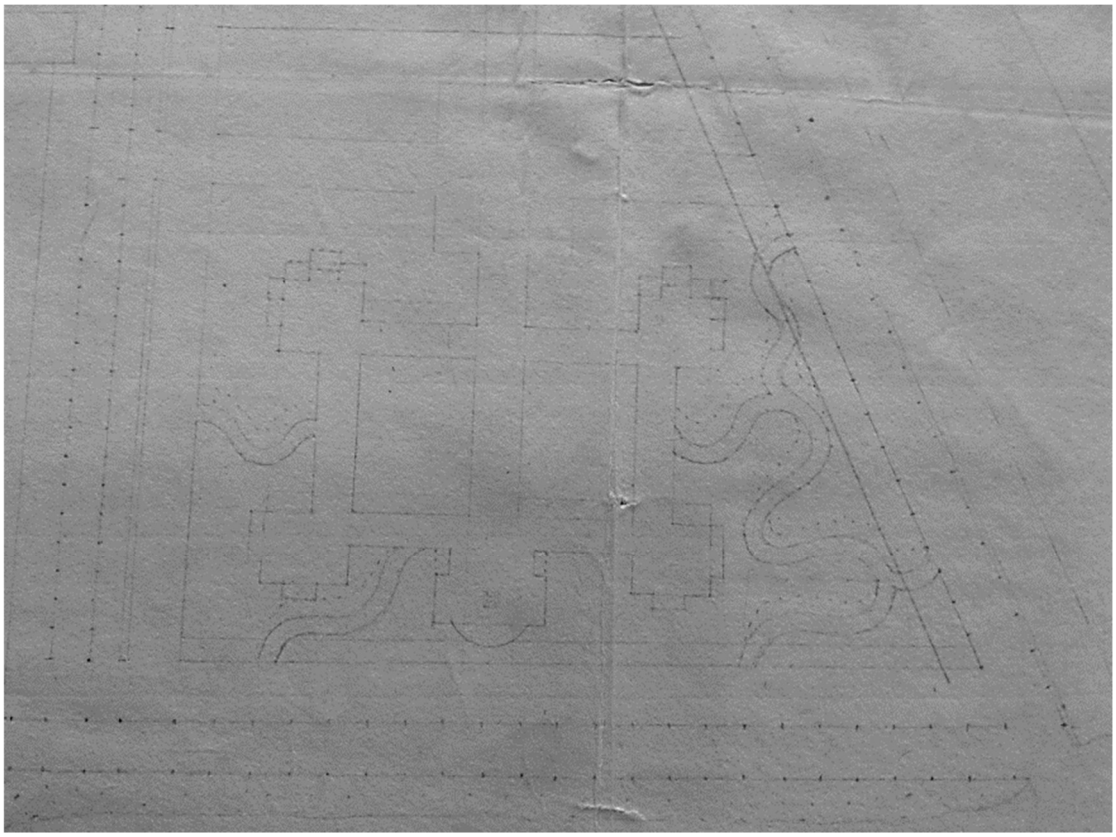


Figure 18 Detail of the above plan showing pencil design for the grove west of the house (MSGD a4 fo.61)

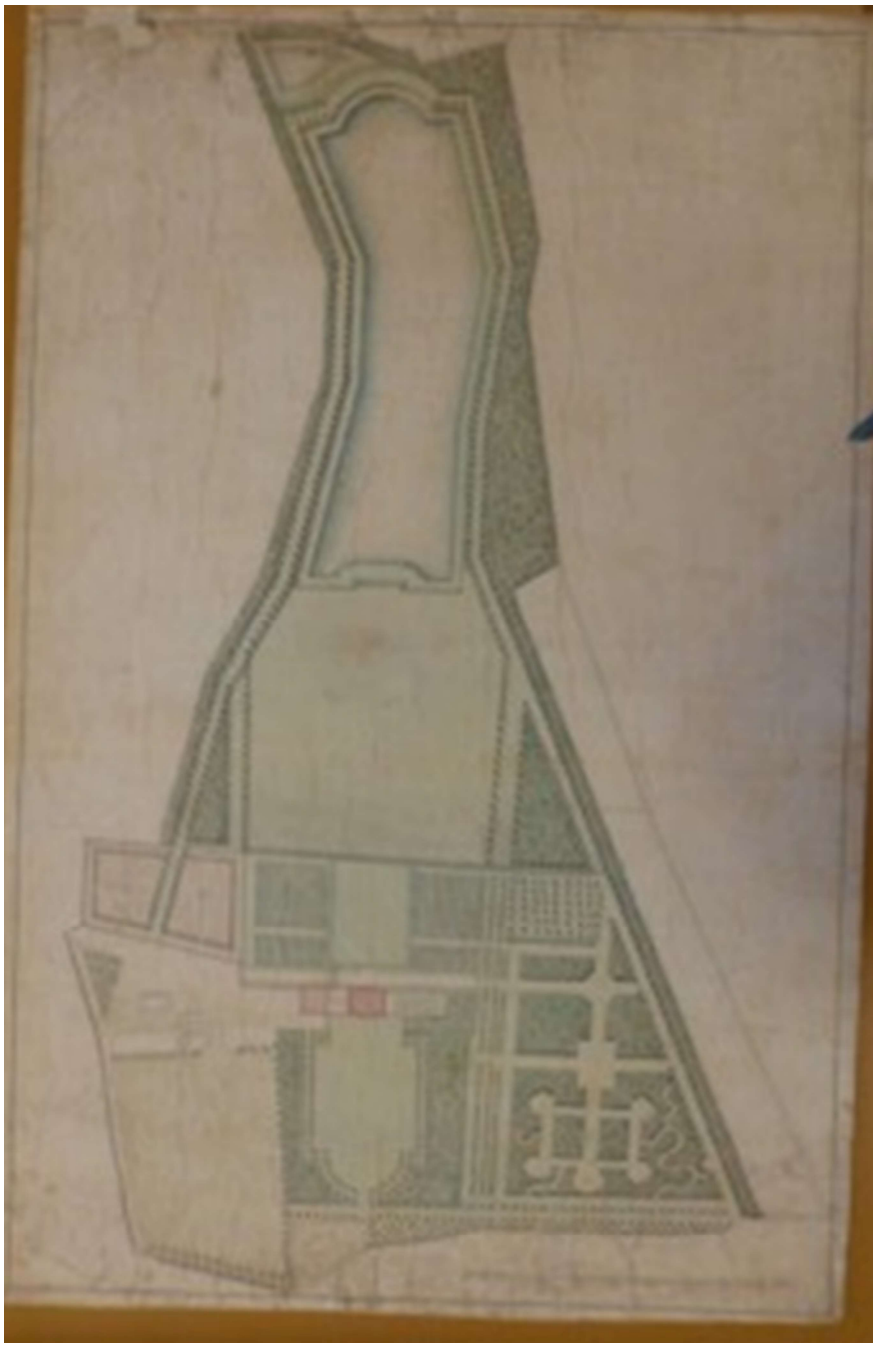


Figure 19 Wolterton Hall MSGD a4 fo.20

It is clear that, far from presenting us with inexplicable variety, the form of the plans in Bridgeman's corpus was probably specific to the function that they performed in taking an idea from commission to execution. This is, perhaps, hardly surprising since the maps and plans which facilitate any building process do not exist in an artistic vacuum, but are likely to have a function which drives the form they take. Once decoded, Bridgeman's plans give us an insight into the way his landscapes evolved, including negotiation with clients and the way he worked.

Chapter 4 A reappraisal of Bridgeman's style

The art-historical context revisited

Having established a clearer idea of which plans can be attributed to Bridgeman, and made an attempt to decode the meaning of those which form the new corpus, we can consider what they show us about Bridgeman's style. As suggested in the Introduction, aesthetically Bridgeman's work might be understood through a number of interrelated discourses all contemporary with his work within which it might be, and has been, framed: how gardens imitate nature, the emulation of the gardens of ancient Rome, how English gardens differed from, or echoed, European gardens, and the symbiotic nature of the artistic and literary community in the early eighteenth century. Each of these contributed to the intertextuality of an elite intellectual discourse, articulately expressed, during the period in which Bridgeman was working. How far they defined Bridgeman's work is less sure.

The 'natural' discourse

Of particular interest in this regard is the rise of the 'natural' garden. It is the only discourse with which Bridgeman was explicitly linked in the later eighteenth century, and the one with which he continues to be linked in more modern scholarship (see Introduction). In the teleological narrative, summarized in the Introduction for which Horace Walpole is largely responsible, Bridgeman's work is made to fit into a model in which it is a forerunner of the English landscape garden, which found its apotheosis in Kent's vision that 'all nature was a garden' and, culminated, ultimately, in the work of Lancelot Brown. Walpole's exposition of this theory is to be found in a carefully constructed argument in *The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening* (Walpole 1780, Dixon Hunt (ed.) 1995).

In fact, any reading of Walpole's elegantly argued essay needs to be mediated by attention to its purpose; a patriotic desire to prove that 'the imitation of Nature in Gardens, or rather in laying out Ground, still called Gardening for want of a specific term to distinguish as Art totally new, is Original and indisputably English' (Walpole cited in Dixon Hunt 1995,7). His further political agenda was 'linking the freedom of the new "natural" garden style with British liberty' as achieved under the Whig regime of his father Sir Robert Walpole 'and pitting it against all foreign systems of oppression' (Dixon Hunt 1995, 14). The message is made explicit in his condemnation of European gardens, particularly French and Dutch, and implicit in the pejorative language he chooses to describe those gardens. For example, French gardens are full of constriction: flowers

are in ‘knots’, every walk in ‘buttoned’ with flower pots, and of ridiculous frivolity ‘parterres embroidered in patterns like a petticoat’ (Walpole in Dixon Hunt (ed.) 1995, 26-27). This purpose is also clear in the way he presents Bridgeman as straddling the maligned formal style, and the new freer naturalness; the sentences and words are balanced between the two movements, as is Bridgeman’s style: ‘….. He enlarged his plans, disdained to make every division tally to its opposite, and though he still adhered much to strait walks, they were only his great lines; the rest he diversified by wilderness, and with loose groves of oak, though still within surrounding hedges’.

In spite of this, some modern garden historians have chosen to follow Walpole’s assessment of Bridgeman. Willis, writing in *Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape Garden,* suggests ‘Horace Walpole gives Bridgeman a prominent place in these changes….’ (Willis 2002, 18). Mavis Batey also implies that Bridgeman had some understanding of the ‘natural style’, ‘Charles Bridgeman was eventually chosen to carry out Caroline’s idea of helping Nature and not losing it in art’ (Batey 2005, 205). However, it is actually quite difficult to show that Bridgeman’s gardens were part of the movement towards the ‘natural’ garden, as other modern scholars have found; Jacques, in *Georgian Gardens: The Reign of Nature* sidesteps the difficulties of fitting Bridgeman into the ‘natural’ garden trajectory by acknowledging, in passing, his importance in garden design in the early eighteenth century, but choosing instead to concentrate on their cost rather than their design, ‘Bridgeman’s vast gardens, admired as they were, could be enormously costly’ (Jacques 1983, 18). The problem with fitting Bridgeman’s work into the ‘natural’ gardening narrative may have led to his relative absence from many important books which consider the rise of the English landscape garden. For example, there is no extensive consideration of his work in *Garden and Grove* by Dixon Hunt, and in *The Genius of the Place* by Dixon Hunt and Willis.

Perhaps some modern scholarship has been too reductive about the philosophical meaning of ‘Nature’ in the early eighteenth century, and its meaning in a garden context. For example, Mavis Batey writes: ‘Queen Anne’s England suddenly learned that gardening was ‘near akin to Philosophy’ when Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, Joseph Addison and Alexander Pope told them in quick succession that unadorned Nature was vastly superior to the ‘formal Mockery of Princely garden’ they were then enjoying’ (Batey 2005, 1). Her viewpoint is echoed by Jacques. He suggests that ‘Joseph Addison and Alexander Pope both meant that bringing Nature into gardens was to apply Her precepts in *regular* gardens’ (Jacques 1985, 11).

If Walpole’s narrative has been the driver of this more modern discourse, it is perhaps because by the time he was writing in the later eighteenth century, a clarity seems to have emerged about the meaning of ‘nature’ in garden discourse. It had been distilled into something coherent, which

symbiotically reflected, and drove, the progress of the landscape garden. The words 'Nature', and 'natural' are ubiquitous in written garden discourse after about 1745. *The Genius of the Place*, an anthology of writing from the seventeenth and eighteenth century collected together explicitly to chart the rise of the English landscape garden in writing, shows this. In a semi-fictional interview between William Shenstone and James Thomson (1746), Thomson is made to remark 'You have nothing to do …but to dress Nature. Her robe is made ready'; in 1751, Joseph Spence writes 'Gardening is an imitation of 'Beautiful Nature'… Nature never plants by the line, or in angles'; in 1751 William Chambers writes of China 'Nature is their pattern, and their aim to imitate her in all her beautiful irregularities' (Dixon Hunt and Willis, 1975). This is a small sample of the examples found in extracts in the book, taken from the period after 1745. They make clear what is meant by 'Nature' in this later period; it is random and unregulated, but good, and that gardens should echo this in their design. In fact, the meaning of 'Nature' in the context of gardening lacked this clarity in the early part of the eighteenth century. The writing of Shaftesbury, Addison and Pope which Batey and Jacques rely on for their argument is rather more complicated. Williamson has argued that Addison and Shaftesbury might have been, 'misinterpreted in [an] eagerness to fit the whole of eighteenth-century garden history into a single minded quest for 'nature', reading into these rather vague aspirations the seeds of a naturalistic gardening style which the authors would, in reality, have neither recognised nor liked' (Williamson 1995, 49). Perhaps Bridgeman's work cannot be made to fit the trajectory because it did not exist in the form Batey and Jacques suggest.

In the late seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century, the terms 'Nature' and 'natural', in the garden, can, in part, be defined in a Neo-Platonic sense; a series of universal and perfect forms which underlie the visible world, denoted by the word 'Nature', accessible through thought, and best represented by 'Art'. Garden design of the late seventeenth century was inspired by this idea. 'The gardens of Versailles ….. represented the natural world and man's place in it less by imitating the perceived face of nature, 'the semblance of things', than by exhibiting, architectonically in the layout and emblematically through the sculpture programme, the forces that compose and sustain it' (Myers 2010, 4). Some modification of this philosophical position and a subtle shift in the way 'Nature' and 'natural' are used, appear in the writing of Shaftesbury in 1709. Shaftesbury, in the passage most often quoted to support his supposed part in the rise of the English landscape garden, suggests that the essence of 'Nature' is better represented by wild nature than by art.

> Your genius, the genius of the place and the Great Genius have at last prevailed. I can no longer resist the Passion growing in me for Things of a *natural* kind; where neither *Art*, nor the *Conceit* of *Caprice* of Man has spoil'd their genuine Order, by breaking in upon

> their *primitive State.* Even the rude *Rocks*, the mossy *Caverns*, the irregular unwrought *Grottos*, and the broken *Falls* of Waters, with all the horrid Graces of the *Wilderness* itself, as representing NATURE more, will be more engaging, and appear with a Magnificence beyond the formal Mockery of princely Gardens.

Here, although 'Shaftesbury was a Platonist', and 'for him the form of a thing, its constitutive essence, was crucial, and always signified the agency of the mind' (Myers 2010, 5), as Chambers has argued, he has his two protagonists 'not expressing a preference for wild gardens over 'formal' gardens; instead they are caught in the act of preferring wild places rather than any kind of garden' since 'formal' in this context is used in the platonic sense of relating to 'forms' to qualify 'mockery', not 'gardens' (Chambers 1993, 52). Myers contends that Shaftesbury considered that there was a 'hierarchy of landscapes' representing Plato's forms, and that 'untouched original landscape' represented 'the highest order of form' (Myers 2010, 10). Shaftesbury seems to be arguing that 'Nature', in a garden context, is still a reflection of an inner perception of the ideal forms, but was best represented by a nod to wild nature, a grotto or rocks, which most closely represents those ideal forms on earth; as Myers has argued 'Shaftesbury found grottoes or rocks more 'true' than the rest of the garden because they not only represented, but also resembled original nature' (Myers 2010,11). So, as Myers suggests, the link between Shaftesbury and 'Nature' in the garden is rather nebulous and, although his celebration of the wilderness 'did eventually feed into the concept of the landscape garden', it was 'an unintended consequence' of his writing (Myers 2010, 5). In any case, it is clear that Shaftesbury's writing has little to do with how nature is manifested in either the English countryside or in gardens of the period, and it is important to note that he is not suggesting that gardens be left to wild nature. It is the act of the creation of artifice in imitation of what is wild that is important.

We can see the evolution of Shaftesbury's ideas in the writing of Pope. Pope is generally considered to be a Neo-Platonist and as Myers has argued 'is often linked to Shaftesbury in his philosophical outlook' (Myers 2010, 13), although Maynard Mack considers a direct link between Shaftesbury's and Pope's views as debatable, arguing that Pope's neo-Platonic ideas might 'equally well be owing to the Stoic and Platonic writers …. whom every educated neo-classicist knew' (Maynard Mack in Myers 2010, 13). Pope's most often quoted passages reflect the view that ideal Nature is accessible through the intellect, and there is again a strong sense that it is wild nature that best embodies a sense of the ideal essence. In his essay, published in *The Guardian* in 1713, he argues for the superiority of Nature: 'How contrary to this Simplicity is the modern Practice of Gardening; we seem to make it our Study to recede from Nature, not only in the various Tonsure of Greens into the most regular and formal Shapes, but even in monstrous Attempts beyond the reach of the Art it self' (Pope 1713 in Jacques and Willis 1983, 207). In his

‘Epistle to Burlington’ 1731’, it is wild ‘Nature’ and ‘the Genius of the Place’, that best echo their ideal essences, and are responsible for the inspiration the gardener, and the artist, needs:

> In all, let Nature never be forgot.
> Consult the Genius of the Place in all
> That tells the Waters or to rise, or fall,
> Or helps th’ambitious Hill the Heav’ns to scale,
> Or scoops in circling Theatres the Vale,
> Calls in the Country, catches opening Glades,
> Joins willing Woods, and varies Shades from Shades,
> Now breaks, or now directs, th’intending Lines
> Paints as you plant, and as you work, Designs (Pope 1731, lines 56-64).

While Pope’s influence on the development of ‘taste’ in gardening in between 1720 and 1740, is significant, his contribution to the perceived roots of the ‘natural’ movement in his *Guardian* essay of 1713, has probably been exaggerated, perhaps with teleological insight. Martin has suggested that ‘There is little sign in the essay that he had wrestled with the practical problems of garden design’ (Martin 1984, 4).

Addison, who Batey, and others, place with Shaftesbury and Pope as influential to the rise of the ‘natural’ garden, was, in fact, a disciple of Locke; with him, Addison rejected the neo-platonic idea that art and nature imitated each other because of some ‘supra-sensible reality apparent only to thought’, arguing instead that the beauty of nature was perceived through the senses, in particular, as Myers has argued, through sight (Myers 2013, 1). In his writing the terms ‘Nature’ and ‘natural’ are used to denote the way in which a landscape evolves its own patterns and beauty. He explores, in essays in *The Spectator*, this idea in relation to the presentation of nature in art, in particular, in painting. He argues for the superiority of ‘the Works of Nature’ over ‘Art’: ‘If we consider the Works of Nature and Art, as they are qualified to entertain the Imagination, we shall find the last very defective, in Comparison of the former; for though they may sometimes appear as Beautiful or Strange, they can have nothing in them of that Vastness and Immensity, which afford so great an Entertainment to the Mind of the Beholder’ (Addison No.414, 1712). In these essays, there is a perceptible shift in meaning in the terms ‘Nature and ‘natural’. Addison’s ideal ‘natural’ landscape, is one in which design comes about by serendipity, as outlined in *The Spectator* No.417; it is ‘a Prospect which is well laid out, and diversified with Fields and Meadows, Woods and Rivers; in those accidental Landskips of Trees, Clouds and Cities ….. in what we call the Works of Chance’ (Addison No 417, 1711). Here Addison is not writing about wilderness or pristine ‘Nature’ as his inclusion of ‘Fields and Meadows’ and even ‘Cities’ makes

clear. His conception of 'Nature' is clearly of something man-made, but within which the natural world has been allowed some freedom, so that the appearance is of wildness. In *The Spectator*, No. 477 he describes his garden as 'a Confusion of Kitchin and Parterre, Orchard and Flower Garden, which lie so mixt and interwoven, that if a Foreigner who had seen nothing of our Country should be conveyed into my Garden at his first landing, he would look upon it as a natural Wilderness…' (Addison 1712) and suggests that in it plants grow where they are most comfortable 'There is the same Irregularity in my Plantations, which run into as great a Wildness as their Natures will permit. I take in none that do not naturally rejoyce in the Soil….' (Addison 1712). Addison seems to be clearly framing 'Nature' within the confines of a man-made environment, whether a garden or a pastoral landscape.

These complex threads of philosophical thinking about 'Nature', accessible only to an elite of intellectuals, fashionable people of taste, and to the craftsmen and artists who carried out the work, appear to have begun to emerge into published writing of a more practical kind. Switzer, Langley and Bradley all develop Addison's vision into a gardening style guided by his conception of nature. Switzer consciously and deliberately echoes Addison's views to support his own version of garden design, 'Rural and Extensive Gardening' in *Ichnographia Rustica* III, first published six years later in 1718. He quotes an extensive passage from *Spectator* No.412, attributing it to 'the ingenuous Author', in his vision of 'extensive and rural gardening':

> the Beauty of the largest and finest of Regular Gardens is easily discover'd, whereas were they laid out in a more Natural and Rural Manner, the Eye would always be discovering new Objects, and be lost in that inexpressible somewhat to be found in the Beauty of Nature, in a Rude Copice or amidst the Irregular turnings of a wild Corn Field (*Ichnographia Rustica* III, 5).

Here we see that 'Natural' and 'Rural' qualify each other, juxtaposed with 'Regular gardens'. Batty Langley also appears to echo Addison when he considers that 'There is nothing adds so much to the Pleasure of a Garden, as those great Beauties of Nature, *Hills* and *Valleys*….'; this passage is about their destruction by 'our *regular Coxcombs*' who 'to their great Misfortune…. always deviate from Nature, instead of imitating it' (Langley 1728). For all three the making of a 'natural' garden also has the practical advantage of saving money. Langley comments on the '*regular Coxcombs'* who who have gone to 'a very Great Expence in Levelling' (Langley 1728, 194). Bradley writes of 'Benjamin Townsend' that 'his Works convince me of his Capacity of doing great Things; and of his considering how to contract the Expence which is no less Commendable; his Designs shew us his Judgement in Preserving and even Improving the natural Beauties of irregular Ground….' (Bradley 1725, 360). For Switzer, it is a guiding principle, and

Ichnographia Rustica is peppered with the word 'Expence', for example, here used in relation to walls: 'What I would advise chiefly, is, by all Means to avoid the Expence of long Court-Walls, especially in Rural and Forest Seats' (Switzer 1718, 149).

In spite of the popularity of, and the fascination with, the concept of 'Nature' in elite circles, and its undoubted emergence in practical writing of the time, there is very little evidence in gardens built before 1740 that a deliberate effort was made to create a 'natural' garden. Williamson has argued that from 'the actual layout of gardens in this period' that 'there is little evidence on the ground for the creation of more 'natural' scenes' (Williamson 1995, 49). He continues 'At all social levels, square level lawns, straight walks flanked by topiary, wildernesses criss-crossed with allées, and avenues focused in the main façade of the house continued to be popular into the 1730s and '40s, and indeed beyond' (Williamson 1995, 49). Williamson also points out that while Switzer was writing with conviction about a natural gardening style from 1718 onwards, he designed a formal garden at Caversham in the same year (Williamson 1995, 49), and in *Ichnographia Rustica II,* when he writes instructions for the construction of parterres, 'it is with an embarrassed recognition that these were contrary to the 'simple, plain, and unaffected Method I have propos'd myself' (Switzer 1718 II, 190).

It is perhaps, then, unsurprising that there is no written commentary, before 1730, to link Bridgeman's style to the discourse on natural gardening. For example, Switzer does not refer to Bridgeman at all in the 1718 edition of *Ichnographia Rustica.* He praises Bridgeman in *Hydrostaticks* (1729) as 'now deservedly advanc'd to be one of His Majesty's Gardeners' (91) and the 'very ingenious Mr. *Bridgeman*' (405). However, after 1730, it is easy to find explicit and implicit criticism that Bridgeman's style is not 'natural' enough in Switzer's writing, although largely this is linked to the extravagance of his landscapes. In *A Proemial Essay* in the 1742 edition of *Ichnographia Rustica,* Switzer criticizes Bridgeman for this, in contrast to his own precepts of 'rural gardening'; he is referred to as 'a late eminent Designer in Gardening whose Fancy could not be bounded' and 'that otherwise ingenious Designer' for 'aiming at an incomprehensible Vastness, and attempting at Things beyond the reach of Nature'. He is criticised for the size of his lawns 'no Parterre or Lawn that was not less than 50 or 60 Acres, some of the 80, 90 or 100' and for 'his Plan of Lakes' which were constructed 'without any regard to the Goodness of the Land, which was to be overflowed' and which he generally designed so large, as to make a whole Country look like an Ocean' (Switzer 1742, I, 11,12). Pope's *Epistle IV* to Burlington (1731) refers pejoratively to Bridgeman's style both because of its expense and its failure to follow 'Nature' although in later versions of the poem the name was changed to 'Cobham' because, apparently, Bridgeman objected, and possibly also because the same criticism could now be applied to Stowe, showing how gardening taste was shifting. The passage

immediately preceding the one in which Bridgeman's name appeared is often quoted, and forms part of an endorsement of Burlington's taste, and, most particularly, his sense. This is demonstrated by his lack of the extravagance in terms of both the size and the cost of his works, and Pope draws a negative comparison with 'Le Nôtre', with 'Versailles', and also with Bridgeman. At least four lines originally explicity referred to him:

> The vast parterres a thousand hands shall make
> Lo! *Bridgeman* comes, and floats them with a lake:
> Or cut wide views through mountains to the plain,
> You'll wish you hill or shelter'd seat again (Pope 1731, 72 -76, my italics)

The last two lines probably refer to Moor Park, where the landscape was designed by Bridgeman for Benjamin Styles.

The intellectual constructions of Nature clearly fascinated the intellectual elite of the day and, possibly as a result of Horace Walpole's essay, have continued to fascinate garden historians. However, the difficulty of finding any link between this fashionable discourse on gardening from the early years of the eighteenth century, and commentary on Bridgeman's work in the same period, suggests that, although these ideas were clearly popular with the literary elite who published them, they had less effect on the general practice of garden design. The evidence for its influence is based on a very few, well-known texts by a very few well-known writers. The very paucity of this written evidence is suggestive of what little importance was placed on the idea of 'Nature' by garden practitioners in the early eighteenth century, especially before about 1730, so that, although it looms large in garden history, it is of very little importance as an influence on Bridgeman.

The classical discourse

Classical discourse also seems to have pervaded all aspects of intellectual life in the first part of the eighteenth century. Ayres notes that, as early as 1714, Thomas Tickell compared the British to Romans, in their opposition to France, in his prefix to Addison's Cato:

> No more she'll wonder, (forced to do us right,)
> Who think like Romans could like Romans fight. (Tickell cited in Ayres 1997, 49)

The ruling Court Whigs appear to have seen themselves as the heirs to the Augustan age in ancient Rome. Theirs was '[t]he dominant political discourse of the beneficiaries of the Glorious

Revolution' which 'was appropriate to an oligarchy intent on maintaining power and privileges won at the expense of the crown and the Stuart cause' (Ayres 1997, 1). The political analogies they drew between themselves and the Augustans pervade the early eighteenth century. For example, at Houghton, 'Walpole was imaging himself as a Roman in his busts and in the iconography of the interior of his own house…' (Ayres 1997, 49). However, as Ayres has pointed out '[t]his discourse, whose key terms were 'liberty' and 'virtue', was not the preserve of the Whigs, though they might think of it as peculiarly theirs, but was current within most of the political tendencies of the first half of the eighteenth century, including Court Whig, dissident Whig (or 'Patriot') Opposition, Tory and even to an extent Jacobite'' (Ayres 1997, 1). This, Fry suggests, is also the case with Palladianism, the architectural expression of this discourse, which was disseminated through the three volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus,* published in 1715, 1717 and 1725 respectively, by Colen Campbell. Fry has argued that, although neo-Palladianism has been presented as the preserve of the Whigs, in fact, the subscription list for *Vitruvius Britannicus* shows subscribers from across the political spectrum (Fry 2003, 181).

Classical allusion provided the shared language by which gardens were read. In the garden, it provided a 'labelling' to denote meaning (Paulson 1975, 20). Paulson suggests that statues which alluded to classical stories created meaning for visitors; 'In effect, these known elements were used like words to make new sentences. Venus plus Mars in a garden setting equals the fruitful marriage of Love and War…. To judge from the accounts we have of visitors of the 1730s and 1740s the emblem was primary…' (Paulson 1975, 21). This seems to have been largely deliberate, especially in gardens like Stowe or Chiswick. As Whatley wrote in *Observations on Modern Gardening* of 'emblematical' devices: 'through an illusion to a favourite or well known subject of history, poetry, or of tradition, may now and then animate of dignify a scene….' (Whatley 1780, 151). Dixon Hunt has argued: 'While it would be absurd to claim that all emphases upon variety, natural appearance of ground, rural imagery, statues and temples signalled a conscious classical meaning, it must nevertheless be apparent that during the 1710s and 1720s such equations were frequently and clearly made' (Dixon Hunt 1986, 191). Classical allusion was also used as a lingua franca pervading all writing about gardens, published or private, practical or literary. For example, in published poetry, Pope illustrates wastefulness in landscape design with 'Father Sabinus, planter of the Vine' (Aeneid VIII, 178 – 179), whose son cuts down the 'Groves' his father delighted in, to form 'Vistas' (Epistle to Lord Burlington, line 90). In Switzer's first two paragraphs of the Preface to *Ichnographia Rustica I,* essentially a practical publication, Apollo, the Muses, Minerva, and Diana, are listed as patrons of the garden, (Switzer 1718 I, i) and in a private letter written by Matthew Prior to the Earl of Oxford, he compares himself to Tully or Horace: 'But Down in it self considered I love more than Tully did his Tusculum or

Horace his Sabine Feild, nor would quit it for anything but to be with You or to serve you' (HMC58: Bath III, 492).

The representation of Roman gardens, to which Prior alludes above, was an eighteenth-century construction based on descriptions of gardens and nature in classical poetry and prose. Switzer makes reference to the gardens described by 'Virgil and other Authors' in *Ichnographia Rustica II*, but the most significant writing was the description of Pliny's garden at Tuscum as translated, annotated and visualised, in plan, by Robert Castell in *The Villas of the Ancients Illustrated*, in 1728. It is interesting that a fascination with Pliny's garden predates Castell because, as Liu has pointed out, he was by no means the first to translate Pliny's description: 'Long before 1728, there already had been attempts to piece together a classical idea of a country estate on the basis of what Pliny said about his country houses'; Liu has suggested that Vincenzo Scamozzi published a study in 1616, and Jean François Félibien published an annotated translation of Pliny's accounts of Laurentium and Tuscum in 1707 and an anonymous translation was published in 1724 (Liu 2010, 247). However, Castell's translation and illustration was far more influential. The model he presents is one in which three elements play a part; the first is the choice of 'well-water'd Spots of Ground, irregularly producing all sorts of Plants and Trees…and refreshed by Shade and Water' as the first villa builders did, 'Their whole Art consisting in little more than in making those Parts next their Villas as it were accidentally produce the choicest Trees, the Growth of various Soils, the Face of the Ground suffering little or no Alteration'. To this was added a more regular plan, 'A Manner of laying out the Ground and Plantations by the Line and Rule, and to trim them up by an Art that was visible in every part of the Design' and by so doing create a third element 'whose Beauty consisted in a close Imitation of Nature; where tho' the Parts are disposed with greatest Art, the Irregularity is still preserved' (Castell 1728, 115). It is interesting that Castell linked Roman gardens to those of the Chinese: 'By the Accounts we have of the present Manner of Designing in China, it seems as from the two former manners a Third has been formed, whose Beauty consisted in a close Imitation of Nature' (Castell 1728, 115). Both Roman and Chinese gardens offered eighteenth-century intellectuals a space so far removed from their lived experience that they served as fantasy lands where theory was undisturbed by gardening reality. Perhaps the appeal of Castell's translation and plan was that it both constructed an idealised landscape that was distant and other, while, as Dixon Hunt has pointed out, it also transformed Pliny's garden into one that seemed English; it 'unobtrusively transforms the Plinian texts into images which (necessarily) invoke the syntax of contemporary English and modern Italian designs and into language which tends to approximate (again, inevitably) an English rural scenery' (Dixon Hunt 1986, 194).

There is considerable evidence that emulation of Ancient Rome affected the design of garden buildings, and statuary designed to enhance the landscapes in which they were set. As Paulson suggests 'The statues were invariably copies of known antique originals, and the temples drew on the vocabulary of Roman buildings' (Paulson 1975, 21). How many gardens were a conscious attempt to recreate Pliny's, is more difficult to determine. Mowl suggests that Burlington's garden at Chiswick is closely similar to Castell's plan of Pliny's, in Roque's engraving of 1736 (Mowl 1999, 54), and Worsley suggests that Rokeby was also a conscious attempt by Sir Thomas Robinson, an avid collector of Roman statuary, to reproduce Tusculum (Worsley 1987, 78), but it is hard to find other examples. It is certainly not clear whether any of Bridgeman's designs represented a conscious decision to replicate the gardens of Ancient Rome, in spite of Prior's assertions about Down Hall. They do contain features which might have been derived from Roman architecture, such as the amphitheatre at Claremont, although the inspiration is more likely to come from contemporary European gardens, mediated through the Grand Tour of Bridgeman's clients and their libraries. Roman inspired statuary and buildings are present in many of Bridgeman's landscapes, such as Tring, where there is a pyramid and an obelisk designed by Gibbs, or at Amesbury Abbey where a quasi-Roman grotto is flanked by earth terraces, but these buildings are unlikely to be Bridgeman's designs. Indeed, it is noteable that at Amesbury Abbey, where the western part of Bridgeman's design occupies the Iron Age hillfort known as Vespasian's Camp, there is no nod in the design to Pliny's garden, even though Stukeley had published an account that identified the hill as Roman: 'Vespasian's Camp …..'tis a famous camp properly and by universal consent attributed to him….', (*Itinerarium Curiosum* (1724) cited in Haynes 2012, 28). Although Roman discourse might be the lingua franca of contemporary discussion about gardens, there is no evidence that Bridgeman intentionally included specific Roman elements in is designs.

European and English gardening

The gardening tradition of seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Italy, France and Holland provides an artistic context to Bridgeman's work. Italian gardens, both those of ancient Rome and Renaissance Italy, are widely presented as the precursors of the English landscape movement, and considerable scholarship has been devoted to tracing links between them and English gardens, in particular, in the seminal work *Garden and Grove* by John Dixon Hunt. Travel to Italy in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries resulted in a fascination with what Dixon Hunt suggests was a 'creative confusion of classical remains and modern gardens' (Dixon Hunt 1986, 21).

There seems to have been a growing sense in the early part of eighteenth century, the period which must have shaped Bridgeman's style, of a garden that was peculiarly English. Exactly how this sense of Englishness worked as a determiner of fashion in gardening styles for Bridgeman and his contemporaries is more difficult to determine because our perception of what constitutes Englishness in a garden has, to a large degree, been skewed by the writing of the 1760s to the mid-1790s, and this, to a large degree, has obscured our perception of what Englishness meant to Bridgeman's generation. In writing by Horace Walpole, William Burgh and William Falconer, 'Englishness became defined as the rise of the English landscape garden which for them symbolised the English constitutional regime, and was contrasted with formal European gardens which were made to symbolise despotic, autocratic monarchies' (Bending 1994, 215 – 216).

Modern garden historians have refined and categorised formal garden styles and identified them with specific European nation states. A loose taxonomy of features has been identified to define what is typical in these gardens. Dutch gardens were 'compact' (Jacques and van der Horst 1988, 1), had 'a sense of enclosure, an inward-looking orientation' and reflected 'strong horticultural traditions' (Laird 1992, 43). They were 'essentially piecemeal and [of an] incremental nature' (Dixon Hunt quoted in Laird 1992, 42/43) with a 'highly mathematical ….. approach to the overall layout' (Jacques and van der Horst 1988, 10), and a 'fussier' use of evergreens (Dixon Hunt 1975, 8). French gardens were differentiated from this by their 'sense of grandeur and vast scale' 'an extension of the palace proper, providing a majestic setting for the firework displays, theatrical performances, and all the arts of the *fêtes galantes*' (Dixon Hunt and Willis 1975, 6), with 'grandiloquent ornament and statues' (Dixon Hunt 1975, 8). They were 'resplendent and autocratic' (Dixon Hunt and Willis 1975, 7). Both styles are said to derive from Italian gardens which, in addition to those characteristics listed above, are said to have had a 'certain intricacy and a delight in waterworks' (Dixon Hunt and Willis 1975, 7). In this taxonomy, Englishness in gardens is defined against these characteristics.

Both the writing of the later eighteenth century and modern scholarship has produced a clear, but arguably misleading, distinction, between the evolution of English gardens and of the gardens of separate European nations in the early eighteenth century. In fact, the development of European gardening styles, and that of English gardens, was probably more organic and haphazard than any of the opinions above suggest. Rather than a linear development of purposeful, stylistic choices, it is probably more helpful to think of a shifting, fluid and probably unmeasurable system of cross-fertilisation backwards and forwards across national borders, which in any case had different resonances in the eighteenth century. What stylistic divisions there were are just as likely to have been dictated by the topographical, meteorological, and geological constraints of the regions in which the gardens were built, and by affordability. Although Dixon Hunt maintains that 'garden

connoisseurs in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were able to discriminate, seeing Italianate or Dutch or French characteristics in any given garden and having distinct associations with each' (Dixon Hunt 1988, 8), Jacques is unconvinced. He considers it more sensible to 'dismiss the utility of stylistic labels like 'Dutch' and to emphasize that international design fashions are adapted regionally by factors such as topography and cultural landscape patterns' (Jacques 2002, 125). Jacques contends that, for example, the '[d]ifferences between Dutch and French gardens occur more because of the imperatives of geography and climate than because of the stylistic preferences of garden designers' (Jacques 2002, 125). This has skewed our perception of the influence of European gardens and gardening on Bridgeman's style.

In fact, writing contemporary with Bridgeman's career can be interpreted as presenting a subtly different picture of the relationship between English and European gardening. There was a sense in which, as discussed above, the horticultural model of the gardens of the Ancients was copied and used emblematically for the superiority of the English political system, after the accession of the Hanoverians. Englishness in the garden was also linked to a lack of extravagance (see above). There is also a sense of the superiority of the English soil and climate for gardening in contrast to European countries. Batty Langley, in *The New Principles of Gardening* argued, 'we abound in good soil, fine Grass, and Gravel which in many Places Abroad is not to be found, and the best of all Sorts of Trees' (Langley 1728), while Bradley considers 'England to enjoy a Climate much more favourable to the Health both of Plants and Animals, than Italy, which on a sudden Start, changes from hot to cold' (Bradley 1725, 288). The movement away from rigid formality, discussed above in relation to the pervasive discourse about the 'natural garden' seems largely to be framed in an overt rejection of Dutch gardens. Batty Langley singles out Dutch gardens for criticism: 'These regular Gardens were first taken from the Dutch, and introduced into *England* in the Time of the late Mr *Londo*n and Mr *Wise*, who being then suppos'd to be the best Gardeners in *England* (the Art being in its Infancy) were imployed by the *Nobility and Gentry of England* to lay and plant their Gardens in that *regular stiff, and stuft up Manner*' (Langley 1728, xi). Bending suggests that a passage in Bradley's *Survey of Ancient husbandry and Gardening* is also, in fact, an attack on the Dutch style (Bending 1994, 211). It is hard to explain this antipathy towards Dutch gardening, in both Langley and Bradley, given its common roots with, and stylistic similarity to French gardens in particular. The argument is further confused when we consider that Wrest Park, a garden of exactly this period, is probably modelled on Dutch gardens by Henry Grey who had visited Holland in the 1690s, and explicitly linked through iconography to the principles of the Glorious Revolution and the reign of William III (Halpern 2002, 139). It is possible that the antipathy towards Dutch gardens was simply based on their relative smallness, since land remained a powerful signifier of power in the early eighteenth century (see Chapter 8).

However, while condemnation of Dutch gardening is explicit, and largely universal, in print, by the time Bridgeman began to work alone, it is difficult to find overt criticism of French gardens in any written text contemporary with Bridgeman's career. In fact, the reverse is often true. Addison, in 1712, compared English gardens adversely to those of France and Italy: 'On this account our English gardens are not so entertaining to the Fancy as those in France and Italy, where we see a large Extent of Ground covered over with an agreeable mixture of Garden and Forest, which represent every where an Artificial Rudeness, much more charming than that Neatness and Elegancy which we meet in those of our own Country' (Addison 1712, No.414). Switzer, in 1718 also wrote in praise of French gardening: 'By Ingentia Rura (apply'd to Gard'ning) we may understand that Extensive Way of Gard'ning that I have already hinted at, and shall more fully handle; this the French call *La Grand Manier*, and is opposed to those crimping, diminutive, and wretched performances we every-where meet with' (Switzer 1718, xviii). Bradley, in 1725, suggests borrowing ideas from Versailles, albeit on a smaller scale: '…if we were to borrow so much from the *Versailes* Gardens as one might take in at small Expence, such as the Fables of *Aesop*, to be here and there intersperc'd in our Woods, represented by Figures as big as the Life, of men, Birds and Beasts, painted in their natural Colours….' (Bradley 1725, 360). This praise for, and emulation of, French gardens is also seen in the popularity of *La Théorie et la Pratique du Jardinage* by A.J. Dèzailler D'Argenville (1680 – 1765) translated by John James in 1712. The gardens of the French elite were fashionable in Europe and England well into the eighteenth century.

Given all this, we might assume that echoes of French design would appear in Bridgeman's landscapes. There are clear connections between those working on gardens in France and England from the middle of the seventeenth century to the period in which Bridgeman was working. Willis notes that, in the later seventeenth century, André, Charles and Gabriel Mollet, worked at St James's Park for Charles II (Willis 2002, 13), and Le Nôtre, at the request of Charles II, was responsible for the design of the formal garden immediately to the north of the Queen's House at Greenwich Park (Bouchenot-Déchin and Farhat, Designs and Drawings I, 6). John Rose, the King's Gardener from 1661 until his death, was a pupil of Le Nôtre (Green 1956), and George London, visited Chantilly, Fontainebleau, Vaux-le-Vicomte, and Versailles, and may have met Le Nôtre (Green 1956). London's library contained books on French gardening (Willis 2002, 16) and his own designs, particularly for parterres, show a strong French influence, for example the miniature garden he designed for Marshal Tallard at Nottingham (Hunt and Willis, 1975) and his original designs for Castle Howard in Yorkshire (V&A E433-1951/E434-1951). There were also strong connections between France and the landowners who employed these gardeners. For example, Ralph, first Duke of Montagu, who had spent time in France as an ambassador between 1669 and 1672, and then as a exile between 1682 and 1685 (Heward and Taylor 1996, 94)

remodelled [Boughton House], building a large new block against the north side of the original Great Hall, turning it into something 'more like an urbane chateau in the Ile de France, transported to the more domestic landscape of the English Midlands' (Jackson-Stops in Murdoch (ed.) 1992, 59) and employed the Dutch gardener van der Meulen to create a French water garden. There were also publications through which French ideas of gardening were disseminated, for example, in the translations of *Le jardinier solitaire* and *Le jardinier fleuriste et histiographe* by London and Wise, *La théorie et la pratique du jardinage* by D'Argenville, translated by John James.

Willis suggests that 'we should not rule out Italian inspiration for much of Bridgeman's work – partly through the foreign travels of such friends as Gibbs, Wootton, and Kent, and partly through a visit Bridgeman himself may have made to the Continent in 1732 or so'; the name 'Bridgeman' was among a list of those Joseph Spence met in Paris in 1732 (Willis 2002, 133 and 133n.31; BL Add MS 2235 fo.94). Although there is no other evidence that Bridgeman visited France, circumstantial evidence strongly suggests that he must, at the very least, have seen French-inspired landscape designs on paper and in England, if not in France. For example, he worked as a draughtsman for London and Wise at Brompton Nurseries, and appears to have drawn a plan of Le Nôtre's design for Greenwich for Wise in 1711, and he worked at Boughton House in the late 1720s. It is likely, then, that the work of Le Nôtre and his associates influenced Bridgeman's style.

Contemporary artistic influences

Bridgeman was a member of the most fashionable artistic circles of his period and connected both personally and professionally to the most prominent architects and craftsmen of the day. He was elected a member of the Society of the Virtuosi of St Luke (c.1689 – 1743), 'the Tip top Clubbs of all, for men of the highest Character in Arts & Gentlemen Lovers of Art' in 1726, presumably following his appointment as Royal Gardener (Vertue, *Note books*, 3.120 in www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093). His fellow members included architect James Gibbs and the writer George Vertue, the painter John Wootton, the enamellist Christian Friedrick Zincke and the sculptor John Micheal Rysbrack, all of whom were elected in the same year as Bridgeman. Sir James Thornhill was also a member. His importance in these artistic circles is also implicit in his appearance in the painting *A Club of Artists* (1735) attributed to Gawen Hamilton, in which he appears with, amongst others, George Vertue, Michael Dahl, James Gibbs, John Wootton and William Kent, and in his appearance in Hogarth's *The Rake's Progress*. Many of the architects and master craftsmen with whom Bridgeman was associated also worked for the Office of Works and Bridgeman was well connected within it. These men seem to have worked together, in loosely configured groupings, on a variety of public and private projects. Bridgeman had worked with

Vanbrugh, Comptroller of King's Works from 1702 to 1726, and with his successor, Ripley. He worked with Kent, Master Carpenter from 1726 to 1735, and then Deputy Surveyor, with Sir James Thornhill, Serjeant Painter from 1720 to 1732, and with Flitcroft, Clerk at Works at Richmond and Kew until 1728, and Roger Morris was Clerk of Works at Richmond New Park Lodge from 1727 onwards. He had also worked with Christopher Cass, Master Mason. Bridgeman's subscription to *Vitruvius Britannicus II* and *III* by Campbell, published in 1717 and 1725 respectively, suggests that he was interested, and in touch with, fashionable landscape and architectural design, as well as a sufficient degree of business success to facilitate the subscription. It is significant that Bridgeman was the only gardener to subscribe to *Vitruvius Britannicus II* and one of only two to subscribe to *Vitruvius Britannicus III*. Rumble has suggested that 'the subscription lists for *Vitruvius Britannicus* show that it was neither priced nor meant to be, nor received as, a builder's manual, nor was it a stylistic manifesto. Rather it was a celebration of contemporary British architecture that gave pleasure and some instruction to polite society' (Rumble 2001, 3). Bridgeman appears to have been part of this audience.

This list of contacts does, indeed, suggest that Bridgeman was part of this fashionable artistic community. His artistic contemporaries certainly presented him as a member of it. Prior includes him in Lord Harley, Earl of Oxford's 'Virtuosi' together with Thornhill and Gibbs: 'I believe you have your Virtuosi by You, while you receive this Letter; as they were packed up in One Coach they must necessarily have come together' (MSS Portland fo.307). Adrian Drift's letter after Prior's death which also uses the term 'Virtuosi', suggests the closeness of this artistic community, although it is clearly in the interests of Bridgeman and Gibbs that Drift presents them to Harley in this way:

> Mr Prior having in his life-time bespoke of Dickenson at High-park Corner (at which time I was with him) Two copies of the Buste of Flora for Messieurs Bridgman and Gibbs, which he recommended to Dickenson to do in perfection as being designed a present to Two of his Brother Virtuosi, I beg your Lord, You will on this head honour me with your commands, for this. I take to be a Debt due to two worthy men whom he much Esteemed, and therefore to be made good as he intended it Living (6th December 172 (Add MS 70362).

Perhaps it is this which has led to Willis suggesting that these close connections influenced the style of Bridgeman's landscape design. He implies close creative connections between these men. For example, he writes of 'Bridgeman and Flitcroft's happy integration of villa and landscape' at Bower House (Willis 2002, 51).

We might, therefore, assume that close artistic connections between these men would result in a collaboration in which the style of the house was echoed in the style of the landscape. Indeed, Williamson suggests as much in his analysis of the landscape design that is attributed to Bridgeman at Houghton which, he argues, 'in its vastness and its simplicity, served to complement the crisp Palladian lines of the hall….' (Williamson 1998, 55). Art-historical writing categorises the architects with whom Bridgeman worked, in terms of the style of their output, either as English Baroque or neo-Palladian. The popularity of English Baroque architecture is usually presented as short lived, and is closely identified with the taste of the Stuart kings, from the mid-seventeenth to the early-eighteenth centuries. Sir John Vanbrugh, together with Sir Christopher Wren, William Talman, and Nicholas Hawksmoor, are identified as the prinicipal architects of the style which is exemplified by houses such as Chatsworth, designed by Talman, Blenheim and Castle Howard designed by Vanbrugh, and Easton Neston designed Hawksmoor. Although the style originated in Europe in the Renaissance, English Baroque country houses tend to have less heavily ornamented facades than their European counterparts, relying instead on the manipulation of light and shade for theatrical effect. However, they share with each other, and with the churches designed by Wren and Hawksmoor in the same style, dramatic skylines, often with such architectural features as exaggerated keystones and domes (Hopkins 2014, 88-91). Neo-Palladianism is seen as a rejection of the court taste of the Stuarts and of the architectural style of Wren (Summerson 1969, 197). Summerson identifies the 'three main loyalties' of neo-Palladian architectural revival of the early eighteenth century as ''loyalty to Vitruvius; loyalty to Palladio himself; and to Inigo Jones' (Summerson 1969, 197). Gibbs, Campbell, Ripley, Flitcroft, Morris and Pembroke are all usually considered neo-Palladian architects. If Bridgeman had mirrored the architectural style of the house in his landscape, we might assume that his landscapes for Vanbrugh's Baroque architectural projects, for example at Lumley Castle or Claremont, would differ from those for neo-Palladian projects, for example, Wolterton or Moor Park, and this does not appear to be the case.

This may be because the terms, English Baroque and neo-Palladian, themselves need to be treated with some caution since, as Garnham has suggested, '[o]ur modern understanding of architecture as a succession of styles was not formulated until later in the eighteenth century' (Garnham 2013, 15). Johns suggests the term Baroque was itself not in use until the nineteenth century (Johns in Arnold and Corbett (eds.) 2013, 97). It is not likely that the architects defined themselves or their work by these categories and there is some scholarly discussion about how far these terms are helpful in understanding the buildings they produced. As Downes has suggested that 'the ambiguities between *Baroque* as a style-label and as a date-bracket are more numerous and more confused than ever' (Downes in Ridgeway and Williams (eds) 2000, 2). There is general agreement that Vanbrugh's Castle Howard was 'the first great house in England that could

reasonably be described as Baroque', but there is less unanimity about other houses (Mowl 1999, 2). Little notes that Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* was published in 1728 at 'the heyday of the Palladian movement'; he contends that 'Palladianism, in the 1720s was what patrons liked and expected, and for Palladianism alone were many of them prepared to pay' (Little 1955, 89). For example, Stutchbury describes Mereworth as 'the earliest and most direct of the four English derivatives of the Palladian rotunda' while Mowl describes it as a 'Baroque-Palladian compromise' (Mowl 1999, 32).

What evidence there is of collaboration between Bridgeman, and the architects and craftsmen with whom he worked, seems to be more prosaic. It is clear that there must have been some cooperation between architect and landscape designer when the landscape complemented either a newly built house, or one which was to be substantially refurbished. For example, at Wolterton, where Bridgeman was creating a new landscape around a new house designed by Thomas Ripley, there appears to have been a collaboration, almost from the inception of the work there. Ripley's letter to Walpole on 17th December 1724 suggests that he and Bridgeman have already consulted with each other about the commission, and visit Bayfield, the chief land steward together (WH Box 73L 8/5A) (see Chapter 3). Indeed, the site of the old house appears on the plan for Wolterton (MSGD a3 fo.18). Letters held in the Wolterton archive show Ripley and Bridgeman visiting Britiffe, Walpole's chief steward in London together in December 1724, and again, this time with Christopher Cass and George Deval, in 1728 (WH Box 73L 8/5A). Ripley appears to have collaborated with him on the design for the garden. In this letter, Britiffe writes 'Mr Ripley Design a bouling Green as far as the old ferosee' (WH Box 73L 8/5A). Bridgeman's own letter to Walpole in 1736, in which he outlines the reshaping of the garden, comes as a result of a letter to Ripley from Walpole which appears to contain a message for him from Walpole and alludes to a joint visit to Wolterton: 'Mr Ripley shew'd me Your honours Letter to him, wherein you desire to know what was done & orderd when he & I was last at Wolterton'. There was clearly another visit planned, 'I intend to go into Norfolk this next Month when Mr Ripley will be there, and see that these things by Your order in hand, be accomplished; and to do whatever else, Your honour shall command me in' (WH Box 3LX 8/12), and in 1737 both were at Wolterton drinking Walpole's wine (WH Box 29L 8/20). It is likely that this was a close collaboration, not simply because the letters hint at it, but because the new position of the house at Wolterton is axially aligned to Bridgeman's new lake; the bend in the lake, which follows the boundaries of the oddly shaped piece of land available to Walpole for the garden, is sited so that its terminus is not visible from the house giving the illusion of a much longer piece of water. This was clearly also the case at Lumley Castle, where, working alongside Vanbrugh, Bridgeman seems to have designed a tapering vista which runs west towards the River Wear from Vanbrugh's new ceremonial hall on the west range of the castle (Pevsner 1983, 359 – 360; Dalton 2012, 180). At Down Hall, although

the new house designed by Gibbs for Prior was never built, LIDAR shows that Bridgeman's landscape was focused on its proposed site.

There must also have been some collaboration with regard to the siting of garden buildings. There is little documentary evidence for this but it seems reasonable to assume that where a vista terminated in a statue or a building, considerable consultation occurred between sculptor or architect, and Bridgeman. At Gobions in Hertfordshire, Gibbs was probably responsible for the garden buildings. The Ashmolean Museum holds a drawing of an octagonal temple by Gibbs inscribed 'for Mr Sambrooke of Gubbins' and although Williamson and Rowe point out that this is not the temple that appears in the Chatelain drawing, they make the point that there is another drawing in the same collection which shows the octagonal dovecote at Gobions, and they consider it plausible that the Folly Arch, the southern focus of an avenue designed by Bridgeman, was also designed by Gibbs (Williamson and Rowe 2012, 84) (Map 6i F). At Hackwood in Hampshire, Gibbs was responsible for the pavilion in the Menagerie and for the Rotunda at the top of the amphitheatre (Map 7i B). Both designs appear in Gibbs *Book of Architecture* 1728, and are shown in plan form on Bridgeman's plan (MSGD a3 fo.34) (Map 6i) although the Rotunda and amphitheatre were built in the north-east quadrant of the garden rather than the south-east as shown on Bridgeman's plan.

It is difficult to pin Bridgeman's style of landscape design to either English Baroque architecture, or to Palladianism, since he seems to have designed similar landscapes for houses designed in both traditions, and indeed for houses which predate both, as for example at Audley End in Essex, where the house is sixteenth century. The spareness of his designs, may have been informed by the prevailing Palladian fashion, but it is clear there was no intention to match landscape to building style.

Recent scholarship

As we have seen, in *Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape Garden*, Willis accepts explicitly, in the section 'Bridgeman as a Designer', Horace Walpole's judgement of Bridgeman's style: 'Any assessment of Bridgeman as a designer must begin with Horace Walpole, whose analysis of the Royal Gardener's style, though brief, is the most comprehensive we have….'. Willis identifies two style characteristics 'his concern for the *genius loci*' and 'his predisposition for vastness of scale' (Willis 2002, 130) and suggests three phases to Bridgeman's work: 'the *formal*, the *transitional* and the *progressive*'. Drawing on Walpole, he links Bridgeman, through his work at Richmond, to Switzer and to the ferme ornée, 'It is not far from here to the ferme ornée at Dawley where Bridgeman may have assisted Lord Bolingbroke, perhaps taking his cue

from Switzer's advocacy of a Farm-like Way of Gardening'' (Willis 2002, 132). It is perhaps no longer helpful in trying to reach an understanding of Bridgeman's style to retrofit, as Willis does, Bridgeman's designs into models that postdate his work by forty years. Modern scholarship has recently begun to reassess Bridgeman's style. Eburne has argued, in relation to Houghton, to Wolterton (both in Norfolk) and to Blickling, that Bridgeman's work is 'less friendly to the models traditionally applied by garden historians, of 'premier' sites, discretely developed in a homogenous style by a dominant creative spirit imposing itself on the landscape in quasi-Romantic fashion' (Eburne 2003, 207). Williamson acknowledges that Bridgeman's style has little to do with the concepts of nature explored above. He places Bridgeman within a late-geometric style which derives directly from the formality of the seventeenth century and is a natural progression from it; 'ever simpler, ever more extensive and magnificent, until the greatest houses began to be set in landscapes of stark simplicity' (Williamson 1995, 52). He suggests that 'Many of Bridgeman's later works show this kind of stripped-down formality' (Williamson 1995, 55). This view is also implicit in Mowl's definition: 'Bridgemanesque – symmetry modified by art' (Mowl 2004,104). Mowl and Dalton both link Bridgeman's style with that of Vanbrugh. Dalton suggests that Bridgeman worked with Vanbrugh in the 1710s. She attributes Sacombe in large part to Vanbrugh, because she suggests that in her research for *Sir John Vanbrugh and the Vitruvian Landscape* she has 'found no evidence that Bridgeman was the principle designer on any project on which he worked with Vanbrugh' although it is hard to imagine what Bridgeman was paid £160,000 by the Rolt estate if he was not the principle designer (Dalton 2010, 152). In Bridgeman's commission at Wimpole in Cambridgeshire, c.1722, the first, she suggests without Vanbrugh, 'he was implementing Vanbrugh's ideas in his own commission', because, she contends, the design is like 'Grimsthorpe, Eastbury or Duncombe', all places where Vanbrugh worked (Dalton 2012, 185). She suggests that the Vitruvian geometry which she shows underlying much of Vanbrugh's landscape work, was also present in Bridgeman's designs for Down Hall and at Hackwood. His designs, she suggests are highly derivative of Vanbrugh's but his 'landscapes ha[ve] none of Vanbrugh's originality' (Dalton 2012, 191). Mowl is also less than complimentary in his assessment of Bridgeman's style in *Gentlemen and Players*. At Hackwood, he considers that Bridgeman had 'not mastered [the] style or captured the spirit' of an Arcadia' (Mowl 2000, 77). For Dixon Hunt Bridgeman has no clear style at all: 'Bridgeman seems to have had little interest in design theory or in annexing his work to any cultural or political cause; he seems to have been very much at the mercy of specific commissions, so it is hard to determine exactly what is truly *Bridgemanick*' (Dixon Hunt 1986, 189). It is evidently time for a new assessment of his style.

Selection of a sample

I have chosen to make a stylistic reassessment of Bridgeman's style by selecting a limited number of his designs from the revised corpus outlined above. They have been chosen because, alongside the existence of a plan, they are in Bridgeman's cartographic style and arguably in his hand. For all those chosen, there is also some earthwork or cartographic evidence that the design was at least partially constructed. This is important because the design intention of Bridgeman's work was essentially pragmatic; he planned for practical application. That pragmatism created the parameters of his conceptual environment and separates Bridgeman's designs from those of his contemporaries, Switzer and Langley; a significant proportion of their work was a theoretical design exercise, unfettered by the constraints of physical landscapes. For some, there is also some documentary evidence in the form of estate or personal accounts or letters. I have attempted to represent as diverse a geographical and topographical sample as possible, although it was not possible to include any site further north than Northampton because his two attributed commissions in the north, Scampston and Lumley Castle, did not meet the criteria. The sample also represents, as far as is possible given the difficulty of precisely dating much of his work, designs from all periods in his career, although there was some difficulty in finding suitable designs from the 1730s.

The plans in the sample are listed below in alphabetical order. They are accurately dated where possible; for others only an approximate date can be given. The plans are shown, also in alphabetical order, in Appendix I. Each has been geo-referenced with 2019 Digimap, at a scale appropriate to the scale of Bridgeman's plan (https://digimap.edina.ac.uk). LIDAR has been viewed for all sites where the data was available. BGS maps at mapapps.bgs.ac.uk has been used to explore the geology of each site.

The plans chosen are:

1. Amesbury Abbey, Wiltshire 1738 (MSGD a3*fo. 32) (Map1)
2. Boughton House, Northamptonshire c.1728 (Boughton 2 held at Boughton House) (Map 2)
3. Claremont, Surrey 1715 - 1725, but likely to be in the latter half of this period (Soane 62.1.2) (Map 3)
4. Down Hall, Essex 1721(Gough Maps 46 fo.262) (Map 4)
5. Eastbury, Dorset 1721 -1725 (MSGD a3* fo.9) (Map 5)
6. Gobions, Hertfordshire c.1725 - 1730 (A1 Herts Maps) (Map 6)
7. Hackwood, Hampshire 1722 -1727 (MSGD a3 fo.34) (Map 7)

8. Kensington Gardens, Middlesex 1728 - 1731 (MSGD a3* fo.17) (Map 8)
9. Lodge Park, Gloucestershire 1729 (MSGD a4 fo.68) (Map 9)
10. Moor Park, Hertfordshire 1724 -1725 (MSGD a4 fo.58) (Map 10)
11. Rousham, Oxfordshire 1725 -1728 (MSGD a4 fo.63) (Map 11)
12. Sacombe, Hertfordshire 1715 (MSGD a4 fo.2) (Map 12)
13. Wolterton, Norfolk 1725 (MSGD a4 fo.20) (Map 13)

These plans are the focus of the section that follows, so that, although many of the features analysed here also occur at other sites, they do not form part of the discussion.

Elements of Bridgeman's landscapes

Bridgeman's designs comprise a number of different features juxtaposed topographically with each other. Few, if any, of these components were his original inventions. They have antecedents in designed landscapes both in Britain and in Europe. It is possible to trace the roots of individual features, and, to some extent, investigate the pathways through which they came to be used by Bridgeman.

Possibly the most emblematic element of a Bridgeman landscape is terraced, turfed earth. Terraces provide a formal means of controlling a slope in the land, by flattening an area, and then sculpting a step. These grass and turf structures appear in designs from every period in Bridgeman's career, and are present in his earliest known work at Sacombe in 1715 and in his final design at Amesbury in 1738. They appear on the plans for Boughton House (Map 2i, F) and Eastbury (Map 5i C) in their simplest form, to deal with a shallow gradient. At Amesbury there is a diamond of earth terraces which frames Gay's Cave on the steep cliff which forms part of the ramparts of the Iron Age hillfort Vespasian's Camp, both for aesthetic reasons, and presumably the practicality of ascending a precipitate incline (Map 1i B). Other designs include more complex variations which Bridgeman refers to as 'Theater[s]', for example in his instruction on unidentified plan MSGD a4 fo.25: 'The several falls of the Theater from the center of the walk to Cowley Wood at A to the Bason at B which is 34 feet perpendicular' (MSGD a4 fo.25). The plans for Sacombe (Map 12i H), Hackwood (Map 7i D), and Gobions (Map 6i E) show a 'Theater' with three or four sculpted steps, sometimes decreasing in size. They represent extensive undertakings; for example, the terraces at Hackwood measure 164m x 92m. However, Bridgeman's most ambitious and audacious use of terraced earth is in the creation of semi-circular turf amphitheatres, at Rousham (Map 11i) and at Claremont (Map 3i A). Both the amphitheatres in the sample still exist in earthwork form presumably because, once built, they are very difficult to

obliterate either by ploughing out, or by any other means. They vary in size, although all measurements given here are approximate, because some degradation of the earth work has often occurred. They were measured using the measuring tool on Ordnance Survey maps at www.edina.ac.uk at their widest points. The bigger is at Claremont 108m x 94 m, while the smaller, at Rousham, is roughly 20 m x 40 m. The presence of a spectacular amphitheatre at The Moot at Downton has led Mowl to speculate that this, too, is a Bridgeman design, although there is a certain crudeness in the design and proportion which suggests it is not (Mowl 2004).

Jacques and van der Horst trace the practice of sculpting and turfing earth to France: 'Where an earth terrace was made in a garden the usual practice in France as elsewhere was to form a turf *glacis*, or slope' although they suggest 'the English were ….. pre-eminent in the decorative sculpturing of such slopes'. They use the terraces in the Maastricht garden designed by Wise, and maintained by both Wise and Bridgeman in their capacity as Royal Gardener, as an example of this (Jacques and van der Horst 1988, 126). There is considerable evidence that turfed and stepped structures were not uncommon in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth century gardens, so that they do not seem to be an innovation of Bridgeman's. However, turfed amphitheatres do seem to be largely an invention of his own. Their stone antecedents may well be from Italy where they were originally derived from Roman structures. Dixon Hunt has shown that, in Italy, the 'descending concave set of steps leading to a circular platform from which an answering set of convex steps descended further – became a distinctive garden form' (Dixon Hunt 1986, 61). He points out the similarities between Bridgeman's Claremont and the theatre in the gardens of the Isola Bella in Lake Maggiore, and Serlio's illustration of the exedra in the Vatican Belvedere which Bramante had adapted from the Roman Temple at Palestrina (Dixon Hunt 1986, 61- 62). It seems unlikely that Bridgeman visited Italy, but these structures were present in engravings by influential architects, including Palladio, and the books were probably accessible to him in the libraries of his clients, like the Earl of Oxford. Bridgeman is recorded by Humfrey Wanley as visiting Harley's library on a number of occasions between 1721 and 1725 (Willis 2002, 69). In practical terms, as Dixon Hunt suggests, there was 'an attraction of these steps for their own sake, their ability to negotiate a hillside while allowing the spectator to pause and view above and below…' (Dixon Hunt 1986, 61). It is interesting, in this regard, that the amphitheatres at Rousham and Claremont are set into very steep slopes, and are good ways of providing access up and down them. Whether, like their Italian counterparts, they were ever intended for theatrical performance is not clear.

We might also consider mounts as an element of Bridgeman's style. As Williamson has suggested, mounts were common in English gardens in Tudor and Stuart gardens where they were designed to provide views beyond the garden to the wider park (Williamson 1995, 20). The mount

in the centre of the water garden at Boughton (Map 2i D), although striking, predates Bridgeman's involvement with the landscape since estate accounts show that work had begun in 1724 when a man was killed on it (NRO Montague Accounts 33). However, there are other examples in the sample. There is another at Gunton Park in Norfolk but there is some ambiguity about its construction which is why it is not included in the sample. Bridgeman's plan shows a mount roughly 15 m in diameter, whereas the mount, measured on 1st Edition Ordnance Survey c.1880, measures around 40 m in diameter. Although the path which winds to the summit has the same character as Bridgeman's, it is, of necessity, much longer. It is difficult to be sure, but it seems likely that the mount Bridgeman designed was enlarged either when it was built, or later. In the sample, there is a mount at Eastbury (Map 5i B), two are sketched in on the perimeter walk at Boughton (Map2i A and B), two at Kensington (Map 8i B) and a modified version at Lodge Park (Map 9i B). They seem to be included where elevation is needed to create a viewpoint with which to view the surrounding landscape, as, for example at Boughton House where the most easterly mount appears to have been designed to coincide with the marked 106m contour, the highest point on the interfluve between the River Ise and the River Nene and its tributaries (Figure 29) (digimap.edina.ac.uk).

Bridgeman's designs for Eastbury, Hackwood and Moor Park. are wholly or partially contained within military-style walls with bastions placed along them at intervals and ditches bordering them. At Eastbury, the brick sections of the walls and ditches which enclosed Bridgeman's garden have been revealed by archaeological survey (https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000549). At Hackwood Bridgeman enclosed the late seventeenth-century wood shown on the survey (MSGD a3 fo.4) with what he terms, in the language of fortification, a 'Tarrace, Stocade & Fossee' (MSGD a3 fo.34). Vanbrugh created bastion gardens at Blenheim, (see Bridgeman's plan for Blenheim Palace 1709, Figure 2) and at Sacombe (Milledge 2009, 41) (Map 12 i); both are sites where Bridgeman also worked, and it is tempting to assume that Vanbrugh influenced Bridgeman. Dalton argues that Vanbrugh was largely responsible for the garden at Eastbury even though Colen Campbell attributes the design to Bridgeman in *Vitruvius Britannicus III* (1725); she uses as evidence a rough sketch of Eastbury which appears on the reverse of a plan in Gough Drawings (MSGD a4 fo.80-81, which Willis suggests is for Claremont) which she suggests is by Vanbrugh (Dalton 2012, 159 /188). Williams has argued persuasively that the fortified gardens designed by Vanbrugh have their roots in the military campaigns of the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century campaigns in Europe (Williams in Ridgeway and Williams 2000). Interestingly, with regard to Bridgeman, their form is also echoed in diagrams of star forts signed by Clement Lemprière, and dated 1715, found amongst the miscellaneous plans in Gough Drawings drawings.

While ditches or 'fosses' are often shown on Bridgeman plans where there are raised walls carrying terraces, (for example on Boughton 2 shown on Map 2i between A and B), there are fewer clear examples of hahas, a ditch with a hidden perpendicular wall on the garden side, deliberately designed to create a barrier to stock without interrupting views over the countryside. Horace Walpole is unequivocal in crediting Bridgeman with the invention of the ditch or haha (Walpole 1780, Dixon Hunt (ed.) 1995). If it were entirely Bridgeman's invention, then it would clearly have been a significant contribution to garden design, since, in Walpole's view, it was an important marker in the emergence of the 'natural' garden. However, in spite of what was written by Walpole, the idea of the haha predates Bridgeman. James' translation of Dézaillier d'Argenville's 1709 work *La Theorie et La Pratique du Jardinage* (both of which predate Bridgeman's known design career) offers them as an alternative to a grill: 'At present we frequently make thoroughviews, called Ah Ah, which are openings in the walls, without grills, to the very level of the walks, with a large and deep ditch….' (Dézaillier d'Argenville 1709 translated by James 1712, 77). It is not clear from this description whether a wall was built inside the ditch. Bridgeman certainly seems to have created ditches designed as barriers to stock. The ditch at Hackwood seems to have been intended for that purpose; the insertion of pieces of wood 'each 6 feet 6 inches long & 4 Inches Square/ & to be placed in the Slope according to the Section at 6 Inches assunder section of the Tarrace, Stocade, & fosse', very much in the manner of a military fortification (Figure 20), seems to be a deliberate stock barrier. However, the profile is not of a traditional haha. Perhaps it is only possible to be certain that Bridgeman created a haha at Wolterton where his letter to Walpole in 1736 makes it clear that he intended to replace a hedge with a ditch in which a wall would be built:

> …wee opend the Laurell hedge on furtherest side of the Grove to the width agreed on which takes in the width of the South Terrace…& the Western end of the house …. Wee have likewise agreed upon the fencing in the Garden on the western end; which is, by placing a common pale behind the lawn hedge before mentiond, immediately west of the grove before mentiond, except where the opening is before the western end of the house, and in that space 'tis proposed to be a wall of 4 feet high set in a fosse…. (WH 8/12 box 3LX).

It may be significant that this is towards the end of his career, when the fashion for 'natural' gardening, which Walpole is specifically referencing, was becoming established.

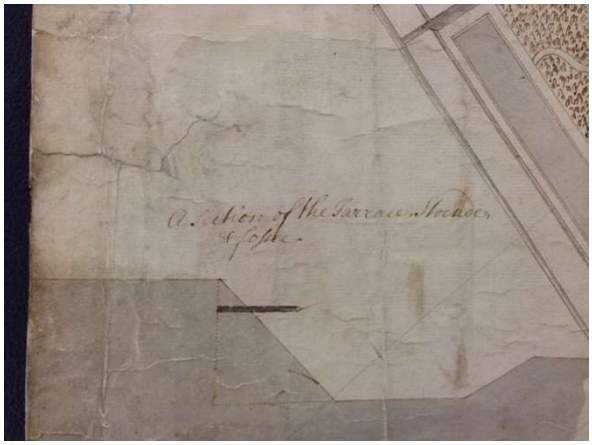


Figure 20 Detail from the plan for Hackwood (MSGD a3 fo.34).

Every Bridgeman design in the sample has at least one body of water, and, often, more than one. Almost without exception, the shapes of these bodies of water read visually as formal and geometric. Canals are straight sided and terminate either in apsidal ends or with larger, chamfered-cornered, square ponds as at Sacombe (Map 12i E) or Gobions (Map 6i D). Existing water courses are given straight sides and transformed into serpentine canals, for example the River Cherwell as at Rousham (Map 1i B) or Pincey Brook at Down Hall (Map 4i A). All ponds are geometric shapes, either circular, octagonal, square, triangular, or rectangular, often with chamfered corners or apsidal ends. In spite of Pope's line 'Lo! *Bridgeman* comes, and floats them with a lake' quoted above, Bridgeman seems to have created few lakes. This seems less surprising when we consider that Bishop defines a lake as two hectares or more, and contends that they were rare in the early part of the eighteenth century (Bishop 2017). Within the sample there are only two; one at Wolterton (Map 13i E), and one in Kensington Gardens, the Long Water, part of the Serpentine Map 8ii); both are straight sided, formal bodies of water.

Bridgeman's treatment of water is closely similar in style to that in the gardens of the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth- centuries, in both England and Europe. The probable source of these geometric ponds and canals are those designed for French gardens in the late seventeenth century, particularly those of Le Nôtre, and his atelier; it is significant that it is possible to find identical patterns to those in the sample in Le Nôtre's plans in Bouchenot-Déchin and Farhat's extensive retrospective work on Le Nôtre *Le Nôtre in Perspective,* designed as a companion volume to the exhibition held at Versailles in 2014. For example, the basin at Sacombe (Map 12i A) is identical to one on a 1665 plan for Versailles from Le Nôtre's workshop (Bouchenot-Déchin and Farhat 2014, 215) and the octagonal basins at Down Hall (Map 4i B) is closely similar to the design for the Grounds at Choisy 1680-85 (Bouchenot-Déchin and Farhat, Designs and Drawings

II, 14). The apsidal-ended, rectangular basins at Down Hall (Map 4i D) and Hackwood (Map7i H) are of the same design as a basin at Marly (Bouchenot-Déchin and Farhat, Designs and Drawings II, 13). There is a straight-sided lake which turns a corner, as at Wolterton (Map 13i E) in the design for Chantilly of 1673 (Bouchenot-Déchin and Farhat, Designs and Drawings II). Pierre II Desgots' design for the canal at Chantilly, held in the Nationalmuseum Stockholm c.1673 (THC 7803, shown in Bouchenot-Déchin and Farhat) has strong echoes of the canals at Hackwood (Map7i A). This is by no means an exhaustive list. These shapes of bodies of water are also echoed in Dutch gardens of the same period, for example in the plan for Het Loo drawn by Christiaan van Staden c.1700 (Jacques and van der Horst 1988, 57), and in the ponds and canals in the eighty plates in *Britannia Illustrata* published in 1707.

There are very few exceptions to what appears to be Bridgeman's rather formulaic approach to bodies of water. One is the design for Gobions where a pre-existing water course, a tributary of Ray Brook, (Map 6i) is shown in what appears to be its natural state with vegetation on its irregular banks, although the two cascades shown descending along its course, must have been artificially added (Map 6i H) as was the pool (Map 6i F). It is hard to know what to make of this. It is not without precedent, however. For example, Le Nôtre's drawing for the Trianon Garden at Versailles where The Garden of Natural Springs (Le Jardin des Sources) is shown as a series of irregular shaped pools linked by serpentine streams within what is clearly an otherwise relatively formal garden (Bouchenot-Déchin and Farhat, Designs and Drawings II, 6) (Figure 21). Jeffrey has shown that a similarly styled watercourse, although artificially constructed, was designed by Nicholas Hawksmoor, the architect partly responsible for the design of Castle Howard, c.1701 for Lord Carlisle's garden in Wray Wood at Castle Howard in North Yorkshire. Two drawings show a pictorial design and a schematic version for a winding brook in the wood coming from the mouth of a cave (Figure 2 and 4 in Jeffrey 2018, 39 and 41). It may be that these are all style innovations, or perhaps, in the Trianon garden and at Gobions, at least, they were a response to an area of saturated ground in which canals with straight sides were much more difficult to construct. Another possibility is that the straight-sided canalization of existing rivers or brooks that appear on so many of Bridgeman's designs are a visual trope rather than a practical suggestion. Certainly at Rousham, Amesbury and Down Hall there is no archaeological evidence that the Rivers Cherwell and Avon, and Pincey Brook were treated in this way.

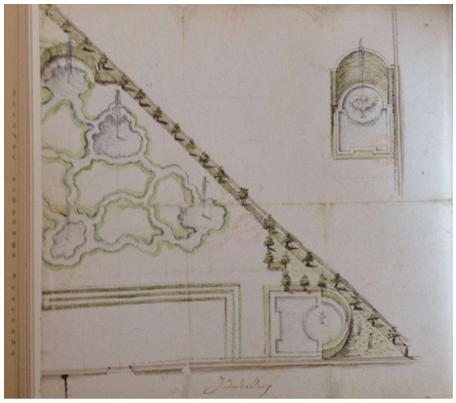


Figure 21 Le Jardin des Sources at le Petit Trianon, Versailles by Le Nôtre and associates (Bouchenot-Déchin and Farhat 2014, 6 Notebook 2)

There are five cascades in Bridgeman's corpus. Four are in the sample I have chosen; one is at Moor Park, although only shown on one plan (MSGD a4 fo.58) (Map10i H), one is at Lodge Park (Map 9i E) and two are at Gobions (Map 6i J). It is not clear whether the cascade at Moor Park was built; Sir John Evelyn noted, in 1726, that there is 'a design of making a Cascade on one side of ye house' which suggests that it had yet to be built. It seems likely that it might have been under construction, however, by 1728 when Sir Edward Gascoigne visited the park and commented on the great expense of building a canal and cascade, although there is little evidence on the site today. The remains of the cascades at Gobions are visible in Gobions Wood, but both are very short and are fed by the constant flow of the stream. The cascade at Lodge Park is shown at the end of the serpentine canal, through the middle of the retaining dam for Bridgeman's serpentine canal. Neither the dam nor the canal were ever constructed (Smith 2006, 241). The paucity of cascades in Bridgeman's designs is unusual. Given their relative popularity as a way of producing both sound and light, and dealing with differences in levels on a site, it might seem strange that Bridgeman, an accomplished hydraulics engineer (see Chapter 5), did not use them. Roberts suggests that they were popular in the early part of the eighteenth century, pointing out that John James' translation of Dézaillier's D'Argenville's Théorie et Pratique (1712) includes a design for a cascade and that Bourguignon's design for Gisburn (1721), Studley Royal and the design for Stanway executed c.1730, all include them (Roberts in Ridgeway and Williams 2000). In particular, she suggests that they fascinated Switzer, who comments on their beauty in *Introduction to a General System of Hydrostaticks and Hydraulicks* 'in some artificial Cascades and beautiful Falls of Water in England', singling out Dyrham Park, Whetham and Chatsworth as examples (Ichnographia Rustica I 1729, 12). He designed them for Spye Park in Wiltshire and Exton Park in Rutland, both in 1732 (Roberts in Ridgeway and Williams 2000, 165). In this regard, Switzer's proposed revision of Bridgeman's Claremont design (*Hydrostaticks and*

Hydraulicks 1729) to include a cascade, shows the difference in their approach. However, it seems to have been problematic to construct fountains or a cascade on terrain that was not steeply inclined with a constant supply of water. Lord Halifax wrote, in 1710, to The Duke of Montagu during the construction of the water garden at Boughton for advice on the construction of a cascade; 'I desire you would write to Boughton to Monr Vandermulen to send me an exact account of the cascade , viz. how many feet the water falls, the dimensions of the steps, the breadth of each step, the distance from step to step, and, if he can, to make such a draft of the whole, by a scale, as we may follow the example as far as our ground admits of it' (Steane 1977,404). It also seems to have proved necessary at Boughton to install a windmill to pump the water for the fountains (RCHME 1979,158). Most of Bridgeman's landscapes were constructed in the south of England where steep hills and fast flowing streams were in short supply (see Chapter 6).

Designed to be seen from above, either from the *piano nobile* or from a rampart above a sunken garden, by the end of the seventeenth century the parterre had become a sophisticated art form. The level of sophistication to which it had risen is reflected in Dezaillier d'Argenville's codification in *La Théorie et la Pratique du jardinage* (1709) where he lists five different types: '*parterre de broderie; parterre de compartiment; parterre à l'Angloise; parterres de pieces coupées pours les fleurs; parterres d'orangerie*' (Jacques and van der Horst 1988, 122). The parterre à l'Angloise was thought to be particularly English in its use of turf. Laird suggests that the move towards replacing the ornately planted parterre was 'generated from England' and uses the example of Cliveden in Berkshire, a landscape Bridgeman worked on, where, in 1723 and 1724, grass was chosen over broderie for the parterre (Laird 1992, 93). He contends that in France, Holland and particularly England, the parterre 'had lost its traditional importance, as grass, water and bosquet gained dominance over boxwork' (Laird 1992, 94). London and Wise, from the generation before Bridgeman's, designed parterres, as did Switzer. *Ichnographia Rustica* (1718) has several illustrations of Switzer's designs, and gives detailed instructions on the proportions of parterres, and advocates the use of 'Bowling-green or plain Parterres' as 'The beautifullest with us in *England*, on Account of the Goodness of our Turf' (Switzer 1718, 84). In spite of this, Bridgeman does not seem to have designed any parterres, except, perhaps, at Eastbury; here the design is formal and symmetrical and a combination of square and rectangular groves provide most of the structure. Two rectangles are turfed parterres flanking the rectangular pool do appear to be an integral part of the design (Map 5i). It seems likely that at Sacombe, the only other plan in the sample where parterres are shown, they were part of a design that predates Bridgeman's, since they are detached from Bridgeman's scheme. At Wolterton, conversely, it is possible to see Bridgeman replacing parterres. The earliest survey (MSGD a3 fo.33), certainly predating Bridgeman's involvement, shows the original house before it was destroyed, with three parallel broderie parterres. One of the earlier plans of the series for Wolterton (MSGD a3 fo.18) shows

Ripley's newly positioned house, and a space labelled '4. Flower garden' but the final design (MSGD a4 fo.20) shows plain turf instead.

Dézaillier d'Argenville's *La theorie et la practique du jardinage* (1709) and translated by James into English in 1712, highlights the importance of trees in gardens in both France and England, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century: 'This chapter contains all that is noble and agreeable in a garden, namely woods and groves, for no garden without these can be accounted handsome, since they make the greatest ornaments thereof' (James 1712). In the majority of the plans in the sample 'woods and groves' play a significant part in the design: Amesbury Abbey (Map 1i), Down Hall (Map 4i), Gobions (Map 6i), Hackwood (Map 7i), Lodge Park (Map 9i), Moor Park (Map10i), Rousham (Map11i), Sacombe (Map 12i) and Wolterton (Map 13i).

There is some ambiguity about the terminology associated with the description of this woodland. In France, the wooded part of a design was known as a 'bosquet', translated by James as 'grove', and given a variety of other names in England 'including 'thicket', 'boscage', 'coppice' and 'wood' (Jacques and van der Horst 1988; Woudstra 2017). Woodland was also known as a 'wilderness', a term Woudstra suggests has caused some difficulty because it originally referred, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, to a place planted specifically for withdrawal and contemplation outside the walls of the garden, but by the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries had become the most popular term for a wooded area, or grove, close to the house with serpentine paths (Woudstra 2017, 72/73). Bridgeman seems to use the terms 'grove' and 'wilderness' interchangeably. On the plan for Great Saxham Hall the word 'wilderness' is scribbled in pencil to label an area of serpentine paths and cabinets (MSGD a3 fo.41) while the 'trees of the Grove' are referred to in Bridgeman's letter to Walpole in 1736 (8/12 Box 3LX). He also denotes trees with term 'Wood' on the plan for Purley (MSGD a4 fo. 54) and 'Plantation' at Wimpole (MSGD a4 fo.31) and at Scampston (MSGD a4 fo.27).

Dézaillier d'Argenville set out a rather rigid categorisation of 'groves'. Accessible in England in James' translation, he specified six ways that trees might be used: 'Forests, or Woods of high Trees; Coppice Woods; Groves of a Middle Height with tall Pallisades; Groves opened in Compartments; Groves planted in Quincunx, or in Squares; and Woods of Evergreens' (James 1712, 49). In *A History of Groves,* Woudstra offers an explanation of each category. 'Forests, or Woods of high Trees' covered a large area, with trees sown broadcast, or in lines six feet apart, the whole area spatially organised in a star shape with a circle in the middle from which radiated rides to facilitate hunting. 'Coppice Woods' were 'sown or planted in a similar manner to forest woods' except that they were divided into nine parts, one of which was coppiced every year. 'Groves of a Middle Height with tall Pallisades' were composed of trees maintained, either

through pruning or through selection of species, at between thirty and forty feet in height, surrounded by hedges or lattice-work fencing and arranged to fill the spaces between 'Halls, Cabinets, Galleries and Fountains' which were linked by gravel walks. In all three of the preceding types of design, the trees were designed to obscure the views between walks. In 'Groves opened in Compartments' and 'Groves planted in Quincunx, or in Squares', this was not the case. 'Groves opened in Compartments' delineated the compartments with trees planted along the edges, but there were no trees within each compartment, while in 'Groves planted in Quincunx, or in Squares', the trees were aligned precisely diagonally or at right-angles to each other, without hedges and on short turf or raked soil. 'Woods of Evergreens' were evergreen plantations, but no specific detail is provided by Dézaillier d'Argenville (Woudstra 2017, 68-71). James's translation also offers further advice on the 'Form and Design' of groves. He suggests that it is important to 'pierce them with Alleys as much as possible, not making so many Works and Returns in them as to Waste the whole Area of the Wood', and that they should contain 'the following designs as Cloisters, Labyrinths, Quincinxes, Bowling-greens, Halls, Cabinets, circular and square Compartments, Halls for Comedy, Covered Halls, Natural and Artificial Arbours, Fountains, Isles, Cascades, Water-Galleries, Green-Galleries, &c.' (James 1712, 49).

This categorization reflects the design of the woodland presented in Notebook 2 in *André Le Nôtre in Perspective* at, for example, Versailles, Choisy and Chantilly, unsurprisingly since *La theorie et la practique du jardinage* advertises itself as being in 'the style of Le Notre'. The 'Plan de Chantilly' by Pierre Desgots, for example, shows many of the types of bosquets listed above: to the south-west of the chateau there is an area of woodland arranged around two star shapes with a circle at the centre, and in the close vicinity of the chateau are a number of bosquets, some with 'Halls, Cabinets, Galleries and Fountains' and, presumably, contained within hedges or lattice work palisades, as well as one 'Groves opened in Compartments'. Further to the south, and further from the chateau, the land is wooded, bisected by allées. The recent reconstruction of the gardens at Versailles has produced a very clear picture of the types of bosquets categorised in Dézaillier d'Argenville (see Figure 22) as do many of the paintings reproduced in *André Le Nôtre in Perspective*. The '*View of the Galerie d'Eau or Salle des Antiquites at Sceaux'*, reproduced on page 248 also offers a clear picture of 'Groves of a Middle Height with tall Pallisades' where the palisades are of lattice-work, while the illustration '*Design for the Fountaine of Bacchus at Versailles*' from page 258 shows tufted trees surrounded by tall hedges.

Figure 22 A ‘Grove of Middle Height with tall Pallisades’ at Versailles in February 2014.

It may be of interest that amongst the plans in Gough Drawings, catalogued as MSGD a3 fo.13, is a plan for the bosquets at Choisy. It is identical in layout to the plan of Choisy published in Bouchenot-Déchin and Farhat, in Notebook 2 by ‘Desgots pere et fils’, although it appears to be a rougher drawing. It is labelled ‘Choisie’ on the reverse. Since it is in Gough Drawings, it is tempting to think that, if not copied by Bridgeman himself, it formed part of his library of drawings, although it might also have belonged to Clement Lemprière, or have arrived in the collection of drawings later.

We might assume that the bosquets being created in France in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries had a direct influence on the style of the groves created in England in the same period, particularly given the presence of French Royal gardeners at court. Woudstra makes the point that Queen Henrietta Maria used André Mollet at Wimbledon Manor in the early seventeenth century, and Le Nôtre provided a design for Greenwich later in the seventeenth century. However, the picture is probably more complicated. Wildernesses were already popular, and were being created, in gardens in the sixteenth century and early seventeenth century in England (Williamson in Woudstra and Roth (eds.) 2017, 48; Woudstra 2017, 72). Evidence of designs like those described by Dézaillier d’Argenville can certainly be seen in the engravings of English houses in *Britannia Illustrata* (1707) and Woudstra’s survey of the engravings does show that a significant proportion have groves of the types described by Dézaillier d’Argenville. Of the

seventy estates depicted forty-one have a grove of the type and shape in *Theorie et Practique,* as well as seven others where there is a rectangular grove (Woudstra 2017, 76). However, there do seem to be some differences. He shows that, where it is possible to distinguish what types of trees have been used, by far the greatest number (nineteen) are fruit trees, which James does not mention, while thirteen are quincunx or open groves, eleven are woods and five are groves in open compartments. He notes that only three are groves of middle height, a surprisingly small number given their predominance in France, apparent in the plans of Le Nôtre's work, and in paintings of the royal gardens, in France (Woudstra 2017, 76). Henry Wise's innovative design for the grove at Kensington Gardens in which he planted a flat site with graduated trees, creating the illusion of a slope, has no known models in France. In spite of these minor differences from the practice in France, there was still a general formality about the planting of woodland in England at the beginning of the eighteenth century; in a significant proportion of the plates in *Britannia Illustrata* (1707), great houses sit in the centre of designs in which, except in the immediate vicinity of the house, compartments, planted geometrically, more or less densely with trees, are divided from each other by straight allées.

However, in the same period, alternatives to this rigidity were being offered. For example, Switzer's *Ichnographia Rustica* (1718), and Batty Langley's *The New Principles of Gardening* (1728), were both presented by their authors as offering a radically different approach. Switzer criticises the practice of creating rides or broad allées through pre-existing woodland by cutting down 'all the noble Trees that stand in the way of this Scheme' (Switzer 1718, 198). His alternative suggestion is that the design of woodland should follow the natural topography: 'When you find a Wood that has a great many Hills and Dales, and is almost all of it compos'd of Irregularities, 'tis there one should not strain either the Fancy or the Purse, but follow those little Shelvings and natural Turns and Meanders' (Switzer 1718, 198). Within this woodland, he suggests cabinets of the sort, as he admits, might be found in James's translation of Dézaillier d'Argenville:

> Tis in large Hollows and low Grounds, and in the Middle or Center of Woods, that we make our little Cabinets and Gardens, of which some are to be found in this Book, and others may be taken out of Mr James's, besides an infinite Variety that may be contriv'd; but the Lines extended from them should not be carry'd out too far, for that will make one unavoidably split upon the former Error of Regularity.

Switzer's plan for the fictional 'Manor at Paston' *Ichnographia Rustica* (1715) probably demonstrates his ideas. It shows an axially aligned garden in which the spaces between the few straight allées are filled with cabinets connected by serpentine paths (Figure 22). In *The New*

Principles of Gardening (1728). Similarly, Batty Langley's 'Method of laying out Gardens, after the manner exhibited in the following Plates' is advertised as being '*truly Grand and Noble, after Nature's own Manner'* with 'no three Trees together range in a strait Line; excepting now and then by Chance, to cause Variety' (Langely 1728, vi). Plate XII shows a house with four groves arranged symmetrically around it; one of the groves has a number of serpentine paths within it, and another has trees apparently planted without straight lines.

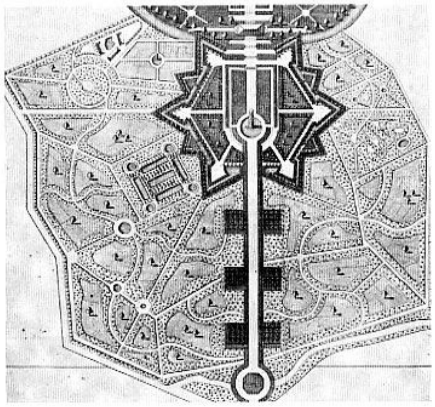


Figure 24 The Manor at Paston Switzer (*Ichnographia Rustica 1715*).

The garden designed in Wray Wood, at Castle Howard in North Yorkshire, probably by Nicholas Hawksmoor, (Jeffrey 2018, 61-62) also follows a less formal pattern. An estate map in Castle Howard archives dating from 1773 shows a number of serpentine paths linking cabinets in the wood (Jeffrey 2019, Figure 13, 14) and, while Jeffrey admits it is impossible to be certain the design is Hawksmoor's, she makes a plausible case for his authorship in her exploration of his drawings for the design of the watercourse and cascade in the interior of Wray Wood (Jeffrey 2018, Figures 3, 4 and 5). She suggests that his inspiration might have come from France, and cites in particular Le Nôtre's 'Labirinthe' (Figure 23) (Jeffrey 2019, 29). It is tempting to speculate on cross-fertilisation of ideas between Bridgeman and Hawksmoor in the evolution of woodland design. Bridgeman almost certainly worked with Hawksmoor at Blenheim and it is probably Hawksmoor's plan that forms the basis of Bridgeman's plan of Greenwich (CMP/30). (See Chapter 3).

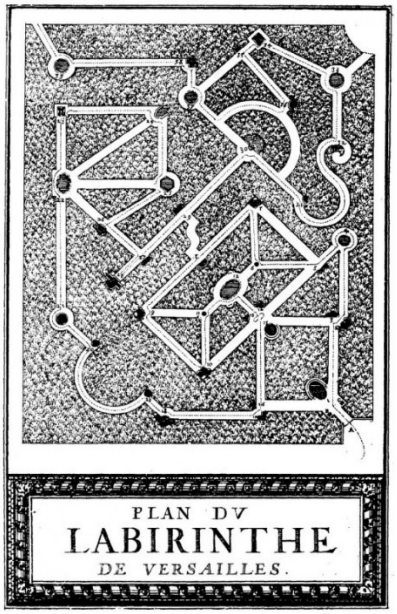


Figure 23 The Versailles Labyrinth (www.laboiteverte.fr/le-plan-du-labyrinthe-de-versailles).

Bridgeman's groves display considerable stylistic variety, and we might see in them some of the stylistic evolution of groves indicated in the discussion above. Eastbury (c.1725) is the plan that most clearly conforms to a formal grove structure axially arranged. The garden to the east of Vanbrugh's house contains, within its hahas and bastion walls, wooded groves more or less symmetrically arranged around wider allées, bisected by straight and serpentine paths (Map 5i). In the presentation plan for Wolterton also c.1725 (MSGD a4 fo.20), there are also formal groves; to the immediate south of the house (Map 13i C) there are what appear to be 'Groves planted in Squares', as described by James, and to the west a more complicated design of a double cross with square cabinets connected by straight and serpentine paths (Map13i F). Other designs seem to suggest a move towards the ideas set out by Switzer and Langley. At Sacombe (1715) Bridgeman's design cuts a patte d'oie, axially aligned on the house through an irregularly shaped piece of woodland; the main axis leads through the trees on a raised walk to a canal (Map 12i E), while to the north-western arm leads to a cabinet with terraces and a pool (Map 12i A), and another straight walk runs south to the edge of the woodland. Otherwise Bridgeman's design leaves the interior of the woodland undisturbed. At Down Hall (1720) the central arm of the patte d'oie runs through pre-existing woodland on a north-south axis to an octagonal basin (Map 4i B). The arm to the north-west walk terminates at the canalised stream, while to the east, a shorter arm terminates in a pool (Map 4i D). In the British Library version of the plan, (BL Loan 29/357), the two cabinets embedded between each of the arms of patte d'oie are linked by serpentine paths. Again Bridgeman leaves the remaining woodland undisturbed. The designs for Moor Park (c.1720) (Map 10i), and Hackwood (c.1722 - 1727) (Map 7i) also have an axial focus on the house from which straight walks radiate. At Moor Park, within a roughly hexagonal grove flanked by

straight walks and bisected by the canal (D), cabinets and enclosures are created connected by narrow straight and serpentine paths. Within each of three areas, cabinets, pools, fountains and a cascade, are linked by straight and serpentine paths (F). At Hackwood (Map 7i), a kite shaped enclosure originally planted as a 'Groves opened in Compartments' (MSGD a4 fo.4) to the east of the house is transformed by Bridgeman into a continuous woodland criss-crossed by the pre-existing straight walks which are then filled with fountains (J), cabinets (F), a terraced theatre (D) and a menagerie (B), linked by straight and serpentine paths (C) to each other. Both designs invite different routes between the main axes.

At Rousham (c.1720?) (Map 11i) and Gobions (1732) (Map 6i) we see something much closer to Wray Wood. Both are detached gardens, and are some way from the house; in the case of Gobions, much farther than Wray Wood is from Castle Howard. The placing of the 'wilderness' at a distance from the house in itself does not seem to have been such a rarity. Batty Langley suggests a practical reason for this in *New Principles of Gardening*, in 1728: 'Indeed 'tis oftentimes necessary to place Groves and open Wildernesses in such remote Parts of Garden, from whence pleasant Prospects are taken' although this cannot be the reason at Gobions since it is in a valley (Langley 1728, xi). It may be that the gardens at Rousham and at Gobions (and perhaps also Wray Wood) echo, whether intentionally or not, a much earlier version of the 'grove', the wilderness of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, described by Anthony Watson c.1582 as allowing withdrawal 'from those riches of pleasure and prosperity' in the garden 'to less accessible places' (Watson in Woudstra 2017, 72).

However, there is innovation in the internal structure of the landscapes at Rousham and Gobions. Because the gardens are at some distance from the house and, certainly in the case of Rousham and probably at Gobions, not wholly visible from it, there is no axis to anchor them to the house. While at Hackwood or Moor Park the internal structure of the grove might invite alternative routes between features, at Rousham and Gobions the internal structure necessitates one. At Rousham (Map 11i) the only wide allée is the Elm Walk and it, and other important features, the square ponds (A) and the cabinet (H), can be accessed on a number of narrow paths (G). Similarly, at Gobions, a number of routes to the main features, the canal (D), the theatre (E) and the pool and cascades (F), might be devised. It is interesting that in the case of both Rousham and Gobions, narratives of journeys around them have been written. At Rousham, John Macclary, the gardener during Kent's reworking of Bridgeman's landscape in 1738, described a circuit round the garden in a letter to his absent employers in 1750. Although the garden Macclary is describing is Kent's garden, close examination of the plan published with Batey's article *The way to view Rousham by Kent's Gardener* suggests that the structure itself was little changed from Bridgeman's. At Gobions, a circuit through the garden is described by George Bickham Jr in 1750: 'Imagine to

yourself a vast Hill, shaded all over with a Forest of Oaks, through which have been cut an infinite Number of Alleys covered with the finest Gravel. Here you meet with a Grotto, agreeably adorned, in which is heard the gentle Murmur of a Cascade….' (Bickham in Williamson and Rowe 2012, 83). It is hard to avoid the conclusion that a choice of route is inherent in this structure and was Bridgeman's intention in the design.

As the dates of the designs explored above suggest, we cannot make the development of Bridgeman's woodland into a neat chronological evolution. It is probable, although there is some doubt about the date of Bridgeman's design (see Chapter 3), that one of his earliest gardens, at Rousham, is designed innovatively as a detached, continuous grove without axis, while in his last, at Amesbury (Map 1i), he creates an axial alignment and displays a formality in its use of trees which would not be out of place in the work of Le Nôtre. It is puzzling that Bridgeman's designs do not follow any evolutionary pattern. It may be that Bridgeman, as Jeffrey suggests of Hawksmoor 'always accepted and respected his patron's wishes and interests' (Jeffrey 2018, 26) and that these did not always follow the way fashion and his ideas were developing. It is also possible that Bridgeman's pragmatic approach to landscape design influenced the kind of grove he designed (see below).

Even in those plans without significant groves, trees remain important structurally, in the delination of space. Bridgeman uses trees to shape space, create sightlines and screen unwanted views. At three sites, Amesbury (Map 1i), Eastbury (Map 5i) and Lodge Park (Map 9i) blocks of trees are planted in a distinctive shape, something like the silhouette of a ziggurat. At Eastbury the formation mirrors the shape of the fortified garden to the north of the house (Map5i G). At Amesbury the trees are used to create an axis in the garden from the rond point on top of the Iron Age hillfort, Vespasian's Camp, in the west, (Map1i A) to the obelisk on the precinct wall in the east (G), which by-passes the house as its focus. The effect is both to direct the vista down across the garden towards the Abbey precinct wall (G), and to play with the perspective of a relatively short main axis. At Lodge Park (c.1728) (Map 9i) a shape formed of terraces of trees diminishing towards the boundary at A channels the view from the deer course lodge (C). It may be that at both Amesbury and Lodge Park, some new planting was required to achieve this effect. There is strong evidence from Sir John Dutton's account, which refers to the purchase of trees on a vast scale, that this was largely new planting (Smith 2006). Bridgeman's plan for Lodge Park (MSGD a4 fo.68) (Map 9i) makes a distinction between trees shown in brown ink and those shown in pencil, and it is possible that this denoted trees already present and those to be planted. It is also likely that some of the trees at Amesbury would have been newly planted since in 1737 the Duchess of Queensberry wrote to Henrietta Howard:

> If you should happen to see my Lord Scarborough, would you have the goodness to tell him that I am vastly obliged to him? It was prodigiously honest to remember even during his illness that he had promised beech-mast. If the year had proved half so good as it promised, we should have had plenty; hitherto we have got none. Without doubt this is very impertinent; but pray excuse it if you possibly can, for I am planting mad (Murray (ed.) Vol.2, 1824, 160 cited in Haynes 2013, 163).

The definition of space and perspective with the use of large geometric blocks of woodland appears to have few antecedents. We might argue that the blocks of woodland themselves have their roots in D'Argenville's 'Forests, and great Woods of tall Trees' which were 'at least a League, or many Acres in Compass', designed with rides for hunting (Woudstra 2017, 68). They can be seen, for example, in *Britannia Illustrata*, surrounding the house at Westwood in Worcestershire, or in the star design at Longleat. The ziggurat-like shape is not necessarily original since it appears to be a pared down version of the perimeter of seventeenth and early eighteenth century geometric gardens such as Jean-Michel Le Boteux's design for Marly (Bouchenot-Déchin and Farhat, 2014, Notebook 2). It is echoed in Sir Thomas Robinson's design for the park at Rokeby c.1741. Worsley refers to this as 'the hippodrome' and suggests the influence of Pliny's garden in Tusculum and Kent's Exedra at Chiswick for Burlington (1731) and Stowe (Worsley 1987, 78) although, given the date, it is, perhaps, more likely that the influence is from Bridgeman since Sir Thomas Robinson visited Houghton and met Bridgeman (Williamson 1998).

Redefining '*genius loci*'

Geometric gardening

It appears from this discussion that the individual components of Bridgeman's designs were, to a large degree, not innovative, but derived from those in common use by landscape designers in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Although they represent a significant part of his design aesthetic, it is their placing which creates the coherence of the landscape. It would hardly be surprising if this were not underpinned by the ratios, angles, and geometric proportion since, as Williamson notes 'the late geometric theme continued to dominate garden design until the years around 1730' (Williamson 1995, 52). It was also the model presented to Bridgeman by the generation of gardeners that preceded him in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and large sections of gardening manuals and books of the period contained instructions on how to use geometric proportions in garden design. For example, in the Introduction of *Ichnographia Rustica* Vol. 2 (1718) Switzer writes 'Amongst the several Businesses to which Mathematics is turn'd, 'tis certain that 'tis no where and in no Case more useful, plain and diverting, than in the Laying out of Gardens….' (Switzer 1718).

It was clearly simpler to create a stiff geometric framework in a relatively small space, and to produce 'regularity and congruity' by building up small regular units around a central axis, each with a geometric design within it, within a larger rectilinear enclosure (Phibbs 2006, 4). As Phibbs points out, these designs were most suited to smaller, rectilinear, flat sites, of, he suggests, no more than two acres, because it was much easier to accurately replicate the design on the land. Holland, in particular, was, as Jacques and van der Horst have noted, 'well suited to drawing-board designs' (Jacques and van der Horst). There, as De Jong points out, the price of land and the need for drainage dictated the size and design of gardens, and their boundaries (de Jong 2000, 24).

It is, though, clearly possible to achieve a geometric landscape over a vast area, as the landscape at Versailles demonstrates, although setting it out clearly required superior surveying skills. Le Notre created a 'spreading geometry of landscaped circles, squares and intersecting walks – all centred on the main axis with several transversal lines' (Adams 1979, 86). Adams suggests that for Le Nôtre, this was for practical reasons; the technique 'provided the basic ordering devices which enabled Le Nôtre to maintain unity and continuity in the face of unpredictable expansion…. It was additive and could be extended endlessly as the King's obsessions and growing power might require' (Howard Adams 1979, 86). Comparison with the work of Le Nôtre and his collaborators, for Louis XIV and the French aristocracy, is problematic, not least because they

were on a grand scale made possible by the wealth of an absolute monarch and his court. However, *Britannia Illustrata* (1707), Kip and Knyff's depiction in bird's eye view of elite estates in England, also shows very large geometric designs. It is hard to be sure of their size, however, since as McKee suggests 'the aerial perspective is sometimes skewed in favour of the plan format to enable more of the extent of the larger designed landscapes to be included in one plate'; she questions whether the prints can be used as a 'valuable and reliable tool for the landscape historian' (McKee 2004, Vol1.10). What *Britannia Illustrata* does show, however, is that the geometric structure of some of the landscapes depicted uses a similar additive technique to Le Nôtre's. All of Bridgeman's landscapes in the sample seem to have some kind of geometric underpinning, although it is not the additive geometry of Le Nôtre's creation. It is rather a skeleton of angles and ratios, sometimes overt, sometimes hidden. There is obviously also some difficulty associated with investigating this since it is not clear exactly where Bridgeman intended that angles or distances should be measured from, so all attempts have some degree of approximation.

The garden at Eastbury has the most overt symmetrical geometric structure (Map 5i). It is comparable with gardens of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and has strong similarities to the designs created by Le Nôtre and his associates, for example, the design for the grounds at Racconigi 1669 – 74 (Bouchenot – Déchin and Farhat 2014, Notebook 2, 8). It is made up of proportions of one third, and two thirds of the north-south and east-west axes, and the other axes arranged symmetrically off the single, central axis. The rectangular quarters are arranged more or less symmetrically on either side of the axis, and set at right angles to it. Dalton has suggested that the garden at Eastbury may be the result of a close collaboration between Bridgeman and Sir John Vanbrugh (see Chapter 3), who designed the house, and this heavy reliance on geometry might support that (Dalton 2012, 158). Dalton, quite successfully, superimposes the figure of Vitruvian Man onto MSGD a3* fo.9 and also has some success in correlating the head of the figure with the temple area, the upraised arms to the corners of the square groves and the legs with the ziggurat groves to the west of the house (Dalton 2012, 157 fig.11.1).

At Sacombe (c.1715), the design itself is relatively simple, and based on geometric proportions (Figure 25). The main axis, measured from the house to the end of the canal basin, is divided exactly in half at the end of the walk, where, Milledge suggests, the grotto was situated (Milledge 2009, 45). The isosceles triangle formed of the two arms of the patte d'oie and a transverse walk is roughly proportioned so that one side is one fourth of the main axis and the other two are one fifth. The walk to the south is three-fifths of the main axis.

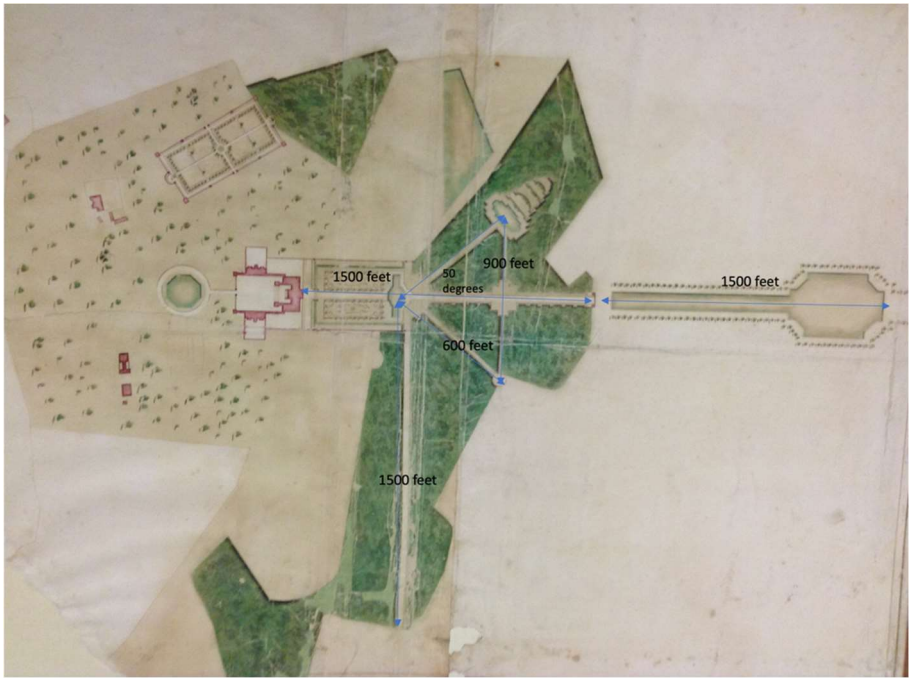


Figure 25 Sacombe MSGD a4 fo.64 showing the proportions of the principal components of the the landscape.

At Lodge Park (c.1729), although the landscape was arranged without any formal walks, a similar structure of geometric ratios, proportions and angles is measurable, holding the landscape together through invisible lines. As (Figure 26) below demonstrates, Bridgeman's design is underpinned by angles and ratios from this axis. Closest to the Lodge, two symmetrical wide vistas are cut into the avenue at 45 degrees, allowing a vista to the small cascade at the southern end of the lake. On the eastern lip of the valley, there is a small platform, raised, as Bridgeman's instructions make explicit, '10ft', is placed exactly at the half way point of the main axis, while the width of the terrace to the east of the river is one eighth of it and the width of the ziggurat to the west is one quarter of it, at its widest point. It is probable that Bridgeman was only able to achieve a level of geometric accuracy at Lodge Park because the landscape was a blank canvas with only one fixed point, the River Leach. When more than one fixed point was part of the design, it presumably became problematic to achieve accurate angles and ratios.

Figure 26 Lodge Park (MSGD a4 fo.68) showing geometric ratios and distances.

At Gobions the plan is divided so that, in the wider part of the valley, to the east, the garden follows a geometric model with walks at 45 degrees and 22.5 degrees from the allée that runs north-south to the Folly Arch, and the canal, earth terraces and the bowling green are connected by straight and serpentine walks to each other within the woodland. To the west, as the Landscape Design Associates point out, 'the layout appears to lack any basis in geometry' (cited in Rowe and Williamson 2012, 94); where the valley becomes more deeply incised, Bridgeman appears to have responded to the topography by abandoning any attempts to create a geometric design and including more winding paths, and allowing the stream to largely follow its natural course, from a naturalistic lake with cascades to deal with the downward trajectory of the stream, to the swallow holes. This is shown on Map 6i where the straight paths in the woodland garden are shown in yellow, and vistas which connect them to the wider landscape are shown in red.

It is tempting to assume that Bridgeman relaxed geometric formality because of the rising popularity of the 'natural' garden, especially after 1730, but unfortunately the evidence does not altogether support this. In fact, as shown above, we can find geometric underpinning of some kind in all designs from 1715, at Sacombe, to Amesbury in 1738, and very often similar geometric structures. For example, the formal, geometric ziggurat structure for trees appears at Eastbury c.1725, is part of the proposal at Boughton c.1729, and was created in Amesbury in 1738. It seems that it was not for another decade that, at Amesbury, the formality of this planting was relaxed: in 1747 Lady Sophia Newdigate wrote, while on a visit to Amesbury 'here is about 40 acres part of which is very well disposd there is a high hill in ye Garden in a very stiff formal taste at present but going to be altered' (CR1841/7). Williamson has argued that 'there is little evidence on the ground for the creation of more 'natural' scenes, as Brown and his contemporaries might have understood this fifty years later' (Williamson 1995, 49).

It is more likely that the size of Bridgeman's designs made any more than a basic geometric structure problematic. It is possible to measure the area of Bridgeman's designs in the sample by georeferencing them with OS Digimap scale 1:5000 and using the measuring tool in GIS. The areas measured are those shown on the plan (see Maps 1 – 13 in Appendix II) unless otherwise stated. The lengths of the major axes are also relevant since these are the maximum distances over which measurements had to be taken. These are rounded up or down to the nearest 50 metres:

Amesbury 0.26 km^2 (64 acres)/700m x 550m
Boughton 2.36 km^2 (area within the proposed walls) (583 acres)/ 900m x 700m
Claremont 0.15 km^2 (37 acres)/450m x 350m
Down Hall 0.11 km^2 (27 acres)/400m x 320m
Eastbury 0.18 km^2 (44 acres) /800m x 1200m
Gobions 0.16 km^2 (area of the wood only) (39 acres) /1000m x 300m
Hackwood 0.4 km^2 (98 acres) /600m x 600m
Kensington Gardens 0.91 km^2 (225 acres)/1000m x 850m
Lodge Park 1.16 km^2 (287 acres)/1050m x 1450m
Moor Park (the area defined by walls and walks only) 0.24 km^2 (59 acres) /450m x 400m
Rousham 0.03 km^2 (7 acres) /450 x 300m
Sacombe 0.17 km^2(42 acres) /650m x 700m
Wolteron 0.31 km^2(76 acres) /950m x 400m

With distance and areas of this magnitude geometry, perforce, becomes a subordinate design parameter, to be relaxed and molded to fit the landscape. This could be read, and indeed has been, as '*genius loci*', the exploration of 'the genius of every place', and is identified by Willis as one

of the two main characteristics of Bridgeman's work. We might, indeed read, as Willis clearly does, Bridgeman's attention to the topography of a site as an example of Switzer's 'adapting the whole to Nature and Uses of the Place', especially if our intention was to fit him teleologically into a trajectory that ended with the 'natural' garden as created by Brown. However, Jacques and van der Horst have noted that 'in England it was often difficult to perfect the organisation of a layout because of existing roads, rivers, topography and all the other inherent irregularities of the English countryside' (Jacques and van der Horst 1988, 24). They further suggest that in the late seventeenth century it was necessary, in England, to consider the topography: 'From the start, the more successful English designs were those that managed to reconcile the geometry of an organised plan with the natural terrain' (Jacques and van der Horst 1988, 25). It is, then, much more likely that the main driver of Bridgeman's designs was, in fact, a very practical approach to a site. His design process seems to have involved creating what was possible in a landscape composed of varying topography, geology and in which there were already existing structures, often relict gardens.

Bridgeman's pragmatism

Willis identifies Bridgeman's pragmatism as one of the defining elements of his style, linking it to his ability to exploit the potential of every site; '….. it is ingenuity, arguably, which provides us with the key to Bridgeman's designs. For he was fundamentally a pragmatist, exploring the genius of every place' (Willis 2002, 130). In fact, we might see Bridgeman's pragmatism as more prosaic than this. Close examination of the topography and geology of the sites he worked on suggests that, in general, he did what was practical.

We might see this is Bridgeman's treatment of hills. Pope's *Epistle to Burlington* printed in 1731, suggests that Bridgeman's designs included the wholesale removal of hills, 'Or cut wide *Views* thro' Mountains to the Plain/ You'll wish you Hill and shelter'd Seat, again' while Thornhill's poem, *A Hue and Cry*, suggests that he created them, 'They say he'as made Mountains that reach God knows whither' (Thornhill 1721). In fact, there is little evidence that either is true. Pope was probably referring to Benjamin Styles and the landscape Bridgeman designed for him at Moor Park. However, this earth moving does not seem to have been part of Bridgeman's design on either of his plans for Moor Park (MSGD a4 fo.48 and MSGD a4 fo.58). The hill in question seems to have been immediately to the west of the house because it is described by Salmon in The History of Hertfordshire (1728, 110) as obscuring the view towards Uxbridge which is to the south-west of Moor Park (see Map 10ii). There is evidence of earth moving at Moor Park, but not for the purposes that Pope suggests. In 1726 Sir John Evelyn writes of using the earth from the 'cutting away part of an hill' for 'raising ye lower part of ye old garden' which suggests that the

more easterly part of the lower garden in William Temple's account was sloping down towards the River Colne, and, in order to create the terrace for the canal, it had to be raised (Jefferies 2014, 14). There is also little evidence that Bridgeman 'made mountains' other than those mounts identified above, although hills were sometimes modified in order to incorporate them into the design. At Amesbury, it is likely that Vespasian's Camp, the Iron Age hillfort to the west of Bridgeman's design (see Map 1ii), was modified with the diamond of earthworks which surround Gay's Cave (Map1i B), as Colt Hoare's description from 1810 suggests: 'It was surrounded by a *single vallum* which has been much mutilated on the east side in forming the pleasure grounds of Amesbury Abbey' (Colt Hoare 1810, 160). At Claremont, and at Rousham the steep side of the hill was turned into an amphitheatre (Map 3i and ii, Map11i and ii). It is just possible that the 'mountains' (and for that matter the previous line 'This man can make water for miles altogether'), in Thornhill's poem *Hue and Cry,* and so regularly quoted as examples of what was characteristic about Bridgeman's landscapes, might have an altogether more bawdy meaning, given that the poem concerns a drunken night out.

In fact, naturally occurring hills, part of the topography at sites, were often used in Bridgeman's designs to shape vistas and facilitate panoramas beyond the garden, to be the site of eye-catchers, to act as a barrier between the garden and the outside world, or to create a viewpoint from which to view it. At Moor Park, the long terrace forming one side of the southerly triangle and then climbing beyond its apex to the 110m contour, may have been deliberately designed to take in views to the north-east and south-east (Figure 27 and Map 10i). Whether or not it was Bridgeman's intention, it was certainly what happened; Sir John Evelyn commented in 1726 on the 'greatest addition …a terrace of a vast length looking directly on Cashiobury 3 miles off, & into the country towards Harrow…' (Jeffery 2014, 15).

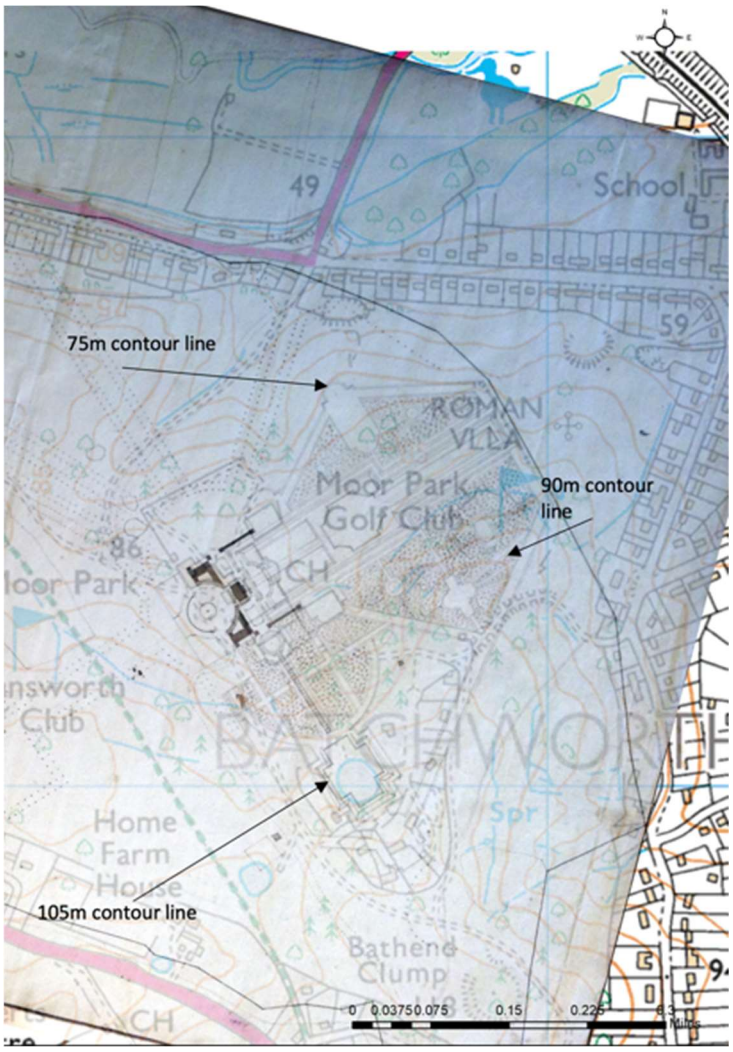


Figure 27 Moor Park (MSGD a4 fo.38) georeferenced with OS Digimap 1:25000 to show Bridgeman's walks and contour lines.

At Amesbury, the focus of the views may have been the land owned by the estate. The design for the hillfort, Vespasian's Camp, includes panoramas radiating from the rond-point on the top of the hill, to the south, east into the garden, north along the spine of the hill to another probable viewpoint, a square, and east into the garden itself. Viewshed using the 1st Edition OS map, shows (in blue shading) that the area intervisible with the rondpoint includes Earl's Farm Down, three and a half kilometres to the east, the water meadows to the south and the town of Amesbury, all part of the Duke of Queensbury's estate in 1738, as well as views along the spine of the hill-fort (Figure 28). (For an explanation of Viewshed see Appendix IV).

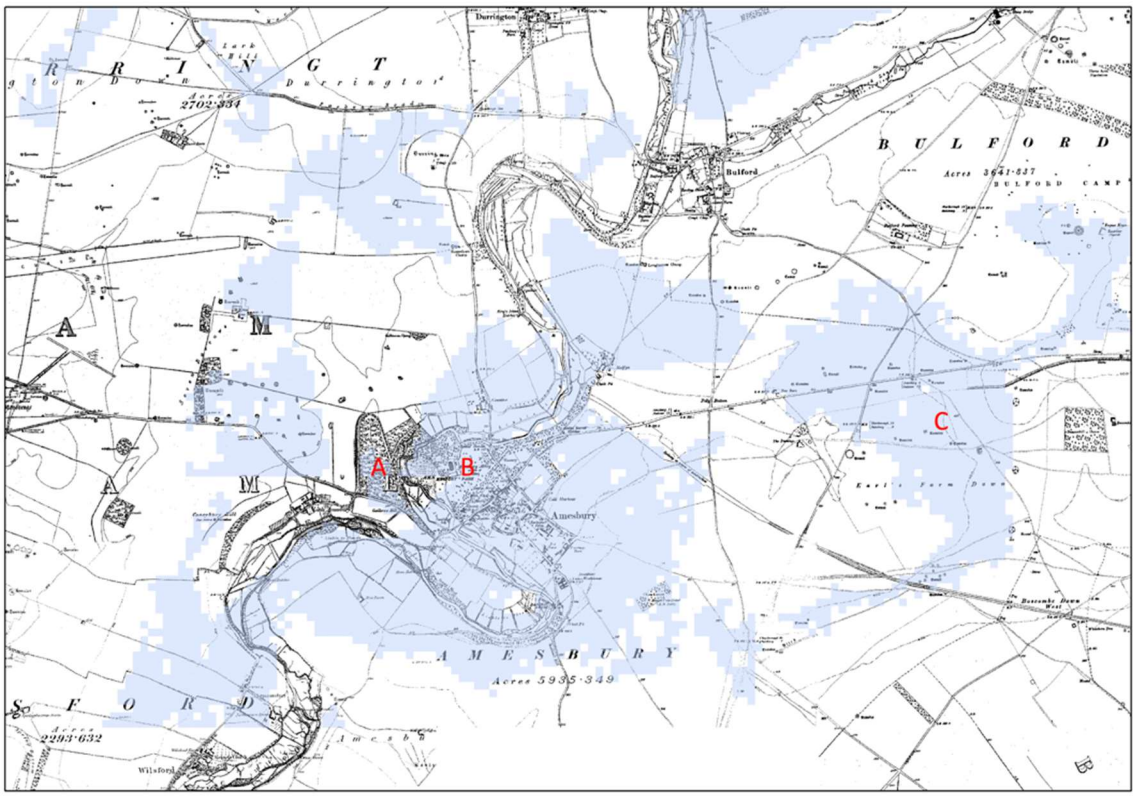


Figure 28 Viewshed showing the intervisibility between the rondpoint on Vespasian's Camp (A), Amesbury Abbey (B) and Earl's Farm Down (C).

At Boughton, the bastions situated along the perimeter walk to the north-east of the house are deliberately placed on the 105 metre contour line to facilitate views out over the interfluve between the valleys of the River Ise in the west and Harper's Brook in the east (Figure 29).

Figure 29 Boughton 2 georeferenced with OS 1:25000 showing the heights of bastions on proposed perimeter walk.

Existing hills also limit horizons from within the garden, to create a sense of enclosure and exclusivity. At Amesbury Abbey again the view from below of the hill on which the Iron Age

hillfort is built, rising steeply to 90m suggests a protection from the land beyond it when viewed from below. The effect is the same at Gobions (Figure 30); the ground rises from 90 metres in the valley to 110 metres at the Folly Arch on Swanley Bar in the south and to 125 metres on the valley rim to the north, and this bowl of hills in which the valley garden is cradled, limits the horizons and creates an illusion of seclusion. In both designs, Bridgeman appears to accentuate this effect by offering features on these high places to look back into the gardens, as well as to look out to the landscape beyond. From the rond-point at Amesbury (Map1i A) main vista east channels the view down the axis that runs to the precinct wall at G, as is also shown on Viewshed (Figure 28). At Gobions (Figure 30) focal points from which the garden could be viewed seem to have been deliberately created on the rim; a bastion at A on the 110m contour line, the Folly Arch at F on the 120m contour line and the sham ruin at G on the 105m contour line may all have been intended to fulfill this purpose (Williamson and Rowe 2012, 89).

Figure 30 Bridgeman's plan for Gobions showing features on contour lines.

Bridgeman's pragmatic approach appears to have included working within existing woodland. It is certainly true at a number of sites in the sample, established woodland seems to have predated Bridgeman's design and he made use of it. At Gobions, Bridgeman's garden was cut through two pieces of pre-existing woodland Great Wood and Denn Wood, shown as separate from each other on the Hatfield map c.1708 and on the Holmes map of c.1735 (Figure 31). Georeferencing and existing wood banks (Map 6iii) suggests that Bridgeman retained the boundaries. While there appear to be no pre-existing surveys to determine the extent of the woodland at Down Hall, Prior's letters and poetry make it clear that the site was wooded, as it is now. Although Adrian Drift's maps (Gough Maps 46 fo.262 and BL Loan29/357) show no trees at all, Prior's letters refer to the wood surrounding the house: on July 2nd 1720 Prior wrote expressing his delight at the potential of the landscape at Down Hall to Lord Harley '…it is impossible to tell You how beautiful a Situation Downe is, and how fine the Wood may be made….' and in further letters to Lord Harley on 13th and 15th September 1720, he termed Bridgeman his 'operator hortorum et sylvarum' (HMC 58:Bath III, 483). At Sacombe, although there are no earlier maps, the irregular boundary of the wooded area, partly the result of the presence of the parish boundary (OS Digimap 1:10,000) suggests that Bridgeman was working within pre-existing woodland. Certainly by 1728 when the garden was visited by Decker and Salmon, there were substantial and full grown trees. Decker comments on 'a wood of 95 acres' and Salmon suggests that 'The Woods are full of well-grown timber, which makes the Park extreamly pleasant' (Decker and Salmon quoted in Milledge 2009, 42). It may also be that the presence of pre-existing woodland indicates poor soil on which it is likely little else will grow successfully and so keeping the woodland intact was a sensible choice. Williamson, Barnes and Pillatt argue that '[b]oth coppiced woods and commons (wooded or otherwise) were most extensive on the more agriculturally 'difficult' soils – acid gravels or poorly draining clays' (Williamson, Barnes and Pillatt 2017, 20). At Down Hall this is likely to be the case. Bridgeman's design is co-terminus with a small, roughly circular, deposit of a poorly sorted mixture of sand, gravel and clay, between the 75m contour line and the 60m contour line. It is a discrete hill top, bounded by Pincey Brook. The same may be true at Gobions where the soil beneath the pre-existing woods, Great Wood and Denn Wood (Holmes Map (Figure 30) is Lambeth Group clay, silt and sand and London Clay. At Sacombe the soil is a chalky till characterized by its flint content (mapapps.bgs.ac.uk/geologyofbritain/home).

Figure 31 The Holmes map of Gobions c.1735 (Gloucestershire Record Office (D1245/FF75) showing the boundaries of Denn Wood and Great Wood.

Bridgeman seems to have adopted an equally practical approach to the siting and construction of water features, dependent on geology and topography. Sichet suggests that the placing of water features in seventeenth century gardens was largely dictated by the geographical location of water courses and springs. As he puts it: 'Hence the layout, apparently composed of freely designed forms, was in fact dictated by what it was technically possible to do' (Sichet in Bouchenot-Déchin and Farhat (eds.) 2014, 206). At Wolterton, Bridgeman seems to have found a practical solution to the problem of boggy ground. Geologically, the shallow valley occupied by the lake differs from the land around it (Map 13i E). While it is surrounded by glaciofluvial deposits of sand and gravel which are free draining, Bridgeman's lake occupies a north-south narrow deposit called Head, which contains clay, as well as silt, sand and gravel (mapapps.bgs.ac.uk/ geologyofbritain/home). Carl Sayer's core, taken as a result of an environmental investigation, has shown that the lake is not puddled, so this clay deposit clearly accounts for its ability to retain water (Carl Sayer pers. comm. 2013) It is also interesting that the drains shown on OS 1:2500 2018 from the northwest and west still issue into the lake (digimap.edina.ac.uk). These appear to follow two arms of Head which extend to the north-west and the west. Issues, which are shown on OS 1:2500 2018, drain the lake to the south, ultimately into the River Bure, are also on Head. It is possible that these drains originally date from Bridgeman's creation of the lake and are also examples of his use of both the topography and geology. The boggy nature of the valley may have been the reason that Joseph Carpenter's design for a geometric straight-sided canal, shown on what may be his survey (MSGD a3 fo.33), failed. It suggests that this, as much as the changing fashions in garden design, may account for the abandonment of this canal in favour of a much larger lake[1]. Bridgeman's Serpentine River in Kensington Gardens (Map 8ii) was also a pragmatic

[1] I am indebted to Elizabeth Routledge, Archivist at Wolterton Hall, for this suggestion.

way of dealing with what was originally ten separate, swampy, shallow, rectilinear ponds formed from the course of the River Westbourne, (Green 1956, 77) while producing a fashionable lake: 'Whenever possible the middle distance was enlivened by water, in the form of an artificial river where none existed and there was a valley and stream of some kind to be dammed: or a lake where there was not' (Hussey cited in Binnie 1987, 61). At Sacombe, the 'egg' pond (Map 12i A) at the foot of the earth terraces clearly makes use of the gentle slope of the hill immediately to its north between the 105 metre and 110 metre contour lines which must drain into it. Milledge suggests that the triangular reservoir to the north of the pond (B), and several metres higher, was used to feed it and the OS map 1:2500 shows a drain which could have fulfilled this function (Milledge 2006,43). However, Sacombe is also illustrative of the problems inherent in creating large water features. The canal, shown clearly on the plan (MSGD a4 fo.64) (E), was apparently under very slow construction from 1722, the year in which Rolt, Bridgeman's client, died and the gardener Edward Humberstone remembered that 'all the men in the summertime were busy at work making the canal' (HALS DEAS/2180) to 1728 when Decker noted that the canal and the basin at the end of it were 'but only begun' (Decker 1728). The reason for the length of construction appears to be finding an adequate water supply. Salmon suggests that in addition to a supply from 'a Stream a Mile off', a spring had been 'lately discovered about the level of the Canal' (Salmon 1728). This suggests that whatever Bridgeman's intentions for filling the canal, they had clearly been geologically frustrated until the discovery of the spring.

Bridgeman also exploited pre-existing man-made water features. At Amesbury, the survey executed by Henry Flitcroft in 1726 shows the medieval canal which runs through the site on a roughly north-south axis (WRO 944/1 and /2). The southern opening of this canal is still visible in the River Avon, although the canal itself is marked only by a path (Map 1ii). Bridgeman's design re-uses this canal, making it a waterway through the eastern garden, and adds a round pool axially aligned to the house (Map1i J). At Moor Park, (Map 10i) Bridgeman may also have reused a hydraulic system which was already in place; Temple writes about 'Two fountains' in the parterre and 'Fountains' and 'Water-works' in the grotto (Temple in Hunt and Willis (eds.) 1975,98). Jeffery suggests, in relation to the seventeenth-century garden, that 'Moor Park was evidently well supplied with water features, in the fashion of the day, both on the parterre and in the grotto, and must have had a hydraulic system that raised water from the river below and no doubt stored it in a cistern at high level from which the fountains and waterworks were supplied by gravity.' She notes that in 1739 an inventory recorded that the 'south pavilion contained 'A small Water Engine', perhaps from the early days of the gardens and no doubt for this purpose' (Jeffery 2014, 7). It is possible, then, that Bridgeman's basins, canal and putative cascade used, and possibly updated, these hydraulic systems. It is also possible that the pool and cascade (Map10i B and H) to the south of the house are on the site of the 'Garden on the other Side of the

House', mentioned by Temple, and reused the hydraulics in place for the fountains there, or that the pool is actually the cistern which Jeffery suggests would have been necessary.

In fact, Bridgeman's reuse of pre-existing garden features is another example of the pragmatic approach he took to landscape design, although it was presumably common practice for all designers to make use of relict features. At Moor Park, in addition to the reuse of hydraulic infrastructure, Bridgeman seems to have made use of other features of the relict garden. The garden was described by Sir William Temple in *Upon the Gardens of Epicurus: or, Of Gardening, in the Year 1685.* It is this description that Horace Walpole quotes in his essay of 1780. Probably created by Lucy Harrington, the Countess of Bedford, but perhaps also partly the work of William, Earl of Pembroke, Temple's description provides a comprehensive picture of the garden (Jeffery 2014, 9). Built into the gentle slope of the hill, there was a gravel terrace which at three hundred paces long and of 'broad proportion', ran the length of the house and was bordered by laurels, with a summer house at each end. Three sets of steps lead down to a very large parterre, bordered by cloisters and divided into 'quarters by gravel walks and adorned with two fountains and eight statues in the several quarters' (Temple in Hunt and Willis 1975, 98). Beyond this parterre, steps either side of a grotto led to a lower garden in which fruit trees were planted around 'the several quarters of a [shady] wilderness' with green walks. Bridgeman's plan (Map 10i) shows that he reused many elements of this garden to form the central section of his landscape. Bridgeman's plan (MSGD a4 fo.58) shows the terrace (G). Geo-referencing this feature with OS Digimap 1:5,000 and then measuring it suggests it extended to around 150m, which might conceivably be the 'three hundred paces' of Temple's account. The cloisters were described by Edward Southwell Jr who visited the Moor Park in 1724: 'There are 16 arches each side of the Garden…' (Southwell Jr 1720 in Jeffery 2014,15) and the summer houses were drawn in a rough sketch by George Vertue in 1730 and labelled the 'little pavillions of the old building' (Vertue 1730 in Jeffery 2014, 16). Both the cloisters and the summer houses are mentioned in the inventory of 1739 drawn up after the death of Styles (Jeffery 2014, 16). They are probably the solid structures shown flanking the terrace at G in Bridgeman's plan. We might assume that this recycling of relict garden features was the practice of many garden designers that both pre- and postdate him. Indeed, McKee makes the point that many of the engravings in Britannia Illustrata show gardens which retain their late medieval or Tudor structure onto which axial avenues and groves have been grafted (McKee 2004, 70 – 71).

To some degree, Willis's statement that ingenuity and pragmatism are at the heart of Bridgeman's style is correct. While the driving force behind the pragmatic choices he made came from nothing so poetic as 'the *genius loci'*, dictated as they probably were by topography, geology, pre-existing features and cost, they formed, whether intentionally or not, a design aesthetic, in and of

themselves. Working with the landscape informed decisions which probably came to define the visual appearance of a garden. For example, at Gobions, Bridgeman's decision to retain the boundaries of Denn Wood and Greate Wood influenced the siting of the Folly Arch (see Figure 32). As Williamson and Rowe point out, the Folly Arch, although depicted exactly as it exists today, is not located on the Bodleian map in its current position at the end of an avenue which is shown on all OS maps until 1970, and indeed appears on LIDAR images (TL2503 www.geomatics-group.co.uk). It 'stands some 65 metres to the south-east of the location shown by the Bodleian map' (Williamson and Rowe 2012, 94). This discrepancy may be the result of sight-lines from the house. It is possible that the intention of the Bodleian design was that the Folly Arch should be seen from the southern elevation of the house. Georeferencing of the map of the estate created by Thomas Holmes c.1735 (D1245/FF75) (Figure 31), which shows the gap between Denn Wood and Great Wood, with 1:25000 2014 OS map, allows the space between the two woods to be placed accurately. A further georeferencing of these two maps with modern earthwork plans (Map 6iii) (source: Tom Williamson) confirms the position of the edge of the wood through an earthwork, a probable wood bank, on the south-eastern corner of Denn Wood. The position of the house can be established by geo-referencing the 1815 map of Gobions (HALS 34137) with 1:25000 2014 OS map. If the Folly Arch is positioned as it is on the Bodleian map, the sight-lines from the house to the Folly Arch are blocked by the edge of Denn Wood. In order, then, to be seen from the house, framed by the gap between the woods, the Folly Arch must be moved to its present position. The sight line from the Folly Arch to the Hercules rotunda is aligned to the point at which the avenue running south-east from the house meets the walk to the canal. The location of the Folly Arch further south-east interferes with this sight-line. Had Bridgeman not chosen to retain the boundaries of the woods as they were c.1708, the Folly Arch could have remained in its original position (Figure 30).

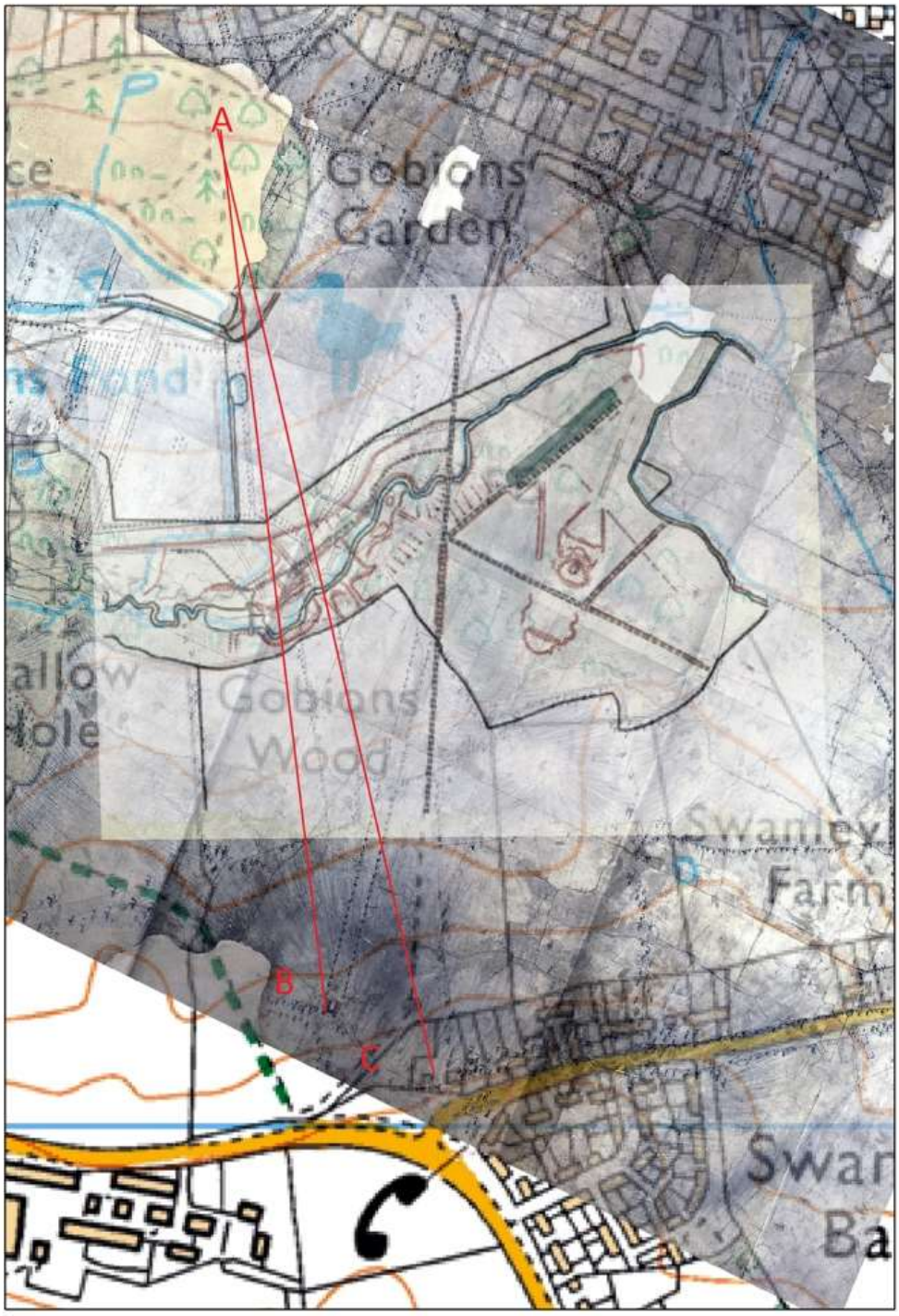


Figure 32 Gobions Herts Map a1 georeferenced with OS Digimap 1:5000 showing the positions of the Folly Arch on Bridgeman's plan (C) and its present position (B) relative to the house (A).

In a similar way, at Amesbury, the location of Gay's Cave informs the axis of the garden. Bridgeman's design places Gay's Cave (Map 1i B) equidistantly between the two ends of the straight stretch of the River Avon. The 1st Edition map (1878) shows this clearly, even though

the course of the River Avon has now changed slightly. Practically, from the house, this is also the only place on the east bank of the river where it is possible to get close to both the river and the hillfort at the same time. It is, both pragmatically and topographically, the best place to site Gay's Cave and the diamond of earth terraces that frames it. Bridgeman's axis for the garden is determined by this decision. It stretches from Gay's Cave east across the garden, through the bastion on the corner of the kitchen garden (C), to the focal point on the precinct wall (G), and west upwards to the circular platform on the top of the hillfort where it ends (A) (Haynes 2013, 171).

The attention Bridgeman pays to '*genius loci*' appears to comprise being able to fashion a coherent design from the practical choices the topography and geology of the land forced on him. The creation of a unified design is simpler when it is a paper exercise, unlikely to be realized, as with many of the published designs created as exemplar by Switzer and Langley. It is also simpler when, like Kent, the designer is responsible only for the idea and its pictorial realisation, but not for the practicalities of constructing it. Bridgeman's genius seems to been to use a combination of imagination, artistic sensibilities and practical expertise to create very big landscapes which cohere, even when, as must often have been the case, they cannot be seen in their entirety from a single location.

Section 3 The practicalities

Chapter 5 Building a landscape

Much of the art-historical writing about Bridgeman places him in an elite universe of art and philosophy where the mechanics of creating a landscape are of less relevance than the aesthetics. A landscape history perspective considers the complex practicalities which are a significant part of the creation of a designed landscape, and without which no artistic impact is possible. We know that many of Bridgeman's designs were built in full or in part, by him, or by his clients. He must, therefore, have inhabited a more practical space where considerations such as building techniques, sourcing of plants, organisation of labour, contracts and costs were paramount. Surprisingly little attention has been given to Bridgeman's skills even as a gardener, and still less to his skills as a surveyor and hydraulics engineer, even though these must have been essential in planting the landscape, drawing plans for it, and building the complex earthworks and water features that formed an integral part of it. This section attempts to examine the skills that Bridgeman possessed, and the processes involved in the construction of his work.

Expertise

Gardening

It is plausible that Bridgeman's skills as a gardener came about because he was descended from gardeners, as Willis suggests (Willis 2002, 149). There is documentary evidence of a number of gardeners called Bridgeman in Essex and in Hertfordshire, where Bridgeman had familial connections; Willis reproduces a letter from Bridgeman to a cousin, also Charles, who was Alderman and Mayor in Hertford (HMC 19: Townshend, 352 cited in Willis 2002, 156). Bridgemans were working as gardeners in Hertfordshire and Essex in the late seventeenth century, including a Richard Bridgeman described as 'gardener' in Hertfordshire, in the Brickendonbury Manor Court Book from 1683 (Jean Ridell pers. comm. 2017). Willis identifies another Bridgeman who was paid as a gardener in an account book of the Archer family dated from 1691, either, he speculates, for Coopersale in Essex, or for Welford in Berkshire; the Archer family owned both properties. He speculates that Charles Bridgeman might have been his son. The account book, now held in Library of Congress in Washington DC, is, in fact, for Coopersale in Essex (pers. comm. Lewis Wyman, Library of Congress, Washington DC 2015), but it seems unlikely that Bridgeman was the son of a gardener working there, since there is no record of the baptism of a Charles Bridgeman in any of the registers of the parishes within a ten-mile radius of

Coopersale between 1650 and 1700, or indeed any mention of a Bridgeman at all. In the early eighteenth century, a Stephen Bridgeman worked at Down Hall, Essex, both on planting the landscape, and on managing the kitchen garden. On April 10th 1729, he wrote to Edward Harley, by then Earl of Oxford, that 'Pursuant to Yr Lordships Command' he had 'Accomplished 'work on 'ye Bastion att ye head of ye Bowling Green to make it fit for Planting ye Ellms which have been planted about 3 weeks' (Add MS 70370/160).

Willis suggests that Bridgeman's father might also have been a gardener and that he was employed by Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford at Wimpole (although presumably after 1713 when Harley came into the possession of Wimpole through his marriage to Lady Henrietta Cavendish Holles), and that he died at Wimpole in 1726. He does not cite any evidence for this, and admits that the death is not recorded in the parish records for Wimpole (Willis 2002, 26). It does seem, though, that Bridgeman's father was involved in gardening in some way. It is likely that he was also named Charles; in the list of those given mourning rings to commemorate, in 1721, the death of Matthew Prior, the diplomat and poet for whom Bridgeman designed the garden at Down Hall, Bridgeman is denoted as 'Charles Bridgeman Junior', perhaps to distinguish him from a father who was also named Charles. A Charles Bridgeman Senior is twice mentioned in relation to the affairs of Down Hall in Essex. Account books for the estate note that on March 10th 1721/2 'Mr Bridgeman Senior' paid 'Mr Carpenter ['s] Bill for seeds for the Gardens at Down Hall', and on 13th March of the same year the account book records that 'Mr Bridgeman Senior gone to Down Hall to clear all debts due' (Add MS 70362). It is possible, of course that this Charles is another male relative of Bridgeman's, an uncle perhaps, but it seems unlikely.

Some caution about a familial connection with Hertfordshire and Essex gardeners needs to be exercised because Bridgeman's origins may have been in London. If we assume that Bridgeman's father was also called Charles, then it is possible that a Charles Bridgman, baptised at St Margaret Westminster on 31st May 1685, the son of Charles and Mary, was Charles Bridgeman, the Royal Gardener (Ancestry.co.uk FHL Film 924 B4HA V.89). It would certainly be a very plausible date for his birth. It would mean that he was 24 when he worked on the plan for Blenheim in 1709, 41 on his appointment as Royal Gardener in 1726, and 53 on his death in 1738. Bridgeman also lived and worked in London, owning houses in Broad Street in Soho and Henrietta Street (PROB.3/37/95).

Gardening expertise may have come from Brompton Park Nursery. Founded by George London, Roger Looker, Moses Cooke and John Field in 1681 (Green 1956; Harvey 1974) it was run after 1689 by George London and Henry Wise in partnership. Jacques and van der Horst suggest that the purpose of the nursery, was 'threefold: to provide plants of all descriptions; to regularise the

use of correct names, particularly of fruit trees; and to undertake the design and construction of gardens' (Jacques and van der Horst, 1988, 28). Harvey shows how successful it was; in 1685, only four years after its establishment, the business had the organisational capacity to send an order for 200 apple trees, 50 pears, 100 gooseberries and peaches, nectarines and mulberries to Woburn (Harvey 1974, 56). Bridgeman appears to have worked there for Henry Wise and George London before 1709, although it is unclear in what capacity. Green suggests that London and Wise were joined at Brompton Park Nursery by a 'foreman and apprentices' (Green 1956, 31). He shows that a number of Bridgeman's contemporaries also worked there; Stephen Switzer replaced Leonard Meager as foreman, and Joseph Carpenter was 'among the lesser recruits' (Green 1956, 31). Green's suggestion is that Bridgeman joined them, at a later date; 'London and Wise were joined by Charles Bridgman, a skilled draughtsman as well as a skilled gardener and planner of gardens' (Green 1956, 31). It is not clear from this whether he was involved with the growing and supply of plants, but it would, in any case, have been helpful environment for an aspiring garden designer.

Bridgeman's appointment as Royal Gardener in 1726, jointly with Henry Wise suggests that by then he had acquired the skills of a gardener, and a significant reputation as one. His duties specified in the contract drawn up when he became sole Royal Gardener in 1728 after Wise's retirement, are precise in their references to daily gardening practices. The contract stipulates that Bridgeman's responsibilities include 'the several hardy Ever Greens & other plants to be stak'd Tyed up Pruned and Clipped', 'the several Collections of Housed Greens & Flower roots to be well managed & kept in good Order' and 'the Borders Earthed Dunged, digged, Hoed, raked and weeded', for example (Work 6/114 fos. 12v – 15v). Bridgeman must have been familiar with, and had expertise in, flower gardening. Although there is no direct evidence of this, a responsibility for the flowers in the royal gardens is implicit in his role as Royal Gardener. Certainly the minutes of the Board of Works from 1724, when Wise and Carpenter had this role, allude to their responsibility for flowers in the Royal gardens when 'new stand for blowing July flowers' is ordered for Hampton Court (Work 4/1), and Jan Woudstra has shown that, in the Glass Case Garden at Hampton Court, originally laid out by Wise in 1701-2, the beds were planted with bulbs in spring which were then lifted and replaced by exotic plants, some in pots, which had been housed in the adjacent greenhouses during the winter; he shows that this practice was in operation in 1732 when Bridgeman was Royal Gardener (Woudstra 2009, 81, 87).

Surveying

It is also important to recognise Bridgeman's expertise as a surveyor and draughtsman. It is hard to know whether these skills were learnt in the pursuit of a career in gardening, or whether they

came first. There would almost certainly, in any case, have been a blurring of the lines between related professions in the early eighteenth century, so that it is probably inappropriate to demarcate Bridgeman's roles in a modern way. Eden makes the point that surveying was often one of several occupations in different but related trades in the early eighteenth century: 'Throughout the kingdom, [at the beginning of the eighteenth century] the [surveying] profession was still relatively undeveloped and surveyors had to have a variety of alternative occupations as a cushion against variations in demand' (Eden 1973, 474). Webster contends that 'Landscape gardeners and nurserymen not uncommonly drew estate maps' (Webster, 1989, 88).

Green assumes that Bridgeman worked extensively as Wise's draughtsman 'Wise, it is true, was no accomplished draughtsman; but what did that matter with Bridgman to draw for him as Hawksmoor often drew for Vanbrugh?' (Green 1956,185). He conjectures that Bridgeman is likely to have been the surveyor referred to in the following quotation from Wise's 'State of the Royal Gardens and Plantations at Ladyday 1713': 'For making Severall Surveys and Draughts of Her Majesty's Palaces, Gardens, Parks and Plantations Mr. Wise never had or Craved any thing, tho' he has kept one Man constantly in pay and sometimes more for that purpose….' (Green 1956, 105). David Jacques assumes this too; 'Bridgeman, after all, was the person that Wise employed to make his surveys and plans of [Queen Anne's] gardens and parks….' (Jacques 2014, 214). Simon Thurley also assumes that Bridgeman worked as Wise's draughtsman from 1708 (Thurley 2003, 237). Willis recognises that Bridgeman worked for Wise as a draughtsman, using as evidence Bridgeman's signed 1709 plan of Blenheim, his plan of Windsor Forest and the survey of Warwick Priory, which was executed with James Fish. His surveying skills must also have been used in the survey of the fens he executed for the Earl of Pembroke (see below).

Bridgeman's competence in surveying points to some training in mathematics and in the professional skills needed to successfully execute projects. By the close of the seventeenth century, the period in which Bridgeman was presumably educated, Richeson contends that 'the development of elementary mathematics had reached its modern stature' and '[e]lementary geometry had advanced to its present state of development' and that the focus of mathematical education had shifted from universities to secondary schools (Richeson 1966,143). It is possible that Bridgeman received his mathematical education at school, although, as Pannett suggests, in relation to the mathematical training of the Warwickshire surveyors James Fish, and Robert and Thomas Hewitt, some financial means was necessary to obtain it (Pannett 1985, 70). However, Bendall makes the point that there was also 'a great boom in publication of mathematical works' following the Civil War (Bendall 2009, 120). Taylor has demonstrated that, in the years between 1701 and 1720 around 95 texts were published (Taylor cited in Bendall 2009, 121). It would, therefore, have been possible for Bridgeman's mathematical expertise to have been self taught.

Formal training in surveying, however, appears to have been harder to come by than mathematical education. As Richeson suggests 'Although great strides had been made in mathematics and its teaching, there was still little instruction given in surveying, and instruction in mathematics with particular reference to its use in surveying was frequently hard to obtain' (Richeson 1966, 143). Bendall has shown that land surveying was taught in some grammar schools, and in private academies, but, since all the examples she gives are from the latter half of the eighteenth century and the nineteenth century, it seems likely that, while Bridgeman might have learnt mathematics at school, he is unlikely to have studied surveying there (Bendall 2009, 127 – 128). Bendall contends that 'Apprenticeship was an important means of professional education throughout the early modern period', although, again, none of the specific examples she cites are from the period in which Bridgeman might have been learning surveying (Bendall 2009, 125). As she suggests, apprenticeships may have been through familial connections (Bendall 2009, 125). Pannett makes the point that of 127 surveyors working in Warwickshire between 1710 and 1840, at least ten were father and son teams (Pannett 1985, 80). This must include James Fish, with whom Bridgeman worked on the survey of Warwick Town and Priory (CR 26.2.2), raising the interesting possibility that Bridgeman served an apprenticeship with Fish and his father.

Hydraulics

Bridgeman was also, demonstrably, a competent hydraulics engineer. Much of his work involves some manipulation of water around a site or the construction of sizeable ponds and canals. His only publication, in 1724, entitled '*A Report of the present State of the Great Level of the Fens, called* the Bedford-Level, *and of the Port of* Lynn*, and of the Rivers Ouse* and *Nean*, the two great Sewers of the Country With Considerations on the Scheme propos'd by the Corporation of Lynn for Draining the said Fens, and Reinstating that Harbour' is also an indication of his level of ability in this field. It has been largely ignored by garden historians, although its existence, and the expertise it displays, suggests both a competence in levels and water management, and a reputation for it beyond the confines of garden construction. It was prepared for the Earl of Lincoln, to whom it is also addressed, which presumably means he understood Bridgeman's expertise in this area, especially as a rival plan, for the Corporation of King's Lynn was being prepared by Thomas Badeslade and John Armstrong, the Chief Engineer of England. Bridgeman's plan for the drainage of the fens is shown in Appendix I, Map14.

His assessment of the problem of the drainage of the fens and the silting up of King's Lynn Harbour, confirms a command both of hydraulic engineering, and geology. He suggests that the root of the problem lies in the tidal nature of the Ouse and in the particular make-up of the sand

and silt on the bed of the Wash: 'The Great Bay or Estuary, that lies between the Counties of *Lincoln* and *Norfolk*, and into which the Rivers *Ouse* and *Nene* empty themselves, has by Nature a very loose bottom, of perhaps the most subtle or small Sand or Silt that can be produced' (Bridgeman 1724, 2). This sand and silt is washed easily back into the harbour at King's Lynn and further on into the Ouse at every floodtide, accumulating as far up as 'the before-mentioned Places, *Germans* on the River *Ouse* and *Wisbech*, on the River *Nean*, as far as the Tides extend themselves up these Rivers,' with the consequent blocking of the sluices. Part of the problem, he suggests, is also the relative weakness of the ebb tide in comparison to the flood tide: 'for that, as the Tides in this Harbour do not employ above the Space of Three Hours in their Flux, and almost the remaining Nine in their reflux, that by such a slow reflux, they lose near two thirds of the Weight and Force the Flux is qualified with' (Bridgeman 1724, 3). The result of this is that, even with fresh water coming down the river, there is not enough force to wash out the accumulated silt. Interestingly, Bridgeman points to Holland as a place where comparable problems and solutions might be found: 'And I humbly hope the Method I shall propose for the Relief of this Country, and Lynn Harbour, will neither appear unreasonable, or unprecendented, if we cast out Eye cross the Water, on our neighbouring Country, the Provinces of Holland' (Bridgeman 1724, 5). It is possible that, at the very least, this points to some professional interest in hydraulic engineering in Holland, if not to closer contact between Bridgeman and engineers in Holland.

Bridgeman's solution proposes that the six-mile bend in the River Ouse to the south-west of King's Lynn be by-passed by a new cut '[t]wo Hundred and Fifty Foot Wide' (Bridgeman 1724, 12) taking the river almost due north from Ebrink, with a navigable sluice where the new cut joined the current harbour to effectively prevent the tides from travelling up the River Ouse at all. The old course of the river would then become good marsh land, he suggests. He proposes that new cuts, each of a hundred feet wide, should bring fresh water from the River Nene to join the River Ouse at the beginning of the new cut to the south of King's Lynn. The advantages of this scheme, summed up in paragraphs 42-48, would be that the River would no longer be silted up by sand carried on the flood tide, that the flood waters would have more receptacles in which they could be held, thereby effectively saving more fenland from flooding, that these receptacles of water could also be used by fenland inhabitants to irrigate their crops when necessary, and that, most crucially for King's Lynn Harbour

> That the vast Stores of freshes of these united Rivers, being brought down to the very tail of Lynn Harbour, and riding within their Sluice in wet Times, Ten or Twelve Foot deep in Water, and that above the now Bottom of that Harbour, (silted up as it is) and these vast Stores being discharged through their Sluice, at the Tail of every Tide, when the Bay, or Wash, is pretty well emptied of it Tide-waters, will, I humbly conceive, in a

> very little Time, by their prodigious Weight and Force, effectually scour the Silt out of the Harbour…. (Bridgeman 1724, 14).

Bridgeman's plan was rejected by the Corporation of King's Lynn rather more because of the shifting landscape of differing, and potentially conflicting, interests between 'Adventurers', Members of Parliament, landowners, fenman, bargemen and tradesmen than its competence. In fact, a substantial part of Bridgeman's proposal was, as Willis suggests, eventually executed (Willis 2002, 36 and n.53). At the end of the eighteenth century Nathaniel Kindersley revived the idea, which was probably originally his father's but which Bridgeman suggested in his own proposal, that a cut be made from Eau Brink to King's Lynn. The first Eau Brink Act was passed in 1795, but, because of the Napoleonic Wars, the Eau Brink Cut was not opened until 1821 (Darby 1983, 123). Bridgeman's proposal for a sluice on the River Ouse immediately to the south of King's Lynn has never been implemented. However, in the 1930s the erection of an intermittent barrage at Freebridge, immediately to the south of King's Lynn and in a similar position to Bridgeman's sluice, was considered for exactly the reasons he gave in his proposal: to exclude seawater and silt from the River Ouse (Summers 1976, 227). The idea was rejected because of the fear that it would result in silting north of the barrage. There was, as there was with Bridgeman's plan, considerable opposition from the harbour authorities at King's Lynn, and, although rejected, it has remained a popular plan with those who live on the Fens. After the floods of 1947, water from the Ouse was channelled through the A.G. Wright sluice into a relief channel, built from the Ouse slightly to the south of the Denver sluice. The channel runs 11 miles along the eastern bank of the Ouse, rejoining it a tail sluice just south of King's Lynn. This channel acts as one of Bridgeman's 'receptacles' so that, in times of flood, river water can by-pass Denver sluice and, when the tide falls, be channelled back into the Ouse and run out to sea more quickly (Darby 1983, 21).

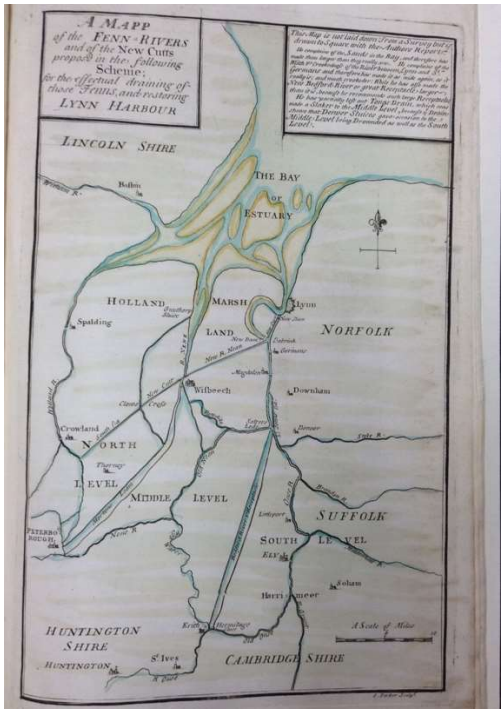


Figure 33 Bridgeman's plan for the drainage of the fens to the south and east of King's Lynn.

Construction

Bridgeman's designs included durable flat surfaces: roads, walks, terraces, and straight and serpentine paths, many of which incorporated rondpoints and small cabinets. They appear to have had a number of surfaces; grass, gravel or paving stones, either separately or in combination. However, all required the creation of a surface that was long-lasting, well-drained and level, since their principal function was to facilitate movement through the landscape either on foot or on a horse, or to allow easy access around features such as lakes. It is a testament to their durability that in many Bridgeman landscapes, traces of these remain. At Down Hall, although Bridgeman's garden is largely covered with dense undergrowth, LIDAR reveals that the patte d'oie (Map 4i E) to the north of the house, shown on two plans, Gough Maps 46 fo.262 and BL Loan 29/357, still exists. The long elevated terrace at Sacombe, (Map 12i J) running from the end of the parterre to the canal is not only still visible, but still serviceable. At Amesbury, the edges of square platform and the rondpoint on top of the Iron Age hillfort Vespasian's Camp are visible today (Map 1i A and E); indeed, the rondpoint was for some time, identified as the remains of a Bronze Age round barrow (Haynes 2012, Bowden 2016). At Tring, the criss-crossed walks of the wilderness climb steeply up and down a chalk scarp, and are still in use today. The contours and foundations of the rond-point at Tring at the end of the King Charles Ride, recently restored by Hertfordshire Gardens Trust, have also proved durable.

Bridgeman seems to have been personally competent in the construction of such hard surfaces. As Royal Gardener, his responsibilities extended to maintaining the roads in the Royal Parks. This maintenance is not specifically stipulated in his contract, and so payments for this work appear in the minutes of the Board of Works as, for example, on 28th November 1729 when payment of £240.2s.0d is made to Bridgeman 'in full for defraying the Repairs order'd to be done this season on His Maj[estys] Road Leading from Pimlico to Fulham, w[hi]ch was done accordingly' (NA Work 4/4). It is possible to see what the process of constructing walks entailed in the proposal submitted by Bridgeman and Wise for the work at Kensington Gardens (NA Work 6/114). The work was to be done by Bridgeman's workforce. The creation of the gravel walks was a major undertaking, not least because of their surface area; 'the Principall Walks of which is 80 feet wide & 2800 feet long & and all the several other Walks of the same length' (NA Work 6/114). Earth was 'to be dug & taken of the Ground between the several Walks of Trees there which Earth is to be removed' and gravel laid 'in the place thereof'. Bridgeman and Wise charged £246.3.0 for 'the Expences of digging filling onto Carts carting away disposing & laying the same in proper place in the old and new Plantations all charges included' (NA Work 6/114). The process also involved the sourcing of gravel from the site; 'the Gravell to be used for this purpose is propos'd to be taken out of several Pitts to be sunk in proper places in the said great Upper Wilderness & in Hyde Park', and there were further charges for 'the expences of opening the severall Pitts digging the Gravell Casting screening the same loading Carting laying spreading making ramming rolling & finishing' (NA Work 6/114). Bridgeman and Wise undertook to 'make good' the land from which the gravel had been removed afterwards; 'the said Undertakers are to have liberty to dig gravell & take Turf for the Works in Hyde Park it is meant and intended that neither the Gravell so to be dug not the Turf so to be taken but in such herbage of the said Park & that ye said Undertakers shall level & lay the Pitts from whence the said Gravell shall be dug in decent & comely order & sow the ground from whence the said Gravell shall be taken with hay seed at their own charge' (NA Work 6/114). At Wolterton, a similar process, although not in such detail, is referred to in a letter to Walpole in May 1731 from his land steward, Bayfield. Bridgeman's design included a path to the west of the house on the border of Walpole's land: 'We Have Leveled the Road in the Kiln Close next the Comon ……. and Covered it all over w[it]h Rubbish and small stones w[hic[h will make that Road very good' (WH Box 29L 8/15).

Although bowling greens, grass walks and parterres may be the least ambitious elements of any Bridgeman design, their construction was a labour intensive and relatively complex procedure, as the land steward Bayfield's correspondence with Walpole about the creation of the bowling green to the south of Wolterton Hall makes clear. In November 1728 he wrote about the need to change the level of the area which is to form the bowling green and shows how weather dependent the process was: that it 'is very good wether for carreying away the earth before the South Front

where the Bouling Green is to be w[hi]ch must be taken down about 3 foots & ½' (WH 8/5A Box 73L). By June 1731 Will Brand, Horatio Walpole's head gardener, and his men were working on the bowling green and slopes down to it to the north of the house: 'Will Brand have made one of the Slopes & is doing the other on the Right and Left side of the Stone Slopes on the North Front and Carrying and Leveling the Lawn ……' (WH Box 29L 8/15). The process of finishing the earth surface and turfing it is also detailed in Bridgeman's proposal with regard to the new work at Kensington Gardens: 'For Turf to be used in laying several Walks, Verges & Divisions of Grass intended within this new Ground the Turf so used to be taken of the Walks in the new Paddock where gravell is to be taken of the Walks in the new Paddock where gravell is to be laid & and also such places in Hyde Park as lye out of sight. The Expences of cutting the Turf loading & carting the same levelling & preparing the said several Verges & Divisions to receive it laying, beating, rolling & finishing the same all charges included £318.8.0' (NA Work 6/114). This entry in Bridgeman's proposal makes it clear that the grass for the 'Verges & Divisions' is to be reused from turf cut in the making of the gravelled walks.

Some insight into the construction of major earthworks can be gained from the detailed instructions for earth terracing on the unidentified ink plan MSGD a4 fo. 25 (see Figure 10), particularly in relation to levels. Since these are initialled 'CB' at the bottom, we must assume that these are Bridgeman's. His instructions are meticulous but clear and easy to follow. They are given in full in Chapter 3. He is concerned with how the earth will be moved to create the steps of the 'Theater'. So, for example: 'The first fall from A to C (the head of the first slope) is 2 feet' and 'the perpendicular fall from this first slope 4.0'. In an abbreviated form this information is repeated for each platform, with a total showing the entire fall of 34 feet at the end. The drainage of the 'Theater' is considered: 'The fall of one foot from the foot of the 4th slope to the edge of the bason must be in like manner continued round the bason w[hi]ch will make the walk lye drye & occasion sinking into the hillside at D less by one foot' and its spatial relationship to 'the level of the Terras before the House'. Similar, though briefer instructions, are appended to the presentation drawing for Scampston where the fall is marked as '3 feet' (MSGD a4 fo.66). There are also instructions to do with the levels of the garden on the ink drawing of Purley (MSGD a4 fo.54). These meticulous instructions demonstrate the importance of accurate and competent surveying when creating earthworks of this magnitude.

We might also consider how a pragmatic consideration of the underlying geology affected the construction of these major earthworks. At Claremont, the amphitheatre is created out of a south-western end of a steeply inclined promontory of sand and gravel (Lynch Hill gravel member), presumably relatively easy and forgiving to work. This seems to have allowed the creation of a

very large amphitheatre which, restored by the National Trust c.1975, is dramatic even today (Figure 34).

Figure 34 The amphitheatre at Claremont (Photograph: Susan Haynes 2013)

The amphitheatre at Cliveden is considerably smaller, perhaps because of the difficulties posed by both of the underlying geology and the topography of the site. It is built into the edge of a deposit of sand and gravel (mostly Gerrards Cross gravel) where it joins the very steeply inclined cliff formed of the underlying bedrock of chalk descending to the River Thames to the east of the site. Its construction is mentioned in a letter from the Earl of Orkney to his brother, and shows the difficulties inherent in the task: '…I think it will be better than was Intended (but the Amphitheatre is quite struck out) wher[e] to get the turf and trees for la grand machine, beside there is great difficulty to get the slope all that side of the Hill where the precipice was, but Bridgeman mackes difficultys of nothing…' (MS 1033, fo.157 in Willis 2002, 427). Here archaic meanings have obscured the sense of the words; 'struck out' may well be used in a building sense meaning to remove the supporting timbers from a structure, and 'la grand machine, probably refers to the construction or edifice (www.oed.com).

Hydraulics

It is likely that the biggest challenge, as Roberts suggests, for Bridgeman and for his labourers alike, was presented by the creation of large bodies of ornamental water, such as lakes and canals: 'The making of the lakes and rivers of the landscape park was a demanding operation that frequently involved the planning of an integrated system of drainage and supply works and which had to take account of the intended land use of surrounding areas' (Roberts 2001, 15). Water

features which required complex engineering appear on the designs for Brocket Hall (MSGD a3fo.7), Wolterton Hall (MSGD a4 fo.61 and MSGD a3 fo.55), Lodge Park (MSGD a4 fo.68), Rousham (MSGD a4 fo.63), Claremont (SM 62.1.2) , Hackwood House (MSGD a4 fo.34), Down Hall (Gough Maps 46 fo.262 and BL Loan 29/357), Tring (MSGD a4 fo.32),Scampston (MSGD a4 fo.27), Sacombe (MSGD a4 fo.64), Moor Park (MSGD a4 fo.58), Warwick Priory (WCRO CR .56), Gobions (Herts Map a1), Kensington Gardens (NS CC.2753 and HEH ST MAP 147), Wimpole (Bambridge Collection) and Kedleston Hall (Scarsdale Collection). There is some archaeological and earthwork evidence that many of these were constructed in some form and are still visible either filled with water, or in earthwork form. There is significant documentary evidence for how three stretches of water, the Round Pond and the Serpentine in Kensington Gardens, and the Lake at Wolterton, were constructed, and evidence can be pieced together to examine the techniques used at a number of other sites.

The 'Great Bason', known now as the Round Pond, is seven acres in area, and measures 200 by 150 metres. Bridgeman's contract suggests that work on it had already begun by 1726: 'For finishing the Great Bason in the said semi circular lawn….' (NA Work 6/114). There is some ambiguity about this since the construction of a 'Great Bason' is nowhere mentioned in the proposal presented by both Wise and Bridgeman, before 11th March 1726 (NA Work 6/114). So it is likely that 'finishing' refers to enlarging a smaller rectangular pond shown in the same place as the Round Pond, on a drawing of Kensington Gardens attributed to Wise (NA Work 32/312). It may be that it is a reference to the contention made in the *Biographical Dictionary of Civil Engineers* that James Horne, deputy Master Mason from 1726, began the construction of the Round Pond, although Skempton does suggest that Bridgeman was responsible for the plan, (Skempton (ed.) 2002).

The new pond appears to have been constructed by digging down to the clay, in some places fifteen feet below the surface of the garden, and encircling the small rectangular pond in its entirety with a trench 2216ft long, from which '14777 Cube Yardes of Sand' would be removed. The Round Pond is sixteen feet deep. This trench would form the circumference of the new pond and be filled with 2951 cubic metres of clay, two feet thick at its upper end, rammed in, and making contact with the underlying clay at its lower end: 'this Trench is to be thus opened to receive a wall of Clay raisd from the bottom to the Surface of the Lawn' in order to 'confine the Water in the Said Bason which otherwise would waste thro' the Veins of Sand in which the said Bason is dug to the great injury of the Beauty of that water & of the Health of the Palace'. Bridgeman is specific about the dimensions of the clay and where it will come from: 'Clay used in the said wall round the great bason the whole Circumference thereof in some parts 15 feet deep the upper end to be 2 feet thick amounting to about 2951 Cube yards the clay for this purpose to

be dug deeper the upper end of the Lake in this Paddock which is now to Shallow' (Work 6/114). This would have created a clay bowl, providing, as Bridgeman himself suggests, an effective seal. Presumably, this creation of a watertight bowl before breaching the rectangular pond obviated the need for a coffer dam.

The logistics of this operation are not entirely clear. It seems unlikely that a trench fifteen feet deep and two feet wide could be dug safely, in sand, even today, and ramming it with clay would have been even more difficult. It is much more likely that what Bridgeman's labourers dug was a much wider trench in the sand around the circumference of what is now the pond, and, in stages of a few feet, created a wall of clay along its outer edge, each stage of which was rammed and then encased on the inner edge with earth or sand to keep it in place. In this way, Bridgeman was effectively creating one half of a dam with a clay core of the kind common in the Roman period, and shown in section in *Early Dam Builders in Britain* (Binnie 1987, 4). At the Round Pond, the clay probably formed a right-angled triangle, wider at the base than at the top, where the upright and horizontal axes are buttressed by the earth wall and the clay floor. It is a technique of which Switzer was aware and writes of in *Ichnographia Rustica.* 'It has always been the Method of Stoning or Bricking, and sometimes Leading the Sides of Fountains, Canals, and Ponds……These Walls are generally made of Stone or Brick and clay'd well behind, to keep the Water from finding its way thro' the Sides…..' (Switzer 1718, Vol.1.304). However, it is likely that he had much smaller pieces of water in mind, and, in any case, he advises against it because of the expense: 'but in this respect there is so much Money buried, that I cann't but advise Gentlemen to consider if there are no nearer Methods' (Switzer 1718, Vol.1.304). It also seems to be the technique used by Lancelot Brown in making the pond at Petworth, some twenty years later. Binnie cites part of the third contract, from 1753, in which 'The making of all necessary clay walls' is mentioned. He contends that '[t]he reference to clay walls suggests that Brown was learning by experience that the need to make earthworks watertight could not be ignored.' Binnie goes on to include a description of building the lake, which sounds very like what Bridgeman may have done at the Round Pond: 'Earth fill was used to build up the pond to a kidney shape on top of which a clay blanket extending not only over the inner slopes but also, possibly all, of the floor of the pond was placed. On the inner slopes, the clay in the upper parts was protected with stone pitching and in the lower parts with coarse sand and rubble' (Binnie 1987, 63).

Although here is no mention of the source of water for the Round Pond, it seems likely that both it, and the rectangular pond that preceded it, were fed by springs. Bridgeman explicity mentions drainage, '& for finishing the Mouth of the Conveyance of the Water out of the Great Bason'. There is further evidence that Bridgeman was responsible for the creation of the Round Pond and its infrastructure when repairs were needed to it: 'The Water which runs through the Ditch made

by Mr Bridgeman at the side of the Great Pond in Hyde Park for carrying waste water having washed away much of the Earth in the Ditch; & thereby laid bare for several yards two large Leaden Pipes which come from the two Water Houses there, and, as I am told convey water to St James's Palace' (NA Work 1/1).

Bridgeman was also responsible for the construction of part of the Serpentine in Hyde Park. Document 26 in Work 6/114 shows how 'the Lake in this Paddock', almost certainly the arm of the Serpentine which now runs north from the Serpentine Bridge was made (Rocque 1736 BL K. Top xxviii 10 b). Here the technique was different, and involved damming an existing stream. This part of the Serpentine was created from the first four of ten separate rectilinear ponds formed from the course of the River Westbourne (Green 1956, 77; (Skempton (ed.) 2002). Bridgeman refers to construction work at both the northerly and southerly ends of 'the Lake'. Clay was 'to be dug deeper the upper end of the Lake in this Paddock which is now to shallow'. This was the source of the clay used in the Round Pond and was carted 'above half a mile, roughly the distance from the northerly end of the present Serpentine to the centre of the Round Pond. In a separate item, Bridgeman estimates £200.6.0 for 'raising & finishing the head of the Lake & the Walks round the Same to level some parts thereof is already raised by ramming them light with Clay & proper Earth will take up about 3506 Cube yards, also finishing the brickwork belonging to the same…' (NA Work 6/114/21). Here Bridgeman's proposal seems to suggest that a dam would be raised at the end of the Longwater, before it turns through 90 degrees into Hyde Park. A dam built here would effectively have been half way down the current course of the Serpentine, and was almost certainly demolished within two years to complete the present Serpentine, when, as The London Journal of Saturday August 22nd 1730 reported: 'The King has given orders to turn the Ponds in Hyde Park into a Serpentine River'. The *Biographical Dictionary of Civil Engineers* suggests that this was indeed the case: 'For the Long Water the valley (hitherto occupied by the four uppermost ponds) was deepened and widened by excavating 31,479 cu yd from the bottom and 6,515 cu yd from slope on the east side, most of the material being used in levelling the ground for a lawn around the Pond and building a wide embankment across the valley as a temporary dam (at the site of the present bridge)' (Skempton (ed.) 2002https://books.google.co.uk/books).

At Wolterton, the lake seems to have been constructed by damming a shallow valley to the south of the house. It is fed by several springs and a number of field drains run into it (see Chapter 4). The land steward Bayfield's letter to Horatio Walpole of 2nd January 1726, deals in detail with the logistics of moving earth to make the dam at the end of Bridgeman's lake. It is quoted here in full:

….there is a Hill in the Land w[hi]ch was Mr Rich. Robins's that Lay very near the Head of the New Pond & is very good stuff to make the Heading of & is agreed by all that that taken away makes the ground much more Regular& evener w[i]th the losses on that sid & if wanted & the top trown down will be as good planting as before and will be carried to the Head of the pond for one third of the Charge that the earth will be fetched from the North end of the pond & is Down hill & Drie Land & mor Plenti -full, the wether frosty & Drie that we can now work upon it and easy Digging, men at 12^{s} per day that I think me it will be don almost as cheap as in sumer time & Mr Burntt & all of us thinke there will be a station for all the earth at the North end of the pond to fill up in the Low Grownd & inward the Rushings and also what will be wanted at the South Head of the pond more than the Hill will a pond & I just mention these things to your Hon[ou]r & beg yo[u]r Honour advise wh[ic]h shall be wholly followd in every p[ar]ticular by Him who is Hon[oure]d S[i]r yo[ur] most Duitfill & Humble Ser[va]nt Thos. Bayfield' (8/5A 73L).

It highlights the practical considerations of creating a large earthwork such as a dam. A number of factors are considered: the quality of the soil (it is 'very good stuff to make the Heading of'), the economics of the operation ('and will be carried to the Head of the pond for one third of the Charge that the earth will be fetched from the North end of the pond' and 'I think me it will be don almost as cheap as in sumer time') and the ease with which the soil can be transported ('& is Down hill & Drie Land') (WH 8/5A Box 73L). The Lake at Wolterton does not seem to have been puddled with clay. A 70cm core (WOLT1) taken from the lake in November 2006 from TG16284 31222 as part of environmental research by Dr Carl Sayer from UCL revealed the following stratigraphy:

0-22 cm – dark grey mud
23-54 – mid-brown mud
54-60 – dark grey mud
60-68 – light/mid-brown mud
68-70 – peat/organic soil (Carl Sayer pers. comm. 2013)

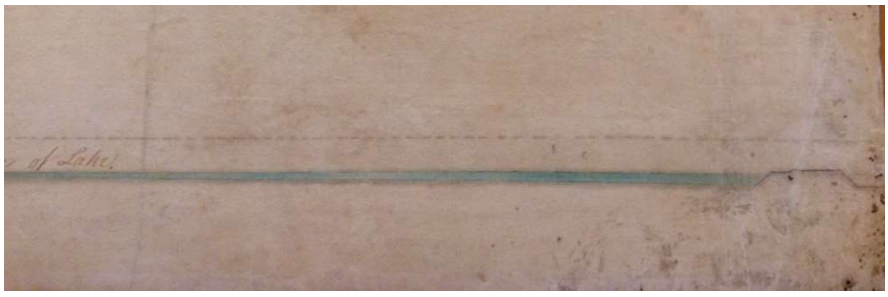


Figure 35 Detail from the plan for Wolterton (MSGD a4 fo.10) showing the dam.

Bridgeman's instructions on the ink drawing for Rousham (MSGD a4 fo.63) demonstrate his competence in using naturally occurring springs and piping water from them to feed the pools and fountains of his designs. His instructions read: 'the Current or Fall of the Water from the place propos'd to bring it from the furthest springs, to the great square pond is 15 foot 6 inches. – The length from ye further springs to the nether springs is 890 feet & from these to ye Garden water is 100 feet and from thence cross the Garden to the square pond is 480 feet – in the whole 1670 feet'. It would appear from this that Bridgeman piped water from springs on the upward slope to the west of the garden to the western boundary of the garden, and then by way of a small conduit to the Square Pond, now the Octagon Pond. The conduit shown on Bridgeman's plan (MSGD a4 fo.63) (Map 11i between f and C) is still in use today running into the north-eastern corner of the Octagonal Pond.

It is not possible to be specific about the piping used by Bridgeman in such an enterprise. Sichet has shown that while cast-iron pipes were invented during the reign of Louis XIV, and manufactured from 1671, they had little impact on the way water gardens were conceived and constructed, even though they could be made in larger diameters and withstood water pressure better (Sichet in Bouchenot-Déchin and Farhat (eds.) 2014, 206). So although this new technology was available, it is most likely that the pipes Bridgeman used to pipe water from springs at Rousham and at other sites were made of clay, wood or lead. Chapter IX of Switzer's *An Introduction to a General System of Hydrostaticks and Hydraulicks* (1729) is entitled 'Of several Kinds of Pipes for the Conveyance of Water, whether Lead, Iron, Earth or Wood' and goes on to discuss the relative merits and expense of each kind of pipe. He makes clear that all three materials were in regular use in England and contemporary accounts show this. John Rowley's instructions to Rowland to improve the running of the Water Engine at Windsor in 1722 include the replacement of lead pipes: 'the Great Lead Main…& to lay a new One of 4 Inches bore to be laid as straight as possible, and the Lead to be 3/8 of an inch thick at least (NA Work 4/2 ff.50v.63,64 cited in Appleby1996, 19) and his bill for the piping for water to the cistern in the White Tower in the Tower of London includes £37.5.7d for elm piping (WO 51/102 (Bill Book) f.49 cited in Appleby 1996,19). Archaeological evidence from excavated water gardens indicates the same. At Boughton, bored elm trunks were used to drain water from the watergarden, which incorporates the Star Pond to the south-west of the site, to the drainage pond, and cylindrical clay pipes which carried the water to the fountain jets (RCHME 1979, 161).

Bridgeman's designs often include the canalization, or at least regularizing the banks of existing waterways, although this proposed treatment was generally restricted to small, and slow flowing, waterways. The designs for Down Hall, Rousham, and Lodge Park, show some variation on the

idea of canalizing existing waterways. As suggested in Chapter 4, it is hard to tell whether this is integral to the geometric concept of the design, or whether Bridgeman planned to, or did, straighten the earth bank of the river, or build a masonry retaining wall to hold the river bank and a terrace on top. At Down Hall there is no evidence at all, either on site, or from 50cm resolution LIDAR, that banks of Pincey Brook were straightened or, indeed, altered in any way. At Lodge Park, it is possible to see, in earthwork form, the straight sided canal, fed by the River Leech, which Bridgeman's proposal also shows although in his design it is superseded by a much wider, parallel-sided canal. It seems unlikely that this was ever built. At Rousham, there is evidence that, if the garden bank of the River Cherwell was straightened, as Bridgeman's design (MSGDa4 fo.63), shows, it was not rendered in masonry. In letters to General Dormer, his Steward, William White, writes in May 1738, when the garden was being prepared for Kent's remodeling that 'Some Men are now employed, in Conveying into ye Garden, by boats, the Earth taken out of ye river, and par'd off ye Banks' which suggests that neither side of the bank had been faced with masonry (Müller 1993, 181). This, admittedly, scant evidence, does suggest that, if the banks of existing waterways were straightened, and there is no clear evidence that this happened anywhere, then the straightened sides were not faced with masonry. Presumably, to do this in a flowing river would have been difficult and expensive, involving either the rerouting, temporarily, of the waterway, or the building of a coffer dam to keep the mortar dry, if it extended below the water line. It must be said, that at Rokeby Park, in County Durham, built by Sir Thomas Robinson between 1725 and 1730, the sharp bend in the course of the River Greta, to the immediate east of the house, is faced with large blocks of dressed ashlar, presumably limestone, given the geological strata on which it sits (http://mapapps.bgs.ac.uk/geologyofbritain). However, it appears that no mortar is used and the retaining walls appear to sit on existing limestone rock formations which form a solid foundation.

Sourcing plants

Harvey has suggested that, in the early eighteenth century, commercial nurseries in London were the only ones able to cope with the volume of business involved in the creation of the sort of monumental landscape designed by Bridgeman. He highlights the logistical challenge of sourcing the 'thousands upon thousands of trees', and suggests that only the largest nurseries, in and around London, were capable of the logistics to supply such large quantities of plants (Harvey 1974, 85). Of these nurseries, Brompton Park Nursery, with which Bridgeman had such close connections early in his career, was the most prominent. From the time of its founding it monopolized the supply of plants to new gardens. Harvey suggests that Brompton Park Nursery was ideally placed to deal with 'the production of trees in such large numbers and capable of being moved at a substantial size, called forth exactly the kind of highly organized plantsmanship that could be

provided by London & Wise at Brompton Park' (Harvey 1974, 56). In spite of what Harvey describes as the 'inept management' of Smith and Carpenter, Brompton Park continued to do business during the early period of Bridgeman's career (Harvey 1974, 71).

However, Brompton Park was by no means the only nursery in London. There was, in fact, a considerable concentration of nurseries in and around London, all flourishing in the period in which Bridgeman was working. Harvey highlights the three most important in London; Robert Furber in Kensington Gore, Philip Miller, Curator of the Chelsea Physic Garden from 1722 and Christopher Gray at Fulham (Harvey 1974b, 78), but also shows that others in the area around London, near the sites where Bridgeman was working, such as Isleworth, Kew, and Twickenham were also capable of producing the volume of stock required by designers such as Bridgeman. For example, William Cox, in Kew had over 30,000 plants in 1722, and Peter Mason at Isleworth had 115,000 trees and plants (Harvey 1974a, 20).

There were also provincial nurseries, although Harvey points out that they supplied little more than vegetables, herbs and commonly grown fruit trees in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It was common until 1700 for large landowners to send to London for any plant beyond ordinary varieties of fruit trees or seeds for herbs and vegetables (Harvey 1974b, 58). It is certainly clear from the undated note on the plan for Great Saxham (MSGD a3 fo.41) that fruit trees were being sourced from London and transported to Suffolk. The development of regional nurseries seems to have been delayed by the dominance of Brompton Park Nurseries. Only after the period in which Bridgeman was operating did the demise of Brompton Nurseries and 'the excessively high cost of long-distance transport, produced the explosion of nurseries…' (Harvey 1974b, 71) lead to the proliferation of regional nurseries. However, once the monopoly of London was broken, Harvey contends, the number of nurseries in the provinces began to proliferate (Harvey 1974b). He shows that there were a considerable number of regional nurseries; the Paradise Gardens in Oxford, Matthew Wharton's Garden and Friar's Garden in York, Pontefract Nursery, all of which were operating in the early part of the eighteenth century (Harvey 1974b pp.58 – 71). Again, sadly, there is no evidence to link Bridgeman to nurseries in the provinces, even though it is a possibility that he, or his clients, dealt with them. At Boughton, however, it seems that a local nurseryman, Thomas Cross, was used to supply both trees and seeds, although here the transaction was handled by the estate, rather than Bridgeman (NRO Boughton Account Book 41). The elms planted at Boughton in 1730 were supplied by him at the cost of £950 which suggests a substantial operation (Account Book 43), and he was also paid for seeds in the same year (Crispin Powell pers. comm. 2015). Elms were also bought from 'Mrs Chamberling' and from Thos. Chamberlayne (presumably a married couple) in 1729, from Cransley, close to Boughton (Account Book 41).

Seeds came from specialist seed merchants. Harvey explains that nurserymen tended to specialize in the trade in living plants, and act 'as a middle man between private specialists in seed-raising… and the public' while 'The seedsman proper…. Was usually a merchant pure and simple, centralizing supplies bought from individual raisers at home and abroad, and selling both to local firms and to the public direct. Until quite modern times practically the whole of the seedsman's trade was concentrated in London, and particularly in the City and Liberties' (Harvey 1974, 3). Thick has shown that there were relatively few seedsmen before 1760 and most were found in London, in Pall Mall, the New Exchange, and Westminster Hall, where Switzer had his business (Thick 1990, 113).

Some estates seem to have coped with the volume of trees and other plants needed by establishing nurseries, possibly specifically to provide plants for the new landscape, and growing trees and other plants from seedlings, although presumably, the seedlings, or the seeds from which they were grown, were commercially produced. At Wolterton, a nursery seems to have been established by Joseph Carpenter, after Horatio Walpole' purchase of the estate, in 1722, but before the fire which destroyed the house, in fact before Bridgeman became involved in the planning of the garden (WH Box 73L 8/5A). A pale was erected in 1732 to stop the 'Herdes from comeing in to the bowling Green and Nursery' (WH Box 28L 8/14). At Boughton, a new nursery was also established c.1728. In 1729 two payments were made to labourers which specify work 'in the new Nursery' (Boughton Account Book 39). Perhaps it was used to raise the elm plants supplied by Thomas Cross.

There seems to be no evidence that Bridgeman ran a nursery from which to source his own plants; the plants for his landscapes must have come from professional growers and nurserymen, and were sourced either by him, or directly by his clients. There is evidence that Bridgeman dealt directly with Brompton Park Nursery. Willis suggests that Joseph Carpenter, at Brompton Park Nurseries, provided Bridgeman with plants for Kedleston, Briggens, Carshalton, Compton Place, Purley and Stowe (Willis 2002, 33 n.41) and that he also provided seeds for Down Hall. On March 13th 1722, an entry in the accounts for Down Hall reads 'To Mr Charles Bridgeman Sr Mr Carpenter Bill for seeds for the Gardens at Down Hall £2 16 8d' (BL Add MS 70362). While there is nothing to link Bridgeman to any other nurseries in London, or with the small number of regional nurseries, it is quite possible that he dealt with them. There are a small number of instances where Bridgeman was paid for the provision of plants only, but there is no specific record of what they were or where they came from. For example, in 1721 Samuel Tufnell paid a Charles Bridgeman for 'Works & plants in ye Gardens' at Langleys in Buckinghamshire, and in the same year, he was paid £5 13s for trees at Briggens in Hertfordshire (Skelton pers.comm.

2019). This raises the possibility that one of the areas of Bridgeman's business was acting as a middle man for the provision of plants, but it is much more likely that he was engaged in some way with these estates. There are several instances of seeds being bought for a Bridgeman landscape, other than the transaction between 'Mr Bridgeman Sr and Joseph Carpenter'. On October 11th 1721 there was another payment for seeds for Down Hall, this time 'To Mr Walker for Mr Adams who payed John Hogray for seeds for Down Garden (BL Add MS 70361). This time the order does not seem to have come through Bridgeman. It is difficult to establish whether John Hogray was a seed merchant in London, but it is likely he was.

Planting

We make the assumption that Bridgeman had specific intentions with regard to the planting of his landscapes. However, the plans give little indication of what was to be planted. Grass is generally represented by an area of green watercolour paint, but since this only applies to those plans that use this medium it is often difficult even to tell where grass was to be planted. The planting of trees is always indicated in one of four ways: by single dots, by a generic stylized symbol, by a truncated version of the same symbol which shows only the top of the tree, and, very occasionally by a small triangular symbol which is probably intended to be a clipped evergreen, probably yew or box. With the exception of the last, none of these is in any way species specific. Only three of the plans, for Tring (MSGD a4 fo.32), for Purley (MSGD a4 fo.54), and for Scampston (MSGD a4 fo.27), are annotated with precise instructions for planting. There is also some documentary evidence which indicates what was planted at Kensington Gardens, at Lodge Park, at Boughton, Wolterton, and at Rousham, but, although useful in building a picture of the plants used in Bridgeman's landscapes, these sources do not necessarily convey his intention.

Lawns seem to have been sown with grass seed, although Phibbs makes the point that it was impossible in the eighteenth century to obtain clean grass seed, and so weeds must always have been a problem. At Wolterton, in May 1732, Bayfield, Walpole's land steward writes that '…. as soon as the lawn on the North front be p[re]pared and Leveld' it would be 'sown w[it]h Nonsuch seed' and that '……..before the seed be sown we have 6 or 7 men at Worke levelling and Carrying earth up towards the front of the House to make it w[it]h a small assent……. And a small dessent to Right and a little Risoning in the Middell'. There are also instances of hay seed being sown on areas at Boughton and Down Hall, but presumably this was not on the bowling greens or parterres close to the house (Boughton House Account Book 42). At Down Hall, Stephen Bridgeman writes of the preparation of the ground needed for sowing hay seed: 'the men are now preparing ye walls and slopes fitt for sowing with Hay seed which I should have been glad if I

could have performed sooner but having but four or five men for four or five months in ye short days ye work went on very slowly but when ye days began to Lengthen I had 2 or 3 men and som time had 9 or tenn. I think it will be very propper this Spring to dig ye ground' (Stephen Bridgeman 10th April 1729 BL 70370/160).

The most comprehensive evidence of the specific species employed relates to trees. Barnes and Williamson suggest that oak, beech, elm, lime and sweet chestnut were used most widely in geometric schemes in the early eighteenth century, and this is supported by the available evidence of the planting of Bridgeman's landscapes (Williamson and Barnes 2011, 123). The strongest evidence supports Bridgeman's use of elms, although because of the onset of Dutch elm disease in the 1960s, it is unlikely that any of Bridgeman's original planting of standard trees survives (Barnes and Williamson 2011, 77). Elms are the only species mentioned by name in the documents that relate to Bridgeman's remodeling of Kensington Gardens (Work 6/114). In 1727 Bridgeman charged for watering 'the great Elms' and requested extra payment of £100 for '100 of the Large Standard Elms that are dead on the new part of the Gardens to be replanted The prime lost of the Trees, Carriage to the Thames, Water Carrieage, Carriage from the water to Kensington preparing the Soyl & planting all charges included' (NA Work 6/114). The claim was disallowed, probably because his contract explicitly stated that 'the said Undertaker is at his own Proper costs & charges to make good the several Plantations of Fruit Trees, Forrest Trees, Flowering Shrubs and hardy Evergreens that shall at any time happen to dye by planting others in their Places' (NA Work 6/114). In 1731 273 large Standard English Elms' were planted 'in Grove manner on each side the water in the Circular Lawn'. Elms are also specified on plans. Annotations on the plans for Scampston (MSGD a4 fo.27), and for Tring (MSGD a4 fo.32), specify 'Elms etc.' on the western edge of Blakey Beck to the east of the park, and '106 Standard Elms for the outward Lines', respectively. At Boughton 'Elm Plants' were bought 'to set in the Nursery' (NTS Account Book 43), elms are amongst the trees to be planted at Down Hall by Stephen Bridgeman in 1729, and are being dug up to make way for evergreens at Rousham in 1739. Between 1724 and 1729, 7,000 elms and 700 wych elms were ordered for Lodge Park (Smith 2009, 242).

Oaks are mentioned less frequently as part of the planting of Bridgeman's new landscapes although this may not mean that they were used less frequently. They were to be planted at Wolterton in January 1727 as part of Bridgeman's new plan for the garden: 'If they plant a Line of young Oaks 40 feet from the ditch it will run 10 feet into the young wood (Come up) w[hi]ch will breake that Plan of the sd Nursery, Laid Down by Mr Carpenter' (WH 8/5A Box 73L). At Down Hall, if we assume that Stephen Bridgeman's letter refers to Charles Bridgeman's planting, oaks were clearly being raised in the nursery: 'I think it will be very proper this Spring to dig ye ground Between ye Nursery of Oaks ….' (BL 70370/160). Oaks are also commented on by both

Bickham and Toldervy, writing about Gobions in the 1760s: Bickham notes a 'Forest of Oaks', and 'lofty Oaks', and Toldervy 'oak Trees, which are very strait, and vastly high, remain entire'. These may be the trees planted forty years before, in the 1720s, as part of Bridgeman's planting scheme. Barnes and Williamson show that at Houghton Hall both oaks and beeches from Bridgeman's original avenues survive (Barnes and Williamson 2011, 123).

Other types of deciduous trees were used in Bridgeman landscapes. Limes were very popular at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century. As Barnes and Williamson point out, 'Lime was particularly favoured as an avenue tree, probably because of its relatively rapid growth combined with its graceful form when young' (Barnes and Williamson 2011, 121). At Kensington Gardens in 1727, Bridgeman's account records the 'planting in borders Lyme Espaliers' (NAWork 6/114). These appear to be limes espaliered to form hedges. At Wolterton two sweet chestnut trees, to the north of the house, have girths of around eight metres, suggesting that they were part of the avenue, composed of this species shown on the survey of Wolterton Hall executed by Corbridge of 1732 (Williamson 1998, 72). Williamson has also shown that there is a line of smaller chestnuts, between 5m and 6.5m in circumference, within the former wilderness to the west of the house which are likely to be the remains of one of the alleés shown on MSGD a4 fo.20. This is supported by the instructions left to Bradshaw the gardener in May 1737, after a visit to Wolterton in April 1737 by Ripley and Bridgeman, to 'plant some more Chestnuts' (WH 8/20 Box 29L and 8/12 Box 3LX). Sweet chestnuts were also planted at Boughton in March 1729 (NTS Boughton account book 43).

There is evidence for the planting of evergreens, in particular, of yews. They, or possibly box, are symbolized in a stylized, clipped pyramidal form in parterres in a number of plans, for example, in the parterre at Sacombe (MSGD a4 fo.64), Warwick Priory (WRO CR. 56), and at Eastbury (MSGD a3* fo.9). On Bridgeman's plan for Tring (MSGD a4 fo.32), the planting along the edge of the canal is represented with small circles, annotated: an outer line is composed of 106 standard Elms (see above), an inner line of 106 yews. At Lodge Park, between 1724 and 1729, Sir John Dutton ordered fifty yew sets. At Wolterton in 1729 yew trees were planted around the edge of the sunken bowling green at Wolterton (WH Box 8/13), and at Boughton in 1730 they were planted on the Mount, presumably both as part of Bridgeman's remodeling of the garden. It is possible that some yews planted in the 1720s and 30s during Bridgeman's reshaping of the landscape survive at Amesbury Abbey and at Sacombe. Two yew trees, framing the slope to Gay's Cave at Amesbury Abbey, might be of sufficient antiquity and girth (both are over three metres) to be original (Haynes 2012, 24), and Milledge suggests that eight yew trees at Sacombe with girths in excess of 100 inches might also be part of Bridgeman's planting (Milledge 2009, 49), though as John White has noted, it is very difficult to accurately date yew trees, and so girth

alone may not be sufficient to establish planting as part of Bridgeman's plan (http://www.forestry.gov.uk). Other evergreens, 6,000 Scots firs, at Lodge Park (Smith 2009, 242), and silver firs at Wolterton (WH Box 8/13) were used and holly, was probably used within the groves and as a hedging material at several sites. At Wolterton a holly hedge was grown (WH Box 28L 8/14) and at Lodge Park 1050 holly sets were ordered by Sir John Dutton (Smith 2009, 242).

There is limited evidence of the use of ornamental and fruit trees. Bridgeman appears to have provided them, at Great Saxham, although whether they were part of a planting scheme is less sure. At Purley, the borders of the parterre are labelled '1' and '2' explained in an appended key: '1. Border for paradise apples 2. Border for dwarfs' (MSGD a4 fo.54). Accounts from Purley record substantial payments for plants, and ornamental and fruit trees (Country Life 1970, 310 - 313). At Lodge Park, one hundred flowering trees were part of Sir John Dutton's order (Smith 2009, 242). Shrubs were planted as part of the understorey at Wolterton, since, in his letter to Walpole of 1737, Bridgeman writes of 'cutting down the shrubs under the trees of the Grove, but there is no note of the species.

The size of some of these trees, when transplanted on to the site, was large enough to make an immediate impact. As Smith points out '[b]y the 1720s and 1730s the technique of transplanting large trees was well understood and used to provide instant effects' (Smith 2009, 242). An engraving by Kleiner from 1724 shows the movement of large trees in tubs, and we can probably assume that this technique was used to place trees in Bridgeman's landscapes (Willis 2002, Plate 92a). At Wolterton specific mention is made of 'the trees w[hich] were lately sent over in a tubb doe begin to spring and put out Leaves most of them'. These trees seem to have been intended for the 'plantation' since Will Brand, the gardener, is encouraged to 'give Yo[ur] Hon[our] and account of how the tree and plantation goe' (WH Box 28L 8/14). At Boughton, it is also likely that large yew trees were transplanted. An entry in the accounts records: 'Tho. Wright for 4 baskets to carry Yews in to Plant on the Mount £1' (NTS Account Book 430. Certainly, large trees were specified at Lodge Park; Smith notes that 'eight hundred 'large' ashes and eighty-five 'large' elms were ordered (Smith 2009, 242). At Kensington Gardens the trees were large enough to need a team of horses to transport them; in 1731 Bridgeman charged for 'For 9 single days a Team in drawing the said kinds of ever Greens from the said Quarter at 10s per day' (NA Work 6/114).

However, there is no indication in Bridgeman's watercolour plans to suggest the planting of flowers, indeed the colour green predominates, but given the expertise he must have had, it seems unlikely that Bridgeman's landscapes were devoid of flowering plants. What is notable about the

omission from every plan and document of a detailed planting list, or any serious indication of planting intentions, is the contrast it represents to contemporary writers and gardeners. Switzer's *Ichnographia Rustica* Vol. II contains species specific advice on trees and flowering plants, particularly in the Chapter VII, VIII, and IX. Batty Langley devotes some pages in Part V of *New Principles of Gardening* to the habit, propagation, and flowering qualities of plants and shrubs: 'The first Blowing flowering Shrub is the *Mezerion* which presents its *beautiful Blossoms* in *January* and continues in Bloom to the Middle of *February* (Langley 1728, 180). In the section following this, '*Of the Manner of Disposing and Planting Flowering Shrubs in the Proper Parts of a Wilderness*' suggests where these flowers might be best planted to produce 'a perfect Slope of beautiful Flowers'. Laird makes the point that the bills for the flowering plants delivered to John Dillman, gardener to Frederick, Prince of Wales, between 1735 and 1738, for the garden Kent designed at Carlton House were for 'honeysuckles, jasmines, double sweetbriers, syringas and mezereons' (Laird 1999, 41). It may be that Bridgeman's landscapes were similarly planted, but if they were, there is no evidence of it.

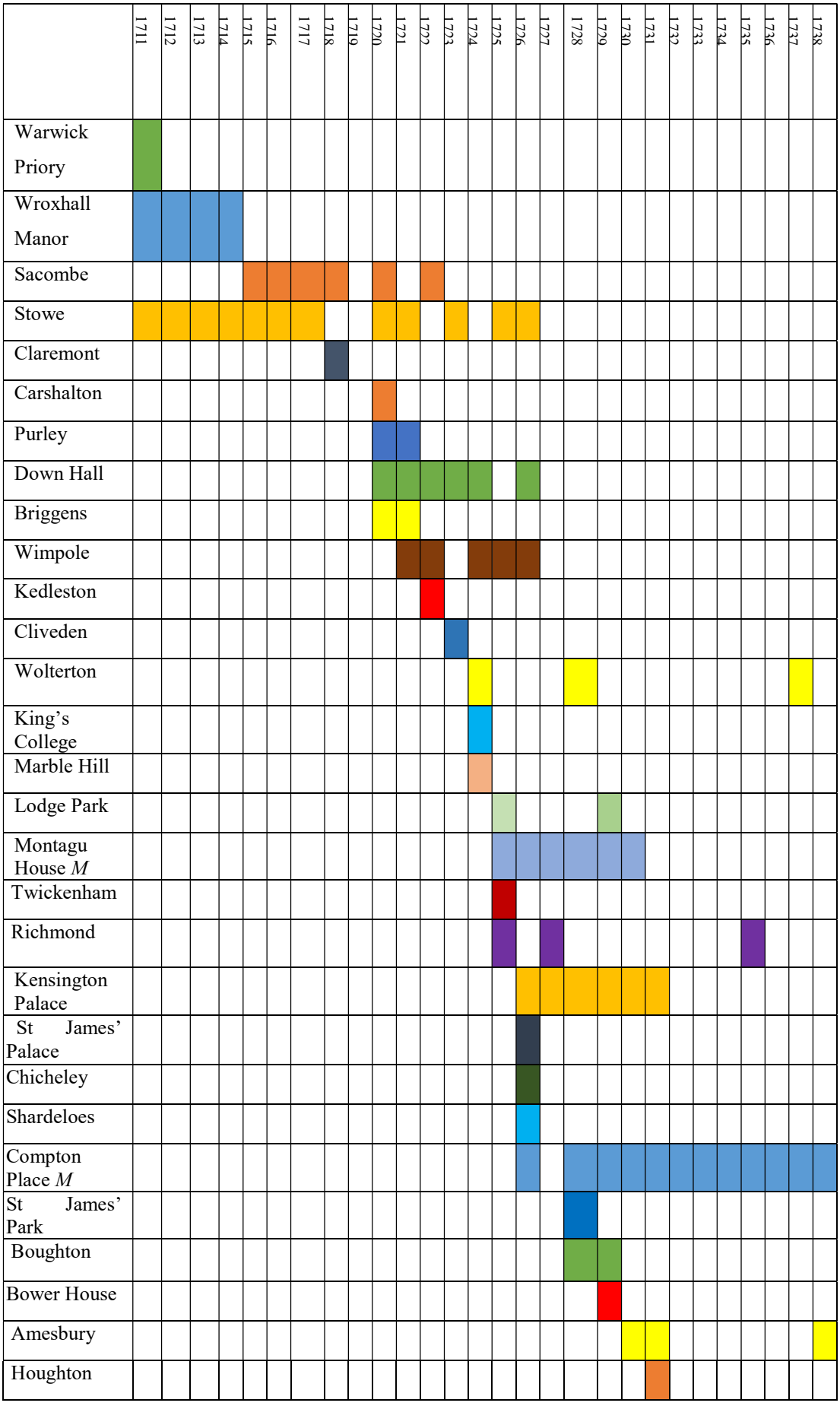
We might question why there is so little which conveys Bridgeman's intentions in the planting of his landscapes. It may be that in leaving no narrative or explanatory record of his work, unlike Switzer and Langley, any preferences he had about plants have been lost. It may be that because he apparently had no nursery of his own, he merely facilitated the supply of plants from other sources and, since he had no business interest in the supply of the plants required, his role was largely advisory. Perhaps his interest and expertise lay in the structural design of the landscape rather than how it was planted.

Bridgeman's skills as a designer were underpinned by a necessarily sound understanding of the processes by which any large scale construction project is facilitated in the early eighteenth century. His achievement is that so much of what he designed was constructed successfully, and often remains in the landscape today.

Chapter 6 Running a business

There is little surviving documentary evidence of Bridgeman's professional dealings. There are a few contracts, all of which pertain to his role as Royal Gardener, a small number of entries in the account books of some landed estates and in their bank accounts which pertain to payments made directly to him or to payments made as a result of a visit of his, and there are payments to his widow. This paucity of documentary evidence clouds our understanding of the precise nature of how Bridgeman organised his professional life. This chapter attempts, as far as is possible, to clarify the nature of what seems to have been, effectively, a proto-business enterprise. It seems that Bridgeman was able to offer a service which provided everything necessary for the creation of a new landscape, from survey to construction.

Where there is reliable documentary evidence, a picture emerges of a packed schedule of projects, suggesting that some organisational planning might have been required to support this level of activity. Any attempt to quantify the number of projects on which Bridgeman worked in any one year is problematic because of the lack of reliable dating evidence, the absence of documentary evidence and the possibility that he was working on other commissions, as yet undiscovered. However, the table below is an attempt to show sites where there is firm dateable evidence of Bridgeman's work, and the years during which this evidence places him at the site. In general, the evidence used for this is in estate accounts or the bank accounts, although sometimes it is correspondence in which he is mentioned. Colour is used to show sites where there is dateable evidence. Since I have only included the years for which there is documentary evidence, there are often empty cells interposed into what is a long period of documented work at a site. This does not necessarily mean that Bridgeman interrupted his work at the site; it simply means there is no documentary evidence for his presence during this particular year. I have added, at the bottom of the table, in grey, probable dates for those significant sites where it is known that he worked but where there is no dateable documentary evidence for his involvement. Gunton and Scampston are omitted completely because there is no possibility of determining a date; so are minor and conjectural sites. I have indicated with *M* sites where there is no evidence of a plan, and there are regular quarterly payments over a long period suggesting a maintenance contract only. I have included Bridgeman's work as Royal Gardener in this category, in addition to his design work at Kensington Gardens. The purpose of the table is to present some indication of Bridgeman's workload by year, albeit partly estimated.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Carshalton
Purley
Down Hall
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Kedleston
Cliveden
Wolterton
King's College
Marble Hill
Lodge Park
Montagu House M
Twickenham
Richmond
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St James' Palace
Chicheley
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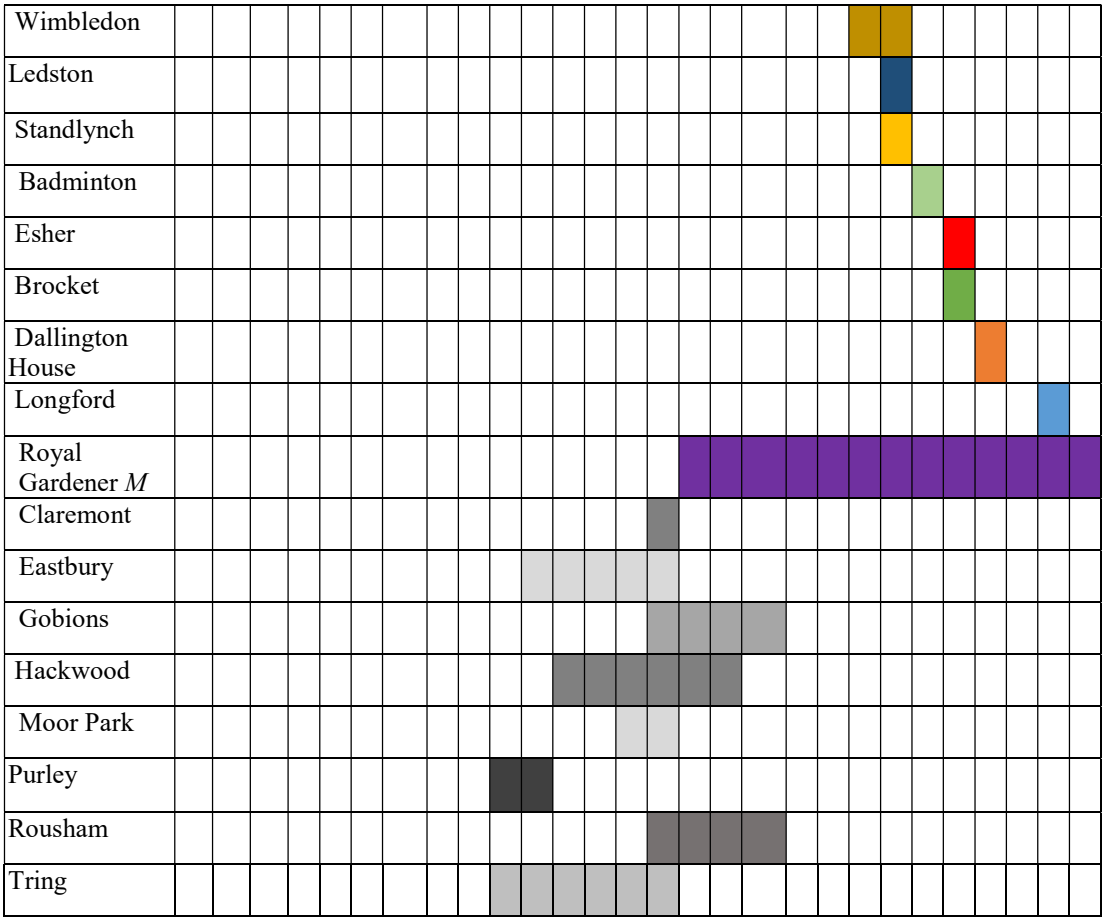

Table 1 Bridgeman's projects by year

Contracts

At the heart of the most design operations run by landscape improvers of the mid-eighteenth century was the estimate and the contract. These were drawn up and signed by both improver and client (Stroud 1975; Cowell 2009). In contrast, very few written contracts, estimates or proposals of Bridgeman's have survived at all. The documents bound in volume Work 6/114 and copied in Work 16/39/1, and the payments to him recorded in the Abstract of the Accounts of the Office of Works Work 5/56 – 5/58, held in the National Archives, are the only surviving complete set of contracts and payments for any of Bridgeman's work. However, these contracts are illuminating because they show that Bridgeman's work was divided into two branches: the design and construction of new landscapes, and their maintenance for a stipulated period of time: and the maintenance of existing gardens which he had not designed.

Bridgeman's contract as Royal Gardener, both jointly with Wise and then as sole Royal Gardener, was essentially a maintenance contract. There are three copies of the contract appointing Bridgeman as Joseph Carpenter's replacement in 1726; one is in Work 6/114 fo. 7r-10r and

printed in Appendix II of *Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape Garden* (Willis 2002), one is in Work 16/39/1, and a third is in Work 5/147. All three copies are bound within volumes which also contain the proposals and contracts for the new work on the Royal Paddock in Kensington Gardens between 1726 and 1731, presumably because this work is not covered by Bridgeman's contract as Royal Gardener. Work 16/39/1 has the word 'Duplicate' written in blue pencil on the front cover. Although not identical in layout, there is virtually no difference in content. The contract appoints Bridgeman as successor to Carpenter and seems to ensure his appointment as Royal Gardener after Wise's retirement or death (Work 6/114, Work 16/39/1). It outlines Bridgeman and Wise's responsibility for the Royal gardens at Hampton Court, Kensington, Newmarket, Windsor and St James's (Work 6/114, Work 16/39/1); it quantifies the acreages of the parcels of land, located either in the formal gardens at each site, or in the kitchen gardens or glass houses, within those gardens. There is a detailed list of the practical daily gardening work to be undertaken in each garden, an extensive list of tools to be provided by the two men, and it specifies that the replacement of any plants that die is the Royal Gardeners' responsibility. There is an appended Memorandum which makes it clear that the contract does not cover either 'altering or new making any part of the Gardens but to keep up what is already made', adding that any new works will be 'performed at His Maj[es]ty's Charge' and that the King would also pay for the carriage of all the Fruit & Herbs that the gardens do produce…..from Hampton Court to Windsor or from Kensington to Windsor' and 'the Repairs of all the several Houses Glass cases and frames all Flower sticks painted & plain (that is without being painted) all tubs & Potts for the Orange Trees & other plants and flowers (NA Work 6/114, 16/39/1).

Bridgeman's contract of 1728, appointing him as sole Royal Gardener, is also bound in both Work 6/114 fo. 12v. – 15v and 16/39/1, and is also printed by Willis as Appendix III (Willis 2002, 153). In essence, it differs very little from the contract which he shared with Wise. The Memorandum explaining the position concerning new work is missing, but the substance of it is incorporated in the body of the contract, so that provision is made for new work to be charged separately: 'nevertheless that in Case his Majesty shall signify his Royal Pleasure to alter the present Disposition of or to new make the Gardens or any of them hereby meant to be maintained & kept up or any part thereof then the Charge & Expence of such Alterations or new making from time to time shall be borne by His Majesty' (NA Work 6/114, Work 16/39/1), and repair of glass houses, and other fabric of the gardens, remains the responsibility of the King. There are only two significant differences. As sole gardener, Bridgeman's contract paid him a rate of £15 per acre, £5 less an acre than the amount paid to him and Wise. The total per annum, stipulated in his contract, was £2220 a year, from Lady Day 1728, paid in quarterly instalments, of £555, and the list of equipment to be provided by Bridgeman is more extensive.

The probate inventory taken following Bridgeman's death in 1738 contains the 'Tools' and 'Materials' specified by his contract as Royal Gardener, and gives an indication of the considerable outlay and ongoing costs of Bridgeman's work as Royal Gardener (NA PROB.3/37/95). At five separate locations, the Royal Gardens at Kensington, the stables at Kensington Gardens, St James's, Windsor and Richmond, the Inventory lists everything necessary to work efficiently in the gardens; a huge variety, and number, of gardening implements and equipment, dung and 'prepared earth', and horses, their harnesses, and hay. The total worth of these is given as £230.1.9 ½ (PROB.3/37/95), a total of around £27,000 today (http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/#currency-result). It is not clear whether these implements were also those he used for private work, but the inventory contains no record of any other equipment of this kind so it is likely.

One other contract was also made between Bridgeman and the Office of Works for the maintenance, or 'keeping' of royal gardens, at Windsor. This was negotiated separately from his contract as Royal Gardener, apparently because it had also been the subject of a separate contract for his predecessor in the role, Henry Wise. It was negotiated on 20th December 1728 for work on the Great Court and Terraces at Windsor Castle: 'The Memorial of Chas Bridgeman Gardner to the King Most Humbly sheweth that while the Late Contract with Mr Wise for keeping the Royall Gardens at 20£ an Acre subsisted there was another Contract also with him for keeping the terraces Great Court & enclosed Slopes at Windsor Castle at the rate of one hundred & sixty pounds a year' (NA Work 6/115).

A complete set of the documents, contracts, accounts and instructions for payment between Bridgeman, the Office of Works and the Treasury, pertaining to the work that Bridgeman and Wise, and then Bridgeman alone, undertook in reshaping of the paddock at Kensington Gardens are collected together in the collection Work 6/114 and copied in Work 16/39/1 in the National Archives. The documents cover the work proposed by Wise and Bridgeman for George I, and the work proposed by both men, and then by Bridgeman alone, for George II and Queen Caroline; they present an unusually detailed picture of negotiating the progress of a project. They also suggest that the project was closely scrutinized. Perhaps this was because, as Crook has shown, several years of financial mismanagement at the Office of Works preceded Bridgeman's tenure as Royal Gardener and by the 1720s and 1730s the Office of Works was 'almost a model of orderly administration: an oasis of moderate efficiency…' (Crook 1976, 86). The light these documents shed on process makes them worth considering in detail.

The documents follow the complicated process by which the work was eventually completed in 1732. The first set of documents is concerned with Wise and Bridgeman's estimate for the work

for George I. Bridgeman's estimate of £3997.18s for the work appears first and is undated but is presumably slightly earlier than 11th March 1726, the date on the following document, from J. Scrope at the Treasury to 'the Surveyors & the rest of the principal Officers of His Maj[esty's] Board of Works', asking them to examine the estimate. The next document, dated 30th March 1727, from the Officers of the Board of Works, Arundel, Ripley, Dubois and Kent, is in reply to this letter and shows that, following a close examination of Bridgeman's proposal, they have reduced the estimate to £3800.15s 1d. The contract for the work at this price, signed by Wise and Bridgeman, is the next document. There follows a request from Wise and Bridgeman, to the Treasury, couched in terms which suggest that there was some ill-feeling about the price reduction ('The Board of Works having reduced the prizes of the above mentioned Works as low as possible…'), that the work be paid for in three separate instalments, £1500 immediately, £1000 on 1st June and the balance on completion of the work. The following document, signed by Walpole, Turner, Yonge and Dodington, dated 21st April 1727, confirms these payments, and subsequently two payments of £1500, on 28th April, and then £1000, on 9th June, are made. George I died on 11th June 1727 in Osnabrück in Germany. The final document in this first set is the account for the work at the time of the death of George I. Of the £2500 Bridgeman and Wise had been paid, some of it in advance for work yet to be completed, £831.15s.10d remained unaccounted for in their expenditure. It '[r]emains in their hands at the time of the late Kings decease'.

The second set of documents pertains to the work done to finish the Paddock, by Bridgeman alone for George II and Queen Caroline. There is a noticeable shift in the tone with regard to Bridgeman. The first document is from J. Scrope at the Treasury to Arundel, and the other principal officers of the Board of Works. It directs them 'to cause the sum of One Thousand Pounds Ordered by my Letter of this days date to be issued to the Paymaster of the Works at the Exchequer to be paid over to the said Charles Bridgeman….' as an advance of the £5000 which they have agreed to pay him to finish the work in the Paddock, and accompanies a copy of Bridgeman's contract. It does not appear that in this case the Board of Works has been involved in either an examination of Bridgeman's proposal or the subsequent contract. In fact, the opening paragraph suggests that the work to be done is both finishing the work already started under George I, and new work under the direction of Queen Caroline:

> An agreement for finishing the Royal Paddock pursuant to a Plan thereof as it is now partly put into Execution which Works are to be done in finishing the same; are particularised in the following articles. And also the reforming the Southern parts of the Gardens from the Orangery down to the Road according to Plan thereof drawn by Her Majestys direction for that purpose by Charles Bridgeman.

The work to be done is itemised and Queen Caroline's involvement is underlined by two further references to her. Bridgeman contracts to finish the work by Ladyday 1730.

Alongside the charges for the new work done are bills for the maintenance of the new sections as they were completed. The first of these bills is undated but appears to have been presented sometime between October 1728 and March 1729. It deals with a payment due retrospectively to both Bridgeman and Wise for 'keeping such part of the New Added Gardens as have been finished & bought into keeping from the beginning of His present Majestys Reign to Ladyday 1728' (Work 6/114, 23). The second was submitted in December 1731 and lists by year each of the new sections as they were 'finished & brought into keeping'. The areas were measured and examined by Flitcroft and Joynes and payment recommended with the following stipulation:

> NB The several foregoing Quantitys, as particularly set forth from time to time finished are there charged only as brought into keeping when whole of each part was Completed; Although several large Quantitys of each such division had been , for one two, or three months before finished & kept in fine order without being hear charged or made any Expence to the King till the whole of each such part was Compleated (Work 6/114 28 – 29).

The third, submitted with the second, is for the additional expense of 'keeping' the newly wooded areas of the garden until the 'young wood has got above injury of weeds' (NA Work 6/114 30).

These documents represent a record of a closely monitored process, both in terms of work proposed and executed, and in the close correlation of that work and the payment. It is impossible to tell whether this was the case in any of Bridgeman's other projects because no other contracts survive, but it seems possible that they followed similar lines. Indeed, Sarah Churchill makes extensive reference, in her angry and rather rambling letter to Sarah Bridgeman on 6th July 1741, generated by Sarah Bridgeman's attempts to recover money she believed she was owed, to the 'Four contracts' she had with Bridgeman, in her letter (Blenheim MSS F1 – 35). Harris, using Sarah Churchill's letters (BL Add MS 61478 9-12, 17-18,31-34, 43-44 and 47-48) has established that these contracts were almost certainly for Wimbledon where Bridgeman was working (Harris 1985). Sarah Churchill wrote to her daughter on 21st August: 'I was yesterday at Wimbledon from 10 in the morning till eight at night, and I want but very little to make the place complete according to my own taste. Mr Bridgman went with me to take measures to make the way from the common to the house. He says it will be done in a month, and will be a vast addition to the place' (Scott Thompson 1946, 169).The contracts appear to have, as in the contract for Kensington Gardens,

proposed a fixed price for which the work on the new garden would be completed: 'to Compleat them all for £2542:3:9 without any further Charge on any Account' and that there would be continued maintenance once they were finished, although unlike at Kensington Gardens, this appears to have been included in the price: 'When I told you that Mr: Bridgman's agreement with me which I can prove, was, that his Gardiner he employ'd should be paid for keeping the Garden one year, after all the work was finish'd you Answerd you beleiv'd it; for it was his Way' (Blenheim MSS F1 – 35). Here Sarah Churchill appears to be quoting from previous correspondence with Sarah Bridgeman, in which she seems to suggest that Bridgeman always provided the maintenance of any new work, for a limited time period, within the price he quoted in his proposal. In her letter of 26th July 1741, Sarah Churchill lays out the work to be done in intricate detail:

> He has oblig'd himself to plant all fruit tress, Flowers, and to finish the whole place, and Ground in a handsome Manner, and to make good all trees that dye: and whatever wood he shall use of mine for Stakes and Poles, to tie the Espaliers, he is to deduct for. He is likewise to make all Wood walks clean with Sand, or Gravel, the Terrace-walk handsome, to strip up the Tress in the Vineyard-walk, and the Wood on the outside of the House, to my liking. And in short to Compleat everything without any further Charge to me than the Articles.

She then appears to quote from her contract with Bridgeman in defence of her position. Beginning with 'Nothing can be more particular than all the Contracts are', Churchill continues with what appears to be an exact transcription of the contract, since the paragraph finishes with 'And to begin and finish the Road with all possible Expedition. Chas: Bridgman.' (Blenheim Palace, Letter Book No.2 fos.24r – 25v). This correspondence strongly suggests that Bridgeman's modus operandi at Wimbledon was very similar to that at Kensington Gardens. He designed and constructed the garden and then maintained his creation for a period of time. The sums of money involved referred to in Sarah Churchill's letter are consistent with an operation in which Bridgeman supplied design, labour, plants and maintenance. Sarah Churchill asserts that she has paid him a total of £2353, and, in spite of her protests to the contrary, probably owed his estate more, since a further £880.17.0 was paid to Sarah Bridgeman, his eldest daughter, in 1748 after her death.

There must also have been contracts which were solely for the maintenance of a garden. For example, Bridgeman was paid £25 a quarter in the account books of Andrew Marchant, the Duke of Montagu's London Land steward for work at Montagu House in Bloomsbury (NRO Account Book 103 Ledger A). As there is no record in the Montagu account books of a substantial payment

which might indicate that Bridgeman had designed a garden at Montagu House; a plan of the garden at Montagu House by Henry Flitcroft, suggests it was a very simple, formal garden with a small kitchen garden to one side of the house, it seems likely that this payment was part of a regular maintenance contract (Boughton House archive). It appears that there was also something of the kind in place at Compton Place in Sussex where, between 1728 and 1738 payments to Bridgeman are recorded in Lord Wilmington's Account Book (Willis 2002, 62). Willis suggests that the payments mean that 'Bridgeman was at Compton' between those years, with the implication that Bridgeman was responsible for reshaping the gardens, an interpretation supported by the Inventory from the sale catalogue for Compton Place, which states that the avenue and pleasure grounds were 'Laid out by Mr Bridgman' (Willis 62 n.95). It may be that Bridgeman did also reshape the landscape at Compton Place, but there appears to be no record of this.

The survey

The first part of the process of designing a landscape must always have been a survey of the land involved, and presumably this took place after a contract had been drawn up. A distinction has already been drawn (see Chapter 3) between Bridgeman and Kent with regard to the importance of surveying a landscape. It points up the difference between a working practitioner and an artist. Bridgeman was clearly an accomplished and accurate surveyor (see Chapter 5). Bridgeman's methods of surveying are likely to have been those generally used by the surveyors of the period. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century distance was often measured by a chain (Bendall 2009, 130). Leybourn describes this as 'divided into 100 Links, one of these Links being made four times the length of the other…. each Link of this Chain will contain 7 Inches, and 92/100 of an Inch, and the whole Chain 792 Inches, or 66 Feet'. It would be 'carried by two men, who working together will mark out each length of chain with sticks' (Leybourn 1653, 45-49). Distances were also measured in feet with a wheel perambulator, or waywiser, which measured distances by multiplying the number of revolutions of the wheel. Although Richeson dismisses the measurements obtained in this way as 'highly unsatisfactory', and both Bendall and Richeson suggest the wheel perambulator was used only for road measurement, Andrew Macnair suggests that it was the instrument used most frequently by garden designers in the eighteenth century (Richeson 1966, 173; Bendall 2009, 135; Andrew Macnair pers. comm. 2017). Surveyors also used triangulation to determine the location of a point from other known points by forming triangles. Triangulation required the use of a plane table or an azimuth theodolite. A plane table had a frame to hold relatively large sheets of paper and a plumb, or spirit level to ensure that the table was level. It could easily be transported to the site and had the advantage that a plan could be made in the field (Bendall 2009, 131). A plane table was simple to use and relatively inexpensive, costing, with a spirit level, eight guineas in 1740s. The theodolite was also used but

was a more complicated, and considerably more expensive, option. 'Webster said that a good (probably altazimuth) theodolite cost £50 in the eighteenth century'. Measurements were taken from a theodolite and entered in a log book in the field, to be worked on elsewhere (Bendall 2009, 132).

Bridgeman presumably used triangulation and it is probable that he used both a plane table and a theodolite. His inventory lists a 'Small Spirit Level in a Case', which may have been for use with a plane table, and 'a Theodolate in a Case nine inches over and a wooden Case for taking Prospects' (PROB. 3/37/95). There are also instruments detailed in his Inventory which suggest that accurate technical drawings were being made: '5 T: Squares' and 'a Foot Case of brass Instruments. Triangulation lines are also visible on some plans: for example, on his drawing for Boughton (Boughton 2), they have been lightly drawn on the plan to measure the land to the north of the house and the area of the lake. The plan for Purley (MSGD a4 fo.54) is annotated with 'Hypothenuse. 585'.

The survey formed the basis from which the plan was drawn. While it is not certain where this took place, it seems likely that the work was done in some kind of drawing office or workshop, probably located at Bridgeman's house at Broad Street. In addition to equipment consistent with surveying, there are items used by draughtsmen (PROB.3/37/95): ' …..a drawing board on Trussell ….Five dozen of black lead pencils'. It was also from Broad Street that Bridgeman wrote to Pope on September 28th 1724, concerning plans for an unspecified location, but probably Marble Hill, 'I came home on Fryday night & had Your kind letter [O]n Saturday morning I begun on the plan & have not [lef]t it till 'tis finish'd which I hope will be about tomorrow Noon…' (BL Add MS 4809 fo.141v). It is not clear whether Broad Street functioned as a drawing office in which Bridgeman employed other draughtsman to help him draw plans, but it is highly likely. There appear to be some parallels with Le Nôtre's working practices. Bouchenot-Déchin suggests that Le Nôtre, and those who worked closely with him, lived in close proximity to each other '…they lived in a small area near the Tuileries, specifically between the house the king had placed at his gardener's disposal, and the home of his in-laws opposite the church of St Roch, which he and his wife had inherited….' and that while the French equivalent of the Office of Works, the 'Surintendant des Bâtiments' 'provided a framework for Le Nôtre's activities, it would appear that his home was, though not strictly speaking a workshop, an essential port of call. Colbert, Louvois, and the Prince of Condé all mention visiting it to fetch plans, request a new design, or get advice' (Bouchenot-Déchin 2014, 150). Bouchenot-Déchin also suggests that Claude Desgots had set up 'a large room, that almost certainly served as a combination workshop, office, and 'school', in his house in Paris and possibly in his house in Meudon, too (Bouchenot-Déchin 2014, 151).

It is possible that Bridgeman, especially early in his career, drew plans, or adapted them, at other locations, perhaps when he was working for Wise, or when he was at the houses of his clients. There is no direct evidence for this, but, again, what is known about Le Nôtre's working practices provides a possible parallel. Bouchenot-Déchin quotes from a letter of 1681, in which 'one of the Prince Condé's correspondents writes: "I am sending Your Serene Highness the drawing that Monsieur Le Nostre conveyed to me of the fountains of Beauvais…..Monsieur Le Nostre has just left my quarters, where he did another design, in addition to the one he sent me yesterday evening…."' (Bouchenot-Déchin 2014, 146).

Labour

The physical realization of these plans, whether they involved land that was a blank canvas, or required the extensive adaptation of existing garden structures, would have needed a significant labour force, in an age where all earth moving was done by hand. Pope's line 'The vast parterres a thousand hands shall make' in *Epistle to Burlington* suggests how labour intensive the work was. The source of this labour seems to have been a pool of skilled and unskilled labourers comprising somewhere between 'two-thirds and three-quarters of the population' in the period 1700 – 1750 (Malcolmson 1981,19; Cowell 2009,145). In the countryside, where most of Bridgeman's commissions were undertaken, they were 'day labourers, a wage proletariat living in the farmer's cottage, and having no land beyond a garden, if as much' (Mingay 1990, 90). Agricultural work provided 'the single most important source of wage-payment' although the income for this was supplemented by domestic self sufficiency and by other work by all members of the household (Malcomson 1981, 24, 35). These labourers were rarely engaged in farm work continuously throughout the year. The normal pattern of their employment might be less than 250 days and was seasonal (Malcolmson 1981, 37). They were hired on a daily or weekly basis by a bailiff, steward or foreman for manual work, usually on a farm 'where they were needed to supplement the labour available from the farmer's household' (Malcolmson 1981, 35). Cowell suggests that the work required of a farm labourer was much the same as that needed to construct or maintain a garden; as she puts it 'The same skills and strength were required to dig a ha-ha as a field drain; to scythe a lawn as a hayfield; to construct temples as to repair farm buildings' (Cowell 2009, 145). In London, there was a similar pool of casual labour. These labourers came from the lower strata of what Malcolmson refers to as 'an extremely diverse labour force marked by many gradations of status, pay and security' (Malcolmson 1981, 51).

However, in his study of the accounts from the Stiffkey estate belonging to Nathaniel Bacon, Hassell Smith presents a slightly more complex picture. Although the accounts studied are from

the end of the sixteenth century and therefore significantly predate Bridgeman's period, the pattern of rural labour he presents is of a much more skilled workforce (Hassell Smith 1989). He shows that a significant number of labourers worked in specialized areas. He, too, identifies farm servants, usually single and with accommodation on the farm and the estate, who might have provided some labour for work in the gardens, but more significantly he suggests that we must 'distinguish between those who practiced no particular skill and those who, through aptitude, family tradition and accumulated experience, specialized in one type of work' (Hassell Smith 1989, 19). In the course of his exploration of this, he identifies specialisms which might have been pertinent to the construction of a designed landscape; hedgers and ditchers who had formed themselves into 'specialist 'firms' or companies'' of somewhere between two to three and eight men either 'organised by a village entrepreneur or simply comprised a [of] a loose association of independent labourers' (Hassell Smith 1989, 21). He makes the point that 'cutting a water-course' was both 'onerous' and skilled', and it is easy to see how this skill might transfer itself to the building of canals and cascades in a garden. In fact, he suggests that the proportion of completely unskilled labourers employed on the Stiffkey estate was very small. Longstaffe-Gowan suggests that labourers in London gardens might also have had some specialist knowledge. Although they 'performed the common drudgery of gardening – trenching, digging hoeing and weeding', these tasks require the acquisition of skills which he suggests came from 'casual observation, and not through instruction' (Longstaffe-Gowan 2001, 157/8).

It therefore seems likely that, given the complexities of constructing a Bridgeman landscape, the labourers he employed might have had more specialist skills than Cowell suggests. Bridgeman himself made a distinction between 'Gardiners' and 'Labourers' in his account submitted to the Board of Works in 1731. The 'Labourers' were employed for '490 Single Days' between June 3rd' and Dec 25th' and worked 'in hoeing the Weeds from the said Young Woods', presumably relatively unskilled work. There is a definite distinction between them and the 'Gardiners' who were employed for '289 Single Days' from 'Octr 11th to Novr 15th' in work for which some specific skills were required. For example, they were employed in 'taking up & removing to the Mount Quarter great Numbers & several kinds of large Evergreens that stood in the Royal Gardens at Kensington in the Quarter next the Guard Chambers & Housekeepers Lodgings.' (Work 4/6).

Paying for labour must have been the most significant part of Bridgeman's costs. It is difficult to find reliable data on labourers' wages for the relevant part of the eighteenth century but what figures there are suggests some discrepancy between the wages paid in the countryside, and in London and the area around it. Cowell argues that 'In an age of no statutory minimum wage and little communication among men in different localities at the lowest end of the social scale to

compare working conditions, the variation in labouring wages was considerable' (Cowell 2009, 146). Cowell shows that the daily rate of pay for a labourer at Hartwell in Buckinghamshire in that period was 10d a day (Cowell 2009, 146). She and Malcolmson suggest that the wages for an agricultural labourer in the middle of the eighteenth century were similar; somewhere between 10d and 1s 3d a day (Malcolmson 1981, 37; Cowell 2009, 146). These amounts tally with those shown by Gilroy; in, for example, Oxfordshire, she shows that wages for labourers were 1s 2d in 1720 (Gilroy 1969, 265). Gilroy shows that labourers wages in the City of London, and in its immediate environs were significantly higher. A labourer working in Southwark was paid 1s 10d a day in 1727, while in Dartford the wage in 1722 was 1s 8d (Gilroy 1969, 259). However, in spite of this some labourers working in gardens were paid significantly less; a 'woman weeder' in 1702 was paid 8d a day, although labourers in the orchard at Westminster were paid 1s 6d a day until 1720 (Gilroy 1969, 13). None of this is consistent with the rates that Bridgeman itemizes in his supplementary account for Kensington Gardens where the rate charged for 'Gardiners' is 2s a day, significantly higher than the daily rate quoted by Gilroy in London (NA Work 6/114).

Bridgeman employed his own labourers in his role as Royal Gardener. The minutes of the Board of Works certainly make it clear that hiring a workforce was the responsibility of the Royal Gardener. An entry in the Minutes of the Board of Works for 30th September 1723, when Wise held the post of Royal Gardener jointly with Joseph Carpenter, reads 'Ordered that for the future the Labourering works at Kensington be done by the Office Labourers and not by Mr Wise & Mr Carpenters Men' (NA Work 4/2), suggesting that a distinction was made between men employed by the Royal Gardener and those employed by the Office of Works. Bridgeman was certainly employing his own labourers in 1734, and, again, a clear demarcation existed between them and those employed by the Office of Works:

> 24th September ….Order'd that the Clerk of the Works take care, that the Labourers in trust, do daily attend on the spot, to see that the Labourers Employ'd by Mr Bridgman, in making the ground keep to ye Work and that he keep a distinct Acc[oun]t of every mans time & and Business and that Mr Bridgman be acquainted therewith. In case the Labour in trust be absent from his Duty a Sufficient Person shall be Employ'd in his room, and be paid out of the Labourer in trusts Allowance (Work 4/6).

As we have seen he also charged explicitly for labour at Kensington Gardens in accounts submitted in 1731 'For 2 Gardiners Employed 216 days ea', '490 Single Days of Labourers from June 3rd to Dec 25th 1731', '687 single days works of Gardiners from Oct 11th to Novr 15th….. all working tools & utensils being included' (NA Work 6/114). He also seems to have used his own men while working on the landscape at Richmond Park for Queen Caroline when Royal Gardener.

Pope's letter to the Earl of Oxford in 1726 concerning his garden at Twickenham suggests that Bridgeman's men were working at Richmond Park before his appointment as Royal Gardener. Part of his letter reads: 'just turfed a little Bridgemannick Theatre myself. It was done by a detachment of His men' (Pope in Sherburne (ed.) II 1956, 372).

The payments made to Bridgeman from estate accounts probably show when he hired and paid his own labourers. Brown has shown, in relation to Nathaniel Richmond's work at Shardeloes in the second half of the eighteenth century that it is possible to see, in payments made to the landscaper, whether or not he provided the labour, since this was probably the most significant cost in the project. He suggests that Richmond's payments at Shardeloes in Buckinghamshire between 1763 and 1765 probably indicate that he was operating in what Brown terms a 'design and build' role; he was paid £870. However, between 1765 and 1769, he was paid only £190 6s 9d, while John Hencher was paid £1257 8s 7d. Brown argues that this represents that the two had switched roles. Richmond's contractual agreement had changed to a 'design and inspect role', while Hencher, operating now as Richmond's contractor, was probably responsible for the hiring of labour (Brown 2000, 223). Bridgeman's estimate of £5000 at Kensington Gardens explicitly covers the provision of labour. If we use this as a model, it is likely that the very considerable costs involved at Sacombe (£1,128.0.3), Briggens (£1773.8s), Wimpole (£2280.6.6), Down Hall (290.10s 2d), Wimbledon (£880.17s.0d), Richmond Park Lodge (£6483.4.7 ¾.) and St James's Square (£5630) (St James Square Trustees 1726) probably all show that Bridgeman provided the labour.

It is possible that Bridgeman provided labour only when his client had no recourse to estate labour of his own. Many of the sites listed above are not part of a landed estate. Sacombe, for example, bought in 1688 by Thomas Rolt, father of Benjamin, was a park of 90 acres surrounded by a park pale (Milledge 2009, 39). At Briggens, the park measured 60 acres. The Duchess of Marlborough's house at Wimbledon was probably similar. Although her principle residence was at Blenheim Palace, it was not her property but administered by her as her husband's trustees (Harris 1985, 1). Wimbledon Park had been bought by her at her own expense in 1733, and comprised a house and park (Harris 1985, 2). At all three of these sites, it seems likely that when there was estate labour, Bridgeman's labourers were not required. This certainly appears to have been the case at Wolterton. A letter from William Brand, Head Gardener, makes it clear, in a letter to Horatio Walpole on 23rd April 1732, that the workforce landscaping the lawns to the north of the house (Map13i A) were employed by the estate:

> S[i]r
> This last week wee plowed some of ye Lawns next the Church And I have staked each made a Line of Earth from the Stopp to the Lower End soe as it Show were the Earth to be taken off and were to make good ….. I have carried sand into the Kitchen Garden and Bowling Green in order to make it better….. Mr Bayfield have ordered tomorrow ffour Labourers and four of our carts to remove Earth in the Lawns….' (WH Box 28L 8/14).

It is also clear from a letter from the chief land steward Bayfield to Walpole on 4th June 1731 that William Brand, and presumably, although not explicitly stated, workers employed by the estate, were responsible for laying the roads and walks on Bridgeman's design:

> ….. Will Brand Have gon on very well for this weeke and have Leveled all the …. Road in the Brick Kiln close and Gathered up all the Rubbish of the C….. & which Laid a …..? a very good Road and taken away a Good quantity of earth on the east front Down to the …….. pond & levelled the Ground & filled up the Hole before the front of the Stables & made it fit for the pavior…. Will Brand have made one of the Slopes & is doing the other on the Right and Left side of the Stone Slopes on the North Front and Carrying and Leveling the Lawn before…… (WH Box 29L 8/15).

At Boughton, we can probably assume that any work recorded in the estate accounts after 1728 (when John Booth and the Duke of Montagu corresponded about Bridgeman's visits to Boughton (Boughton House archive)) is part of Bridgeman's plan. Entries in the Boughton Account Books for 1729 and 1730 include payment for a number of activities by estate labourers in the garden; William White was paid for tree planting, once on March 3rd 'Wm. White for Lab[oure]rs in the Warren and planting Chestnuts &c in Mo[nth] of Feb £14.12' and again on April 2nd 'Wm White ditto – Planting Yews on the Mount for ditto £19.2.3' (NTS Boughton Account Book 43).

The use of estate labourers sometimes created a tension between the construction of the landscape and the seasonal farming tasks of a landed estate. Cowell makes this point with regard to Woods' work. She suggests that the priority for 'estate hands' would be work on the farm and that therefore 'haymaking and harvest were the most important factors affecting progress' (Cowell 2009, 151). She cites the example of Wivenhoe when in May 1778, work on the garden was delayed by the harvest and at Boreham in 1780 when work was delayed by spring planting (Cowell 2009, 151). This appears to have been the case at Wolterton. Britiffe, the steward, writes on 6th August 1724 'I Have been at Woolterton And found your worke there about the House as forward as needful Harvest being begun' (WH 8/5A Box 73L). Conversely, at Boughton the accounts for the period between Michaelmas 1728 and Lady Day 1729 show that work on

haymaking, the maintenance of the gardens and the construction of a new feature in the garden 'The Mount' were happening simultaneously:

> July 3 Pd Jos. Burgis for the Lab[oure]rs ith Gardens of the month of June £23.15. 9 ¾
> Ditto for Haymaking in the Gardens of the Month of June £5. 17. 11
> Pd Wm White for Work done at the Grand Etang & Mount £23. 7. 11
> Pd Will. White for work done at ye Mount & Watering trees in June £43.2.2

This suggests that it was not always the case that the seasonal demands of the farming year delayed the progress of the works. Perhaps a client with a considerable fortune could afford to employ more labourers, or perhaps some tasks, like the watering of newly planted trees, could not be ignored.

Supervision

It seems that employment of a foreman to oversee work in the absence of the landscape designer was customary in the early and mid-eighteenth century. There is evidence that Wise employed the services of a foreman in his capacity of Royal Gardener, as is shown by the following entry in the minutes of the Board of Works for 23rd November 1715: 'Orderd the Severall Clerks to View & Examine and Report to this Board (what Tubbs & Potts are wanting in his Maj[estys] Gardens at Hampton Court Kensington and Windsor) on Wednesday next; in the performance of this they are to take Mr Wise's fforeman's Assistance' (NA Work 4/1). Cowell suggests that the business model of the landscape improvers of the mid-eighteenth century required the services of a number of foremen. She outlines the importance of this role for Brown, who was, she suggests, 'above all a contractor, supplying the plan for improvements, advice, and sporadic supervision of the foreman he established to execute his design' (Cowell 2009, 153). She shows that Woods, too, depended on a number of foremen for the 'successful execution of his designs', in common she suggests with 'most of the other major improvers' (Cowell 2009, 153). She suggests that these foremen, referred to as 'Mr Woods' man' or 'Mr White's man' performed a difficult role, responsible for the overseeing of the design and for negotiating with the staff already in place in the estates they worked in. There was often resentment at this foreman's role from the head gardener, and his conduct was reported on by the chief steward. They seem to have been responsible for hiring men; 'Men wanting to be hired would wait every morning in the market place waiting for the bailiff, or steward or foreman to take them on for the following week' and for keeping worksheets recording work done (Cowell 2009, 148). Woods employed some of his own 'companies' men who moved with him from commission to commission (Cowell 2009, 149).

It is plausible that, given the number of commissions Bridgeman was involved in (see above), some kind of delegation of supervision would have been needed. There is certainly evidence that he struggled to visit all his clients. In an exchange between the Duke of Montagu and John Booth in 1728 about Boughton House the Duke of Montagu wrote that he 'Wishes Mr Bridgeman would go down with you to see the ground of the Park in order to [see] the scheme I propose' (Vol.16) and received the reply on 24th September that 'Mr Bridgman is so closely Engag'd at Windsor that I can't get a sight of him but will use my Endeavours to get him to Boughton' (NRO Bath X881B). At Stowe in 1721 they seem to be waiting for Bridgeman with regard to the digging of a hog pond: 'My Lord would not have it donn [until] Mr Bridgman Coms' (HEH Box L9F7 Farm and Garden Accounts folder (1721) cited in Willis 2002, 11n19). He also seems to have promised to visit a client and then not appeared; in a letter from Henrietta Howard to John Gay in 1731, she complains 'I was never so peevish in my life than I have been about this journey of Bridgeman's; I am sure I took true pains that it should have been just as the duchess wished. I find, upon strict inquiry, that he did not go so soon as I expected……It is not in my power to do anything more; for Bridgeman has been absent for a week from hence; but if his servants tell truth, there is no occasion, for they say he is gone to the Duke of Queensberry's. I shall be very uneasy till I hear how this matter ended' (Murray Vol2.1824 20/21).

As Royal Gardener, Bridgeman charged the Office of Works for the services of foremen in the 'Bill of Work done beyond the Contract of £5000' at Kensington Gardens, issued to the Office of Works by Bridgeman in 1731, he charged twice for the services of a Foreman: 'A foreman's time 18 days in attending and seeing the said Works properly & well executed at 3s 6d per day…..3.3.0' and 'A Foreman's time 15 days in Setting and Directing and attending the said work at 3s 6d per day …..2.12.6' (NA Work 6/114). Indeed, Item 48 in the same document makes it clear that Bridgeman employed a foreman to direct the work at Kensington Gardens:

> But upon your Lordships Orders coming to us Wee enquired of the Clerk of Works at Kensington what he knew of the same Who told us that he had no orders to take an Account of the Works yet Mr Bridgemans forman did give him Notice from time to time as the parcells were severaly finished agreeable to Mr Bridgemans Account (NA Work 6/114).

It is possible that Thomas Bayfield, Walpole's chief steward, was also referring to two of Bridgeman's foremen when he wrote to Horatio Walpole on January 2nd 1726: ' Will[iam] Brand is got to worke to Dig in order to plant out his you[n]g setts according to Mr Kings direction but seeme not well to put them out & say it will not be well done & Mr King have orderd him to goe two spittes Deep' and on 30th November 1728: 'Mr Parrie the overseer of the worke is very

serviceable in giving orders How to Levell the Ground & in Raise the Large furr tree when transplanted…….'. It seems a strong possibility that Mr King was working in some capacity for Bridgeman. However, since the letter of 30th November is concerned, in some detail, with the construction of the house, it might be that 'Mr Parrie' worked for Ripley, the architect, although the work he is concerned with is definitely in the garden (WH 8/5A Box 73L). It is also possible that Horace Walpole in his *The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening* is referring to Bridgeman's foreman at Houghton when he writes 'One of the first gardens planted in this simple, though still formal style, was my father's at Houghton. It was laid out by Mr Eyre, an imitator of Bridgman' (Walpole 1780). Brown and Williamson make the point that contemporary accounts often refer to Lancelot Brown's assistants or foreman as 'imitators', and that the word is only used in a pejorative sense at the end of the eighteenth century (Brown and Williamson 2016, 137). Bridgeman's father also seems to have fulfilled some supervisory role at Down Hall. Adrian Drift, Matthew Prior's private secretary, records a 'Mr Bridgman Sr' going to Down Hall in 1722 to 'clear all debts due' (BL Add MS 70362, 82). A foreman was present at Stowe in 1714, where accounts show a payment to 'Mr Bridgman's man' of £1.2s.6d in 1714 (Willis 2002, 109 n.14), and at Kedleston there are two payments to 'Mr Bridgman's man'; a guinea on 14th September and £51.11s on 10th November 1722 (Willis 2002, 430). This is the terminology used to refer to both Brown's, and Woods' foremen, so it seems likely that it also refers to Bridgeman's. The considerable disparity between the two sums paid to 'Mr Bridgeman's man' at Kedleston suggests the varied responsibilities of the foreman. It might be that the guinea represents around seven days of supervision, if we use the pay of the foreman at Kensington Gardens as a yard stick, or alternatively, it may have been an inspection fee. On the other hand, £51.11s was a considerable amount of money in 1722 and suggests an altogether more substantial role.

In the absence of a foreman, or of Bridgeman himself, the workforce on a landed estate seems to have often been supervised by a fluid combination of stewards and bailiffs, working sometimes in conjunction with head gardeners. Mingay shows that 'The sheer size and complexity of large estates necessitated the employment of full-time officials, men who specialized in estate management' (Mingay 1963, 59), although this was probably not the case with smaller estates like Sacombe or Gobions. It does seem that the stewards and head gardeners were willing and enthusiastic collaborators in Bridgeman's work. At Wolterton, Bayfield, the land steward, supervised the work, as is shown in a letter to Walpole of May 6th 1732: '. … wee Have Had a Great deele of Raine so as the Lawn on the North front plow very Well and is plowed up and the Little Carts and some Men I Have Gott too Worke and Levelling it, and Carrying earth up towards the front, up to the Slope up into the House' (WH Box 28L 8/5A. At Boughton, it was Diston Stanley, the land steward for Boughton House, that appears to have been responsible for the supervision and payment of the labourers (NTS Account Books 33 – 51). Both stewards Bayfield

and Diston Stanley entertained Bridgeman, presumably when he came to see the progress of the work. Bridgeman came to Wolterton with Ripley in 1737, and to Boughton alone, in 1731. Both visits seem to have involved eating and drinking. Bayfield's letter to Walpole reads 'We have some ale brewed which I believe is very good but very Little wine for what was left by Mr Charters is part drunke when Mr Bridgeman and Mr Ripley have been here' (Box 29L 8/29), while Stanley notes on 27th April in his accounts 'provisions when Mr Booth & Mr Bridgman were at Boughton in August and December last …. Bill 141 £4.7.5' (NTS Account Book 51).

Payment

Records of Bridgeman's financial transactions are sparse and incomplete. Searches of the archives of Coutts, Goslings, Child and Co, or Drummonds Banks' have not revealed a bank account in his name, although Child and Co. do have a receipt for a payment made by Sarah Bridgeman into the bank of £440 on 18th July 1740. However, a search at Hoare's Bank revealed the following transactions in an account opened by a Charles Bridgman in November 1716 and closed in January 1717/18:

Credits
12 Nov 1716 By mony rece'd p note £75-5-0
23 May 1717 By notes 25, 25, 25:5 £75-5-0
15 June 1717 By note £100
7 Sept 1717 By note £100
[Total] £350-10-0

Drawings
23 May 1717 To my note 12 Nov £75-5-0
19 June 1717 To my note 15 June £100
9 Sept 1717 To part 100 ye 7 Sept £50
21 Sept 1717 To clear ditto £50
16 Jan 1717/8 To part 25 ye 23 May £5
20 Jan 1717/8 To my notes 23 May 25:5 and 25 £50-5-0
29 Jan 1717/8 To clear 25 ye 23 May £20
[Total] £350-10-0 (Customer ledger/ folio 19/345).

Bridgman, Charles, Mr
Opened 20 May 1726 with deposit (£107-19-3) by note. Closed 25 May 1726 when same withdrawn (Customer ledger/folio no: 28/83).

There are also two references to a Charles Bridge, which may be a mis-spelling of Bridgeman's name:

Customer ledger 20, folio 6
15 June 1717, To Charles Bridge £150
7 Sept 1717, To Mr Bridgman £150
(Customer ledger/folio 19/345) [2]

It is impossible to be certain that this is Charles Bridgeman, the Royal Gardener, but the sums involved and the years specified suggest that it might be. The entries between 1716 and 1717 may relate to work at Stowe, since they do not match the payments to Bridgeman from Edward Rolt's account at the same bank which are as follows:

13 June 1715, To Charles Bridgman [sic] £50 (Customer ledger 17, folio 339)

2 July 1715, To Mr Bridgman £30
16 June 1716, To Mr Bridgman £60 (Customer ledger 18, folio 266)

4 Aug 1718, To Charles Bridgman £214-0-3 (Customer ledger 20, folio 436)
Willis notes an account at Gosling's Bank from which Sir Joseph Jekyll paid Bridgeman £10 in 1722 (Willis 2002, 428).

[2] My thanks to Pamela Hunter, Archivist at Hoare's Bank, for these entries.

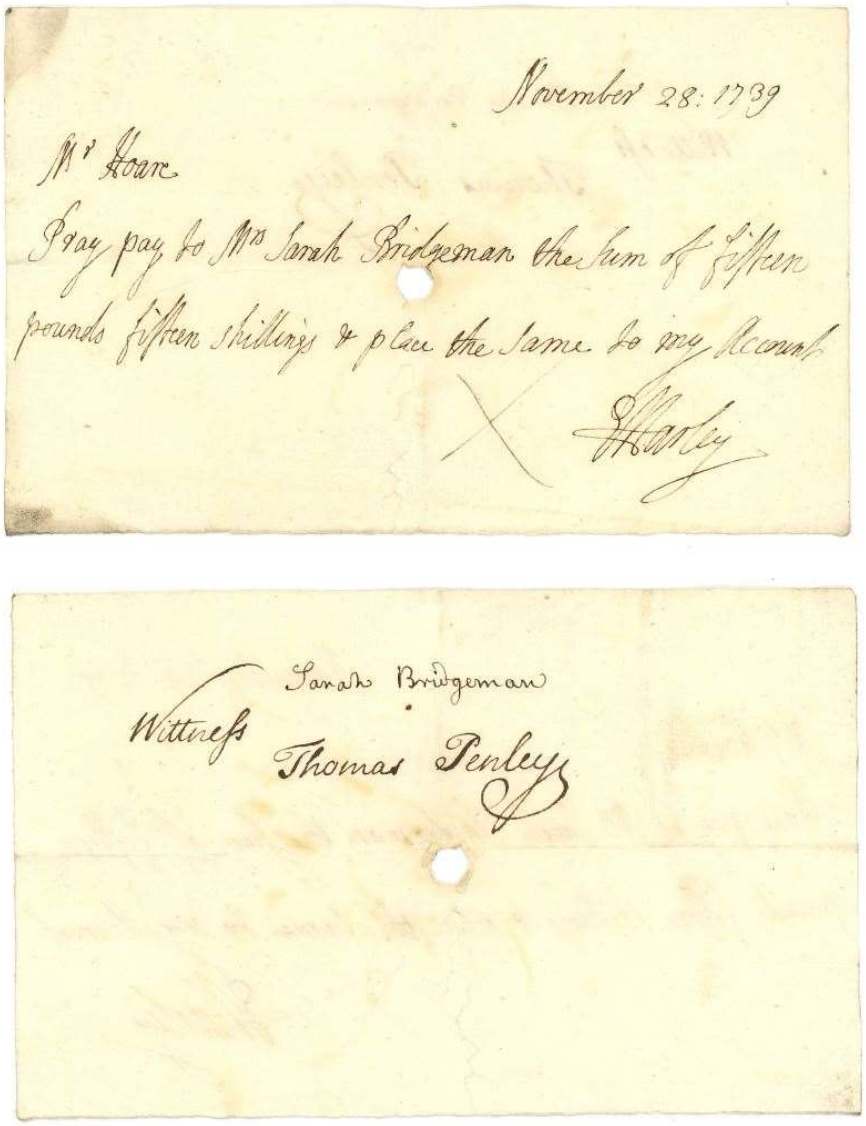

Figure 36 Voucher relating to the payment of £15.15s.0d from Edward Harley to Sarah Bridgeman in 1739 (Hoare's Bank, Customer Ledger O fo.439).

The accounts in Customer ledger/ folio 19/345 show money paid in between November 1716 and September 1717, and the same amount withdrawn by January 1718. Customer ledger/folio no: 28/83 shows money paid in and then withdrawn on the same day. It was not particularly unusual in the eighteenth century for bank accounts to be opened simply to cash a single note and then closed again (Pamela Hunter pers. comm. 2017). It may also be that Bridgeman had other accounts at Hoare's Bank but that these are unrecorded. Other banks recorded the names of clients who opened accounts but Hoare's did not, probably because they knew their clients well (Pamela Hunter pers. comm. 2017).

The table below shows the data which it has been possible to piece together regarding Bridgeman's income. The information presented comes from a variety of sources: from *Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape Garden*; from the archive of the Office of Works, Work 6/114 (which deals with the reshaping of Kensington Gardens), and from Nicky Smith's work on Lodge Park (2006). I have included all the payments made to Bridgeman from the Office of Works, except those between 1726 and 1728 made to him and Wise jointly, because it is not clear how the payments were divided. I have recorded Bridgeman's payment for the work at Kensington Gardens as a single payment, even though it was paid in instalments during the course of the work (Work 6/114).

Date	Income	Bank	Site	Total per year
1714	1.2.6		Stowe	**1.2.6**
1715 13th June	50	Hoare's Bank	Sacombe	
1715 2nd July	30	Hoare's Bank	Sacombe	**80**
1716 16th June	60	Hoare's Bank	Sacombe	
1716 11th Aug	188.16.0		Stowe	
1716 16th Aug	20			
1716 12th Nov	75.5.0	Hoare's Bank		**425.3.6**
1717 23rd May	75.5.0	Hoare's Bank		
1717 15th June	100 150	Hoare's Bank Hoare's Bank	Sacombe	
1717 7th Sept	100 150	Hoare's Bank Hoare's Bank	**Sacombe**	**625.5.0**
1718 4th August	214.0.3	Hoare's Bank	Sacombe	**214.0.3**
1719	156.7.6		Langleys	**156.7.6**
1720	122.11		Purley	
1720	534		Sacombe	
1720	22		Briggens	
1720	1635. 8		Carshalton	**2313.19.0**
1721	221		Down Hall	
1721	10		Dallington	
1721	5.13 13 21		Briggens	
1721	122.11		Purley	
1721 March	138		Briggens	**531.4.0**
1722	10	Gosling's Bank	Dallington	
1722	400		Wimpole	
1722 14th Sept 10th Nov	1.1.0 51.11.0		Kedleston	
1722 Aug 15th	69.10.2		Down Hall	**532.2.2**
1724	1474.3.3	William and Glynn's Bank	Wimpole	**1474.3.3**
1725	280		Wimpole	
1725	50		Montagu House	**330.0.0**

1726 20th May	107.19.3	Hoare's Bank		
1726	126.3.3		Wimpole	
1726	5630		St James's Square Trustees	
1726	60		Kedleston	
1726	126.3.3		Wimpole	
1726	100		Montagu House	
1726	50		Shardeloes	**6200.5.9**
1727	100		Montagu House	**100.0.0**
1728 27th Jan 10th April	40 120		Compton Place	
1728	2220		Royal Gardener	
1728	140		Windsor Castle	
1728	100		Montagu House	
1728	6483.4. 7 ¾		Richmond Park Lodge	**9043.4.7 ¾**
1729	2220		Royal Gardener	
1729	140		Windsor Castle	
1729	100		Montagu House	
1729	120		Compton Place	
1729 22nd Dec	70		Lodge Park	
1729	2.3.4		St James Park	
1729 June Nov	1.10.0 1.5.0		Hampton Court	
1729 June	140 175		Windsor Castle	
1729	120		Compton Place	
1729	240.2.0		Fulham Road	**3330.0.4**
1730	2220		Royal Gardener	
1730	100		Montagu House	
1730	140		Windsor Castle	
1730 Feb May Dec	4.11.8 5 5.6.8		Hampton Court Gardens	
1730 March May Sept Nov	11.10 32 14.6.8 36		Richmond Old Lodge	
1730	473.2.2		Hyde Park Wall	
1730	841.6		Hyde Park Road	
1730	248.16.2 ¼		Fulham Road	
1730	120		Compton Place	**4253.11.4 ¼**
1731	5000		Kensington Gardens	
1731	2220		Royal Gardener	
1731	140		Windsor Castle	
1731	100		Montagu House	
1731	120		Compton Place	

1731 27th March 5th April 23rd Oct	5.19.6 21 7.10.6		Ledston	
1731 Jan March March May June Sept Dec	1.10 73.14.8 358.14.2 0.12.8 5.2.11 436.15 169.12.10 0.19.0 200			
1731	2.10.0		Kensington	
1731 March July	4.2.4 4.1.9		Richmond Hermitage	
1731 March June	36.5.1 24.8.7		Richmond Old Lodge	
1731June	2.7.6		Bushy Park	
1731 March	11.9.6		Hampton Court Gardens	
1731	100		Fulham Road	**9046.16.0**
1732	2220		Royal Gardener	
1732	140		Windsor Castle	
1732	120		Compton Place	
1732	483.7		Kensington Gardens	
1732 March	0.15.10 14.7.3		Kensington Gardens	
1732 June Sept	77.14.1 ¾ 2.1.2		Kensington	
1732	68.19.7		Richmond Old Lodge	
1732 June Sept Dec	7.9.11 62.12 11.14.4		Hampton Court Gardens	**3209.1.2 ¾**
1733	2220		Royal Gardener	
1733	140		Windsor Castle	
1733	120		Compton Place	
1733	235.0.4		Kensington Gardens	
1733	4.8.11		Kensington	
1733	1.14.2		St James' Park	**2721.3.5**
1734	2220		Royal Gardener	
1734	140		Windsor Castle	
1734	120		Compton Place	
1734	52.10.0		Esher Place	
1734	11.13.4 11.13.4 3		Kensington	
1734 March Nov Dec	1.1.0 1280.10 420.10 346.11.11		Kensington Gardens	

1734	16.3.9 ¼		Hampton Court Gardens	
1734	679.16.10		Hyde Park	
1734	20.15.10 10.17.6		St James' Park	**5335.3.6 ¼**
1735	2220		Royal Gardener	
1735	140		Windsor Castle	
1735	120		Compton Park	
1735	20	Gosling's Bank	Dallington	
1735 March	97.6.4		Kensington Gardens	
1735 June Sept	2.1.2 31.6.5		Kensington	
1735 Sept	2.18.4		Richmond Old Lodge	
1735 June Dec	7.17.9 6.2.8 ½		Hampton Court	**2647.12.10 ½**
1736	2220		Royal Gardener	
1736	140		Windsor Castle	
1736	120		Compton Place	2**480.0.0**
1737	2220		Royal Gardener	
1737	140		Windsor Castle	
1737	120		Compton Place	
1737 June Sept	16.3.7 0.7.01		Hampton Court Gardens	
1737	343.10		King's Private Road	
1737 Nov	2.17.0		Kensington	
1737 Nov	0.12.8		Kensington Gardens	**2843.10.4**
1738	1133.14.2 ½		Royal Gardener	
1738	77.3		Windsor Castle	
1738	120		Compton Place	
1738	3.19.11 ½		Kensington	
1738	18.6.6 ½		Kings Private Road	
1738	23.14.2 ½		St James' Park	**1376.17.11**
1748?	880.17.0		Wimbledon	

Table 2 Bridgeman's known earnings between 1714 and 1738

The table can only be a partial representation of what Bridgeman earned and so must be treated with some caution. His earnings are likely to be well in excess of the totals shown for each year, and without any accounts showing Bridgeman's outgoings, it is impossible to calculate what kind of a profit he made. We should also not assume that because yearly income is significantly lower before 1726, Bridgeman was less successful. This anomaly is more a reflection of the importance to Bridgeman's income of his yearly stipend as Royal Gardener, and of the survival of the accounts of the Office Works; there is simply more reliable data after 1726. We should also treat the total of £100 for 1727 with caution; it does not include any payments from the Office of Works

(see above). However, a number of points do emerge. It is clear that Bridgeman's work as Royal Gardener and for the Office of Works was very lucrative. In addition to his regular quarterly payment of £555 (shown above as a yearly sum of £2220 for convenience) and contract at Windsor Castle, he seems to have been employed on a more casual basis to execute work which fell outside his contract. It is also probably clear from the figures that at Sacombe, Wimpole, Down Hall, Richmond Park Lodge, Kensington Gardens, St James' Square and, after Bridgeman's death, Wimbledon, Bridgeman was acting as a managing contractor, employing labour and contracting work to other artisans (see 7.4). At St James's Square, Longstaffe-Gowan notes that the work was 'subsequently described as 'finely paved all over with Heading Stone, and has a large, beautiful oval [round] basin of water, surrounded with a broad Gravel Walk, and Iron Rails, on a Dwarf-wall, forming an Octagon, and at each Outside the railing the square was paved with Purbeck stone' (Longstaffe-Gowan 2001, 196). Chancellor credits John Mist, Bridgeman's brother-in-law who was a paviour frequently employed by the Office of Works (Work 4/1 -4/7) with the paving at St James' Square, and since Bridgeman was paid for the project, this raises the possibility that he contracted the work to Mist (Chancellor 1907, cited in Willis 2002, 32). It may be that this was not the only project where this happened. We can also see that there are fewer payments in 1736, 1737 and 1738. It may be that records of payments in these years have not survived, or it may be that, towards the year of his death from dropsy, a heart condition, he was less able to work. There is evidence that this was the case at Hampton Court. The minutes of the Board of Works for the period after his death record how far he had fallen short of these duties; when George Lowe took over as gardener at Hampton Court he reported to the Board that the 'state & Condition of His Majestys Orangery, Exoticks & other Plants, as likewise the Melon Frames doth find that greatest part of the Tubs (in which the Trees are planted) and likewise the frames in Mellon Ground are in so Ruinous a condition, that there is necessity of making a great part new and thoroughly repairing the other; that His Majesty's Plants and Fruit may be preserved' (Work 1/1).

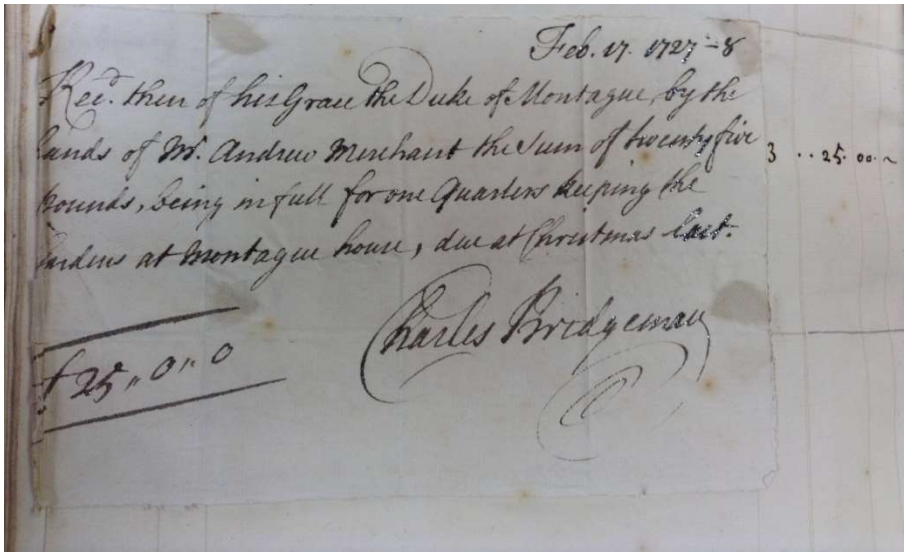

Figure 37 A receipt signed by Bridgeman for £25 for 'keeping the gardens at Montague House' (NSRO ZA/4221)

In spite of the large sums of money which Bridgeman was paid, Sarah Bridgeman seems to have been in straitened circumstances after his death in July 1738. The abstract of accounts for the Office of Works shows that his payment as Royal Gardener stopped abruptly on the day of his death; for example, his monthly pay for work at Windsor Castle, usually £11.13s.04d is calculated as £7. 3s. for the month of July 1738 (Work 5/58). Sarah Bridgeman's proposed sale of plans to the Treasury and the Office of Works are prefaced with a statement about this, and her letters to Sarah Churchill, reported in the latter's own letters, suggest that she had debts she was unable to pay: 'And in some of your Letters to seem to put it upon my Generosity, Mr Bridgman has not left effects to pay his Debts, and it would be the ruin of his Family' (BP MSS F1 – 35). It is difficult to understand why she was in such straits, given the sums of money in the table above. It is not at all clear what happened to Bridgeman's money. In the provision he made for his wife and children he seems to have thought there would be ample means to support them (PROB 11/692/74). In spite of being cautious about the slowing of payments in the last years of Bridgeman's life, perhaps he did have fewer commissions between c. 1734 and 1738, either because the rise of the 'natural' garden made him less popular or because illness made it less easy for him to manage his business. Perhaps the business practices of the early eighteenth century created a liquidity problem. As McKendrick et al. have shown, 'Credit and debt [in the eighteenth century] ….were almost universal' (McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb 2007, 207). They suggest that 'A substantial proportion of the assets of nearly all eighteenth-century business enterprises, especially those of merchants, middlemen and retailers, was in the form of short term credit which had been extended to customers and clients' (McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb 2007, 207).

Bridgeman's Probate Inventory suggests that this may have been a contributing factor since it states that Bridgeman was owed 'divers Sumes of Money' …. 'from the Crown and several of the Nobility and Gentry' (PROB.3/37/95).

Section 4 ‘The late eminent Designer in Gardening’

Chapter 7 Bridgeman’s popularity

Bridgeman’s clients

The number of Bridgeman’s commissions during, roughly, the period from 1715 to 1738, suggest that there was something about his designs, and perhaps the way he worked, which made him, for that brief historical period, the fashionable choice for the most elite in society. His clients came from across the political spectrum. As Royal Gardener, Bridgeman worked for both George I, and George II. Many of his noble clients were Whigs, although the complications of factionalism within a broadly Whig persuasion meant that not all were in power at the time (Langford 1999; Hill in Dickinson (ed.) 2006). He also worked for a small number of Tories, for example Lady Betty Hastings, some with strong Jacobite sympathies, including the Duke of Beaufort, Jacob Bouverie and Lord Cobham. For a complete list of the loose political affiliations of Bridgeman’s clients see 1.6. A significant percentage of these men, both Whig and Tory, were peers. A significant minority of Bridgeman’s clients were drawn from those whose fortunes came from commerce, in particular, from dealings with the South Sea Company and the East India Company. Bridgeman designed landscapes for Benjamin Styles at Moor Park, Francis Hawes at Purley, William Gore at Tring, Jeremy Sambrook at Gobions, and Edward Rolt at Sacombe and probably for Sir John Fellowes, at Carshalton, and Robert Chester, at Briggens.

Bending has argued that ‘[w]ith few exceptions, to read garden history is to read a story of men’. He suggests that ‘if the insistence on great works and great designers effectively relegates women to little more than footnotes, we must look elsewhere for their presence in the garden’ (Bending 2013, 21). This was not entirely the case, in fact, in relation to Bridgeman’s work; we find Queen Caroline, the wife of George II, and three other independent, titled, and within the limits of the period, powerful, women commissioning him. Willis suggests that ‘the Queen was in control’ in Bridgeman’s remodeling of Kensington Gardens; documents collected in Work 6/114 in the National Archives certainly suggest that Queen Caroline, rather than George II guided the work there (Willis 2002, 96). The accounts Bridgeman submitted to the Board of Works contain references to her wishes: ‘Total for repairing the Gardens according to a Plan thereof as directed by Her Majesty from the Orangery down to the Southern Extent’; ‘that Serpentine Walks be made in those Quarters and that the Wood Quarters in the Upper Wilderness (or in the upper Walks) be opened as Her Majesty shall direct’; ‘And also the reforming the Southern parts of the Gardens from the Orangery down to the Road according to a Plan thereof drawn by Her Majesty’ (Work

6/114). Richmond Park also seems to have been her particular project although there are few details of Bridgeman's work for her there. In addition, Bridgeman was commissioned by the Duchess of Marlborough in 1731 to design a landscape for her newly acquired house at Wimbledon. He was also commissioned by Henrietta Howard, Countess of Suffolk, and mistress of George II, to design the landscape for the house she had built for herself at Marble Hill (c.1724), and by Lady Betty Hastings at Ledston in West Yorkshire (c. 1731) (Laurence 2010, 9).

Land and a changing society

Langford characterizes the way society began to change in this period as 'a revolution by conjunction rather than confrontation but it was a revolution none the less, transforming the pattern of social relations, and subtly reshaping the role of that governing class which was the object of imitation' (Langford 1989, 67). Although, as Girouard suggests, 'The polite world saw themselves as an elite, whose claim to run the country was based on having a stake in it as property owners, and was reinforced by the culture, education and savoir-faire of which its country houses were an advertisement' (Girouard 1978, 189), social gradations amongst the upper echelons were becoming more blurred. Langford notes that the 'debasement of gentility is one of the clearest signs of social change in the eighteenth century, the mark of a fundamental transformation' (Langford 1989, 66). He suggests that it was a process of which 'contemporary analysts were well aware'. He quotes a remark by De Saussure which typifies the attitude of the elite towards this at the end of George I's reign, just before Bridgeman became Royal Gardener, 'that any well-dressed person wearing a sword was treated as a gentleman' (Langford 1989,66). It was, he suggests, a period when the rising middle-classes 'sought incorporation into the class above them, not collaboration with those below them' (Langford 1989, 67). This fundamental change to the established order engendered what Rosenheim has argued was 'a sense among the landed of anxiety and fear' between 1650 and 1750 (Rosenheim 1998, 2).

It is possible that something in Bridgeman's designs spoke to the underlying anxieties felt by the ruling elite about the loosening of a rigidly stratified society. At an implicit level, the appearance of a designed landscape might, as Tilley suggests, be read as metaphor, because, as he contends, 'To be human is to think through metaphors and express these thoughts through linguistic utterances and objectify them in material forms' (Tilley 2004, 23). Mark Leone suggests how designed landscapes can be read as signifiers of ideology (Leone 1984); in this case, he defines ideology as 'things that are taken by a society as given' which often 'serve to naturalize and thus mask inequalities in the social order….' (Leone 1984, 26). The role of the designed landscape in the perpetuation of an ideology, Leone suggests, is to echo it in terms of the natural world so that it appears to be unassailable because it is placed in nature. For Leone, this is exemplified by the

William Paca Garden in Annapolis where he shows that the increasingly compromised ideology of planter-gentry society in pre-revolutionary Maryland, and Tidewater Virginia, is echoed in the way the William Paca garden is designed. He argues that compartmentalisation was necessary for Paca, a lawyer who believed in and spoke passionately in favour of personal freedom but who was also a slave owner. He suggests that this inherent contradiction is 'naturalized' in a garden within which spaces are rigidly divided. He counters Levi-Strauss's contention that curvilinear features 'represent the formal survival of a decadent terminated social order' with the suggestion that in fact, the wilderness in the William Paca garden is composed of geometric figures such as circles and parabolas which represent no less an attempt at geometric control (Levi-Strauss in Leone 1984, 34).

This approach is interesting because it suggests we might read the design of a Bridgeman landscape mirroring a conscious, or unconscious, need for a ruling class to express their power in a changing society. In the period that immediately preceded Bridgeman's, a large geometric landscape was established as a signifier of power; as Williamson has argued, '[t]he great geometric parks and gardens of the late seventeenth- and early-eighteenth centuries represented demonstrations of naked power' (Williamson 1998, 66). He suggests that they were 'imposed upon the natural face of the landscape with minimal regard for what later writers would describe as the 'genius of the place' (Williamson 1998, 66) so that power seems to have been written explicitly in the geometry, the demonstration of rigid control both over the garden close to the house and the wider estate in avenues extending out beyond the park. Their evolution into Bridgeman's late geometric 'landscapes of stark simplicity' (Williamson 1995, 52) still large, audacious and reassuringly geometric, may have maintained, for Bridgeman's clients, a sense of their quintessential power even though that power was no longer expressed by avenues marching out beyond the park to the wider estate. Perhaps the addition of serpentine paths may have offered an unconscious nod towards the progress of less structured social relations, but, as Leone suggests about the circles and parabolas of the William Paca Gardens, within the safety of a controlled geometric structure.

Bridgeman's landscapes also offered a practical response to the subtly shifting patterns in societal relations. They created what was essentially a very large, elite private space, screened from the surrounding countryside by perimeter belts of trees. In the early eighteenth century there was a changing relationship between the nobility, and the communities in which they lived. In the late seventeenth century, the landed elite were at the centre of their communities. Girouard has argued, for example, that the convergence of avenues on the north front of the house at Badminton was, in the late seventeenth century, a visual representation of the Duke of Beaufort's place in his community: 'he was at the hub of a web of converging avenues stretching far into the surrounding

countryside, underlining the fact that all the local avenues of power and influence converged on him' (Girouard 1978, 145). However, as the elite 'increasingly distanced themselves from local communities and agrarian life' (Williamson 1995, 58), parks came to be 'read almost as islands of gentility, of polite exclusion, within the wider working countryside' (Williamson and Spooner in Bending (ed.) 2013, 206). Bridgeman's designs created this closed and private space around the house. As we have seen in Chapter 5, Bridgeman's retention of pre-existing woodland, and his incorporation of the topography into the design, created the illusion of a barrier between the garden and the land around it, through limiting horizons and views out, and his retention of the site's pre-existing woodland also contributed to a sense of further private space within it. At Amesbury, the planting of trees along the precinct wall hides the village of Amesbury which was within 250 metres of the house, and a strategically placed group of trees to hide the house on the northern boundary. At Wolterton, the planting of trees along the western boundary hides Robins' land, separated from the lake by only a narrow boundary, from view, at least from the garden. Isaac Ware's plan of Houghton c.1730, which shows Bridgeman's design clearly shows a perimeter belt of staggered rectangular plantations which very effectively screen the house and the park from view.

However, not all of Bridgeman's clients came from the aristocracy for whom these changes in society represented some level of anxiety. A number came from the class who might arguably be considered responsible for the threat. Bridgeman's clients whose wealth come from commerce were not, though, what we might define as 'the middling sort'. As Rogers has suggested, 'the middling sort in the countryside connoted the larger tenant farmer and employer of agricultural labour and the merchant-middleman who controlled the distribution (and only indirectly the production) of Britain's diverse products'. These clients of Bridgeman's were, by contrast, 'directors in the larger monied companies' (Rogers in Dickenson (ed.) 2002, 173). In general, their property was bought with wealth acquired from commercial enterprises over one or two generations. For example, Francis Hawes bought Purley in Berkshire in 1720 with wealth acquired as a director of the South Sea Company, while Sir William Gore, a director of the South Sea Company and of the Bank of England, had inherited Tring Park in Hertfordshire from his father, also a banker. As Harwood contends, 'One of the recognised ways of buying into the establishment…. was to buy estates, particularly if they were close to centres of population – and especially London' (Harwood 2007, 52). These clients' properties were usually significantly smaller than the estates of the nobility, which tended to comprise tenant farms and an agricultural infrastructure, as well as a park. For example, at Sacombe in Hertfordshire, the estate of Edward Rolt, the park extended to 90 acres or 0.36 km^2 and at Purley, in Berkshire, the estate of Frances Hawes, it measured 113 acres or 0.46 km^2. The size of the overall land holding seems to have made very little difference to the size or design that Bridgeman created; however, it occupied a

significantly larger proportion of the land available; at Sacombe, for example it occupies 42 acres (0.17km^2) out of 90 acres (0.36km^2); at Gobions, where the estate was rather bigger, 500 acres, the woodland garden as around 39 acres (0.16 km^2). It may be that simple emulation of the aristocracy (see 7.3) was responsible for Bridgeman's popularity with these clients, but it seems much more likely that, with the same resources, and a sense of the new potency that they represented in a changing society, they felt the same need as the noble elite to express their own power and influence on the land, and to maintain their privacy.

The entry into 'polite' society of men like William Gore and Benjamin Styles marked the beginning of a less hierarchical and more relaxed approach to socializing in the middle of the eighteenth century, echoed in the layout of both the great house and its landscape. Rosenheim suggests that '[w]ithin the elite's own circle's, an expanded definition of 'polite' society brought greater informality to the country house itself, which the gardens and more distant grounds began to mirror' (Rosenheim 1998, 176). Williamson has argued that the '[a]t one level, the elegant serpentine gardens and the careless, yet structured irregularity of the landscape park can be read almost as a structural transformation of the new, more informal behaviour now adopted by the rich' (Williamson 1998, 177). The landscape garden had become a place for entertaining: 'Walking round a garden or driving round a park, whether one's own or someone else's loomed large in the ample leisure time of people in polite society….Axial planning, and straight avenues, canal or walks all converging on the ceremonial spine of the house disappeared in favour of circular planning' (Girouard 1978, 210). It may be that the design of some of Bridegman's landscapes foreshadows this trend. At Rousham, and particularly at Gobions, for example, we have a non-axial structure which encourages different routes, is of sufficient size to occupy the visitor, with vistas and garden buildings to add interest. It is probably not a coincidence that both George Bickham and William Toldervy, both writing in the mid-eighteenth century write an account of precisely this sort of activity (Bickham 1750; Toldervy 1762).

Bridgeman and 'taste'

Weatherill has demonstrated, through her examination of household inventories, that 'the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were marked by brisk changes' in consumer habits (Weatherill 1988) which both reflected and drove societal changes. The rise in consumerism is generally considered in relation to the lower and 'middling' classes; as Weatherill puts it, the desire 'to emulate those of higher social rank, in order to keep up appearances' was the main driver of this significant change in behaviour (Weatherill 1988, 194). However, the emulation of the rich and powerful by the 'middling sort' is of less interest here, since, as shown above, Bridgeman worked exclusively for the rich, and the powerful, the 'propertied people' who

Langford characterizes as trailing 'their possessions before the gaze, fascinated, awed, resentful, of the unpropertied people who were their employees, servants, or merely spectators' (Langford 1991, 11). His clients were the 'rich who led the way' and 'indulged in an orgy of spending' (McKendrick et al. 1983, 10). However, it is also clear that as McKendrick suggests, 'the compulsive power of fashion begotten by social competition' did not simply apply to a 'striving for vertical social mobility', but equally to those already at the top of the social strata (McKendrick et al. 1983, 10) where an understanding of 'taste' was a badge of belonging to, and remaining within, the elite. Stobart and Rothery contend that '[t]he ability to spend lavishly, combined with the discernment required to identify and acquire the right type of things, distinguished the elite and marked out the country house as a key site for luxury consumption' (Stobart and Rothery, 2016, 2).

Fashionable 'taste' might have originated at court, in particular with Queen Caroline. In spite of Pope's denunciation of her in *The Dunciad*, Jay argues that Caroline was a patron of the arts, and that 'the early Hanoverian court created a distinctive court culture in order to cement its relationship with the British people' (Jay 2014, 75). Caroline certainly supported poets such as John Gay, and the labourer poet Stephen Duck, artists such as Wootton and Rysbrack, and musicians such as Handel and created a significant library (Langford 1989; Willis 2002; Jay 2014). However, in spite of this, what Tillyard has called 'cultural authority' was less likely to reside at court under the Hanoverians than under their Stuart predecessors (Tillyard 2005, 23). Royal patronage was no longer necessarily an arbiter of fashionable taste in the early part of the eighteenth century. Some of Queen Caroline's garden projects, for example, the grotto and library in Richmond Park, were the subject of ridicule (Langford 1989, 35).

In fact, it seems that a rather more complicated mechanism for defining what constituted fashionable taste was now in operation. Rather than the simple imitation of court fashion, a symbiotic relationship seems to have developed between those members of the elite who wanted, consciously or not, to define their own status by their 'taste', and those who provided the means for them to do it. Inglis argues that those with money 'needed architects, writers, painters, landscape gardeners, interior decorators' to create what was fashionable for them 'and where once, at court and in its satellite mansions, such artisans would have been entirely subordinate to the rule of the master, in the much more open market created by new cities ……success depended on sufficient patrons finding what he (and gradually at least in fiction writing, she) created to their taste, made in the name of style' (Inglis 2010, 41). As Lilti and Jeffress note 'Reputation…. corresponds to the judgement that the members of a group or community make collectively regarding one of their own…' (Lilti and Jeffress, 2005, 11), and in this case it seems that a collective, though perhaps unconscious, decision was made by both the artistic community and

the elite who paid them, ensuring that both the artists and the elite remained part of an exclusive coterie.

We might see this process at work in the letters and published literary works of the period. For example, in a letter written in June 1720, by Matthew Prior to his friend, supporter, and patron of the arts, Edward Harley, Prior casts a number of artists, all of whom had worked for Harley, as well as other mutual friends, as characters in a narrative which serves to reinforce the interdependence between them and Harley:

> I invited the *virtuosi* t'other day; Gibbs, Wanley, Wootton and Christian; the two first could not come, and the two last could not be got away till midnight. Dirty Dibben, of Dorset-shire, and the Archdeacon of Bath were of the company, as well to bless the meat as to drink great share of the claret; Morley assisted in tea. It was conversation about five o'clock, a disputation towards seven, and a bear-garden about ten. We drank your health over and over, as well in our civil as bacchanalian hours (Bath Papers III 482 -3).

This process is particularly clear in poetry which has to do with fashion in gardening and landscape design; there is a mutual dependence between the members of the elite who own the gardens and pay for the transformations, the artists who provide the designs and the poets who write about them. In Pope's poetry, for example, in *Epistle to Burlington* (1731) Lord Burlington's 'taste' as both facilitator and designer, is explicitly praised in Pope's own creation, the poem :

> In you, my *Lord*, Taste sanctifies Expence
> For Splendour borrows all her Rays from Sense.
> You show us, *Rome* was glorious, not profuse,
> And pompous Buildings once were things of use (Epistle to Burlington ll.153 -156).

In *Epilogue to the Satires, Dialogue II* Kent, the designer, and Pelham, the brother of the Duke of Newcastle, are mentioned in adjacent lines of another of Pope's poems:

> Pleas'd let me own, in *Esher's* peaceful
> (Where *Kent* and Nature vie for PELHAM'S Love)
> (Epilogue to the Satires, Dialogue II, 1737).

In Summer from *The Seasons*, Thomson includes the gardens at 'Twit'nam', 'Hampton', 'Clermont', 'Cornbury' and 'Esher', the poets 'Gay' and 'Pope', and the aristocrats 'Queensberry

and ‘Pelham’ in the space of ten lines (The Seasons 1730). While it could be argued that these examples simply express the deference due to an aristocratic patron, the slightly uneasy combination of over-familiarity, deference and admiration, suggest that they function more as a reinforcement of a shared conception of taste.

Bridgeman appears on the periphery of this discourse. In Prior’s letters of 1720 and 1721, during the work on both Down Hall and Wimpole, he appears as one of the ‘virtuosi: ‘I invited the Virtuosi t’other day, Gibbs, Wanley, Wootton and Christian…’ (16th July 1720) and ‘I believe you have Your Virtuosi by You, while you receive this Letter….’ (18th March 1721). Here he is presented as ‘Friend Bridgeman’ whose ‘Devotion has consisted chiefly in contriving how the Diagonal may take Waddon Steeple exactly in the middle’. He also appears in Thornhill’s 1721 ballad, *A Hue and Cry.* He is mentioned in the correspondence of the elite in relation to design. In a letter to the Duchess of Suffolk, in August 1735, the Duchess of Queensberry compares the countryside around Brussels to his work: ‘Adieu, my dear Lady Suffolk. Did you ever see Brussels? The whole country round about it is like the best-natured ground that ever was seen, laid out by a Bridgeman some years ago’ (Murray (ed.) 1824, Vol.II 134). In the Duchess of Beaufort’s letter to her son, his work is praised, ‘The draught Bridgeman sent down for Badminton is one of the Grandest things I have ever seen’ (Willis 2002, 427), and in 1735, Lady Burlington even reports a friendly stylistic disagreement, and casts her husband as arbiter in it: ‘There is a new design going forward at Richmond in ye garden, & a building of Kent’s design… I took ye liberty to differ with Mr Bridgman & I daresay you wd be of my opinion’ (Willis 2002, 103). Bridgeman’s inclusion in this exclusive set of artists and aristocrats is demonstrated by his inclusion in Edward Harley’s list of those to be invited to Prior’s funeral: ‘I do not know what other friends Mr Prior has except those you mention, except Mr Howard, Mr Southern and Mr Gay, and since I see Mr Bridgeman and Mr Gibbs named, I think Sir James Thornhill, Mr Wotton, Mr Dhael and Mr Richardson should be sent to come to the funeral’ (Add MS 70362).

It is hard to be sure at what point Bridgeman ceased to be part of this fashionable discourse, but the frequency with which his name is mentioned might be used as a barometer of his success. It certainly seems that at some point in the 1730s he became less fashionable, probably when the ‘natural’ garden began to increase in popularity. It is possible to identify the beginnings of criticism of his work in the writing of these literary arbiters of ‘taste’ in the 1730s; for example, in Pope’s *Epistle to Lord Burlington* (1732) or in Switzer’s *A Proemial Essay* (1742), both of which appeared towards the end of his career. However, it is clear that he was still receiving commissions until the year of his death in 1738, for example, at Wimbledon, at Ledston and at Amesbury.

A commercial enterprise

It is likely, anyway, that an exclusive definition of 'taste' mattered less to Bridgeman's work than the practicalities of designing and building explored in chapters 5 and 6, and its facilitation in an embryonic business which answered consumer demand. It may, therefore, be helpful to place Bridgeman's career within the historical period when the symbiotic relationship between consumer demand, on the one hand, and the creation of businesses to feed it, was developing. We might consider the extent to which Bridgeman's professional operations were effectively a proto-commercial operation and how far we might place him within a framework of entrepreneurs, some who predated him, some his contemporaries, whose businesses in the garden trade, capitalized on a burgeoning consumer demand. Perhaps Bridgeman was one of those men, who, as McKendrick puts it, 'had not only responded to those changes; they had, as a result of their earnest endeavours, played a substantial and positive role in bringing them about' (McKendrick et al.1983, 2).

There was clearly an infrastructure to support a proto-commercial enterprise in landscape design. Harvey has shown that 'we can place the beginnings of the garden trade' in the middle of the seventeenth century, and that, (significantly for an evaluation of his business) during the period of Bridgeman's lifetime, this development of a 'garden trade' was manifested in a significant increase in the number of nurseries and seed merchants, initially in London, and then in the provinces. He has shown that by 1685 there were five commercial nurseries, of which Brompton Park was the largest, and by 1688 three commercial seed merchants in and around London (Harvey 1974, 5); by the time the Society of Gardeners published their *Catalogus Plantarum* in 1730, when fourteen gardeners were included in the Society and five others signed the Preface, the number of nurseries had swelled to fifteen in and around London, and the number of seed merchants to at least five. By the 1730s provincial nurseries had been established at Colchester, Exeter, Newark-upon-Trent, Oxford, Pontefract, and York, where at least four firms were in being and Gateshead (Harvey 1974, 5). Coulton suggests we should treat 'the hypothesis that the turn of the eighteenth century witnessed a significant shift in the cultural organization of nursery-keeping' with some caution, since it is 'tentatively grounded upon the fact that from this point onwards there survives a growing number of documentary sources (manuscript and published, cartographic and pictorial) which can be invoked to verify the existence of more and more trading plantsmen' (Coulton 2005, 21). However, in spite of this caveat, it is clear that commercial nurseries and seed merchants were increasing to meet this new market's needs. Coulter quotes Peter Collinson, writing in 1768, about the period between 1710 and 1730 'the taste of gardening increased annually […. and] as the taste increased, nursery-gardens flourished' (Coulton 2005, 22).

We might see Brompton Park Nurseries, from 1681 until the first two decades of the eighteenth century (during which time Bridgeman was almost certainly working there), as an example of how the supply of plants, seeds and gardening expertise was turned into an embryonic but highly successful business. As shown above, London, with his early partners, and then with Wise, built a nursery which became the most influential of the period, able to supply thousands of plants to estates all over the country, and offering a design service too. Coulton considers that these gardeners were able to understand not only what consumers wanted but how to present themselves as the foremost suppliers of those commodities. Even from its inception, he argues, the founders of Brompton Park Nurseries marketed themselves, their plants and their expertise in an 'Advertisement' of sorts, which emphasizes their personal credentials, lists the plants, describes their arrangement according to species within the twenty-four walled acres of the nursery, and emphasizes their hope that their 'Compleat Nursery' will be 'fitting to serve and give content to all sortes of planters whatsoever'. As Coulton points out, 'From the very beginning the principal players in Brompton Park's horticultural and literary productions were keen to validate the quality not only of its nursery plants but also their own positions within chains of production and consumption, and the complex matrices of England's social hierarchies' (Coulton 2005, 53). He further argues that the publication of *The Compleat Gard'ner*, a translation of la Quintinie's text *Instructions pour les Jardins Fruitiers et Potagers*, but with significant commentary and additions for the English gardener, by London and Wise, published in 1699, represents a shrewd marketing ploy for their own business: in *The Compleat Gardener* 'George London and Henry Wise seek to shore up both the reputation of nurserymen in general and their own positions at the pinnacle of the trade. By emphasizing issues unique to their native country…. they are able to justify their amendments to la Quintinie as well as locate themselves as appropriate arbiters upon the state of British gardening' (Coulton 2005, 62).

As the early eighteenth century progressed, it is possible that the emergence of diversification, established tradesmen branching out into, and specializing in, other areas of the 'garden trade', was another symptom of the emerging response to the market. Thick notes the rise of the specialized seed merchant, using Switzer as an example. He shows that when Switzer, initially a garden writer and designer, set himself up as a seed merchant in the 1720s he was met with some hostility (Thick 109). London and Wise noted the new tendency of seedsmen to stock plants and 'acidly remarked on 'Gentlemen coming to London at the Seasons of Planting, and observing often that Bundles of Trees are standing at the Seed-Mens Shops, or at least meeting with some of their printed Catalogues, in which they make large Offers of the Sale of all their Sorts of Fruit trees, Ever-greens, Flowering Shrubs, and Roots; but with what Certainty any one may depend

upon the Truth of what is offered, or what Reason they should have to buy them rather than of a Gardener, we leave them to judge' (Thick 109).

Bridgeman sits between two systems through which a garden designer might operate; one was running a business on proto-modern terms, clearly the case for the generation of landscapes improvers working after 1750; the other was patronage, the system under which most landscape design was undertaken in the generation before Bridgeman. The ways Brown and his imitators worked typifies the former approach. The business practice of Brown, and his contemporaries and imitators Richmond, Woods and White is evidenced in a wealth of correspondence between improver and client, and between client and client, and in accounts, the very survival of which suggests a different approach. Although Brown and Williamson make the point that of the probable 250 sites Lancelot Brown worked on, his surviving account book contains only sixteen names, and his bank accounts mention only ninety commissions, the relative abundance of this documentary material, makes it easy to see how improvers such as Brown, Woods, Richmond and White ran their businesses (Brown and Williamson 2016, 9). After an initial visit and assessment by Brown, the surveying, drafting of plans and the construction were subcontracted to foremen or assistants, who he paid to hire labour and complete the work (Brown and Williamson 2016, 136-137). Foremen were essential to Brown's business model, and the relationship between the 'improver' and his foremen had a flexibility and fluidity to it which meant that the foreman was not contracted only to the improver and could work for himself and others (Brown 2000, 225). Richmond, himself one of Brown's foremen/contractors, operated in a similar way (Brown and Williamson 2016, 142). Brown has shown that payments to Richmond indicate that he was responsible for fulfilling a contract which he defines as 'arranging the materials supply, labour, and supervision of works on site'. He uses the example of a substantial payment from Sir Clayton Kendrick of £600 between 1759 and 1761 (Brown 2000, 223). Woods charged for his time and expenses, and separately for the plans, and these charges were itemised in the contract and in his bills (Cowell 2009, 159, 160). Brown shows that at Shardeloes, Richmond's payment between 1763 and 1765 of £870 probably indicates that he was responsible for fulfilling the contract. However, between 1765 and 1769, he was paid only £190 6s 9d, while John Hencher was paid £1257 8s 7d, suggesting that Richmond's contractual agreement changed from what Brown terms a 'design and build contract' to a 'design and inspect role' in which Hencher operated as his contractor, responsible for the hiring of labour, reflected in the money paid to him and not to Richmond (Brown 2000, 223). Brown uses the example of Jonathan Midgley, who was paid by Lancelot Brown as a 'foreman' between 1760 and 1778 but who was also working independently at Ashburnham in the same years, to suggest that Lancelot Brown also worked in the same way. In both cases, Brown suggests that sometimes labour and materials were supplied by the client, sometimes by the foreman/contractor. By the mid to late eighteenth

century the role of landscape improver had become, if not a modern business, certainly well on the way to it. Indeed, Brown has suggested that the way Nathaniel Richmond and other 'gentleman improvers', such as Brown and Woods, organized their businesses was affected by the changes in international business organization in the mid-eighteenth century (Brown 2000, 218).

However, alongside this later eighteenth century model, we should consider the role of patronage. Although embryonic entrepreneurial businesses began to emerge at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, it is clear that patronage still played an important role in supporting the business. Coulton highlights this in relation to the foundation, and continued trading, of Brompton Park Nurseries. John Evelyn, whose original translation of la Quinitie's *Instructions pour les Jardins Fruitiers et Potagers,* London and Wise drew heavily on, endorsed their business in an 'Advertisement' (Green 1956, 25) and Coulton points out that the 'Advertisement' printed in 1681 was designed to flatter Henry Capel, Brompton Park Nursery's most important patron (Coulton 2005, 54). In Bridgeman's period, Kent seems, certainly in his early career, to have been dependent on patronage. Mowl lists Talman, Massingberd, Coke and, of course, Burlington, as amongst his patrons in Rome (Mowl 2006, 44 and 45). Brown considers the role of patronage in the organisation of businesses in the early- and mid-eighteenth century. He suggests that Kent relied on patronage, largely from Lord Burlington.

It is certainly true that Bridgeman's work was, to some degree governed by patronage. Willis refers to 'Three of Bridgeman's patrons……..Cobham, Burlington, and Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford', suggesting not only were these three Bridgeman's patrons, but that there were others too (Willis 2002, 69). We might add Queen Caroline to the list and Charles Townsend. One of the surviving letters in Bridgeman's hand, to Charles Townshend, on 29th September 1733, refers explicitly to it: 'My Lord – Just after your Lor[shi]p spoke to me at Hamp[ton] Court on Sunday last, my good Friend and Patron orderd me to desire my Cosin Bridgeman not to engage his Vote, & this was his whole order to me at the time: I was since down with my Cosin at Hartford, & he kindly promis'd me he would not…' (Willis 2002, 156). Bridgeman's letter to Harley in 1734 is written in a similar tone: 'My Lord/ I hope Your Lord[shi]ps. Goodness will permit me in this manner, 'tho late, to congratulate Your Lord[shi]p, and my Lady Oxford, on the marriage of Lady Margaret with his Grace the Duke of Portland; I heartily wishing them a long & a happy life; and Your Lord[shi]p. and my Lady Oxford, all the pleasures and Satisfactionn You [c]an hope thereby, humbly begging leave to signify to Your Lord[shi]p. that nobody can have a greater honour for Your Lord[shi]p, & family than I have, not feel more sensibly any good enjoy'd, or hop'd for in it…..' (Bl Loan 29/20). While these letters demonstrate that Willis is justified in his assumption that Bridgeman had patrons, the importance of patronage to him is more difficult to

determine. It is probably true to say that Bridgeman relied considerably less on patronage, than, for example, Kent. Brown may well be right when he suggests that by 1759 ‘the market for landscape improvement had widened and was largely free from individual aristocratic patronage’ (Brown 2000, 222) and in Bridgeman’s career we may well be seeing the beginning of the end of it.

We might place Bridgeman somewhere on a trajectory towards the commercialisation of gardening. In some regards, as evidence in Chapter 6 suggests, he was running a business, and it was more closely aligned to those of the landscape improvers of the mid-eighteenth century, than to Brompton Nurseries. Bridgeman appears to have made initial, and short subsequent, visits to sites. Although, with the exceptions discussed above, contracts appear not to have survived, they clearly did exist, and the work was undertaken as laid out in them. Unlike Brown, he seems to have conducted his own surveys, and, as an accomplished draughtsman, probably personally drew a large proportion of the plans which resulted. Subsequent work on the landscape seems to have been either the responsibility of the estate, or, like Brown, he seems to have used foremen to oversee the work, hire the labour, and see it to its completion. On occasion he also supplied plants, although not from his own nursery, and he was a competent engineer, with a good working knowledge of hydraulics. Brown and Williamson have contended that ‘In an entrepreneurial age, Brown was the entrepreneur’s entrepreneur. He was an astute businessman with a genius for organizing complex projects, and making them profitable’, the ‘head of an extensive and complex business organisation’ (Brown and Williamson 2016, 136). It would be misleading to suggest that Bridgeman’s operation was as organised as that, but, as Brown suggests Bridgeman ‘pursued largely commercial open markets for widely differing clients’ and, although financially embarrassed at the end of his life, ran a successful, emergent business, which anticipated those in the generation that followed him (Brown 2000, 221).

Conclusion

Charles Bridgeman was an important figure in landscape design; he was Royal Gardener from 1726 - 1738, and worked for some of the most famous and influential figures of his period. His work was audacious in its scope and size, and significantly reshaped the land on which he worked. He left a large corpus of plans, principally in the Gough Collection and the National Archives, identified in the mid 1970s by Peter Willis. His relative neglect by garden historians seems to stem from the dearth of written evidence on which to base academic research into his methods and design ethos, and because much of it has disappeared, either under the work of subsequent gardeners, or golf courses and housing estates. In the absence of this evidence, a received orthodoxy has grown up, about his work, which presents him as a footnote in the inevitable rise of the 'natural' garden, or as a pragmatist with no particular style of his own, or as a political gardener whose designs wrote his clients' Whig philosophy on the land.

However, if we apply the methods of landscape history to his work a rather different picture emerges. In preparation for a landscape history reassessment, close and methodical scrutiny of the plans in Willis's corpus, with an emphasis on provenance, on graphic style and on whether there is documentary or archaeological evidence to support attribution, has allowed a more reliable, although by no means definitive, corpus to be formed. This corpus is substantially composed of those plans attributed to Bridgeman by Willis, but there are some important additions and exclusions, which change the way we see Bridgeman's work.

It has been possible to use the information encoded in the plans identified in this way to examine Bridgeman's working practices. Their heterogeneity points to the different functions for which Bridgeman seems to have intended them. The polished nature of those finished with watercolour strongly suggests that they were designed with the primary purpose of presenting Bridegman's vision for the site to his client; it may be that they were also intended for display. Others, largely in ink and pencil, appear to have been drawn with the intention that they should be used in some way in the process of construction, either as discussion documents, or to convey the mechanics of Bridgeman's design in his absence, or as a masterplan from which others might be taken. A third set, principally drawn in pencil, may well be the prelimary drawings from which the others were made, or the rough sketching out of ideas.

These plans also support the premise that Bridgeman, rather than being the forerunner of the natural garden movement, designed in the late geometric style, both in the features he incorporated into his landscapes, and in the geometric structure that underpins his designs. It is

much easier to see his antecedents in the work of Le Nôtre, George London and Henry Wise, than to try to fit his work telelogically with that of William Kent and Lancelot Brown. His debt to the seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century gardens of France, Italy and Holland is clear when the straightjacket imposed by the need to trace the 'natural' style in his work is relaxed. It is difficult to pin a specific political philosophy to his designs, or to see him responding particularly to Palladianism, the architectural style of choice for Whig politicians and sympathisers. There is also a sense in which Bridgeman's work is pragmatic, in that he appears to have designed with the topography and geology of the site in mind, but incorporates these natural assets into a design which creates a coherent, unified space, on a very large scale.

Bridgeman emerges from the reappraisal undertaken in this thesis as an accomplished gardener, surveyor, hydraulics engineer and builder. It is clear from the plans and what written evidence there is, that he understood, was competent in, and was able to direct every part of the process involved in creating a new landscape. He seems to have created some kind of proto-business infrastructure which allowed him to manage a number of projects simultaneously. He appears to have been able to deliver as much or as little of the landscape as was required, from a properly surveyed and viable plan, hydraulics that were practical and efficient, source plants, and labour and maintenance if required. His relationship with his landed clients was both professional and deferential, falling, whether by chance or by design, with happy synchronicity into a space created by changes in society between the demise of patronage, and the rise of the professional landscape improver.

Bridgeman has been framed as the forerunner of Lancelot Brown. This has largely been based on his simplification of design, a relaxing of geometry, and the early use of serpentine paths. In fact, we might see him as a model for Brown in other, more significant ways. Bridgeman's creation of a coherent space extending well beyond the reaches of the garden around the house, underpinned with suggested, rather than explicit geometric lines, and designed to be viewed on a journey around it, rather than axially from the house, prefigures the work of Brown and other improvers of the later eighteenth century. Perhaps even more importantly, Bridgeman's creation of a proto-commercial operation in which a service to create and maintain a landscape was offered, is an antecedent to the complex, efficient business model which Brown operated. Although Bridgeman was, for some reason, financially embarrassed at the end of his life, we might see in his operation, an emergent business, which anticipated those in the generation that followed him.

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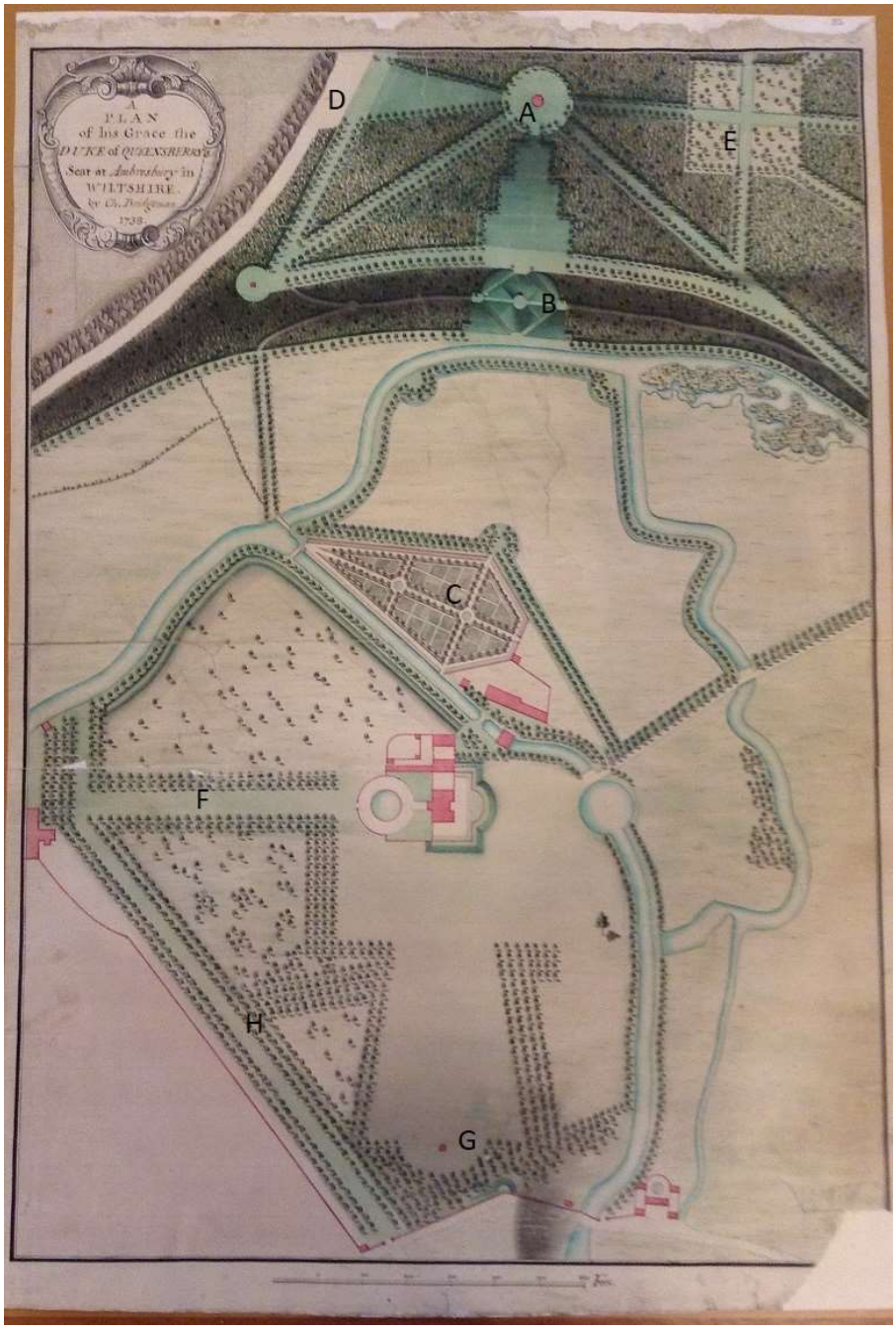
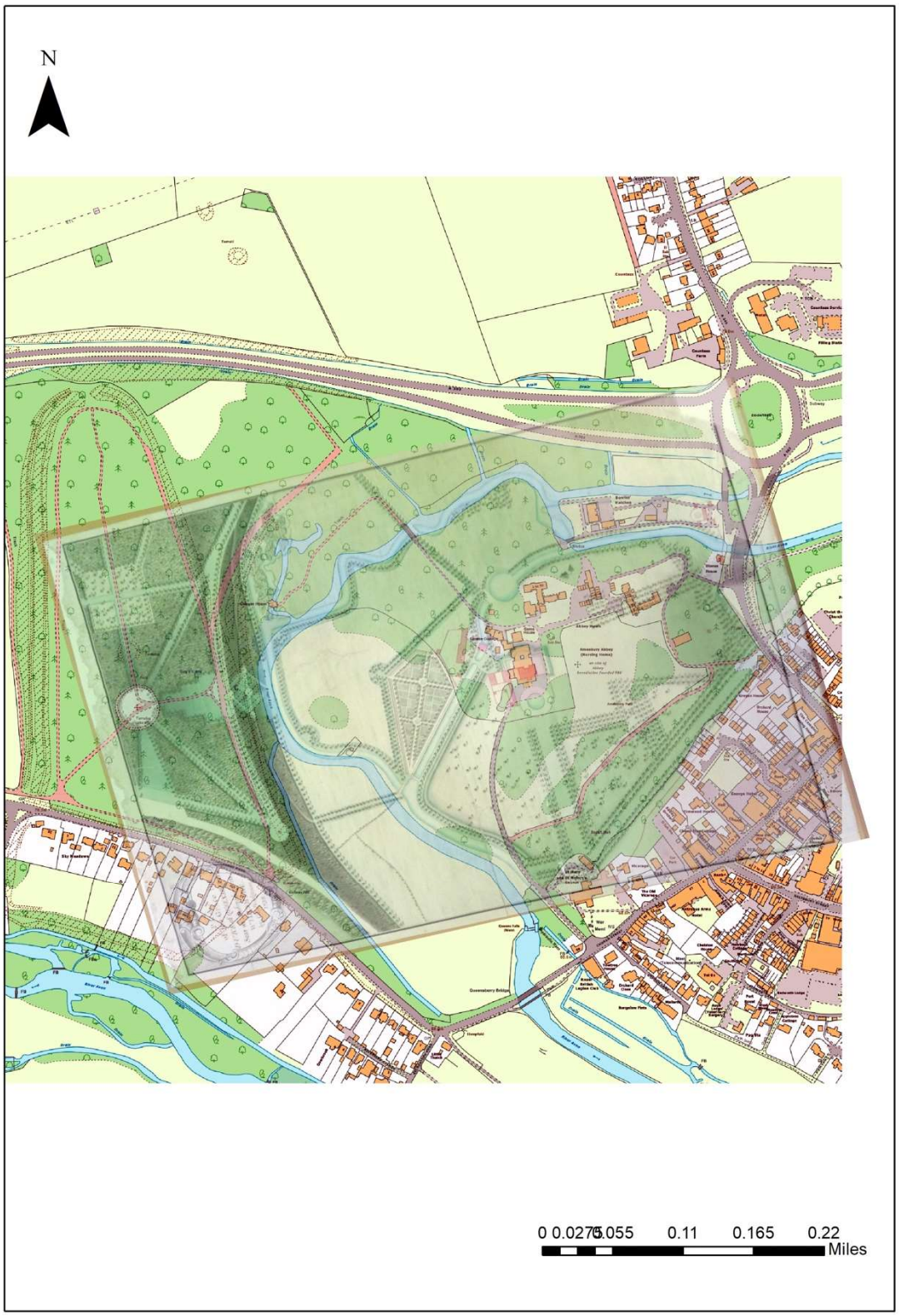
Appendix I

Maps and Plans



Key: A rond-point; B Gay's Cave and diamond;C kitchen garden; D vista; E square; F avenue; G obelisk; H precinct wall; J round pond

Map 1i: Amesbury Abbey (MSGD a3* fo.32)

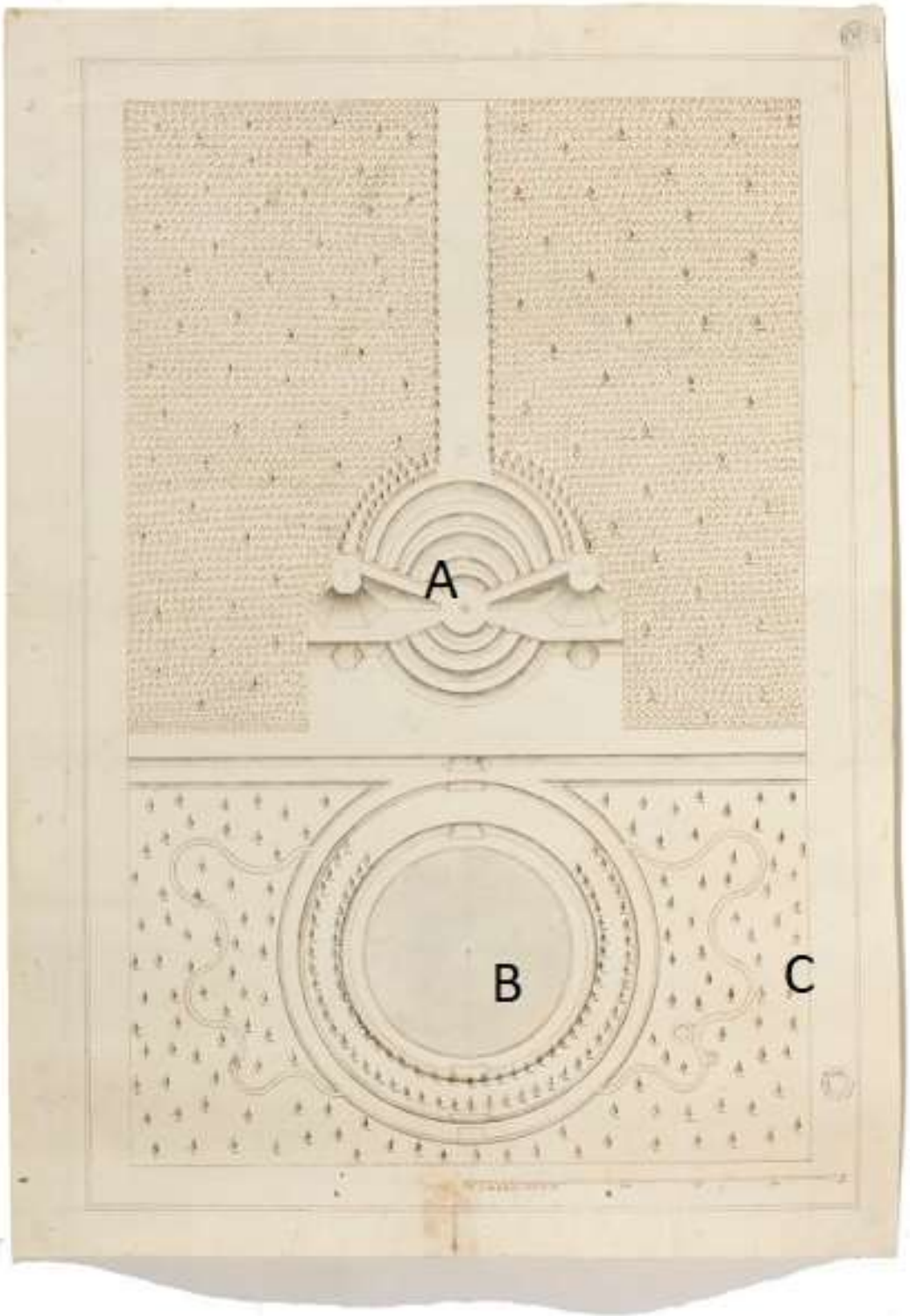


Map 1ii. Amesbury Abbey (MSGD a3* fo.32) georeferenced with OS Digimap 1:2,500

Key: A west bastion; B south bastion; C broad water; D mount; E circus; F bowling green

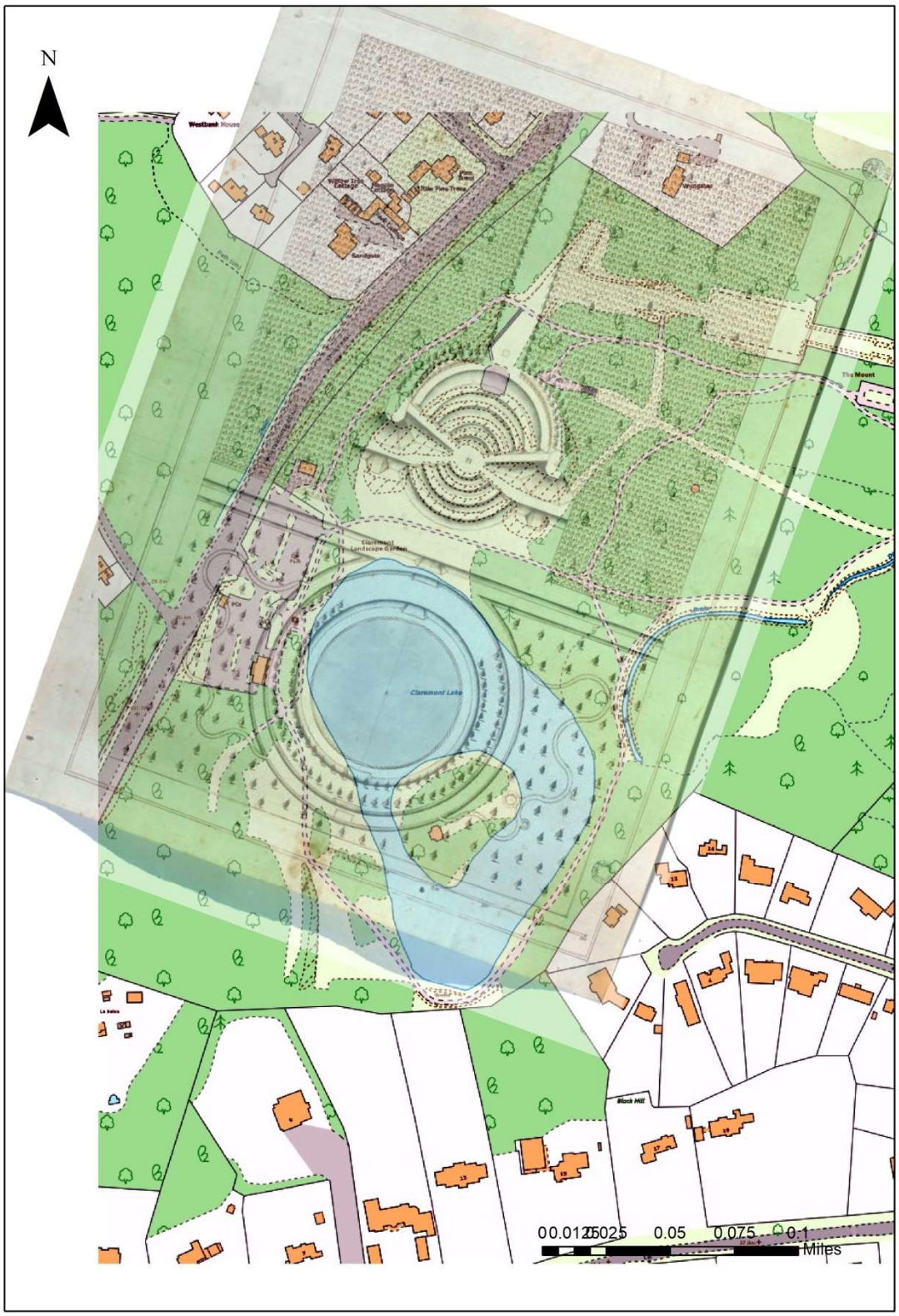
Map 2i. Boughton (Boughton 2)

Map 2ii. Boughton 2 georeferenced with OS Digimap 1:10,000

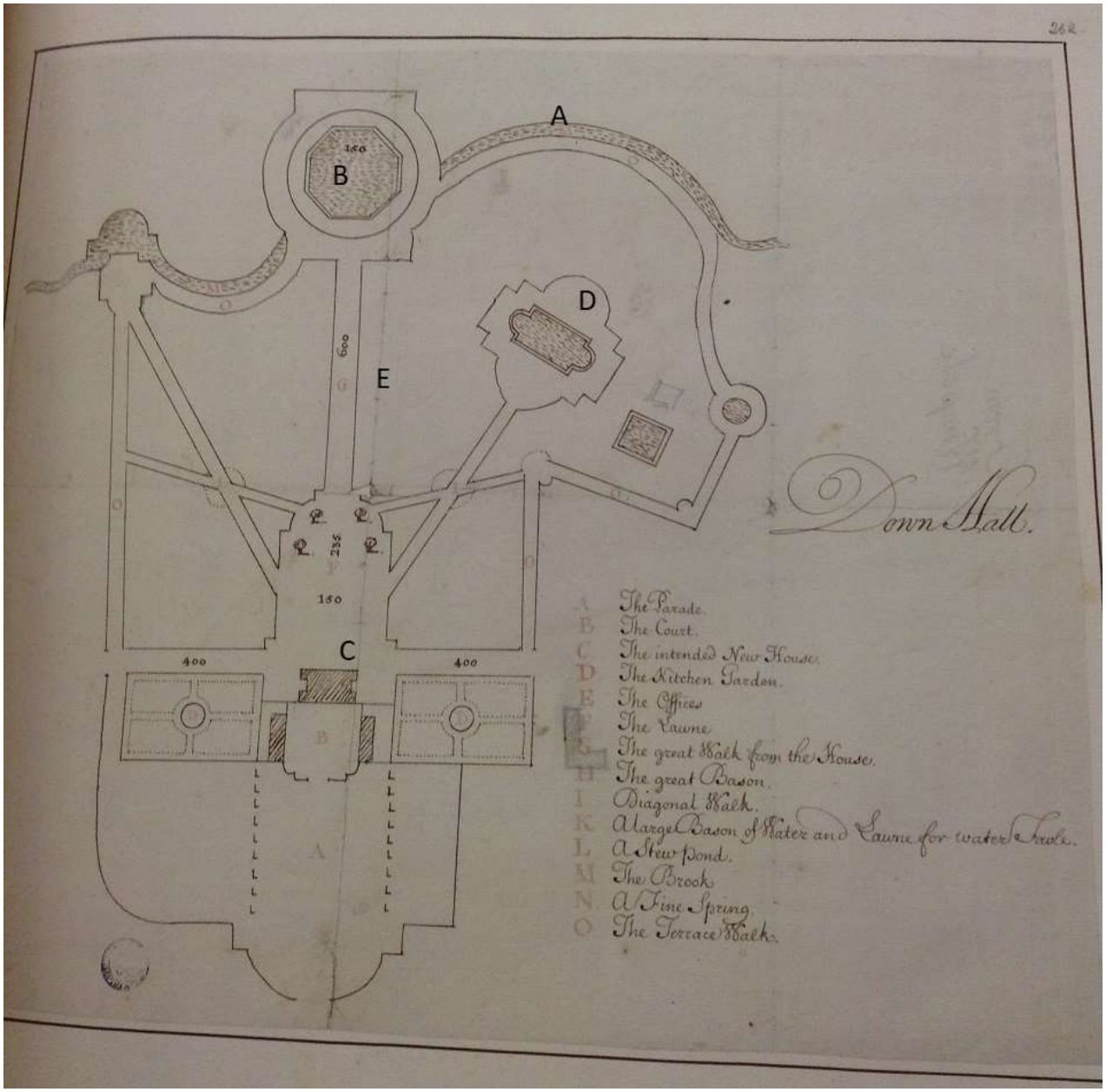


Key: A amphitheatre; B round pond; C grove

Map 3i Claremont (SM 62.1.2)

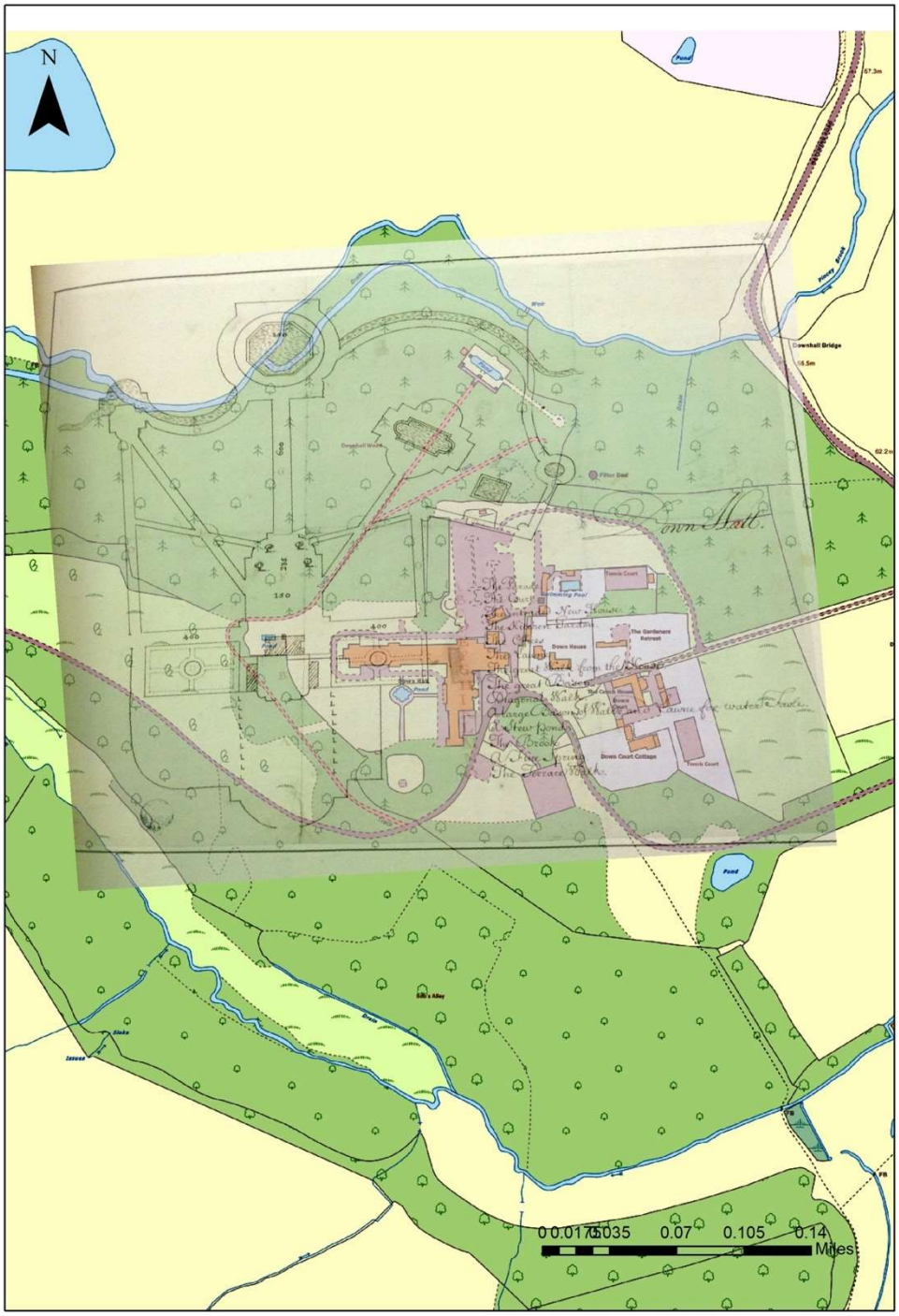


Map 3ii Claremont (SM 62.1.2) georeferenced with OS Digimap 1:2,500

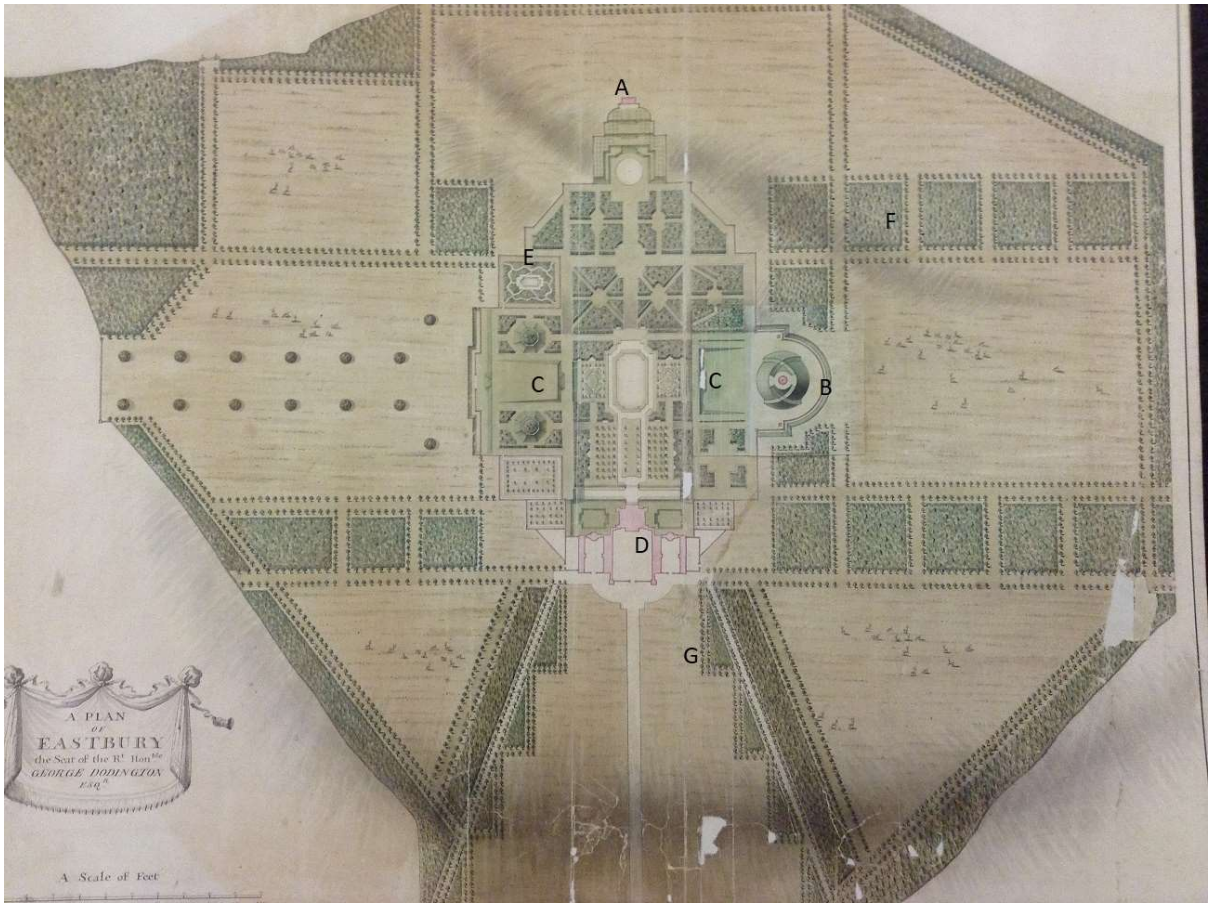


Key: A Pincey Brook; B octagonal pool; C site of new house; D apsidal-ended pool; E central walk

Map 4i Down Hall (Gough Maps 46 fo.262)



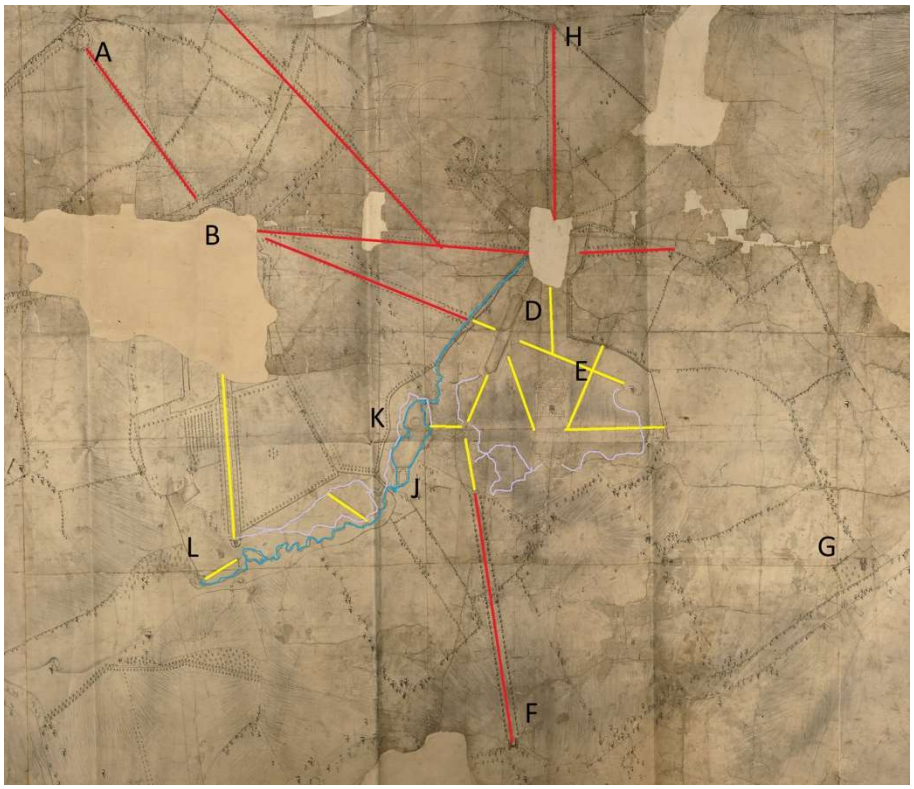
Map 4ii Down Hall (Gough Maps 46 fo.262) georeferenced with OD Digimap 1:5,000



Key: A temple; B mount; C bowling greens; D site of house; E grove with serpentine paths; F square grove; G ziggurat planting

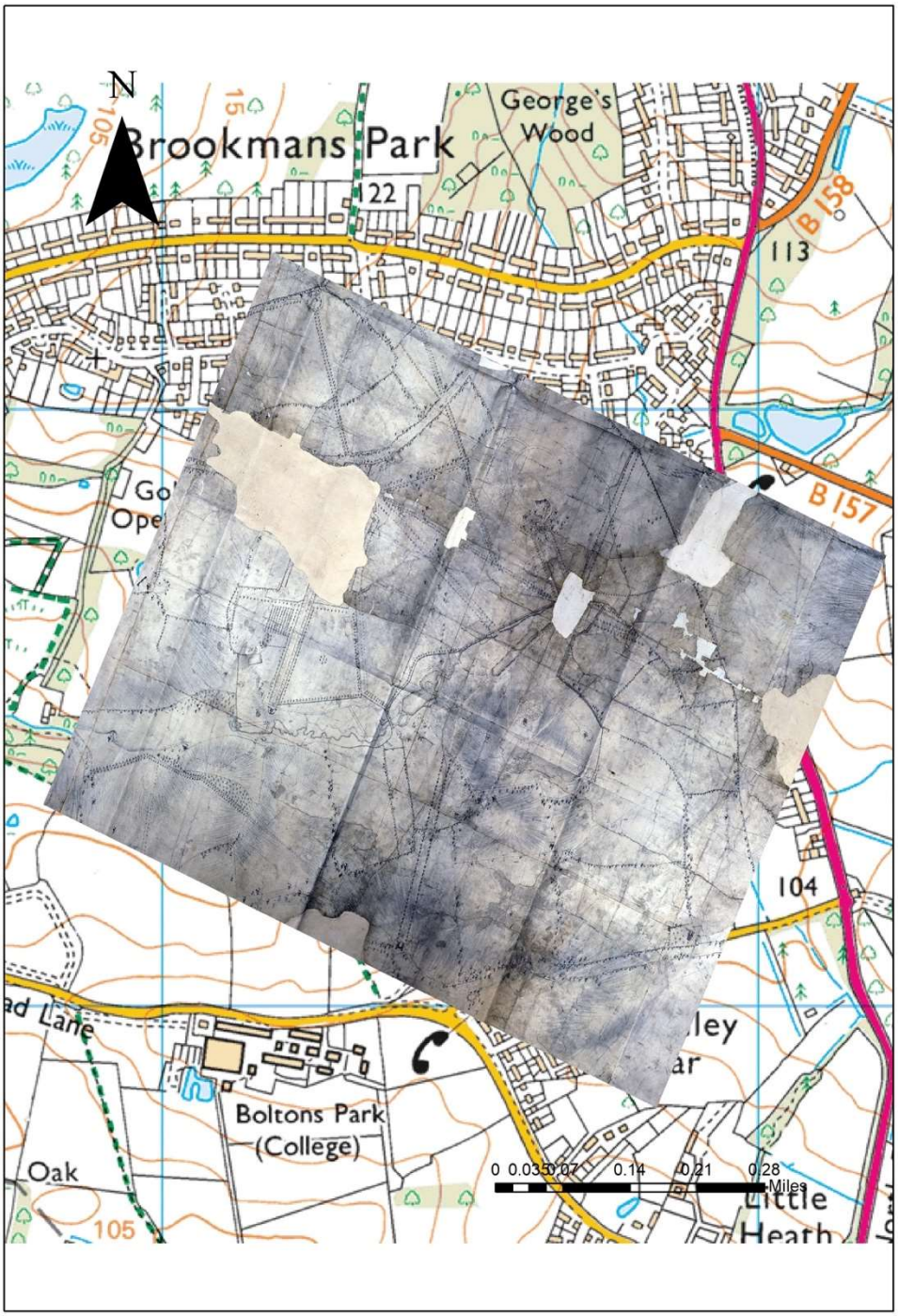
Map 5i Eastbury (MSGD a3* fo.9)

Map 5ii. Eastbury (MSGD a3* fo.9) georeferenced with OS Digimap 1:5,000

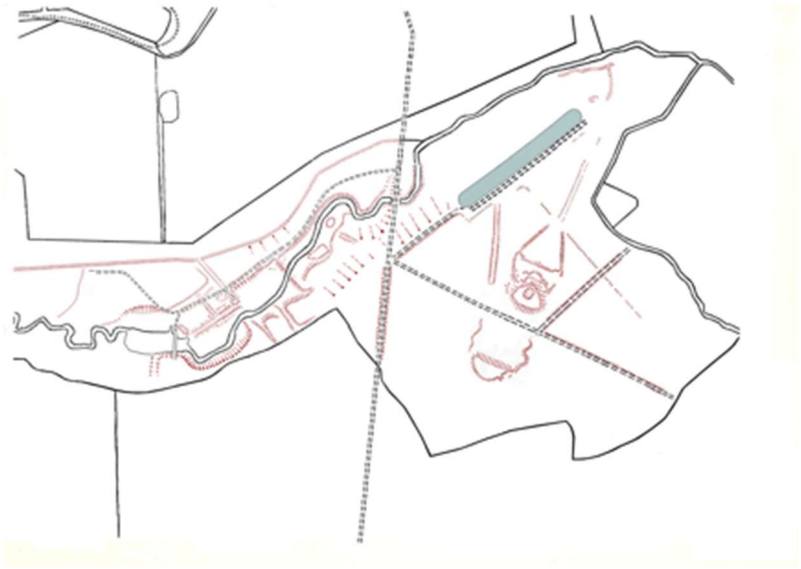


Key: A seat; B site of house; D canal; E terraces; F folly arch; G sham ruin; H gate; J cascades L lattice-work summer house; K lake

Map 6i Gobions (Herts Map a.1)



Map 6ii Herts Map a1 georeferenced with OS Digimap 1:10,000

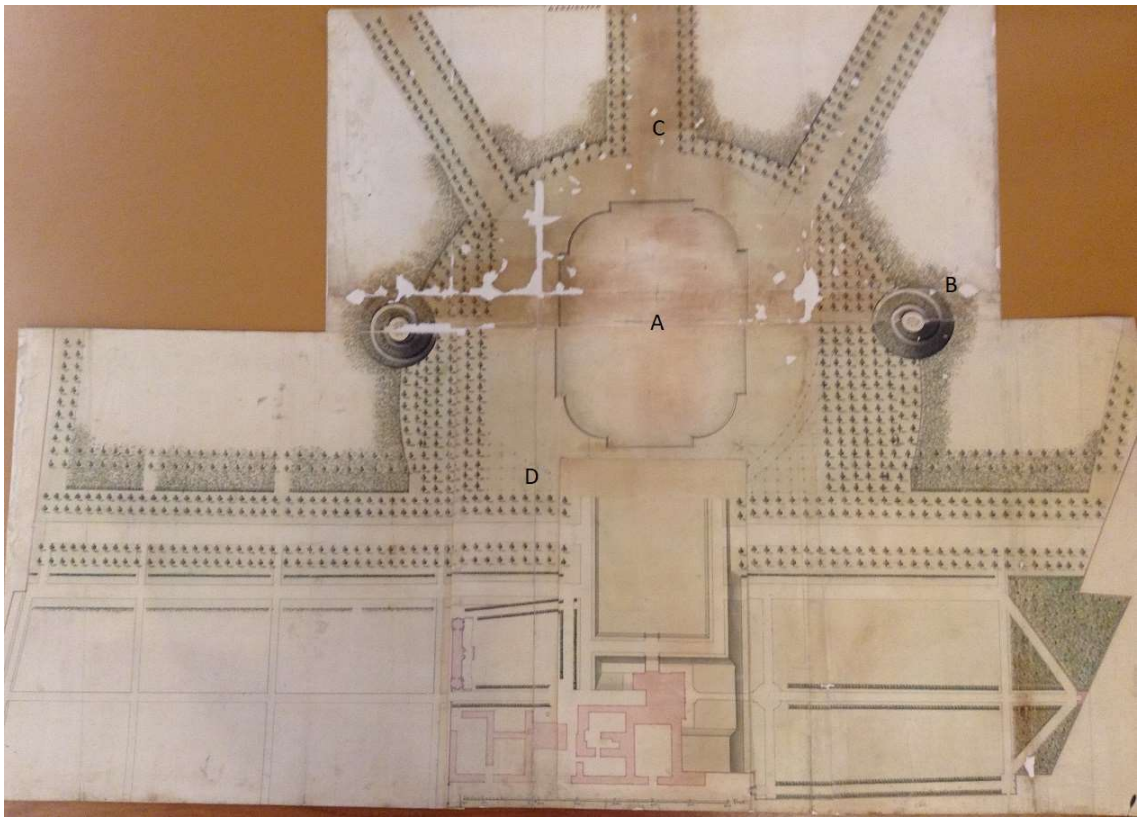


Map 6iii Diagram of earthwork remains in Gobions Wood (by kind permission of Tom Williamson)

Key: A bastion; B menagerie; C serpentine paths; D theater; E central bowling green; F cabinet; G rectangular pool; H pool; J house

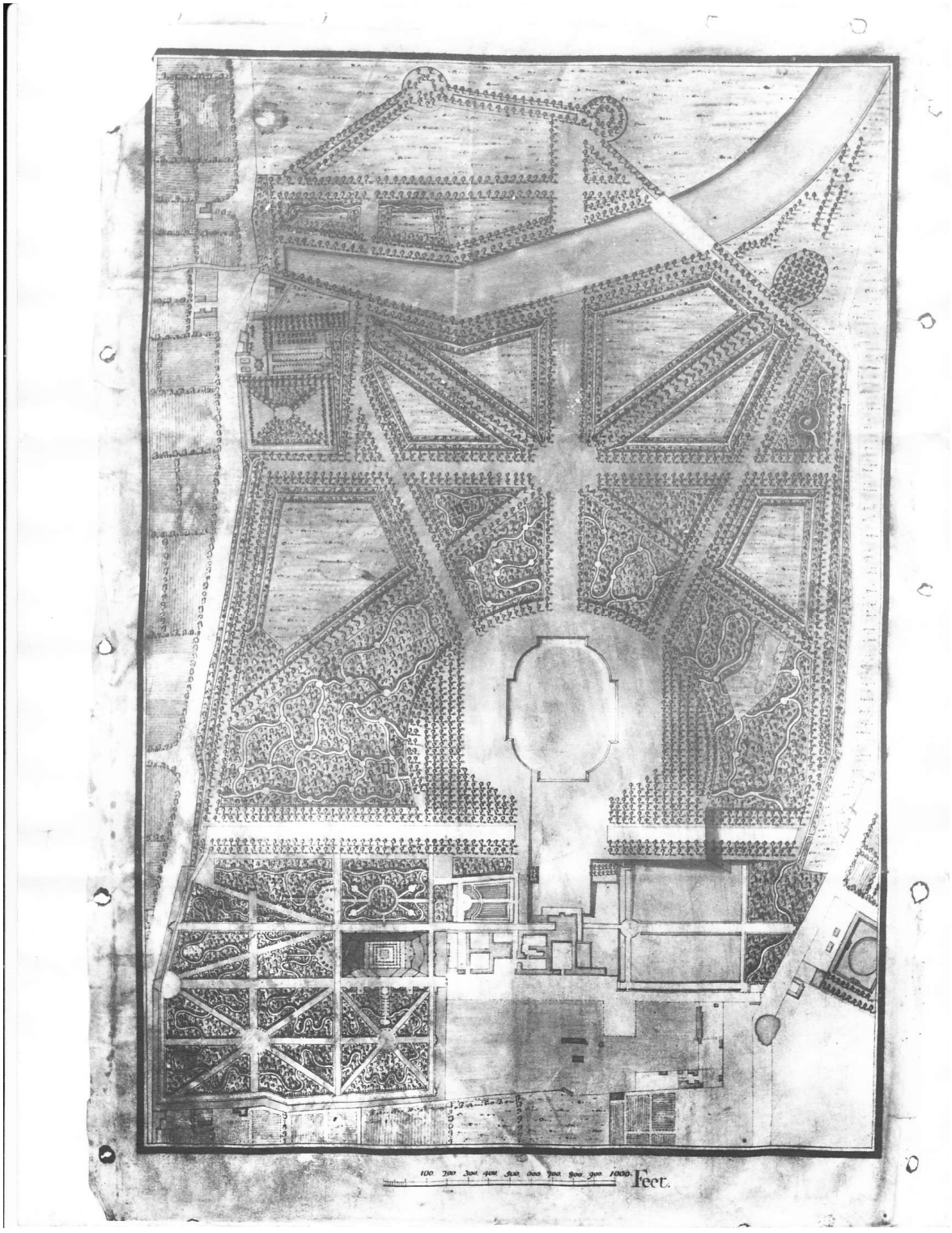
Map 7i Hackwood (MSGD a4 fo.34)

Map 7ii Hackwood (MSGD a4 fo.34) georeferenced with OS Digimap 1:5,000

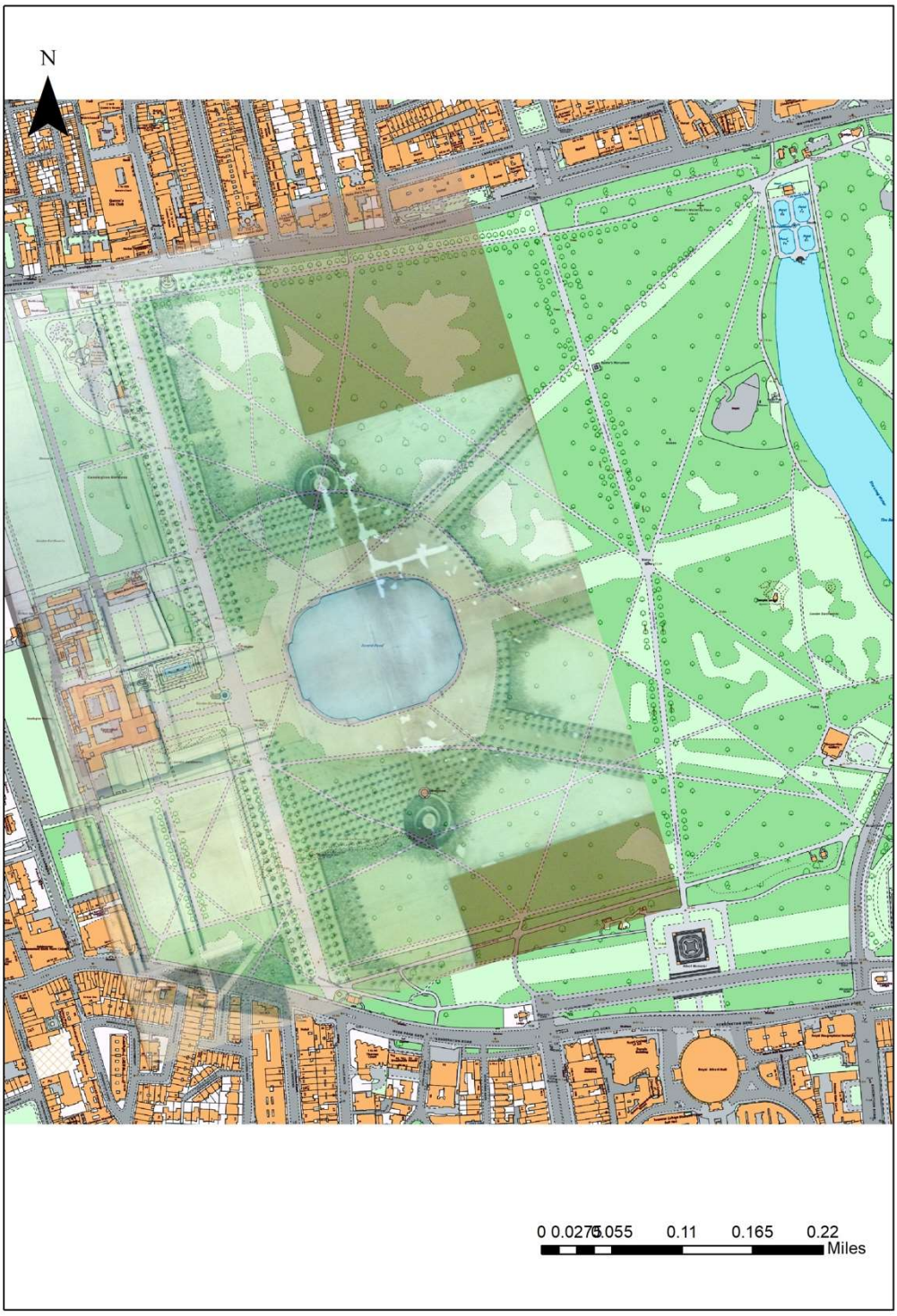


Key: A Round Pond; B mount; C central allée; D terrace

Map 8i Kensington Gardens (MSGD a3* fo.7)



Map 8ii Kensington Gardens and Hyde Park (HEH ST Map 147) by kind permission of Henry E. Huntington Library.

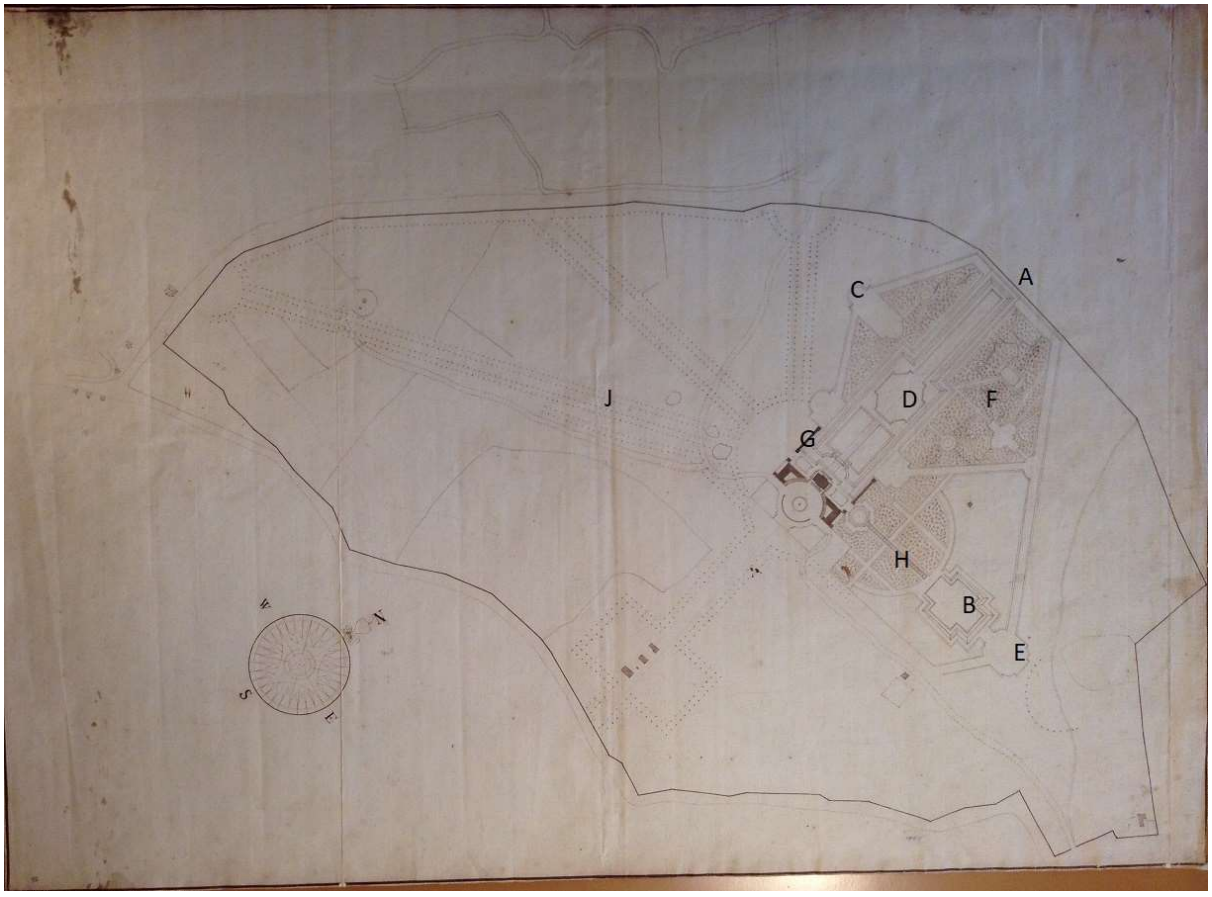


Map 8iii. Kensington Gardens (MSGD a3 fo.7) georeferenced with OS Digimap 1:5,000

Key: A ziggurat formation planting; B mount; C central vista; D serpentine lake; E cascade; F tree clumps; G steep slope

Map 9i Lodge Park (MSGD a4 fo.68)

Map 9ii Lodge Park (MSGD a4 fo. 68) georeferenced with OS Digimap 1:5,000



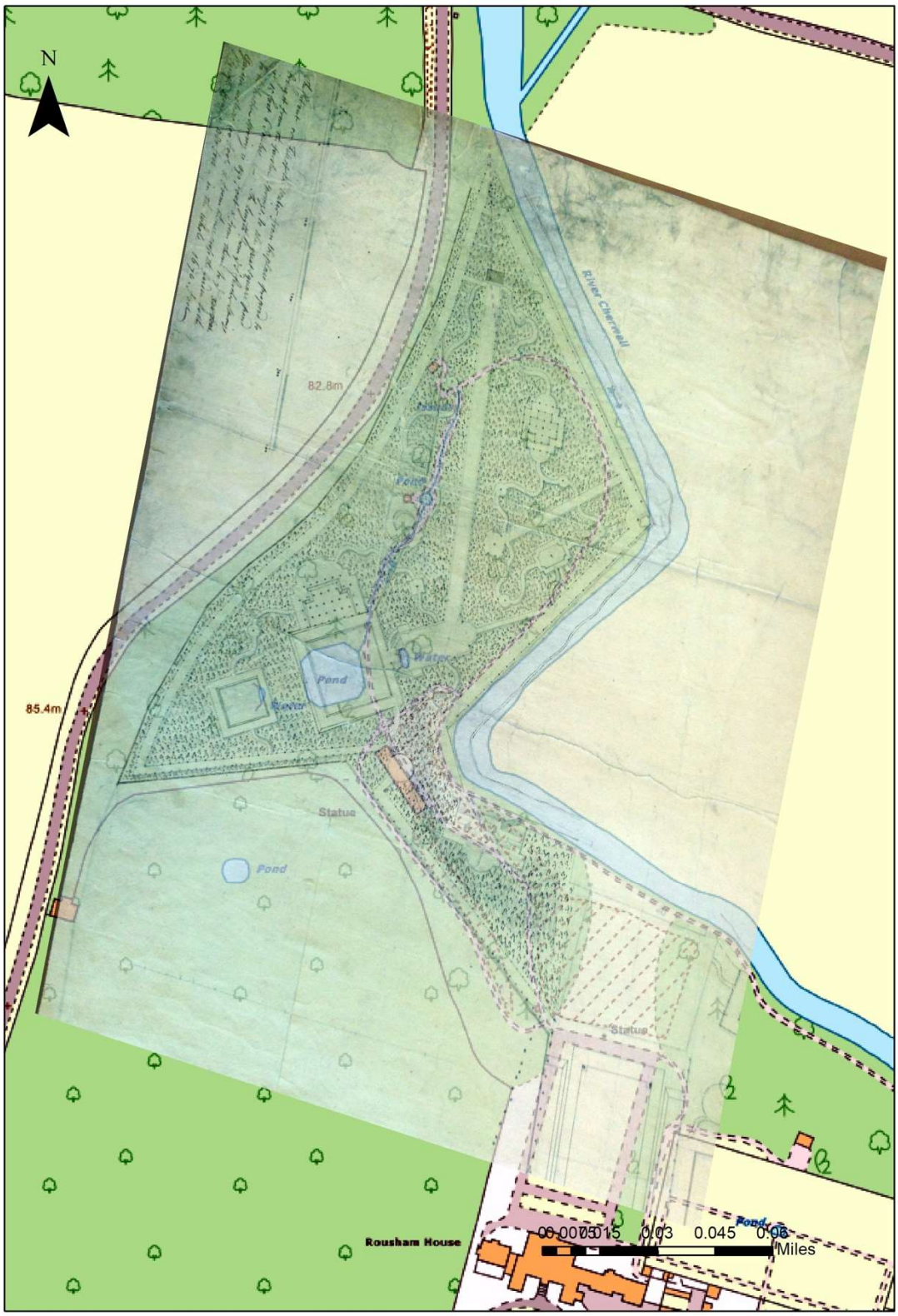
Key: A wall; B cross pond; C bastion; D central canal; E summit of perimeter walk; F groves with serpentine paths; G cloisters and summer house; H cascade; J cross walk

Map 10i Moor Park (MSGD a4 fo. 58)

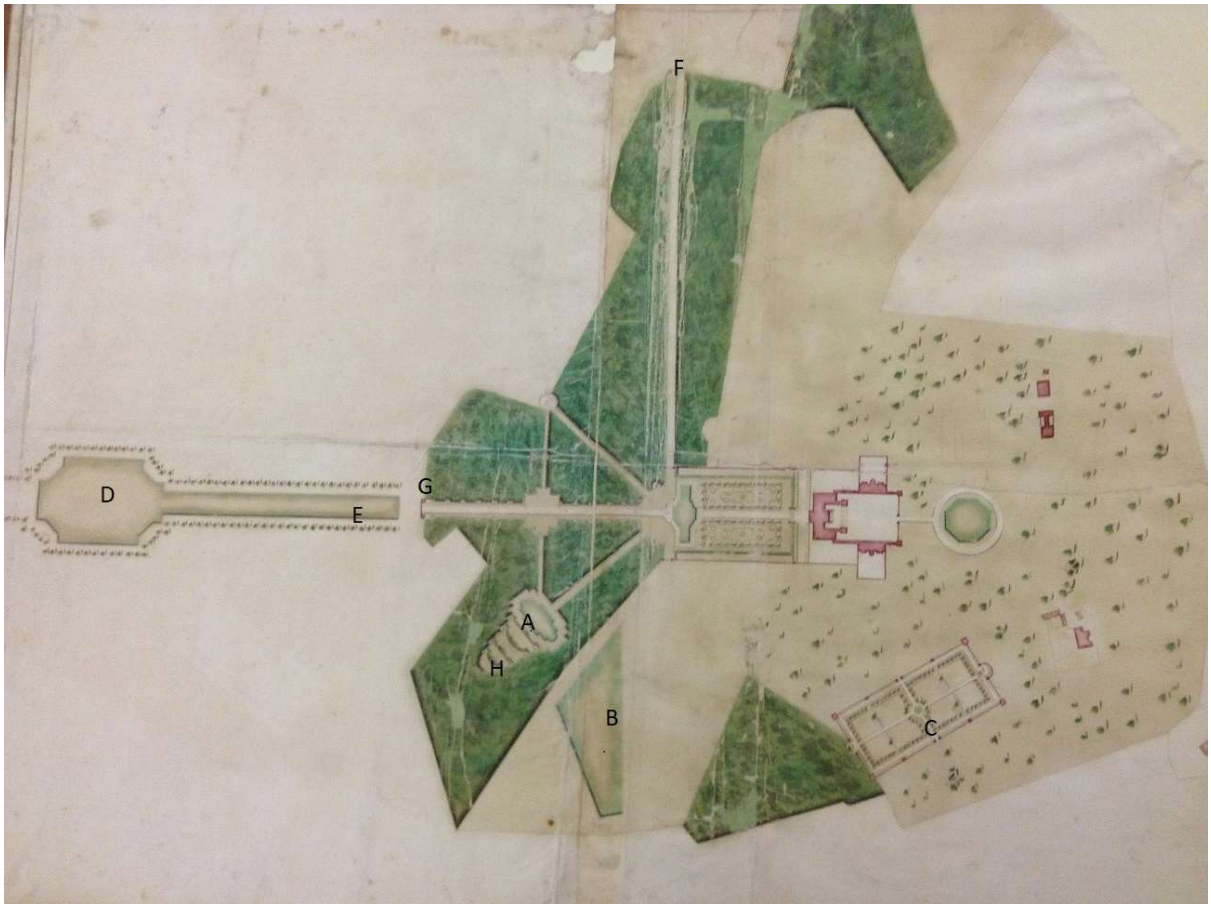
Map 10ii Moor Park (MSGD a4 fo. 58) georeferenced with OS Digimap 1:5,000

Key: A square pond; B River Cherwell; C Elm Walk; D Amphitheatre; E rond-point; F and G serpentine walks; H cabinet

Map 11i Rousham Park (MSGD a4 fo.63)



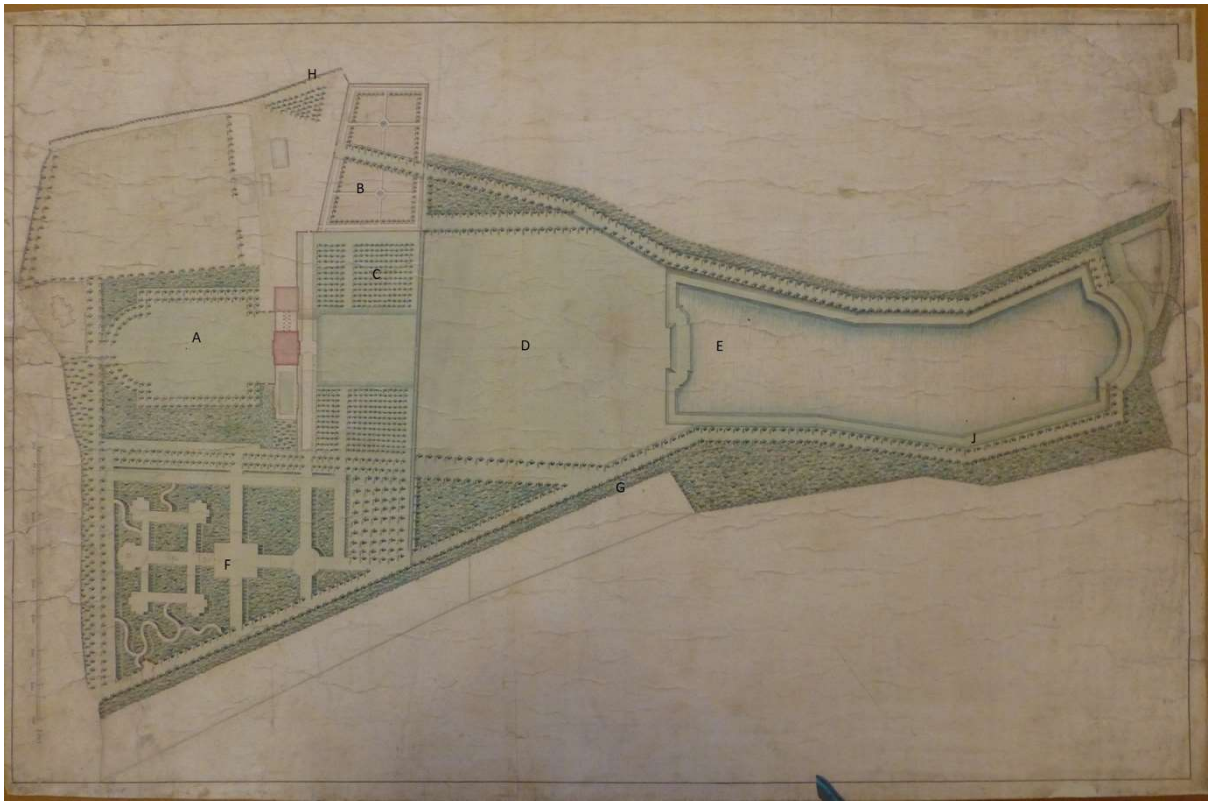
Map 11ii Rousham Park (MSGD a4 fo.63) georeferenced with OS Digimap 1:2500



Key: A pond; B triangular reservoir; C kitchen garden; D pool; E canal; F walk; G site of grotto; H theater

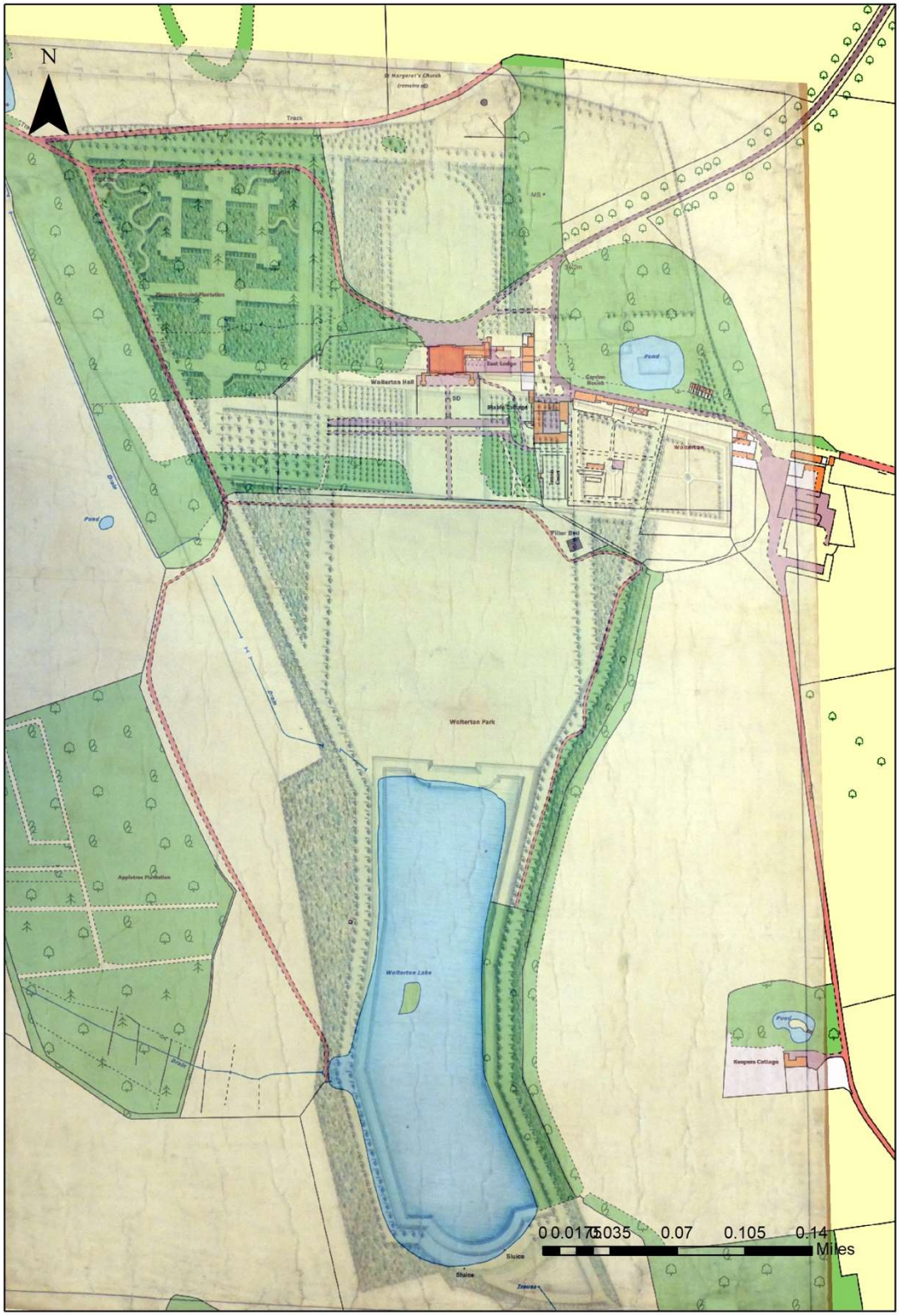
Map 12i Sacombe (MSGD a4 fo.64)

Map 12ii Sacombe (MSGD a4 fo.64) georeferenced with OS Digimap 1:5,000



Key: A north bowling green; B kitchen garden; C square grove; D south bowling green; Elake; F cross grove; G perimeter belt; H border with Jackson's land; J bend in lake

Map 13i. Wolterton Hall (MSGD a4 fo.20)



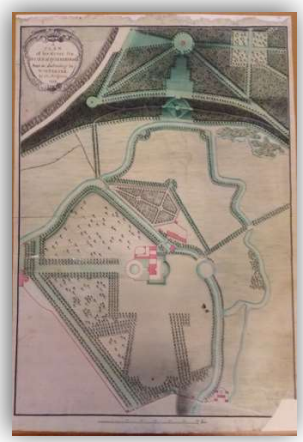
Map 13ii Wolterton Hall (MSGD a4 fo.20) georeferenced with OS Digimap 1:5000

Appendix II

Gazetteer of Bridgeman sites

All geological data from http://mapapps.bgs.ac.uk/geologyofbritain/home.html. A number of Bridgeman sites have more than one plan. For the purposes of this gazetteer, I have chosen the most complete and polished. Where there is no Bridgeman plan, I have appended the 1st Edition Ornance Survey map alone. All grid references are taken from 1st Edition Ordnance Survey (available on www.edina .ac.uk) and are centred on the house for which Bridgeman designed the landscape, where it still existed at the time of the 1st Edition Ordnance Survey. Where it had been demolished or replaced on a different footprint, its location has been estimated. Where possible the 1st Edition Ordnance Survey at a scale suitable to make sense of Bridgeman's design has been placed beside the plan (www.edina .ac.uk). The date and scale of the plan have been given.

Amesbury Abbey, Wiltshire
Grid reference: SU 15097 41718



Amesbury Abbey: MSGD a3* fo.32 1st Edition OS 1880 1:10,000

The house is now a private nursing home; proprietor, David Cornelius Reid. The park to the west of the River Avon is owned by Sir Edward and Lady Antrobus.

Principal geology: Park to the east of the Avon, Alluvium – clay, sand and gravel; to the west, (Vespasian's Camp), chalk

Bridgeman's clients at Amesbury Abbey were the Duke and Duchess of Queensberry. Charles Douglas, Duke of Queensberry had been on the Grand Tour, returning in 1719 when he married

his cousin, Catherine Hyde. He inherited Amesbury Abbey in 1725. The Duke and Duchess were prominent in the court of George I in which The Duke of Queensberry held the positions of Lord of the Bedchamber (1721), Vice-Admiral of Scotland (1722) and privy councillor (1726). He remained at court following the accession of George II, but resigned his offices after George II banished his wife Catherine from Court because of her outrage at the refusal of a licence for John Gay's play Polly, which satirised Sir Robert Walpole. He served as Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Frederick, Prince of Wales from 1733 and returned to court after the accession of George III when he regained his position on the Privy Council and became Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland (1761 – 3) and Lord Justice-General (1763 – 1768) (www.oxforddnb.com). This suggests Whig political affiliations but a disaffection with the government of Walpole. As patrons of the arts, the Duke and Duchess of Queensberry moved in circles which included such Augustan literary figures as Pope, Prior and Swift. They developed a close relationship with John Gay, who lived with them at Amesbury, hence their impassioned defence of his play. Letters written collaboratively between Gay, and the Duke and Duchess of Queensberry, on the one hand, and Pope and Swift on the other, show more than a peripheral association with 'Burlington's Palladian circle' (C.F. Burgess ed. 1966); (Williamson 1995, 59).

The house which the Duke of Queensberry inherited was designed by John Webb for the Marquess of Hertford in 1660. It occupied the same footprint as the current, much larger, house, with which it was replaced by Sir Edward Antrobus in 1834. The illustrations of the house drawn by Flitcroft, engraved by Kent and published in 1727 in *The Designs of Inigo Jones* show a house in the style of Inigo Jones, the front elevation with nine bays and a pedimented portico, with two columns and two angle pillars (Willis 1978 plate 37a, Bold 1989 plates 63 and 64). To this structure, two wings to the east and west were added, to a design attributed to Flitcroft, to whom payments were made by the Duke of Queensberry between 1731 and 1740 (VCH 54; Willis 1978, n 54). When the Duke of Queensberry inherited the house it was around sixty years old. Although built strictly speaking before the popularity of Palladianism, Bold suggests that 'the house is an elaboration of an early Palladio design, the Villa Godi at Lonedo' (Bold 1989, 94) and that 'it had already inspired the first house of the neo-Palladian movement and Inigo Jones revival, William Benson's Wilbury'. This may account for the undocumented, but clearly verifiable decision of the Duke of Queensberry to extend the house rather than rebuild it.

Bridgeman's design was preceded by a survey taken in 1726 by Flitcroft which shows the demesne lands in detail (WRO 944/1). Bridgeman's design is held at the Bodleian Library in the Gough collection catalogued as MSGD a3* fo.32. It is ink, pencil and watercolour, signed by Bridgeman and dated 1738. The plan depicts, on the east of the River Avon, a double avenue running south to the church and the medieval canal (also shown on the Flitcroft survey), walks

following the natural course of the river, asymmetric rectilinear plantations of trees to the south of the house and a kite shaped kitchen garden. To the west of the river, the Iron Age hillfort, Vespasian's Camp, is incorporated in the design. On a cliff above the river, the plan shows diamond shaped earthworks, Gay's Cave cut into the cliff and above, rising terraces culminating in a circular cabinet at the centre of which is an octagonal building. There is also documentary evidence, through letters between the Duchess of Queensberry and John Gay, and Henrietta Howard, Countess of Suffolk, that Bridgeman was involved at Amesbury (Burgess (ed.) 1966, 96). Sir Howard Colvin has also suggested that MS Maps, Misc.a.1.may be a plan for Amesbury. The former park is divided in ownership between the Antrobus family and the private nursing home.

Audley End, Hertfordshire

Grid reference:TL 52464 38167

Audley End: MSGD a4 fo.67

1st Edition OS 1880 1:10,000

The house and grounds are now owned by Historic England

Principal geology: Chalk, and clay silt and sand alluvium

Audley End was built between 1605 and 1614 for Thomas Howard, Lord Treasurer to James I, 1st Earl of Suffolk. In the mid-eighteenth century, when the landscape attributed to Bridgeman was designed, it was owned by Charles Howard, ninth Earl of Suffolk, husband of Henrietta Howard, for whom it is likely that Bridgeman designed a garden at Marble Hill. He inherited the estate in 1722 while the title passed to Edward Howard. When Edward died, Charles inherited the title. He died in 1733 and the estate passed to his son Henry, who died childless in 1745 (Pevsner Herts).

The house for which the landscape was designed was the second house to be built precisely on the footprint of the cloister of Walden Abbey (http://list.english-heritage.org.uk). It was built to a U-shaped plan in three storeys, with mullioned windows and parapets to hide the roof line. It was sold to Charles II in 1668, and Sir Christopher Wren did extensive work on the house. It was returned to the Howards in 1701 and Sir John Vanbrugh was commissioned to make improvements resulting in the demolition of the decaying outer court in 1721. Further demolition was carried out in 1752. It has largely retained its seventeenth-century character although with significant adaptations. A late sixteenth-century stable block of red brick with gabled wings lies 300m to the north-west of Audley House (Pevsner 1954).

Formal gardens were originally laid out c.1615. Development of the park took place in the early- and mid- eighteenth century, when both Lancelot Brown and Richard Woods worked on the pleasure grounds. Robert Adam designed ornamental garden buildings and there is a 52 metre vine house. The formal parterre dates from 1831. The site covers approximately 240 hectares and has now been partly returned to agricultural use (http://www.parksandgardens.org).

Two Bridgemanic plans for the landscape exist in the Gough Collection at the Bodleian Library, catalogued as MSGD a4 fo.60 and MSGD a4 fo.67. MSGD a4 fo.67 is in ink and water colour. MSGD a4 fo.60 is in pencil. Neither are signed by Bridgeman. Willis suggests that the two plans might also be connected to a visit made by Dubois to Audley End to visit Charles Howard in 1726 (Willis 2002, 64n.107). It is not clear what alterations were to be made.

Badminton, Gloucestershire

Grid reference: ST 80603 82848

Badminton: 1st Edition OS 1880 1:10,000

The house is privately owned by the Duke of Beaufort

Principal geology: Fuller's Earth formation, Limestone

The title of Duke of Beaufort was held from 1726 to 1745 by Henry Somerset. He was responsible for extensive remodelling of the house and park. He was, like his father, a staunch Tory (http://www.oxforddnb.com).

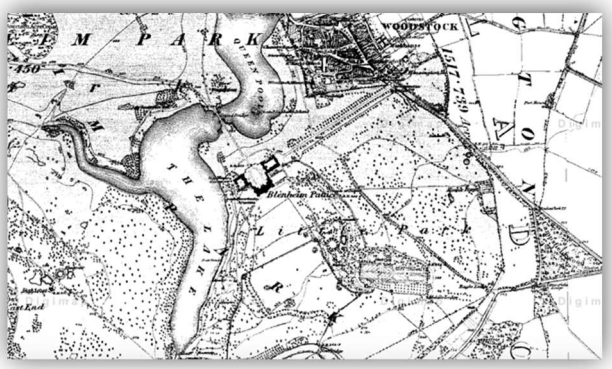
The house was built between 1664 and 1691 by Henry 1st Duke of Beaufort, possibly to his own design. It is shown in Kip and Knyff's engraving c.1710. This shows the north front flanked by wings three bays long from which extend low projections northwards (Pevsner 1990, 381). The north range was twice as long as that of the previous house, and, while the east range was largely new, the south and part of the west range were retained from the earlier house. The 3rd Duke was responsible for extensively remodelling the house, reducing the north front to three storeys and the rebuilding of the west range. The work was done by Francis Smith of Warwick. Gibbs was also consulted between 1730 and 1735 and Kent worked on both house and garden for the fourth Duke, but not until 1745-50, after Bridgeman's death (Pevsner 1990, 380). The third Duke also began the process of deformalizing the gardens with the advice of Bridgeman.

The vast formal avenues shown in Kip and Knyff were probably designed by John Mansfield with a formal parterre influenced by Henry Wise around the house (http://list.english-heritage.org.uk). Evidence of Bridgeman's involvement in the landscape comes in four letters written to the fourth Duke when he was Lord Noel Somerset between February 1733/34 and 30th March 1734 (Willis 2002, 425/426). These letters suggest that Bridgeman had produced a plan for Badminton. A drawing and a painting by Wootton show a landscape of Bridgeman style planting (Willis 2002, plates 86 and 87). Kent was commissioned by the fourth Duke to simplify the landscape and Thomas Wright designed various garden buildings.

Although there are apparently no surviving plans, there is considerable documentary evidence that Bridgeman was employed at Badminton House. A number of letters, written to the 4th Duke of Beaufort, when he was Lord Noel Somerset, in 1733 indicate Bridgeman's involvement in some capacity, although it is not clear from them what that capacity was. A letter from the Duchess on 11th March 1733/34 which refers to 'The draught Bridgeman sent down for Badminton is one of the Grandest things I have seen, and will I believe answer in execution as well as it does upon paper…' (Willis 2002, 427) suggests that, at the very least, Bridgeman provided some kind of design for the landscape, even if he did not personally supervise its execution. Letters from 17th March and 30th March support his involvement at least at the planning stage of the landscape: on 17th March, the 3rd Duke of Beaufort writes 'Pray put Bridgeman in mind yt ye Temple is broader than the Plan of ye House he put into ye Design which he left here' and on 30th March he wrote 'pray send ye Plans of ye Ground Plots of ye Houses from Bridgeman as soon as you can for I want 'em sadly' (Willis 2002, 426).

Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire

Grid reference: SP 44105 16092



Blenheim Palace: 1st Edition OS 1880 1:10,000

The house and estate are privately owned by Duke and Duchess of Marlborough

Principal geology: Hanborough sand and gravel member, limestone

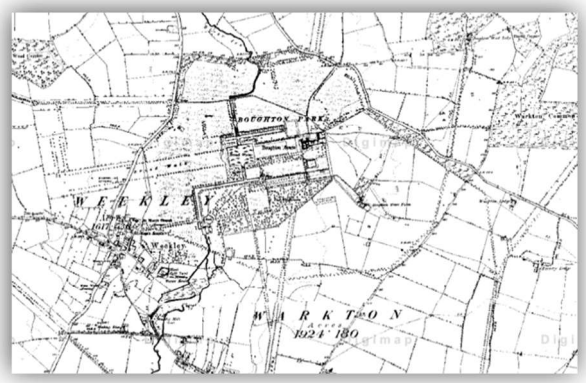
Blenheim Palace, designed by Sir John Vanbrugh (assisted by Nicholas Hawksmoor), was built between 1705 and 1722, for the Duke of Marlborough as a reward for his services to Queen Anne in defeating the French (historicengland.org.uk). The Duke of Marlborough died in 1722. The house was designed by Sir John Vanbrugh and Nicholas Hawksmoor and rivals the Baroque Palaces of Europe in size and splendor. Externally it has four corner towers and the north front has a nine-bay central façade. The interiors were worked on by many prominent artists of the period, including Sir James Thornhill and Grinling Gibbons.

Bridgeman's involvement seems likely to be solely in drawing the map of Blenheim which is currently held at Blenheim Palace. It is dated 1709 and annotated 'Bridgman Discript'. Henry Wise worked at Blenheim from 1705, and perhaps the drawing was executed for him, or for Vanbrugh himself. Blenheim Palace: 'A Plann of Blenheim', held at Blenheim Palace signed '1709/Bridgman Discript'. Wise worked at Blenheim between 1704 and 1716. Green suggests that Wise was employed not only to lay out the gardens but also to dig the foundations of the house, using the following quotation as evidence 'men were instantly set to work under ye Conduct of one Mr Wise to open ye Ground, cut down Trees etc. in order to ye laying the foundation' (Green 1956, 97). The date 1709 is the earliest on any of Bridgeman's work. Although Willis suggests that Sarah Churchill's correspondence dealing with a dispute between her and

Sarah Bridgeman after Bridgeman's death involved work at Blenheim, it is much more likely that the site written discussed is Wimbledon rather than Blenheim (Willis 2002, 46-47).

Boughton, House, Northamptonshire

Grid reference: SP 90127 81539



Boughton House: Boughton 1 1st Edition OS 1880 1:15,000

The house and estate are privately owned by the Duke of Buccleugh.

Principal geology: Alluvium (in the river valley), Northampton Sand Formation Ironstone and Whitby Mudstone Formation elsewhere.

John Montagu 2nd Duke of Montagu (1690 – 1749) created the gardens at Boughton House. He was the third, but only surviving child, of the first Duke of Montagu from whom he inherited the title in 1709. He went on the Grand Tour and married the fourth and youngest daughter of John and Sarah Churchill. He volunteered to fight with Marlborough in Flanders in 1706, but returned home. He held many high offices under George I and George II, including Master of the Great Wardrobe, Master Forester and Warden of Rockingham and Lord Lieutenant of Northamptonshire and Warwickshire from 1705 until his death. He was a fellow of the Royal Society. Flitcroft prepared plans for the Boughton armoury. His London residence Montagu House became the site of the British Museum.

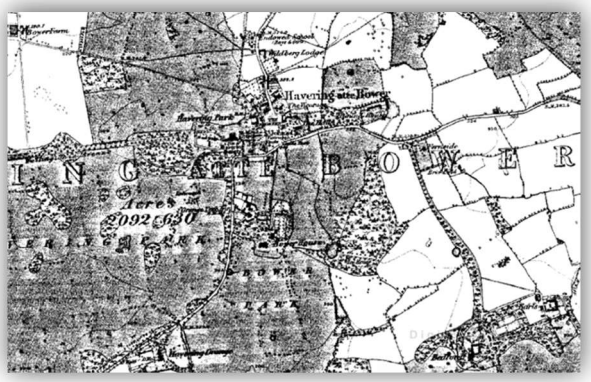
A house has stood on the site of the present house since c. 1500. Substantial work done on the north front of the house by the first Duke between 1683 and 1709 has largely obscured the original house. Behind the façade there are significant remains of the original house, which had a simple north front, an oblong west court and principal ranges around smaller east courts. At this time a

new north front was erected with pavilions to the north east and north west. The north façade is, Pevsner suggests 'the most French looking C17 building in Britain' (Pevsner 1961, 105). The Duke had been an ambassador to Paris from 1669 to 1672 and was appointed to the post again in 1678-9. Service buildings were constructed in the very early part of the eighteenth century and a detached kitchen was added in 1735 (http://www.heritagegateway.org.uk).

Three drawings attributed by Willis to Bridgeman, dated between 1725 and 1731, are held at Boughton House. The grounds were laid out for the 1st Duke, consisted of a formal landscape with waterworks and canals and statuary designed by Van De Meulen and Gabriel Delahaye (Willis 2002, 55). Plans for the original landscape are in the Bodleian Library catalogued MSGD a4 fo.84, MS Maps Northants a1 and in the PRO MPHH 24 (Cat No. 2818) all dated 1712. This layout had clearly changed by 1725, the date of what Willis calls a 'Bridgemanic bird's eye perspective' (Willis 2002, 55). This drawing shows a broad axial avenue leading to a bowling green and flanked by other avenues, and a wilderness with geometric planting. Direct evidence of Bridgeman's involvement exists in the correspondence of Charles Lamotte, the Duke's steward. Bridgeman was expected at Boughton on 15 September 1729. It seems likely that Switzer was also involved. He was paid £5.1s.6d for seeds 16th March 1730.

Bower House, Havering-atte-Bower, Essex

Grid referenceTQ 51270 92748



Bower House: 1st Edition 1880 1:10,000

Bower House is used as a Christian Training Centre

Principal geology: Stanmore Gravel Formation surrounded by Bagshot Formation Sand

The Bower House (1729) was the first commission of Henry Flitcroft (www.havering.gov.uk). It was built by John Baynes, Sergeant-at-law. Willis suggests that Thornhill was responsible for the paintings in the stairwell. It would appear, from the plaque over the door, which reads 'H.FLITCROFT. ARCHITECTUS. C.BRIDGEMAN. DESIDNAVIT', that Bridgeman designed the landscape at Bower House. There are no plans or documentary evidence to support this.

Briggens, Hertfordshire

Grid reference: TL 41404 11235

Briggens: 1st Edition OS 1880 1:10,000

Briggens is now a hotel run by Hotelmix.

Principal geology: Head (clay, silt and gravel) - and glaciofluvial deposits (sand and gravel).

The house was built c. 1719 by the Master Mason Christopher Cass (1678 – 1734) for Sir Robert Chester who was a director of the South Sea Company. It has been much altered, first c.1770 by the addition of two bay North and South blocks and a second floor, and then again in 1899 and 1908.

Bridgeman's involvement seems to be in designing a landscape in the park, although there is no plan. An estate plan dated 1781 (D/eh p14) shows a landscape which contains an amphitheatre, a canal and a round basin, all distinctively Bridgemanic. Estate accounts indicate that Bridgeman was allocated £21 and an additional £13 for trees (Willis 2002, 62 n.97). Carpenter provided plants for Bridgeman for Briggens (Willis 33n41).

Brocket Hall, Hertfordshire

Grid reference: TL 21427 13022

Brocket Hall: MSGD a3 fo.7 1st Edition OS 1880 1:10,000

Principal geology: to the south, Chalk to the north of which is an area of Clay-with-Flints Formation and further north Kesgrave Catchement subgroup, sand and gravel.

Brocket Park is owned on a long leasehold by Club Corporation of Asia and run as a hotel and golfing venue.

Thomas Winnington, who owned the estate in the early to mid eighteenth century, was born in 1696 son of Salwey Winnington MP for Bewdley and Anne Foley, daughter of Thomas Foley of Great Witley, Worcestershire. He was educated at Westminster and Christ Church. He married Love Reade in 1719 and came into the possession of Brocket Hall, Hertfordshire through her. In January 1726 he became MP for Droitwich. He was from a Tory family, and at first supported the opposition but from 1729 he supported the government and was appointed as lord of the Admiralty in 1730. The King opposed his promotion to the Treasury, and he was not appointed until 1736. He was a member of the Holland Park Group along with Reverend Desaguliers, Stephen Fox, Henry Fox, the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Hervey. He retained his political appointment after Walpole's fall. After his death, a pamphlet linked him to the Jacobite interest, but this was strenuously denied by his friends (http://www.oxforddnb.com).

There are few details of the house prior to its rebuilding in 1752 by James Paine. In 1700 the Brocket estate was described thus: 'Brocket Hall was the ancient seat of the Brockets situated upon a dry hill in a fair park, well wooded and greatly timber'd enclosed with a brick wall on the west side of the road for the length of a mile and plentifully watered with the River Lea' (Chauncy 1700). A plan of 1752 (HALS) shows that the old Manor House stood to the north of an adjoining

walled garden containing serpentine paths. The park and garden were redesigned by Richard Woods c.1760.

Two plans for Brocket Hall, catalogued as MSGD a3 fo.7 and MSGD a4 fo.40, are in the Bodleian Library, and are attributed to Bridgeman. Although in some ways uncharacteristic of Bridgeman's work, MSGD a3 fo.7 has strong similarities with Bridgeman's signed plan for Hampton Court in the depiction of the fields on the edges of the park (Soane, Drawer 36.3.1). Interestingly, MSGD a4 fo.40, although clearly based on MSGDa3 fo.7 appears to offer a considerably simplified version of the landscape. There is further evidence in a letter from Lord Hervey to Stephen Fox 10th August 1734 which refers to 'the execution of 'my friend Winnington's commissions' including 'giving the plan to Bridgeman'' (BL Add MS 51345 (Holland House Papers) fos 63r – 64v). Forty guineas were also paid to Bridgeman's widow on June 14th 1739 (C Hoare and Co Bankers Ledger O). It seems unlikely that Winnigton implemented the plan in its entirety. He appears to have planted only the blocks of woodland to the east and south sides of the park, a framing vista towards the Lemsford Mill entrance, and the fields to the west were decorated with circular copses. He also seems to have constructed a kitchen garden to the north-east, an arbour and two square buildings on the corners nearest the River Lea (Esther Gatland in Hertfordshire Garden History: A Miscellany 2007, 117).

Documentary and cartographic evidence suggests that Bridgeman was involved, in 1734, at Brocket Park in Hertfordshire, the home of Sir Thomas Winnington, a close political ally of Sir Robert Walpole, although again, it is hard to be precise about the nature of his involvement. A letter from Lord Hervey to Stephen Fox 10th August 1734 fos. 63r – 64v refers to 'the execution of 'my friend Winnington's commissions' which include 'giving the plan to Bridgeman'' (BL Add MS 51345 (Holland House Papers) and a payment of was made on 14th June 1739, after Bridgeman's death, to Sarah Bridgeman from Winnington's bank account at Hoare's bank of forty guineas. This evidence, and the presence in Gough Drawings of a survey of Brocket Park and a design for a landscape based closely on that survey (MSGD a3 fo.7 and a4 fo.40), probably in the same hand, both with strong characteristics of Bridgeman's draughtsmanship, suggest that, at the very least, Bridgeman produced a design for Brocket Park.

Carshalton House, Surrey

Grid reference: TQ 27719 64424

Carshalton House: 1st Edition 1870 1:10,000

Principal geology: to the north, Hackney Gravel member, to the south, Chalk Formation.

Now part of St Philomena's Convent.

The house was built between 1690 and 1700 for a tobacco merchant, Edward Carlton, probably incorporating earlier material. It is of brown brick with rubbed brick dressings, a hipped roof has been substantially modified and extended. It was bought by John Fellowes, sub-Governor and a Director of the South Sea Company, in 1714.

There is little archaeological evidence of Bridgeman's involvement, but there is some documentary evidence. In 1720, Fellowes paid Bridgeman £138 and spent £200 on trees from Joseph Carpenter (Willis 2002, 62n.96; Skelton 2013).

Claremont, Surrey

Grid reference: TQ 13486 63482

Claremont: SM 62/1/2 1st Edition OS 1870 1:7,500

Now Claremont Fan Court School

Principal geology: Bagshot formation, sand.

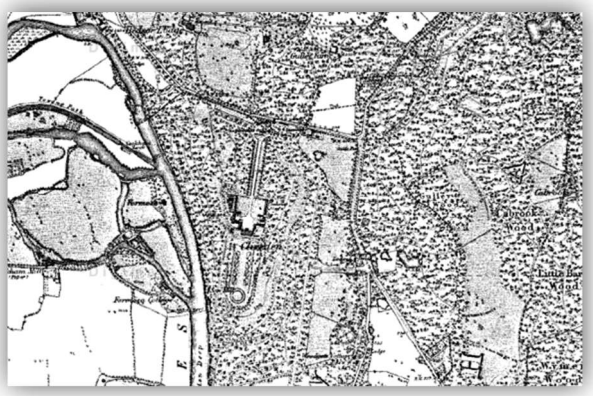
Bridgeman's client at Claremont was Thomas Pelham-Holles 1693 – 1768. Very wealthy from two inheritances in 1711 and 1712, he was a fervent Whig, a member of both the Kit-Kat Club and the Hanover Club, and as such found favour with George I who raised him to the peerage as Viscount Houghton and the Earl of Clare. In 1715 he was created Duke of Newcastle upon Tyne. Although he supported the Sunderland – Stanhope faction when the Whigs split, he survived to become the third most influential minister in the Whig government after Walpole and Townshend (http://www.oxforddnb.com).

Vanbrugh bought the land upon which the present house stands in 1708 and built a house and walled garden, both of which he crenelated. He sold the estate to the Duke of Newcastle in 1714 and was commissioned to extend the house by adding two wings on arcaded basements, replacing the battlements with a pediment and to build the Belvedere, in all probability inspired by Elizabethan and Jacobean architecture, on an adjoining knoll (Worsley 1995,188). A one hundred foot, two story room was added in 1719 – 20. This house was demolished when the estate was sold in 1768 to Lord Clive. Although one fireplace by Vanbrugh survives in the current house, more of Vanbrugh's work survives in the gardens. The Belvedere, which stands on a hillock to the west of the house, was designed by him for Newcastle. It is built of brick with four square towers. The building is two storeys, the towers three. The White cottage is also by Vanbrugh (Pevsner 1971, 161).

Bridgeman's contribution to the landscape is the amphitheatre and the round pond to the south-west of the house and Belvedere. Two possible designs exist, both attributed to Bridgeman by Willis (Willis 2002, 49 and 427). A4 fo.81 in the Bodleian Library is catalogued as unidentified but Willis records the suggestion of John Harris that it is a preliminary design for Claremont. It is in pen and ink, with some watercolour, drawing showing the house, two avenues, both of which start at the house and fan out to make a triangle. The more southerly of the two is axially aligned to the Belvedere. Although showing the bowling greens to the west of the Belvedere, this drawing depicts neither the round pond nor the amphitheatre. The other drawing attributed to Bridgeman, and much more plausibly his, in the Sir John Soane Museum, 39 Drawer 62.1.2. It shows the amphitheatre and round pond, in pen, ink and wash. A very similar design appears in Switzer's *Introduction to a General System of Hydrostaticks and Hydraulicks* of 1729. Switzer indentifies this design as Bridgeman's although there are significant differences between the designs (Willis 2002, 49). An engraving by Roque and Benazech of 1754 shows the amphitheatre and the pond, enlarged and embellished with an island by Kent.

Cliveden

Grid reference: SU 91017 85186



Cliveden: 1st Edition OS 1880 1:10,000

National Trust

Principal geology: Gerrards Cross Gravel

Documentary evidence suggests that in 1723 Bridgeman was working on a major design for the the Earl of Orkney at Cliveden. It is likely that Bridgeman was responsible for the amphitheatre. In a letter written on 2nd October 1723, the Earl outlines the difficulties the dramatic site at

Cliveden was posing: ‘I must do the best I can but it is a greater work than I thought but I still think it will be much better than was Intended (but the Amphitheatre is quite struck out) wher[e] to get turfe and trees for la grand [sic] machine, beside ther[e]is great difficulty to get the slope all that side of the hill where the precipsce was, but Bridgeman mackes difficultys of nothing[.] I told him that if I had thought [it] had been the one Half of what I see it will cost, I believe I never had done it, he says the beginning is the worst’ (Fraser Collection MS 1033).

Compton Place, East Sussex

Grid reference: TV 60290 98586

Compton Place: 1st Edition OS 1870 1:10,000

Currently a language school, LTC Eastbourne

Principal geology: Lewes Nodular Chalk Formation

Compton Place, near Eastbourne, was acquired by James Burton in 1544, It is likely that he was the builder of the Elizabethan mansion which became incorporated into the building remodelled in 1724 by Colen Campbell for Spencer Compton, the younger son of the Earl of Northampton (historicengland.org.uk/listing).

Bridgeman seems to have worked at Compton Place in Sussex from 1728 for Spencer Compton, 1st Earl of Wilmington. He was paid £120 every year for the following ten years. It is not clear what these payments were for, although their regularity suggests a maintenance contract.

Dallington Hall/The Rolls House

Grid reference: SP 73708 61809

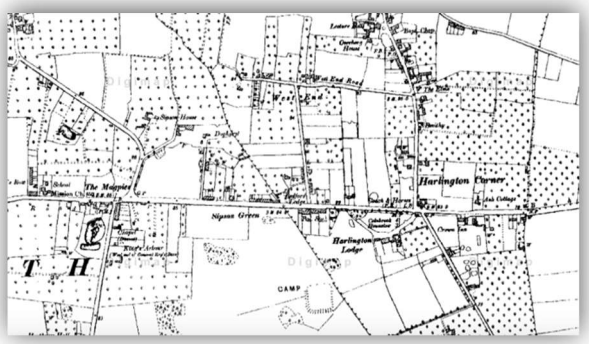
Dallington Hall: 1st Edition OS 1880 1:5,000

Principle Geology: Northampton Sand Formation

In 1722 Bridgeman was employed in some capacity by Sir Joseph Jekyll, Master of the Rolls. The work was either at Dallington Hall in Northamptonshire, or The Rolls House in London. He was paid £10 from Jeykll's account with Gosling's Bank on 17th March 1722. There is also another small payment of £20 to Bridgeman, by Sir Joseph Jekyll, from his account at Goslings Bank on 31st May 1735 (Willis 2002, 428).

Dawley, Middlesex

Grid reference: TQ 08025 77098



Dawley: 1st Edition OS 1880 1:5,000

Principal geology: clay and silt

Dawley was the seat of Henry St John, Viscount Bolingbroke. James Gibbs worked on the house. It was demolished in c.1770. The map above shows its rough location.

There is also documentary evidence that Bridgeman worked, in some capacity, at Dawley in 1725. Willis cites a letter from Pope to Bridgeman which suggests that Bridgeman and Bolingbroke were in communication, and that this indicates that Bridgeman was in some way involved at Dawley: 'My Lord Bolingbroke received yours and shall be glad to see you at your earliest conveniency' (Willis 2002, 79). He does not, however, give any reference for this letter.

Donington Park, Leicestershire

Grid reference: SK 42060 26894

Donington Park: MSGD a4 fo.33 1st Edition OS 1880 1:10,000

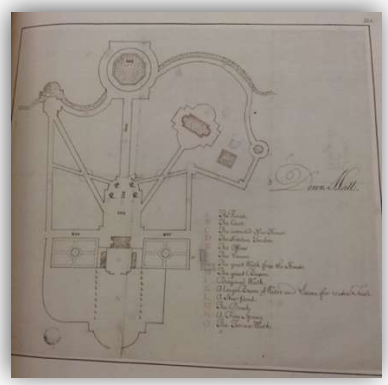
Principal geology: very complicated geologically, but a combination of Helsby sandstone and Helsby mudstone

Originally a deer park, formally created in 1229, Donington Park was, at the Dissoution, granted to the Grays of Langley who built a Lodge there. On acquiring the park in 1595, Sir George hasting of Gopsall built a stone hall around which a garden was laid out. Repton carried out work on the pleasure ground in the 1790s (www.heritagegateway.org.uk).

Camilla Beresford has correctly identified MSGD a4 fo.33 and fo.43, from Gough Drawings, as plans for Donington Park (http://www.treeandwoodland.co.uk/unidentified-map-discovery-donington-park). It is likely that Willis includes them in his corpus because they are part of Gough Drawings. Although there are some stylistic resemblances to Bridgeman's work, it is not clear that either plan is his, although the landscape may be.

Down Hall, Essex

Grid reference: TL 52189 13073



Down Hall: Gough Maps 46 fo.262/ 1st Edition OS 1870 1:5,000

Principal soils: Head – clay, silt, sand and gravel

Matthew Prior (1664 – 1721) was the son of a joiner from Dorset, but grew up in London. He attended Westminster School for a period before his father died, and then again under the patronage of Charles Sackville, Earl of Dorset. A famous poet and diplomat, he entered parliament from the pocket borough of East Grinstead, from the Earl of Dorset, where initially he voted with the Whigs but became estranged from Whig politicians when he voted in 1701 to impeach Barons Somers and Halifax and the Earls of Orford and Portland. He conducted secret negotiations with the French in 1711 at the behest of Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford. He became

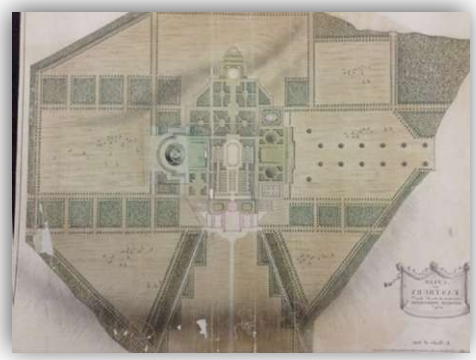
friendly with Edward Harley, his son, and through him was able to realise the dream of a country house, Down Hall. Edward Harley provided half of the purchase price, on the condition that the house would revert to him on Prior's death. Prior died in 1721. Down Hall was bought in 1720. The plan was to demolish the old house and to rebuild in a design by Gibbs. It appears that, because of Prior's death in 1721, this was not done and the old house was finally demolished and rebuilt in 1871.

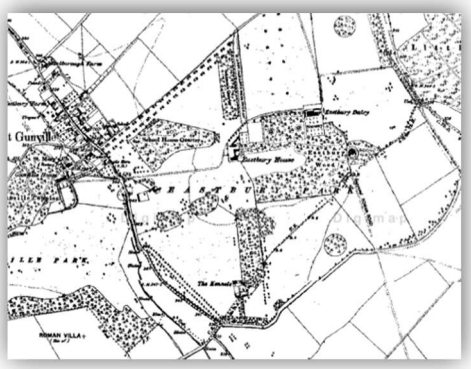
There are two plans for Down Hall. The first, Gough Maps 46 fo.262 is in the Bodleian Library. The second, inscribed with the words 'Copy of the first (?) Plan for Down Hall', is in the British Library, BL Loan 29/357. Both show a *patte d'oie* axially aligned to the house extending from a lawn in front of it. Connecting these three avenues are serpentine paths leading to cabinets containing basins. The central avenue terminates in an octagonal basin. On either side of the house is a formal parterre. The house shown is entirely consistent with the engraving entitled 'Down. Entrance Front. Engraving from Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture* (1728) pl.55' (Willis 2002,pl.66a).

There is considerable documentary evidence that Bridgeman was asked by Prior redesign the landscape. Letters to Edward Harley (HMC 58 Bath III) and to Lord Chesterfield (Willis 2002, 74), dated between September 1720 and Prior's death on 18th September 1721, detail the progress of Bridgeman's work. After Prior's death, Bridgeman continued to be paid for work at Down Hall until August 15th 1722 when 'the Balance of his Account No 106 £69.10.2d' was settled (Add MS 70362). In tandem with his work at Down Hall, Bridgeman was also working directly for Edward Harley at Wimpole, his presence there documented in a letter of Prior to Edward Harley in March 1721, and in a poem *Hue and Cry*, reputedly by Thornhill, about the trip taken by Bridgeman, Gibbs, Wootton and Thornhill to Wimpole in 1721. Bridgeman also visited the Library at Wimpole in 1721 and 1725 (Willis 2002, 69). Edward Harley's MS Accounts in Child's Branch of Williams and Glyn's Bank Ltd, London show substantial payments to Bridgeman in the years after Prior's death: £221 in 1721, £400 in 1722, £470 in 1723, £1,474.3s 3d, in 1724 and £280 in 1725. These payments may be for Down Hall or for Wimpole, it is not clear which.

Eastbury House, Dorset

Grid reference: ST 93228 12661





Eastbury MSGD a3* fo.9

1st Edition OS 1880 1:10,000

Principal soils: Seaford chalk formation

Eastbury House was begun George Dodington, a highly successful financier and contractor in the service of William III. The house was designed by Vanbrugh in 1718. However, Bridgeman's client for the landscaping of the park was George Bubb Dodington, his nephew, who inherited Eastbury in 1720. Bubb Dodington entered parliament for his uncle's seat Winchelsea in 1715 and, perhaps using his uncle's contacts within the Whigs, was sent as envoy to Madrid. In the Whig split of 1717, he identified himself with Walpole and Townshend. In 1727, he lent his support to Sir Spencer Compton and thereafter, though remaining a member of Walpole's administration he allied himself to the discontented elements of the Whigs. He was, for a time, deeply in the confidence of Prince Frederick. In 1740, Bubb Dodington finally broke with Walpole. He married Katherine, daughter of Edmund Beaghan of Sissinghurst in 1725, although the match was kept a secret until 1742 (http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7752).

Vanbrugh's design for the house at Eastbury was initially commissioned by George Dodington. It was, in size, second only to Castle Howard and Blenheim (Willis 2002,47). Vanbrugh's first design for the house (1716) was published by Campbell in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1717). In this design Vanbrugh experimented with a free-standing portico (Worsley 1995, 93). The design which was begun in 1718 had rusticated columns and was in sombre greensand ashlar (Worsley 1995, 100; Pevsner 1972, 192). Five engravings of the house appear in *Vitruvius Britannicus III* Pl.17 (1725) including engravings of the Temple (pl.18) and the Bagnio (pl.19). The house was finished in 1738. Only the stable block of the house and a gateway survive. In 1762 Earl Temple demolished a large part of the house with dynamite.

The Bodleian Library holds three drawings of Eastbury, MSGD a3* fo.9, MSGD a3 fo.10 and MSGD a4 fo.21. In *Vitruvius Britannicus III* Campbell shows, in pl.15, a layout of the grounds described as 'an exact Plan of the Gardens, designed and finished by the ingenious Mr *Charles Bridgeman*' (Willis 2002, pl.26). It is unclear whether Bridgeman's client for the design of the landscape was initially George Dodington or his nephew. Work on the house stopped on the death, in 1720, of George Dodington, and was not restarted until 1724. The date of *Vitruvius Britannicus III* (1725) in which the engraving of the garden appears does not clarify this one way or the other. However, since the majority of the work on the house and landscape was executed for George Bubb Dodington, it is plausible to suggest that he was Bridgeman's client. Two of the three drawings in the Bodleian, MSGDa3* fo.9 and MSGD a3*fo. 10 are of very similar design. Both show a series of formal geometric parterres, axially aligned to the house culminating in an amphitheatre to the east of the house. To the south a mount is shown. Both show the wider park arranged in rectilinear enclosures surrounded by square plantations of trees. MSGD a4 fo.21 shows only the parterres and offers what appears to be two versions of the same parterre by way of a curious arrangement of a flap of paper that can be lifted. A survey published in RCHME: Dorset, IV (1972) p.92 shows that the earthworks for the parterres are still visible (Willis 2002, pl.27).

Esher Place

Grid reference: TQ 13390 64868

Esher Place: 1st Edition OS 1870 1:10,000

Principal geology: London clay and Bagshot sand

Willis suggests that Bridgeman worked at Esher Place for Henry Pelham, brother of Thomas Pelham–Holles, 1st Duke of Newcastle, for whom he had worked at Claremont, in the same parish. He was paid £52.10s on 17th March 1735 from Pelham's account at Hoare's Bank (Willis 2002,

428). The house at Esher was remodelled by Kent from 1729. Rocque's survey of 1737 shows the house with its surrounding landscape. There is no obvious indication that this is a Bridgeman design, although the sum paid would be consistent with payment for a design (see Lodge Park). Perhaps the payment was for the supply of plants, or labourers.

Gobions

Grid reference: TL25290 03816

Gobions Wood: Herts Map a.1 1st Edition OS 1870 1:5000

Principal geology: Lambeth group clay, silt and sand, in the valley of the brook; London clay formation elsewhere.

Gobions was the property of the More family from c.1390. It was sold in 1693 to Richard Beachcroft, from whom Jeremy Sambrooke bought it. Sambrooke made his fortune in the East India Company, and acceded to a baronetcy on the death of his nephew in 1740. He employed James Gibbs to remodel aspects of the house, and to design buildings for the garden (Friedman 1984, 301). The house was demolished when the Gobions estate bought by Robert Gaussen, who owned neighbouring Brookmans Park, in 1836.

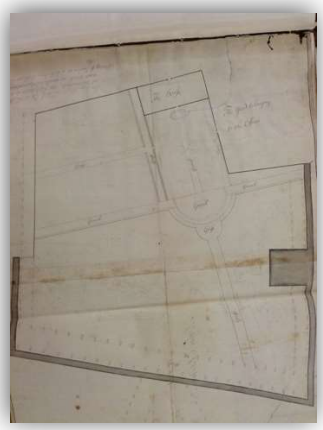
The garden at Gobions is detached from the house, in the valley of a tributary to Mimshall Brook. It was reached by an avenue running south-east from the house. There is extensive cartographic, documentary, pictorial and earthwork evidence of the landscape at Gobions. Earthworks in the valley, although rather degraded, echo, to a very large degree, a recently discovered map (Gough Maps Herts a1), which is discussed in great and helpful detail by Anne Rowe and Tom Williamson in 'New Light on Gobions' can be attributed to Bridgeman. An earthwork plan by

Tom Williamson shows the archaeological features. Dury and Andrews' map of Hertfordshire (1766) and plans of the estate from 1815 (HALS 34137), 1833 (HALS 66507) and 1836 (HALS 34188), and the Tithe map from 1844 (DSA4/62/2), also show a very similar landscape, although degrading over time. There are also two written records. George Bickham described it in is his appendix to *The Beauties of Stow* (1750) and William Toldervy describes the landscape in great detail in an extended paragraph in *England and Wales described in a series of Letters* (1762). Jean Baptiste Chatelain produced two engravings, one of the Bowling Green, and one of the Canal and Temple, in 1748, and a drawing of the Grotto entitled 'Gubbins Park -In the Woods' (HALS North M.27) was executed in 1814. There are also a prints of the house and of the Folly Arch in the Gerish Collection (DE/GR/56/2/9). It is also possible to see the remains of the grotto and the site of the cascade. In addition, LIDAR (2m resolution https://www.geomatics-group.co.uk) shows an avenue running south-west from the site of the house, an avenue south to the Folly Arch and a rectangular basin to the north of the wood.

Bridgeman has been widely credited with designing the landscape for Gobions (Willis 2001, 428; Friedman 1984,301; HALS 34418; www.heritagegateway.org). The evidence for this seems to have its origins in Walpole's representation of Bridgeman's work there as 'the dawn of modern taste', and the Bridgemanic features depicted in a survey of the estate by Thomas Holmes. Willis adds Gobions, or Gubbins in his catalogue of additional documents, drawings and attributions in the 2002 reprint of *Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape Garden*, siting the Holmes map and the 1815 map of the estate in the Hertfordshire Archive (HALS 34137) in which the landscape is described as 'done by Bridgeman'.

Great Saxham Hall, Suffolk

Grid reference: TL 79081 62710



Great Saxham Hall: MSGD a3 fo.41 1st Edition OS 1880 1:10,000

Principal geology: Lowestoft formation - Diamicton

Currently owned by Colonel Gordon Lennox

The estate at Great Saxham in Suffolk was bought from the estates of Bury St Edmunds Abbey by Sir Richard Long who sold it to John Eldred (1552 – 1632), a Levant merchant and traveller. He built a hall which was demolished in 1774 and the current house was originally designed by Mure, and finished, after his bankruptcy, by Joseph Patience (Smith 2011). During the period in which Bridgeman was working the estate was owned by Sir John Eldred.

A survey of 1729 records the house and garden. It shows an outer court to the north of the house, and a garden to the immediate south, with an orchard enclosed to the south, and partially to the west and east by a narrow moat (IRO t4/33/1.24). In the wider landscape, to the south, a patte d'oie of avenues extends out through fields. The Tithe map of 1839, which records the slightly altered position and orientation of the hall, shows none of these features, consistent with the suggestion, made in the diary of a subsequent owner, Thomas Mills, that Mure remodelled the landscape, with the involvement of Lancelot Brown (B ST Ed RO MR11B.P15 Ts/1).

Evidence of Bridgeman's involvement is found in a plan in the Gough Collection, MSGD a3 fo.41, which shows the hall and adjacent gardens, clearly recognisable for the moat, with Bridgeman's pencil annotations for what appears to be redesigning the landscape with serpentine paths and cabinets. A note in what appears to be Bridgeman's hand reads: 'For John

Eldred Esq[ui]re to be left at The Ram at Newmarket 22 fruit trees to be sent next week as concluded by particulars Bury Carrier at ye Bull Inn Bishops Gate B.' It is not clear whether any of these proposals were ever carried out.

Greenwich Park

Grid reference (taken from the Queen's House): TQ 38715 77687

Greenwich Park: CMP/30 OS 1910 1:10,000

Principal geology: to the south, Harwich formation sand and gravel; on the steep slope in the centre of the park, London group, clay, silt and sand; to the north, a narrow band of London clay.

Greenwich Park is a site of considerable importance. It contains many significant buildings including The Queen's House designed and built by Inigo Jones for Anne of Denmark, consort of James 1st, the Royal Observatory, and Naval Hospital, both designed by Sir Christopher Wren and built between the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The park was formally laid out, partly, at least, to a design by André Le Notre in the later seventeenth century (Pevsner and Cherry 1983; https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000174).

It is unlikely that Bridgeman worked at the site. His only connection with it is three plans attributed to him by Willis, a4 fo.49 in the Gough Collection, and in the Maritime Museum, Greenwich. Of these, only is likely to be in his hand. For a fuller discussion of the site and plans see Chapter 3.

Gunton Hall, Norfolk

Grid reference: TG 22779 34156

Gunton Hall (MSGD a4 fo.75) 1st Edition OS 1880 1:5,000

Principal soils: Briton's Lane sand and gravel member, sand and gravel

Sir William Harbord, 1st Baronet, was the son of John Morden and Judith Cropley. He married Elizabeth Britiffe in 1732 and died in February 1770. In 1742 he inherited Gunton Hall.

The present house at Gunton was designed by Matthew Brettingham c.1742 for Sir William Harbord, and stands on, or near, the site of the earlier house. However, since Bridgeman died in 1738, it is clear that his design for the mount at Gunton cannot have been designed as part of the remodelling of the house and park. A fire at the Hall in the late nineteenth century destroyed many records, so it is difficult to ascertain the nature and location of the earlier house, and the layout of the park and gardens. The earliest surviving map, a survey of 1754, shows the 1742 house and the medieval parish church which was replaced by a chapel in 1766, designed by Robert Adam (Williamson 1998, 237). The park, within which the new house lay, extended to 150 hectares, created by enclosing agricultural land, although, again, it is impossible to say when this occurred. The line of a former road and of relict field boundaries can be seen in lines of timber depicted on the map (Williamson 1998, 237). The remains of an avenue of trees from the road to the south of the Hall, and axially aligned to it, suggests that this was the approach although, again, it is impossible to say at what point this approach was abandoned for the curving drive from the west by which the Hall is approached today. To the west of the Hall are two essentially non-geometric lakes. The more southerly had a cascade at its southern end (Williamson 1998, 237). The 1754

survey shows a geometric, trapezoidal wilderness to the north-west of the house. This feature seems more conventionally associated with the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century and therefore it seems likely that this wilderness is the remains of the garden built for the pre-1742 house. The 1st Edition OS (1886) shows that the avenues are not quite axially aligned on the Hall although the 1754 survey suggests they are (http://digimap.edina.ac.uk/ancientroam/historic).

On the western edge of this wilderness, the survey depicts a mount surmounted by a summerhouse. This mount still survives. It has a basal diameter of c.20 metres tapering to around 4 metres at the summit and it is possible to discern paths winding to its summit. It is clear that an attempt has also been made to depict these paths on the survey. The summerhouse on the summit is no longer in existence but its octagonal base, built of good quality white bricks over a base of poorer-quality bricks can still be discerned (Williamson1998, 237). A4 fo.75 held in the Bodleian Library is a design for this mount and has plausibly been attributed by Willis to Bridgeman. The design, which is beautifully executed, shows the mount situated within the allees shown on the survey on the western edge of the wilderness. It appears smaller than it is in actuality, and is without the octagonal summerhouse. From the southerly junction of three allees terraces rise up the naturally occurring sandy ridge, tapering towards the most southerly point (Williamson 1998, 237). The transverse allée shown on the survey bisects a wide walk leading towards the mount. As far as it is possible to determine, the design fits into the western edge of the geometric wilderness, which may represent an extension of an earlier garden. It is unclear how much of this design was constructed.

Hackwood House, Hampshire

Grid reference: SU 64729 49639

Hackwood House (MSGD a4 fo.34)

OS Digimap 1870 1:7,500

Principal soils: Seaford chalk formation

Privately owned

Charles Powlett, third Duke of Bolton (1685 – 1754) inherited the title from his father in 1722. He had substantial landholdings and political influence in Hampshire. Initially he supported Sunderland in the Whig split, but afterwards moved towards Walpole and became a privy councillor and constable of the Tower of London in 1725. Although married to Anne Vaughan in 1713, the couple had separated within a few weeks of the wedding, and, in 1728, Bolton began a relationship with Lavinia Fenton, the actress playing Polly Peachum in Gay's The Beggar's Opera. He voted against the excise in 1733 and was consequently dismissed from all his positions by Walpole. He was one of the founders of the Beefsteak Club of opposition Whigs. He returned to government in 1740 with the minor office of captain of the gentleman pensioners. He left the cabinet in 1746, married Lavinia Fenton on the death of the Duchess in 1751and died at Tunbridge Wells in 1754. It is assumed that the third Duke of Bolton was Bridgeman's client here. However, the inclusion of the design in Switzer's Ichnographic Rustica in 1718 calls this into question.

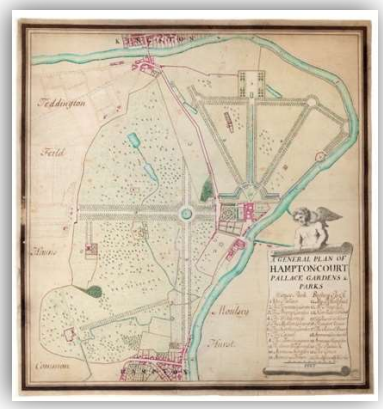
Hackwood House is a former Elizabethan hunting lodge, enlarged in 1687 with further additions in 1759 – 65. Pevsner, however, suggests that Hackwood Park was built in 1683 – 8 by Charles Paulet. From illustrations it seems to have been a single pile house of thirteen bays with wings at right angles joined to the main block by quadrant colonades. It was remodelled in 1761 – 3 by John Vardy and again in 1805 by Samuel Wyatt. He doubled the depth of the main block on its north front and heightening them to two storeys.

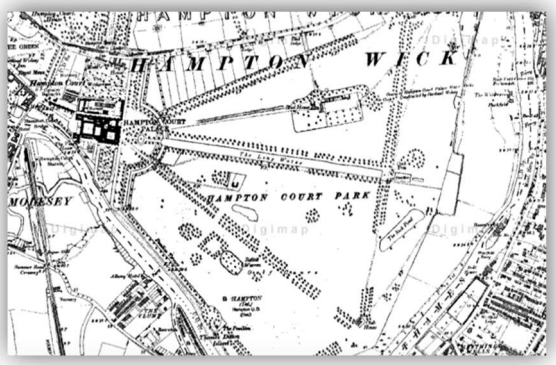
The park was first enclosed in 1226 and has expanded over several centuries (Pevsner 2010, 308). Three Bridgemanic drawings, MSGD a4 fo.24, MSGD a4 fo.34 and MSGD a3 fo.4 are in the Bodleian Library. MSGD a3 fo.4 shows what appears to be an estate survey onto which have been appended pencil additions which correspond very closely with the plan shown in A4 fo.34. This plan shows an intricate garden of straight and serpentine walks to the east of the house enclosed within bastions forming a roughly kite-shaped enclosure. The principal axis is the broad Walk aligned east – west. It appears that three canals were intended to run parallel to the western edge bounded by a raised terrace at the edge of the garden. Between the straight walks, the plan shows an amphitheatre and a number of cabinets enclosed by trees and reached by serpentine paths. MSGD a4 fo.24 shows detail of a second amphitheatre axially aligned to the house. Willis suggests that this amphitheatre was not implemented and a French formal garden was constructed on the site instead (Willis 2002, 429). It seems likely that the buildings were designed by James Gibbs as illustrated in his Book of Architecture 1728. The remains of the rotunda and his menagerie pavilion survive. The cubs, two small wooden pavilions with seats, may also be by Gibbs (Pevsner 2010, 308). Pevsner suggests that the design is after the manner of Le Notre. However, aerial photographs, modern cartographic evidence and satellite images show that a considerable proportion of Bridgeman's design was built. Hackwood was included in Switzer's list of 'august designs' in Ichnographic Rustica ((1718) I, 85). Gibbs designed a portico and garden buildings there.

It is probable that at some point between 1723 and 1724, Bridgeman began work at Hackwood in Hampshire, owned by the 3rd Duke of Bolton. Here two plans exist in Gough Drawings (MSGD a4 fos. 21 and 24) which Willis attributes to Bridgeman and although, again, there is currently no documentary evidence of Bridgeman's presence there, earthwork evidence suggests that the design as shown in these plans was constructed (Jenny Milledge Pers. comm. 2016). Since an estate map dated 1725 shows earthworks similar to those on the two plans in Gough Drawings, it is likely that the work was begun earlier in the 1720s.

Hampton Court Palace, Surrey

Grid reference: TQ 15786 68476





Hampton Court (SM 36/3/1) OS Digimap 1910 1:15,000

Principal geology: Kempton Park Gravel member, sand and gravel

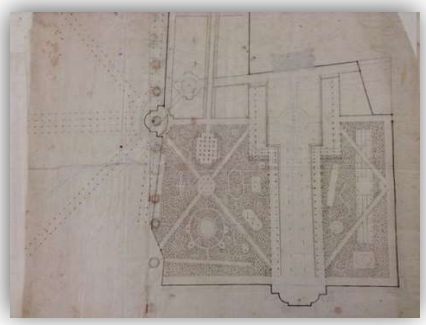
Royal Palace

Hampton Court Palace was built in 1514 by Cardinal Wolsey and acquired by Henry VIII in 1528. It was modernised and extended by William and Mary, and, at the same time, the gardens were altered by William Talman, George London and Henry Wise to include the Great Parterre, the Privy Garden and the Wilderness.

Bridgeman's involvement with the Palace seems to have been in two phases. It is likely that the signed drawing held at the Sir John Soane Museum was done for Henry Wise, during Wise's time as Royal Gardener. As Royal Gardener, Bridgeman lived at Wilderness House at Hampton Court. His Inventory post mortem lists separately possessions there. The gardens at Hampton Court were specifically itemised in Bridgeman's contract as Royal Gardener so that his involvement there was considerable. Presumably the other surveys attributed to Bridgeman (fo.39 at Hovingham Hall, a4 fo.62, a4 fo.74, BL K.XXIX.14U and MPD 23 (3) are likely to date from this period. It does not seem that Bridgeman made any significant changes to the gardens.

Houghton Hall, Norfolk

Grid reference: TF 79171 28838



Houghton Hall (MSGD a4 fo.57) OS Digimap 1880 1:15000

Principal geology: Centrally, Lewes nodular chalk formation; to the north; Briton's Lane sand and gravel member; to the south, Sheringham Cliffs formation, clay, silt, sand and gravel

Sir Robert Walpole was the most powerful political figure of his generation. The Walpole family had lived in north Norfolk since the fourteenth century and had become prominent there before Walpole's rise to political power. His father Robert, MP for Castle Rising and a whig, was an educated man who built up a substantial library at Houghton. Walpole was educated at Eton and King's College Cambridge, but his education was cut short by the death of his elder brother, Edward, and he returned to Houghton to learn to manage the estate. He inherited the estate at Houghton on the death of his father in 1700 and entered parliament eventually as MP for Castle Rising. At the elections of 1702 he was returned for King's Lynn and remained in parliament continuously, except for a short break in 1712 until his elevation to the Lords in 1742. He became Britain's first Prime Minister in 1714 (http://www.oxforddnb.com).

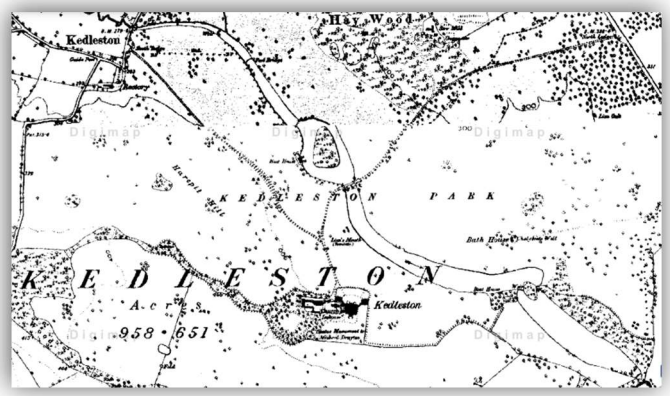
It appears that originally Walpole intended to drastically alter the Jacobean house he had inherited, but instead, in 1722, the foundations for a new house were laid on a site several metres to the east of the original house. The new house was, depending on viewpoint and political persuasion, either a creation that inspired awe at its magnificence or derision at its extravagance and tastelessness. The Earl of Oxford, Walpole's political opponent, said of it 'I think it is neither magnificent nor beautiful; there is very great expense without either judgement or taste' (Williamson 1998,48). Colen Campbell published a classically Palladian design for Houghton in *Vitruvius Britannicus III* claiming it as his own. However, it seems likely that the original design may have been by Gibbs, especially since the house that was built was markedly less Palladian

than the design published (Worsley 1995, 108). Thomas Ripley was also involved with the construction and William Kent was responsible for the elaborate decoration of the interior and for the design of the furniture. The house was built in Whitby stone ashlar, a powerful statement of extravagance in itself since it had to be transported from Yorkshire. The house is Palladian with some Baroque references. It has a three storey, nine bay centre with four advanced angle towers, surmounted by stone domes by Gibbs instead of the pedimented towers of the drawing published by Campbell. There are single storey colonnaded wings connecting to two storey, seven by seven service wings (http://www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/en-221600-houghton-hall-with-courtyard-walls-attac).

The development of both the park and house at Houghton is relatively well-documented. A park had been established around the house around 1700 and it was extended to cover c.220 hectares in 1720. Around 1722, Bridgeman may also have begun work at Houghton for Robert Walpole, Walpole began to build Houghton in 1722 and Willis suggests that planting of trees in the park had started by 1717 (Willis 2002, 85). However, although a plan for Houghton in Gough Drawings (a4 fo.57) is likely to be by Bridgeman, and is attributed to him by Willis, the level of his involvement and the timing of it is less sure. Horace Walpole attributes the work to 'Kingsmill Eyre' and the only documentary evidence that places Bridgeman at Houghton is from 1731 when Sir Thomas Robinson visited and was shown 'a large design for the plantations, in the country, which is the present undertaking…' (Willis 2002, 85).

Kedleston, Derbyshire

Grid reference: SK 31285 40296



Kedleston: 1st Edition OS 1880 1:7500

Principal geology: Siltstone

Sir John Curzon 3rd Baronet (1674 – 1727) was Member of Parliament for Derbyshire from 1701 to 1727.

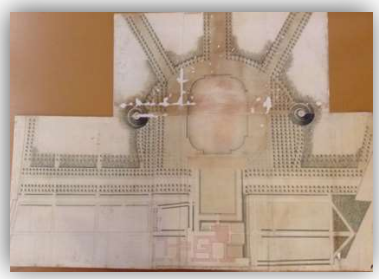
The current house was built between 1758 and 1765. Originally designed by Matthew Brettingham, the central block was redesigned by James Paine in 1761 and the south front by Robert Adam in 1760. The plan, which included quadrant colonades, followed Palladio's Villa Mocenigo. However, the house for which Bridgeman designed aspects of the park was built in the 1720s for Sir John Curzon, the 3rd Baronet apparently to designs by Francis Smith of Warwick. Willis suggests that it was 'an unpretentious building, three storeys high, with dormer windows and a walled garden' (Willis 2002, 87). It was demolished in stages, being replaced by a new central block in 1759 (Pevsner 1979, 255). Gibbs was also involved at Kedleston, receiving ten pounds, which, Willis speculates was for designing the temple which appears in his *Book of Architecture* in 1728. All the existing garden buildings seem to date from the construction of the present hall.

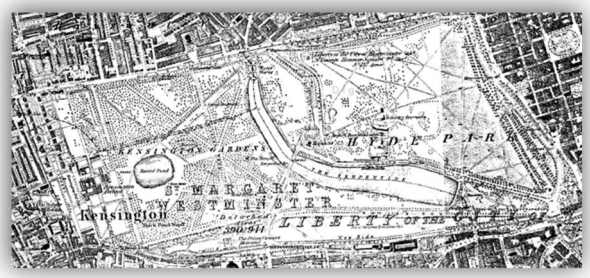
Bridgeman's involvement is suggested by two separate entries in Sir John Curzon's Day Book 1718 – 50: 'Mr Bridgeman's man' is paid a guinea on 14 September 1722 and Bridgeman is paid sixty guineas on 14th September 1726 (Willis 2002, 87 and 87 n.104). Willis also records that Joseph Carpenter was also paid for work in 1724 (Willis 2002, 87). Gibbs writes of a proposal for the park which Willis suggests is Bridgemanic. Two pavilions, designed by him, were to be built 'opposite to one another, on each side of a Vista proposed to be cut through a Wood, and to be terminated with an Obelisque upon a Hill fronting the House' (Willis 2002, 87). It is possible that the wood here referred to is Hay Wood, partly added to the estate by the 1st Baronet at the end of the seventeenth century, the remainder being added in 1721 http://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway. A drawing of a canal with weirs at regular intervals, currently held by the National Trust at Kedleston Hall, is attributed to Bridgeman. It is a detailed drawing of a straight-sided canal beginning and terminating in a basin, with weirs at regular intervals. Each of the weirs has appended the depth of the drop, and the drawing also depicts the sight lines from an unspecified viewpoint beyond the edge of the page. The canal is shown in section in the bottom right –hand corner (Willis 2002, pl.205b).

Bridgeman was paid on 14th September and 10th November 1722 for work done at Kedleston Hall for Sir John Curzon. It is likely that this was payment for work on a canal for which a drawing, both in plan and in section, exists in the National Trust Scarsdale Collection. He also appears to have continued his work at Kedleston where estate accounts record a payment of £60 on 14th September (Willis 2002, 87).

Kensington Gardens

Grid reference (taken from Kensington Palace): TQ 25894 80016





Kensington Gardens: MSGD a3 fo.7 1st Edition OS 1880 1:10,000

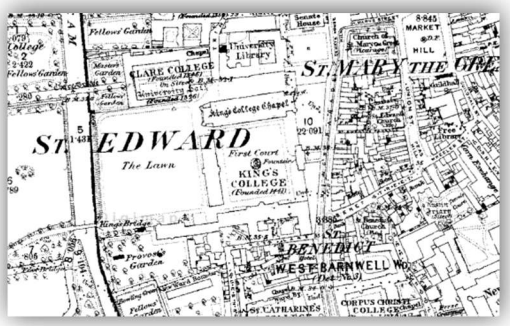
Principal geology: Lynch Hill gravel member, sand and gravel on London Clay

In 1689, Nottingham House was bought from Daniel Finch, Earl of Nottingham to provide a retreat from London for William III and Queen Mary. The house was enlarged by Sir Christopher Wren and became an important Royal palace. The gardens were remodelled, at the same time, by George London and Henry Wise during the reign of William III and Mary. After the accession of Queen Anne, Henry Wise had sole responsibility for the gardens and created several wildernesses in 12 ha of gravel pits to the north of the palace. 41 ha was taken from Hyde Park to form a paddock to house a menagerie (historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000340).

Bridgeman's involvement began when he was appointed joint Royal Gardener in 1726, following the death of Joseph Carpenter. With Henry Wise, he began alterations to Kensington Gardens. After the accession of King George II and Queen Caroline, a new contract for the remodelling of the gardens was drawn up, and Bridgeman continued to work there after the retirement, in 1727, of Henry Wise. The contracts are bound in one volume, held in the National Archives (Work 6/114, Work 16/39/1). He created the Round Pond and the northerly section of the Serpentine, and plantations, vistas and walks, between 1728 and 1731.

King's College Cambridge

Grid reference: TL 44690 58327



King's College, Cambridge: 1st Edition OS 1880 1:2,500

Principal geology: Sand and gravel

On 20th December 1724 the Fellow's of King's College asked that 'Mr Provost do send down Mr Bridgman to Lay out the Ground from the West side of the new building to the Road; and to draw two or three Schemes of different designes for our consideration' (King's College Congregation Book, 1722 – 78, fo.12, cited in Willis 2002, 84). It is not clear how much of the design was executed at the time (Willis 2002, 84) since in 1763 it was still under construction: 'all of which designed to be done (when the remaining Part of the great Square is finished) according to the Plan given by the late ingenious Mr Bridgman' (Cantabrigia Depicta cited in Willis 2002, 84).

Langleys, Essex

Grid reference: TL69946 13586

Langleys: 1st Edition OS 1890 1:5,000

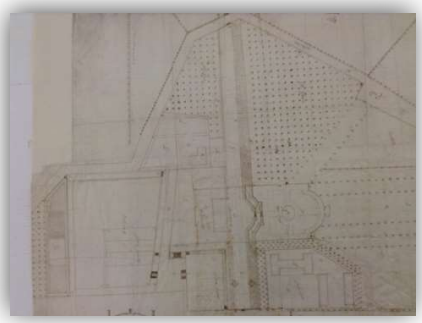
Single private ownership

In 1711 Langleys was bought by Sir Samuel Tufnell, who seems to have been the son of a rich London merchant (https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000241) and to have had some links to the South Sea Company; he was named, in a list circulating in January 1722, as an MP who had received free stock in the company in return for their votes in the South Sea bill (www.historyofparliamentonline.org.). He demolished part of the house and remodelled it to designs by William Tufnell (apparently no relation).

Bridgeman appears to have worked at Langleys, although the precise nature and extent of his work is not clear. Tufnell's estate receipt book records a payment of £156.7s.2d in 1722 for 'Works & plants in ye Gardens'(https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000241; Willis 2002, 60). No plan has come to light, and the first evidence of the layout of the garden is in Chapman and Andre's map of 1777 (https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000241).

Ledston Hall, West Yorkshire

Grid reference: 43532 28936



Ledston Hall: MSGD a4 fo.85 1st Edition OS 1850 1:7,500

Principal geology: Brotherton formation limestone

Lady Elizabeth Hastings (1682 – 1739), known as Lady Betty, was the eldest surviving daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon and a noted Christian philanthropist. Ledston Hall, the estate of her maternal grandfather, was bestowed on her on the death of her father, by her brother George, who inherited it, on the condition she made no claim on her father's estate. She refused all offers of marriage and remained single devoting herself to charitable causes and to the upbringing of her half sisters by her father's second marriage. She was a woman of imagination and intelligence. Richard Steele wrote of her in The Tatler (no.49) 'to behold her is an immediate check to loose Behaviour, and to love her is a liberal education.' Lady Betty spent half of her yearly income on charity, and lived comfortably on the rest. Her political opinions are unknown, but her father was a Jacobite sympathiser. Although her religious sympathies were high church, she was sympathetic to Methodism and met John Wesley in 1730 (http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12564).

Ledston Hall is located on the site of a monastic grange established by the Cluniac Priory of St John Pontefract. A medieval chamber and an undercroft are thought to be part of the medieval buildings and other medieval masonry forms part of the Hall. Following dissolution, the Witham family incorporated parts of the grange building into a courtyard house, enlarged, first by first the Earl of Strafford who c.1660, added a south wing and then by Sir John Lewis, who added an extension to the north range and a new north wing. Lady Betty herself made some stylistic alterations to the main façade. These different phases are clearly visible in the fabric of the building. Pevsner suggests that the front is 'an outstanding example of that transitional phase in English architecture which falls between the Jacobean style (to which the concept of the deep forecourt with wings of the same height as the centre belongs – cf. ….Blickling…) and the style

of Pratt, May, and the young Christopher Wren' (Pevsner 1967, 304/305). The garden sides of the house are more irregular and show clearly the different stages of development.

Three maps show the development of the park; Saxton's map of 1577, Warburton's 1720 map and Jeffrey's map of 1775. There have been three phases of development of the park. In the first, between 1653 and 1671, Sir John Lewis enclosed the whole deer park and built two lodges. In the second, after inheriting the estate in 1705, Lady Betty was responsible for laying out much of the garden at the Hall. The third phase, in the nineteenth century, destroyed much of the eighteenth-century garden (http://www.heritagegateway.org.uk). Evidence of Bridgeman's involvement is present both in documents and cartographically. Two payments were made by Lady Betty to Bridgeman in 1731 for 'the designe of Mr Bridgemans' and a reference is made to Bridgeman's proposals in an undated letter from T.Coke to Lady Betty. Three drawings attributed to Bridgeman also exist for Ledston. MSGD a4 fo.85 is a pen and ink drawing held in the Bodleian collection. It shows an outline of the plan which is depicted in ink and watercolour on a plan held at Otterden Place in Kent. A two page description of the garden, possibly in Bridgeman's handwriting, is also held at Otterden Place. A second drawing MSGD a3 fo.19 is also held at the Bodleian. This, although showing the outlines of the garden given more detailed treatment in the other two drawings, appears to be considerably less detailed and seems to be a survey of the whole estate. It appears, from crop marks, that a considerable proportion of the garden was constructed (Willis 2002, 61 and plates 48b, 207a and 207b).

Lillington Manor, Warwickshire

Grid reference: SP 32498 67420

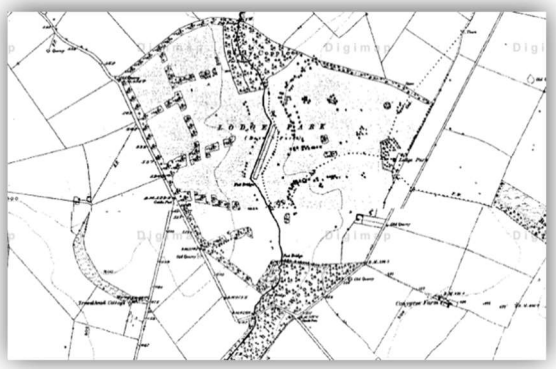
Lillington Manor: 1st Edition OS 1880 1:5,000

Principal geology: Mercia Mudstone

Bridgeman's survey of Lillington Manor and its land (1711) is held at Warwickshire Record Office (CR 556/197). It is referred to in the notebook which accompanies a survey undertaken by Bridgeman and James Fish the younger of Warwick Priory (CR 26.2.1). Presumably it was undertaken for Henry Wise when he bought Warwick Priory in 1711. The manor house is located next to the church of St Mary Magdelene.

Lodge Park, Gloucestershire

Grid reference: SP 14617 12263



Lodge Park: MSGD a4 fo.68 1st Edition OS 1880 1:10,000

National Trust

Principal geology: White limestone formation

Two separate individuals were involved with the creation of Lodge Park, part of the Sherbourne Estate in Gloucestershire. The deer park, deer course and its attendant Lodge were created in the seventeenth century by John 'Crump' Dutton (1594 – 1657). The Dutton family had, through judicious alliance with wealthy mercantile families in the City of London, and skilful management of assets, risen to prominence in Gloucestershire. John Dutton married into the Baynton family of Wiltshire. He was a royalist who was also a personal friend of Oliver Cromwell. Bridgeman's client was John 'Crump' Dutton's great nephew, Sir John Dutton. He represented Gloucestershire in parliament between 1727 and 1741 as a Whig (http://www.oxforddnb.com). He was cultured and his estate accounts show that he purchased contemporary books on design such as William Kent's *The Designs of Inigo Jones* (Smith 2006, 237).

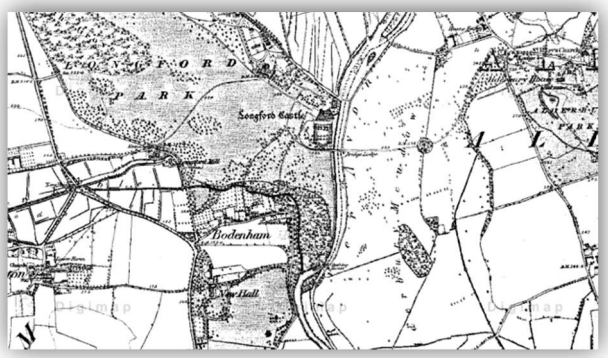
The Lodge which stands within the deer park around which Bridgeman's landscape was designed was built c. 1630. It was constructed as a grandstand to view deer coursing. Originally constructed

with two rooms, a hall on the ground floor and a banqueting chamber on the floor above, deer coursing could be watched from the interior, or from the roof above which is surrounded by a parapet. Its design has been associated with the architect Balthazar Gerbier (d.1683), a contemporary of Inigo Jones. Sir John Dutton refurbished it from about 1725 onwards and accounts mention work done by Vassalli, Wootton and William Kent who provided furniture. Recently post-1725 alterations have been removed and the building restored to its seventeenth- and eighteenth- century state (http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1000770).

The park, originally known as New Park, was formed between 1624 and 1640 from land which had been open fields and common grazing, as a deer park for Sherborne House three miles away. Bridgeman's design (MSGD a4 fo.68) was for the deer park to the east of the Lodge. In pen and ink, the drawing shows a landscape aligned from a terrace built out from the eastern side of the Lodge, through a bastion above the river, across the River Leach, flooded to form a straight-sided serpentine lake and up the slope further east to an eye-catcher within tapering terraces planted with trees confined within hedges. The design is not axially aligned to the Lodge, which sits at a 45 degree angle to the terrace. Although the drawing depicts the River Leach as a lake, clearly visible beneath it is the outline of a smaller straight-sided canal, the earthwork of which is still visible today. It is not clear when this canal was created but it seems likely that it is early eighteenth century. The relationship between this canal and the lake bears a very strong resemblance to the canal and lake at Wolterton Hall, and it is likely both landscapes were created in the early- to mid- 1720s. Estate accounts show that Bridgeman visited Sherborne House in 1725 and 1729. In 1729 the accounts detail £70 paid to 'Mr Bridgeman for his journeys to Shireborn and making a plan for my New Park'. Trees were bought for the new park on an extravagant scale; 1050 holly sets, for example in 1729. Between 1724 and 1729, one hundred flowering trees, 19,200 ash sets, seven thousand elms, seven hundred wych elms, fifty yew sets and six thousand Scots firs were ordered (Smith 2006, 242). 1st Edition OS 1883 clearly shows that Bridgeman's geometric plantations of trees on the rising ground to the east of the River Leach were not just planted, but survived into the late nineteenth century. The National Trust has been restoring some of Bridgeman's planting on the western side of the River Leach since the 1990s.

Longford Castle, Wiltshire

Grid reference: SU 17161 26669



Longford Castle: 1st Edition OS 1880 1:10,000

Principal geology: River deposits, sand and gravel

Jacob Des Bouverie (bap. 1694, d.1761) was descended from Flemish silk weavers. In 1736 he succeeded his elder brother Sir Edward Des Bouverie as third Baronet and inherited Longford Castle in Wiltshire. He also leased a house near Piccadilly from Lord Burlington. He changed his name to Bouverie by Act of Parliament in 1737 and sat as MP for Salisbury from 1741 to 1747. His political sympathies were Tory. He was both a philanthropist and a connoisseur of the arts, buying paintings by Poussin, and commissioning paintings from Thomas Hudson, Samuel Scott and John Wootton. He employed Kent and Goodison to work on Longford Castle and remodelled the park around the Castle (http://www.oxforddnb.com).

Longford Castle was built by Thomas Gorges to replace a former mansion house. It is said to have been modelled on the castle at Uraniborg in Sweden at the behest of his new Swedish wife, Helena Snakenburg and comprises a triangular plan with corner towers (http://www.heritagegateway.org.uk). However, Pevsner points out that Uraniborg in fact has four towers and a more likely model is Gripsholm built in 1537 (Pevsner 1975, 303). When drawn by John Thorpe, a sign of the Holy Trinity was put at the centre of the triangular court. Piles had to be driven into the marshy soil on the flood plain of the River Avon and the cost of the building was very expensive. It was sold by Lord Coleraine to Sir Edward Des Bouverie in 1717. There has been considerable restoration work on the building at various points in its history; in the eighteenth century, between 1802 and 1817 and again in the 1870s. Willis suggests that Roger Morris was employed on the house (Willis 2002, 58).

Bridgeman's involvement with Longford Castle rests on a reference in a letter from Jacob Bouverie to Hitch Younge on 7th November 1737, in which he writes 'I have been a good deal at a loss for want of Bridgeman's Company…' (Willis 2002, 58). The reference comes from John Cornforth *Longford and the Bouveries* and Willis states that it was confirmed by Helen Matilda, Countess of Radnor, and William Barclay Squire (*Catalogue of the Pictures of the Earl of Radnor*, II) (Willis 2002, 432).

Lumley Castle, County Durham

Grid reference: NZ 28793 51035

Lumley Castle 1st Edition OS 1860 1:10,000

Principal geology: Glaciolacustrine deposits with High Pennine middle coal measures and sandstone in the Castle burn valley.

Now run as a hotel.

Lumley Castle is medieval, and stands on high ground with the River Wear to the west and the deeply incised Lumley Park Burn to the east. In 1389, Sir Ralph de Lumley was granted licence to crenallate by Bishop Skirlaw, confirmed in 1392 by Richard II. It is still the property of the Earls of Scarborough. The 2nd Earl of Scarborough, Richard, born in 1688, was a Whig Member of Parliament for East Grinstead and later for Arundel and Lord Lieutenant of Northumberland, and acceded to the title on his father's death in 1721 (http://www.cracroftspeerage.co.uk/online/content/scarbrough1690.htm).

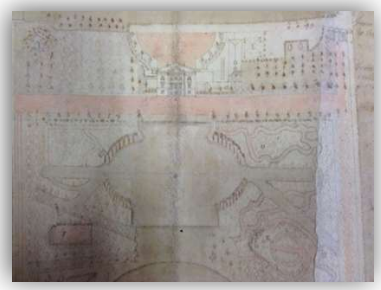
Lumley Castle was substantially remodelled during the eighteenth century. In 1721, Vanbrugh remodelled the south and west ranges of the Castle, so that the main views from the Castle were to the west over Chester-le-Street. There was also activity in the garden and park. In 1701, George London wrote to Lord Cowper that he was intending to visit Lumley Castle, presumably in order to work on the gardens, and Bridgeman probably worked with Vanbrugh on the gardens. It is

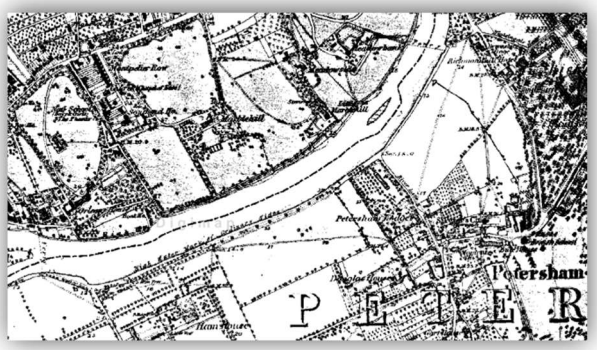
likely that his plan dates from the early 1720s. Switzer also stayed at the Castle in 1729, although it is not known whether he had any influence on the gardens. Later in the century, in 1730, estate records show the laying out of walks and plantations, and it is suggested that these might have been the work of Thomas Wright, whose first patron was the Earl of Scarborough. A 1768 plan for the estate by Thomas White also survives (http.//historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1001395).

There are two plans for Lumley Castle which have strong stylistic links to Bridgeman's work, both of which are held at Lumley Castle. It is likely then that Bridgeman played some part in the design for the garden, when Vanbrugh was working there. It is particulary likely since the focus of Bridgeman's plan is the vista to the west of the Castle. Bridgeman had probably also collaborated with Vanbrugh at Sacombe and at Hackwood. It is possible that a third plan, undated but stylistically early eighteenth century also dates from this period.

Marble Hill, Middlesex

Grid reference: TQ 17299 73622





Marble Hill: NRO MC 184/10/1 1st Edition OS 1870 1:7,500

Principal geology: Langley silt member, clay and silt

Marble Hill was built by Henrietta Howard, Countess of Suffolk (1688 – 1767). She was the third daughter of Sir Henry Hobart of Blickling and married Charles Howard in 1706. The marriage proved unhappy. He was a violent and profligate husband, and at one point the couple lived in St Martins Lane in poverty. Howard saved their fortunes by going to Hanover, where she found favour with both Electress Sophia and Princess Caroline. She returned to London with the royal party and became the mistress of George II. She bought land in Twickenham in 1724 and built Marble Hill. She became legally separated from her husbamd in 1728 and his death in 1733 freed her from him. Her relationship as mistress of George II came to an end in 1734 and she retired to

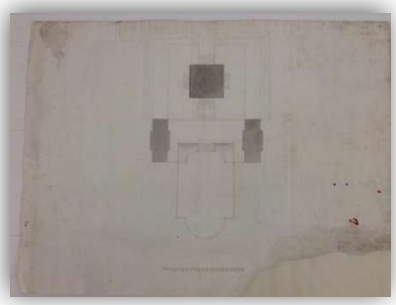
Marble Hill and married, in 1735, George Berkeley with whom she had a happy marriage until his death in 1746. At court she rose from gentlewoman of the bedchamber to Mistress of the Robes after her husband became Earl of Suffolk. She resigned from this position in 1734. There were suggestions that she had allowed herself to be manipulated by opposition politicians. She maintained friendships with those not sympathetic to the government like Swift, Pope, Cobham and Bolingbroke. She was interested in the arts; Swift, John Gay and Pope were amongst her friends and she was a collector of paintings and of porcelain. She was particularly interested in architecture and, in later life, became a friend of Horace Walpole.

Marble Hill was built between 1724 and 1729 on the banks of the Thames at Twickenham. The first design of the house may have been by Colen Campbell; Mrs Howard was a subscriber to Vitruvius Britannicus III. However, the house that was built was by Roger Morris and Lord Herbert, Earl of Pembroke (http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13904). The house is Palladian and is composed of three storeys. Its main elevations face north and south and have five bays. Pope complimented Mrs Howard in 1727 on a room modelled on Palladio's interpretation of a Roman atrium (Worsley 1995, 139). The house had been altered externally, but was restored to its original eighteenth century state in the 1960s. It is under the management of English Heritage.

There is considerable evidence of Bridgeman's involvement in the construction of the park. He wrote to Pope on 28th September 1724 making it clear that he and Pope had visited Marble Hill with Mrs Howard and that he is drawing up plans for the garden (BL ADD MS4809 fo.141V). Two separate plans exist for the garden. Both are currently in the Norfolk Records Office. Although it is tempting to assume that these are the plans that Bridgeman was referring to in his letter, the cartouche on both reads 'The Plan of the House, Garden and Inclosures of Marble Hill 10 mile West from London Belonging To the Right Honourable The Countess of Suffolk'. Since Henrietta Howard did not become Countess of Suffolk until 1731 this makes it unlikely that these are the drawings referred to. MC 184/10/2 has a map of south west Scotland on the reverse, and the beginnings of a drawing of the Marble Hill garden on the reverse. The finished drawing also contains a key to which alterations have been made. MC184/10/1 is a more polished version of the above.

Mereworth Castle, Kent

Grid reference: TQ 66890 53225



Mereworth Castle: MSGD a4 fo.52 1st Edition OS 1880 1:5,000

Private ownership

Principal geology: Atherfield clay formation , sandstone and mudstone

John Fane, seventh Earl of Westmorland, (bap. 1686, d. 1762) was baptised at Mereworth Kent. After Eton, Lincoln's Inn and Emmanuel College Cambridge, he was appointed in 1709 as a captain in Cadogan's regiment of horse. He fought in Flanders. He became a colonel in the 37th regiment of foot and transferred in 1717 to a colonelcy in 1st troop of Horse Grenadier Guards. He entered parliament in 1708 as a Whig, for Hythe, withdrew in 1722 then was elected fo Buckingham in 1727. Friendly with Cobham, who was dismissed from the army in 1733 for opposing the Excise Bill (a measure which Fane supported), he himself fell from favour of the King and Walpole in 1734 by supporting a motion which prevented the dismissal of officers from the army on political grounds. He acceded to the title of earl of Westmorland in 1736 and sat as a Tory in the House of Lords. Not until Walpole's fall did he regain his military and political career (http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9134?docPos=1).

Mereworth Castle was built to replace a castle licenced in 1332. It was designed by Colen Campbell and is a copy of Palladio's Villa Rotunda, with only minor changes of plan and elevation (Worsley 1995,108). It is a square block with four fronts, identical except that the east and west lack portico steps. It has a hipped slate roof surmounted by an almost hemispherical dome with a blind lantern surrounded by high half columns. It is aligned roughly north – south and has two free-standing pavilions to the left and right. The building is stuccoed an ochre colour. It was originally moated and parts of the moat can be seen to the north (http://list.english-heritage.org.uk). Pevsner suggests that since Fane did not inherit his peerage, the Earldom of

Westmorland, until 1736, when Mereworth was built he could 'indulge his fancy'. The resulting house was not, as Palladio's villa had been, a belvedere, but a castle, hence the moat (Pevsner 1969, 403). Horace Walpole said of Mereworth Castle in 1752 that it was 'perfect in Palladian taste'(Worsley 1995,115). The house is in private ownership.

The park at Mereworth is a landscaped valley behind the house. Evidence of Bridgeman's involvement in the site is a rudimentary plan in the Bodleian Library, catalogued MSGD a4 fo.52 attributed by Willis to him. It clearly shows, in plan, the square block of Mereworth Castle with porticos and free-standing pavilions. The steps on the north and south fronts are shown as are the boundaries of the formal gardens around the house. A feature with apsidal ends is also shown to the north of the house. It is, in fact a very similar shape and position to the pond which currently exists at Mereworth but to the south of the house. The plan, which is undated, has, intriguingly, on the reverse, 'a small plan without name' which is crossed out, 'Lord Westmorelands/but of no use now' and Colonell Fanes of Mereworth' (MSGD a4 fo.52).

Montagu House, London

Grid reference: TQ 30051 81725

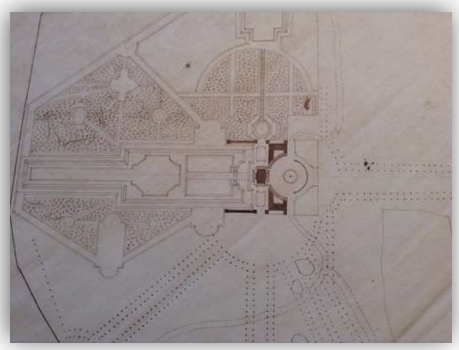
The house was sold to the British Museum in 1759 and demolished in the 1840s.

Principal geology: clay, silt and sand

Bridgeman also seems to have taken on a contract for £25 a quarter to maintain the gardens of Montagu House in London for the Duke of Montagu. An entry in Andrew Marchant's estate account books, Ledgers VI – VII 1725 – 1731, records 'Paid Cha[rles] Bridgman for keeping the Garden ½ Year to Xmas Last £50.00'. The Northamptonshire Record Office also holds a receipt from 22nd January 1725 signed by Bridgeman for £50.

Moor Park, Hertfordshire

Grid reference: TQ 07528 93301



Moor Park: MSGD a4 fo.58

1st Edition OS 1860 1:10,000

Principal geology: sand, silt, clay and gravel

Moor Park was built for Benjamin Styles who inherited a large fortune from the commercial enterprises of his father. The original Manor of the More, started in 1426, but enlarged and altered first by Archbishop Neville and then by Cardinal Wolsey, occupied a site close to the River Colne. However, in 1617, the first of the three houses was built on a new site on the hill SW of original house, for the Earl and Countess of Bedford. Two successive houses were built, probably on the same footprint, and using, to a greater or lesser degree, some of the fabric of the preceding house. The second of these was in 1680, for the Duke of Monmouth, and the third for Benjamin Styles, from 1720 onwards. Styles had made a fortune in the South Sea Company before it crashed. Under the direction of James Thornhill, the existing red-brick mansion was cased in Portland stone, extended and refurbished at the cost of £130,000 (Williamson 2000, 28).Styles' house is five by eleven bays. The entrance portico on the south-western side has four columns. The garden side, on the north-eastern side, has an engaged portico. The ground floor has banded rustication. Pavilions were attached to the house by quadrant colonnades added in 1725 but were demolished in 1785. The interior of the house was lavish. It was decorated with paintings by Jacopo Amigioni who lived in England 1729 – 1736 and in gallery, with grisailles by F. Sleter. These replaced paintings by Thornhill who was dismissed in a law suit in 1728.

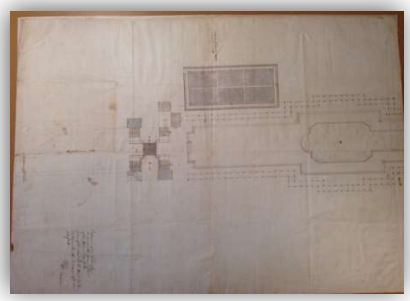
It is clear that a significant designed landscape predated Bridgeman's design both in the immediate vicinity of the house and in the wider park. The garden that existed at Moor Park is described by Sir William Temple in *Upon the Gardens of Epicurus: or, Of Gardening, in the Year 1685.* It is a description of the garden as he remembers it from thirty years before when he spent

his honeymoon there in 1655. From his description it seems that the garden, which he attributes to Lucy Harrington, the Countess of Bedford, was built on the side of a gentle hill. The 'Great Parlours' opened onto a gravel terrace which at three hundred paces long and of 'broad proportion', ran the length of the house and was bordered by laurels. At the each end of the terrace, Temple describes a summer house. There were three sets of steps from this terrace, one in the middle and one each at either end, leading down to a very large parterre, divided into 'quarters by gravel walks and adorned with two fountains and eight statues in the several quarters' (Temple in Hunt and Willis 1975, 98). The sides of the parterre were bordered with cloisters, paved with stone at ground level and roofed with lead forming a walkway fenced with balustrades. The south-facing balustrade was covered with vines. Beyond this parterre, steps either side of a grotto led to a lower garden in which fruit trees are planted around 'the several quarters of a [shady] wilderness' with green walks. He describes the grotto as having 'figures of shell-rock-work, fountains and waterworks' (Temple in Hunt and Willis 1975, 98). Temple considers that a further quarter might have been possible had the garden not been bounded by a 'common way'. There is, however, a garden on the 'other side of the house, which is….very wild, shady and adorned with rough rock work and fountains'. Temple does not specify the location of this garden.

Although it is impossible to be precise about the date upon which Bridgeman began work on the landscape, it is likely to have been around 1720. It was certainly considerably developed by 1724. Visitors also clearly saw some of the new features of Bridgeman's design under construction, and also finished. Edward Southwell Jr in 1724 and Sir John Evelyn in 1726 both comment on aspects of the design shown in the two plans attributed to Bridgeman by Willis, MSGD a4 fo.48 and a4 fo.58 (Jeffery 2014, 15).

Purley Hall, Berkshire

Grid reference: SU 64618 75782



Purley Hall: MSGD a4 fo.54 1st Edition OS 1870 1:5000

Principal geology: clay, silt, sand and gravel

Purley Hall was the property of Francis Hawes a director of the South Sea Company. When the company collapsed in 1722, Purley Hall was confiscated by the government and sold, although he was allowed to remain as a tenant for some years.

Purley Hall is a Jacobean house built by Francis Hyde in 1609, which has been subject to extensive remodelling, undertaken first by Francis Hawes in 1719 - 26 and in 1818 -29 by John Wilder. The original building was a two-storeyed double depth house with plain triangular gables to the attics. The remodelled north front has a narrow inset centre and stone quoins from the early eighteenth century. There are oeil de beouf windows to the rusticated basement. The steps are almost certainly eighteenth century. The entrance hall has fielded grisaille paintings after Thornhill (Pevsner 2010, 431). From MSGD a4 fo.54 held in the Bodleian Library, it appears to have been a Palladian Villa with four pavilions linked by curved arcades to a central block, modelled on the Villa Mocenigo (Willis 2002,61 and pl.47b).

The Bridgemanic plan, c.1720, held in the Bodleian shows this Palladian villa with a kitchen garden to the side and a sunken bowling green leading to a formal pond with straight sides an apsidal end. It appears that some of this was constructed since a pond with an apsidal ending on its western end, joined to a canal formed from a branch of the River Pang, forms part of the landscape today (OS 1:10 000 June 2013 http://digimap.edina.ac.uk/roam/os). On the eastern side of the canal, opposite the pond, is the Flint Temple (Willis 2002,61).

At Purley, Bridgeman's worked for Francis Haws, a director of the South Sea Company who had his assets seized when the South Sea Company failed in 1721 (https://historicengland.org.uk). Bridgeman's plan for Purley in Gough Drawings (MSGD a4 fo.54), inscribed on the back with 'Francis Haws Esqr.', presumably predates this as does the record from March 1721 which records the payment 'Mr Bridgeman his bill for laying out the gardens at Purley, £122 11s 0d' and also substantial payments for Trees, plants including fruit trees (Country Life 1970).

Richmond Gardens

Grid reference (from Kew Palace): TQ 18479 77469

Richmond Gardens: 1st Edition OS 1890 1:15,000

Principal geology: sand and gravel

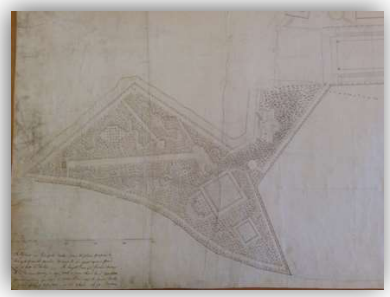
Richmond Gardens is not one of the five gardens in Bridgeman's contract, and payments to him must have been made separately as Desmond suggests: '[Bridgeman's] responsibilities for the Royal Gardens excluded Richmond Lodge which was subject to a separate contract' (Desmond 1995, 6). This seems to be supported by Sarah Bridgeman's request to the Treasury, made after Bridgeman's death for payment of debts: 'And for keeping the Royall Gardens at Richmond, by Contract, and Extra Bills there, ye Sum of £1847.8s.5d' (CCXCIX (T.1:299) 10, fos.23 -24).

Bridgeman was probably also responsible for work at Richmond Gardens, including remodelling the gardens for Princess Caroline before her accession to the throne in 1727 and probably before he became Royal Gardener. The quotation from Pope's letter, cited above, suggests that this was the case. He was certainly at Richmond in 1735, when Lady Burlington describes a conversation

with him in a letter to her husband: 'There is a new design going forward at Richmond in ye garden…. I too ye liberty to differ with Mr Bridgeman….. he said that 3 slopes made it look bigger; I think one wou'd not only be handsomer, but look (in his style) more grande' (Willis 2002, 103). Willis attributes two plans to him, both held in the National Archives: MR 1/696 and Work 32/282. Of these MR 1/696 probably relates to the period before 1727 since it refers to the Prince and Princess of Wales, and Work 32/282 probably shows the remodeled landscape for Queen Caroline after her accession.

Rousham Park, Oxfordshire

Grid reference: SP 47840 24220



Rousham Park: MSGD a4 fo.63 1st Edition OS 1870 1:5,000

Principal geology: Dyrham formation, siltstone and mudstone, interbedded.

Colonel Robert Dormer-Cottrell inherited Rousham in 1719 and it was he who commissioned Bridgeman to transform the gardens. At his death in 1737, when the gardens were nearly complete, his younger brother, Lieutenant-General Sir James Dormer (1679 – 1741) inherited Rousham. There is some suggestion that he had been consulted by his brother on the remodelling of the garden. He had had a distinguished military career. He was appointed Captain in the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards in 1702 and was wounded at Blenheim. He fought in Spain and was taken prisoner at Brihuega in 1710. He was made brigadier general in February 1711 and lieutenant general in 1735 (http://www.oxforddnb.com). He was also a man of cultivated tastes and a literary connoisseur. He had a fine library (Willis 2002, 67).

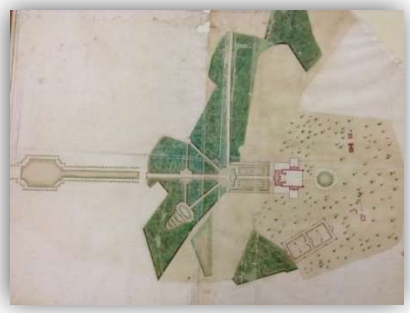
Rousham was built in c.1635 for Sir Robert Dormer. A considerable part of the building is 17th century, although remodelling by William Kent took place between 1738 and 1740, and the house was enlarged again c. 1860 by William St Aubyn. It is a three-storey Jacobean House aligned north-south. It has a seven window range front, a crenelated parapet and a three storey porch.

Alterations made by Kent in the eighteenth century included the addition of an ogee cupola and flanking the house with two, two-storey pavilions with canted bay windows and ogee niches containing classical statues by Henry Cheere. The interior was extensively remodelled and decorated by Kent. Although much of the remodelling of the house is of great interest, Bridgeman's landscape must have been for the original, unextended and unremodelled Jacobean house (http://www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/en-252860-rousham-house-rousham-oxfordshire).

Bridgeman's plan for Rousham is in the Bodelian Library and is catalogued as MSGD a4 fo.63. It shows the area of the garden which borders the Cherwell and where the remnants of Bridgeman's design, modified by Kent, exist today. It appears to have been based on a 1721 survey of Rousham Parish, preserved at Rousham (Willis 2002, 67 n.124). The drawing shows that the southern bank of the Cherwell has been straightened to accommodate a broad walk. To the east of the site are two square ponds linked, to a small apsidal ended cabinet, from which runs, roughly north- south the elm walk, terminating, at the top of a small incline in a staute. In the south of the site an amphitheatre borders on the Cherwell. Smaller cabinets in the wood are linked by narrow serpentine paths. The drawing also has, probably in Bridgeman's handwriting, detailed measurements to do with the way water would be used in the site. Kent's alterations to the garden left most of the basic structure intact, but softened the lines and added significant garden buildings and features. Letters between Clary the gardener, the Steward, Kent and General Dormer offer a description of that process which took place between 1738 and 1742 (Muller 1997).

Sacombe House, Hertfordshire

Grid reference: TL 33950 18996



Sacombe: MSGD a4 fo.64 1st Edition OS 1880 1:5,000

Principal geology: clay, silt, sand and gravel

Privately owned

Thomas Rolt was the third son of Sir Edward Rolt of Pertenhall, Bedfordshire. In 1658, aged twenty-seven he joined the East India Company until, in 1682, he became President of Surat and Governor of Bombay, for which he would have received a considerable salary, probably around £500 a year. When he returned to England, he was given a knighthood and married Mary, the widow of a distant cousin. He purchased the Sacombe estate in 1688 for £22,500. His son Edward Rolt inherited the estate in 1710 on the death of his father (Milledge 2009, 38-39). Well-educated, at Merton College, then a hot-bed of Tory, Stuart and Royalist supporters, he entered parliament in 1713 and was suspected of Jacobite sympathies (Milledge 2009, 43). He married Anne Bayntun, daughter of Sir Henry Bayntun of Spye Park, whose marriage portion was £5000 (Milledge 2009, 38-39).

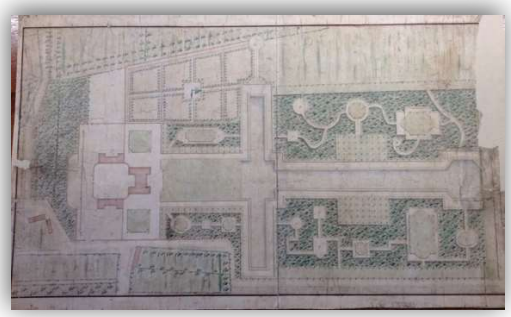
The house at Sacombe was medieval. It was described as 'little and old' by Sir Mathew Decker when he visited in 1728 (Milledge 2009, 390). Edward Rolt first commissioned Vanbrugh and then Gibbs to replace it. Gibbs design of a Palladian house was published in *A Book of Architecture* pl.53 in 1728, but was never built (Willis 2002 pl.46a). However, Vanbrugh did design a walled garden with substantial buttressed walls located within the park and shown on the plan attributed to Bridgeman (Milledge 2009, 41). The house and the walled garden were eventually demolished in 1783.

The park at Sacombe was shown on Seller's county map of 1676 as a deer park, and the park has been shown on all subsequent maps (http://www.heritagegateway.org.uk). Edward Rolt began to

improve Sacombe c.1714 when he paid Henry Wise £8 14s 6d probably for plants from Brompton Park Nursery (Milledge 2009, 40). It would appear from estate accounts that he employed Bridgeman in some capacity from 1715 when a payment of £80 was made to him. Payment continued for another 7 years until Edward Rolt died of smallpox in 1722 when Bridgeman was named as his principal creditor. There are two plans for Sacombe attributed to Bridgeman. Both are in the Bodleian Library and are part of the Gough collection. The first, MSGD a4 fo.29, is a pen and ink survey with Mr Rolt Sacombe on the reverse. It shows the main features of the landscape and had a key which identifies by letter its various components. Appended to the plan are pencil annotations which seem to show the position of new features, such as the axial walks. The second MSGD a4 fo.64 is a beautifully coloured design showing an axial walk leading to a canal and rectangular basin and a *patte d'oie*, one branch of which leads to a theatre.Vanbrugh's walled garden is shown. These features are described in some detail both by Decker, visiting in 1728 and by Salmon visiting in the same year (Decker *Account* WSRO 2057/45/2 cited in Milledge 2009, 42); (Salmon *History of Hertfordshire* p.225 cited in Milledge 2009, 42). There is considerable evidence at Sacombe today that much a large part of Bridgeman's design was completed (Milledge 2009).

Scampston Hall, North Yorkshire

Grid reference: SE 86475 75533



Scampston Hall: MSGD fo.73 1st Edition OS 1890 1:7,500

Principal geology: sand and gravel

Because the three Bridgemanic drawings for Scampston are undated, it is difficult to tell which of two Sir William St Quintins was Bridgeman's client. The first is the third baronet (born c.1662 – 1723) was Whig MP for Hull for eleven successive parliaments between 1695 and 1723. He served for a time in the Treasury and held lucrative customs posts. He acquired considerable property in the East Riding of Yorkshire after the death of his grandfather in 1697, including the

two manors at Scampston which cost around £10,000. He is responsible for the building of most of Scampston village (http://www.oxforddnb.com). On his death in 1723, the estate and title passed to his nephew, the second Sir William St Quintin. The son of his uncle's younger brother Hugh, a merchant, he was educated at Sidney Sussex College in Cambridge and married an heiress, Rebecca Thompson. He sat as MP for Thirsk between 1722 and 1724. He appears to have used Lancelot Brown to landscape the grounds at Scampston, but no mention is made of Bridgeman (http://ingilbyhistory.ripleycastle.co.uk).

The Scampston estate was acquired by the St Quintin family at the end of the seventeenth century. It is unclear from available sources whether the house was built by Sir William St Quintin, the third baronet, c.1700, or for Thomas Hustler in the late seventeenth century, presumably before the purchase of the estate by Sir William St Quintin (http://www.scampston.co.uk/hall/history-of-scampston-hall.html). The current house was remodelled to a design by Thomas Leverton in 1795 or 1803, but a painting of the original house exists (http://www.scampston.co.uk/hall/history-of-scampston-hall.html). At the rear of the present house the brickwork of this earlier house can be seen. It was a nine bay two storey building with single storey wings which was extensively altered in 1759 by the addition of a large two-storey projecting bay on the south front. In 1777-8 Palladian turrets were added. Pevsner attributes these to Lancelot Brown (Pevsner 1995,670). A Palladian Bridge, also attributed to Lancelot Brown and dated by Pevsner as 1773, occupies a site at the northern end of a shallow fish pond (http://www.heritagegateway.org.uk). To the north-west of the Hall is a four- acre walled kitchen garden c.1740 (Pevsner 1995,670).

Three plans attributed to Bridgeman form part of the Gough Drawings in the Bodleian Library. They are catalogued as MSGD a4 fo.27, MSGD a4 fo.66 and MSGD a4 fo.73. A fourth drawing, MSGD a4 fo.47, was attributed to Bridgeman but the attribution has been withdrawn. The most complete and detailed is a4 fo.73. It is in ink and watercolour and shows the house with two pavilions flanking a courtyard. Axially aligned to the house is a bowling green and a canal terminating in a basin. A second canal crosses at right-angles joined to it by a cascade half way along its length. The bowling green is flanked by two parterres, the canal by planting interwoven with straight and serpentine paths linking small cabinets. It has strong Bridgemanic characteristics. To the east of the house is a kitchen garden, which bears a striking resemblance to the kitchen garden depicted in a4 fo.20, a plan for Wolterton. Both the other drawings depict a similar design but in pen and ink. A4 fo.66 appears to have pencil additions that suggest a process of design underway. Although there is little trace of any of Bridgeman's design now, there is evidence that some landscaping did take place because the main road was diverted away from the house and three inter-connected lakes were created (Pevsner 1995, 670).

Shardeloes, Buckinghamshire

Grid reference: SU 93806 97860

Shardeloes: OS 1880 1:15,000

Principal soils: Chalk

The house at Shardeloes was probably built by William Drake, sometime after he had acquired the manor in 1632. His descendant, Montague Garrard Drake had planned to replace it with a building designed by Leoni. He had already attached offices and stables by Francis Smith of Warwick between 1722 and 1726 but died before the new house could be built. The present house was begun in 1758 by another William Drake (Pevsner 1994 617/618).

Evidence for Bridgeman's involvement in this site comes from an engraving in *Vitruvius Britannicus IV* which shows a Bridgemanic style landscape with axial avenues, a basin and canal and an ornamental lake. The engraving, dated 1739, shows a manor house which was demolished and rebuilt between 1758 and 1766.

Stanmer Park, Sussex

Grid reference: TQ 33635 09461

Stanmer Park: OS 1st Edition 1870 1:7,500

Principal geology: Newhaven chalk formation

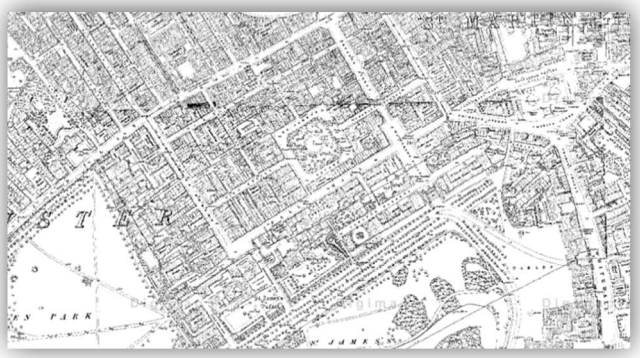
In local authority ownership

Stanmer was sold in 1713 to Henry Pelham, first cousin of the Duke of Newcastle. He began to build a new house in 1722, on the site of the old manor house employing Nicholas Dubois, the Office of Works Master Mason. It is a two storey brick house, faced with cream sandstone and commands views to the south-east and is surrounded to the south-east and south-west of the house by gardens (https://historicengland.org.uk). Great Wood occupies the slope of a hill to the north-east of the house.

Although there is no surviving plan, and in fact no record of the landscape until an estate survey of 1799 (ESRO ACC3714/4), it is likely that Bridgeman was employed at Stanmer at the same time as Dubois. Willis refers to a letter from Dubois to Pelham dated 6th July 1726 suggests that Bridgeman was brought in to work on the landscape (BL Add MS 33085 cited in Willis 2002, 64 n.107).

St James's Square, London

Grid reference: TQ 29508 80348



St James Square: 1st Edition OS 1890 1:5,000

Principal geology: clay and silt

For one, the construction of St James's Square in 1726, undertaken with his brother-in-law, the paviour John Mist, the Minutes of the Trustees of St James's Square record he was paid £5630. This is a staggering amount of money, and converts to around £484,000 (www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency). He was asked to construct a pond 105 feet in diameter surrounded by gravel and iron railings in an octagon, beyond which the square was paved with Purbeck stone, probably, again, by John Mist (Willis 2002, 32).

Stowe, Buckinghamshire

Grid reference: SP 67498 37459

Stowe (bird's eye view): MSGD a4 fo.46

1st Edition OS 1880 1:10,000

Principal geology: sand, gravel and diamicton

National Trust

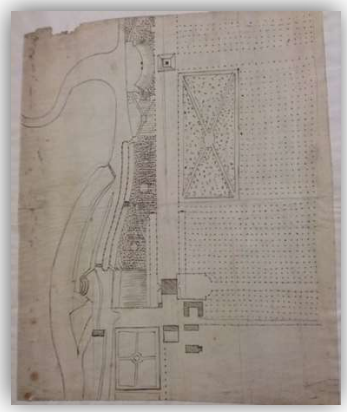
Documentary evidence also shows that Bridgeman began working at Stowe during this period. Willis places him there from 1713 onwards, that is from Cobham's inception of the gardens, using a letter from Perceval to Dering (BL Add MS 47030 fos. 156 – 159) which suggests his involvement from this earliest point. An undated entry from the '1714' packet of the Stowe Accounts 1710-1720, records that 'Mr bridgmans man' was paid £1.2s.6d (HEH Box L9F6 cited in Willis 2002, 109 n.14). Willis also shows that there are two notes from 1716: one from 11th August 'in which Bridgeman acknowledges payment of £188.16s *0d* from William Jacob (then steward at Stowe), and the other 16 August, in which Bridgeman asks Jacob for a further £20.0s.0d' (Willis 2002, 109 n.14). The nature of his work at Stowe in this period is not clear. Willis makes the assumption, based on the evidence above, that it was to 'design and control the landscape' (Willis 2002, 108), suggesting both a design and a maintenance role for Bridgeman. It is certainly true that by 1716 it is likely that Bridgeman was doing more than routine maintenance of the gardens, or the supply of plants, since £188.16s.0d is not a negligible amount. The entry from 1714 also suggests that by then Bridgeman was employing at least one man and was able to be absent from the site himself.

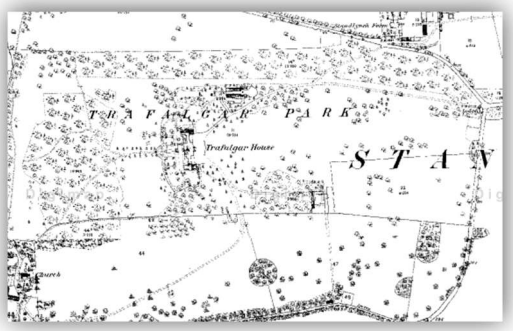
Bridgeman continued to work at Stowe, where, Willis suggests, he presented a new proposal for the garden (Willis 2002, 110). Estate records show that work was begun on these new gardens, presumably those shown in the bird's eye view of Stowe attributed to Bridgeman by Willis (MSGD a4 fo.46), on 'October ye 3d 1720' (HEH Bundle L9F9 cited in Willis 2002, 111 n.19).

Subsequent entries in the same accounts held in the Henry E. Huntington Library show Bridgeman's activity at Stowe between 1720 and 1726. It is possible that his activity there was curtailed by his appointment as Royal Gardener in 1726. Bridgeman's final, documented, visit to Stowe appears to have been on 21st September 1726 when he and Gibbs visited (HEH Stowe Account book 132 cited in Willis 2002, 112 n.23).

Trafalgar Park, Wilts (Standlynch House)

Grid reference: SU 18582 23764





Trafalgar Park: MSGD a3 fo.25 1st Edition OS 1870 1:5,000

Principal geology: chalk

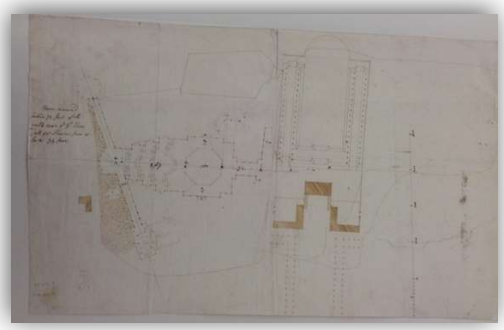
Standlynch House was built for Sir Peter Vandeput, whose ancestors had immigrated under Elizabeth I. His sister was married to Roger Morris.

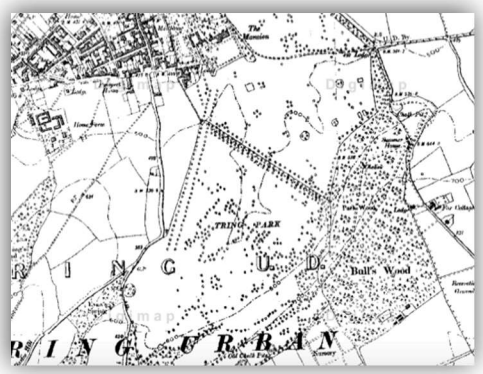
The house at the centre of the present house was designed by Roger Morris. It is built of brick with stone dressings and is seven bays wide and two and a half high. The windows on the east and on the west front and the east door. The west front has a three bay pediment have Gibbs surrounds. It is aligned east-west. There are two pavilions, three by nine bays and two storeyed, connected to the house by corridors. After the death of Sir Peter Vandeput, it was owned by Henry Dawkins who added wings and a porch (Pevsner 1975,529).

Bridgeman's involvement in Trafalgar Park, known as Standlynch House, rests on three plans in the Bodleian Library attributed to him by Willis in the 1995 edition of *Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape Garden.* In the revised 2002 edition, Willis withdrew the attribution of two drawings, MSGD a3 fos 25 and 36, leaving only MSGD a3 fo.24.

Tring, Hertfordshire

Grid reference: SP 92694 11184





Tring: MSGD a4 fo.78

1st Edition OS 1890 1:10,000

Principal geology: Chalk

School for the Performing Arts

Tring Park is a mansion house built by Sir Christopher Wren in 1682 for Henry Guy, Secretary to the Treasury under Charles II. It was sold to Sir William Gore in 1705 and passed to his son, also William on his death in 1708. It was altered in 1786 for Sir Drummond Smith and again in 1872 for the Rothschild family, although these later alterations retained Wren's original conception and ground plan (http://www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk). This particularly applies to the great hall and the staircase. It is a three-story house, brick built with stone dressings and a mansard roof. The two-storey east wing may be by Gibbs.

The park is to the south of the mansion house and was developed by William Gore, Bridgeman's client from 1710 onwards when Akeman Street which had separated the house and potential park was closed. To the south east the park is bounded by the scarp slope of the Chilterns, criss-crossed by geometric paths through woodland, rising in a geometric design to the King Charles II ride which extends 200m along the top of the scarp to a rond point which gives an impressive panorama to the north and north-east. Within the woodland are two buildings, an obelisk and a summer house, both attributed to James Gibbs. The park was bisected by the construction of the A41 (M) in 1974.

Willis attributes three plans in Gough Drawings, MSGD a4 fo.25, MSGD a4 fo.78 and MSGD a4 fo.32, to Bridgeman. Of these, a4 fo.25, although likely to be by Bridgeman, is probably not of Tring. The other two appear to be for Tring and are inscribed on the reverse with 'Mr Frs. Gore'

and ‘Mr Gore of Tring’. The designs suggest a canal extending south from the mansion house towards the edge of the scarp, where the terraces of a theatre rise as it meets the slope. A plan by Colbeck, dated 1719, and an engraving in *Vitruvius Britannicus IV* by Badeslade in 1739, show the canal, and terraces surmounted by a pyramid. In spite of this cartographic evidence, it is not clear exactly what parts of Bridgeman’s design were constructed. Few surface earthworks remain outside the wooded scarp slope. Recent LIDAR (2019) shows faint traces of the canal to the north of the A41 (M) but nothing to suggest either the terraces or the pyramid.

Twickenham, Pope’s garden

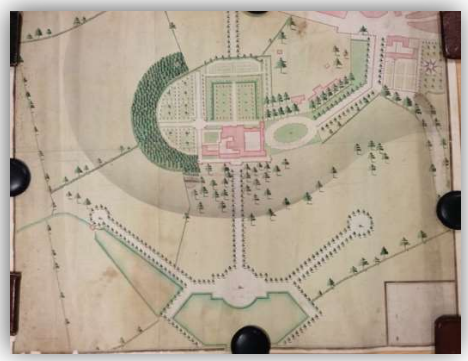
Grid reference TQ 16077 72780

Principal geology: clay, silt, sand and gravel

Bridgeman may have also been involved in Pope’s own garden at Twickenham. Pope writes to the Earl of Oxford in 1725 that he has ‘just turfed a little Bridgemannick Theatre myself. It was done by a detachment of His workmen from the Prince’s’ (G. Sherburn: Correspondence of Alexander Pope, vol. 2 1956, 14 cited in Desmond 1995, 5).

Warwick Priory, Warwickshire

Grid reference: SP 28289 65284



Warwick Priory: CR.56

1st Edition OS 1880 1:7,500

Principal geology: Helsby sandstone formation to the south, and sand and gravel river deposits to the north

Warwickshire County Council, the County Record Office

Warwick Priory stands on a sandstone hill just to the north-east of the centre of Warwick. The site slopes steeply down to the north. It was an Augustinian Priory until the Reformation, dedicated originally to St Sepulchre. It was surrendered to the crown in 1536. The Priory was granted to Thomas Hawkins (alias Fisher) who demolished the Priory buildings and built a house on the same footprint. Henry Wise bought it from its then owner, Lady Bowyer, in 1709, but she continued to live in it until her death in 1727. In this year, Wise retired from his role as Royal Gardener and moved into it. The majority of the house was demolished c.1926 and moved in its entirety to Virginia by A.W. Wedell where it was reassembled. The remaining buildings from part of the Warwickshire Record Office. The park became an amenity owned by Warwickshire Country Council and open to the public in 1953. The more northerly section of the site has been disrupted by the building of railway which runs east to west through the valley below the Priory.

Bridgeman's involvement with Warwick Priory seems to have been in two stages, both connected with Henry Wise. In 1711, as a draughtsman and surveyor, he 'assisted' in and 'Completed' a survey with James Fish the Younger, a local Warwickshire surveyor, of Wise's newly acquired properties of Warwick Priory and Lillington Manor (CR 26.2.1). It is also likely that Bridgeman was the draughtsman for a plan for a remodeled landscape at Warwick Priory (CR. 56), dating from 1727, the date of Wise's retirement to Warwick Priory. It is unclear whether Bridgeman was responsible for anything more than drawing the plan, and indeed, whether the landscape it shows was ever built. LIDAR is inconclusive partly because of the disruption caused by the building of the railway.

Westbury House, West Meon, Hampshire

Grid reference: SU 65671 23856

Westbury House: 1st Edition OS 1870 1:7,500

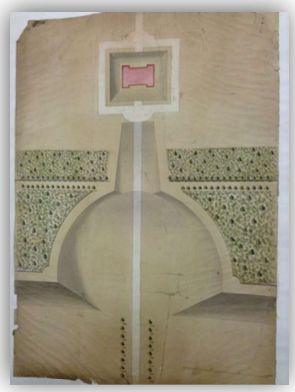
Principal geology: Newhaven chalk formation and alluvium

Westbury House in West Meon was built in the Palladian style for Admiral Philip Cavendish c.1722 (Willis 2002, 62 n.95). The house burnt down in 1904, but was rebuilt and became first a prep school, and then a care home. The care home was closed in 2016 and the building remains empty (www.eastmeonhistory.net/westbury-house).

Evidence in a document held in East Sussex Record Office 'A Particular of the Estate [of the] Late Adml: Cavendish in Hampshire' suggests that the gardens were laid out by 'Mr Bridgman' (MSS G/Ha/42 and G/Ha/66(2a) cited in Willis 2002,62 n.95) although the precise nature of the work and the scale of it are not clear.

Wimbledon, Surrey

Grid reference: TQ24681 71545



Wimbledon: MSGD a3 fo. 3 1st Edition OS 1860 1:5,000

Principal geology: sand and gravel

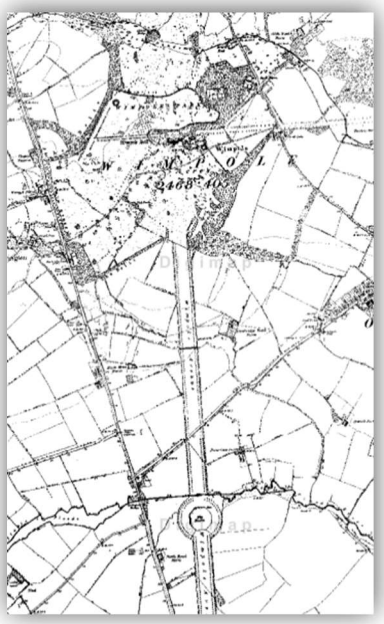
Wimbledon House was bought by the Duchess of Marlborough in 1722. She demolished the remains of the existing house and commissioned a new house. Although Willis suggests that Lord Pembroke and Roger Morris managed the project jointly (Willis 2002, 59), Roger Morris is given credit for the house in *Vitruvius Britannicus V* (1771) (*Vitruvius Britannicus V* pls. 20 -22). Colvin also suggests the involvement of Francis Smith of Warwick (Colvin 1995). The house was separated from the its park by housing development and demolished in 1949.

Bridgeman probably began working for the Duchess of Marlborough at some point after 1732, when she began to build a house in Wimbledon Park (Pevsner and Cherry 1971, 521). He was certainly working for her there in the summer of 1735, when she wrote to her granddaughter that 'Mr Bridgman's account is a great mistake' (Scott Thompson 1946, 156) and that 'Mr Bridgman

went with me to take measures to make the way from the common to the house. He says it will be done in a month, and will be a vast addition to the place' (ibid. 169). There are two undated plans for Wimbledon, MSGD a3 fo.31 and a4 fo.44, both inscribed on the back to indicate that they are for the Duchess of Marlborough, which show Bridgeman's plans for the gardens. Willis suggests that both are intended to address the Duchess of Marlborough's need to enter the house at first floor level (Willis 2002, 59). John Roque's engraving of 1746 shows that the design favoured was a4 fo.44. It also shows a small wilderness with serpentine paths and two groves, which may also be Bridgeman's work.

Wimpole Hall, Cambridgeshire

Grid reference: TL 33536 50980



Wimpole Hall: MSGD a4 fo.69 1st Edition OS 1890 1:20,000

Principal geology: mudstone and chalk

National Trust

Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford (1689 – 1741) was the son of Robert Harley, the first Earl, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Treasurer and leader of the Tories during the reign of Queen Anne (Willis 2002, 69). Educated at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford, he entered parliament in 1711 as MP for Radnor. He lost his seat in 1714, but re entered parliament for Cambridge in 1722 but entered the House of Lords in 1724. From this point on, he remained on

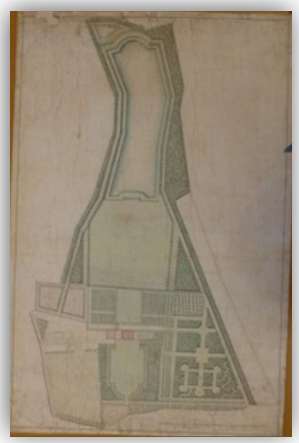
the fringes of public and political life. He married Lady Henrietta Cavendish Holles (1694-1755) in 1713, daughter and heir of John Holles, first Duke of Newcastle. Her fortune was reputed to be £500,000, and she also inherited Wimpole Hall, which the couple made their principal home. He devoted much of his life to collecting manuscripts and books, expanding his father's extensive library until it became one of the most important private libraries in the country. He was also a significant patron of writers such as Matthew Prior and commissioned work from architects such as James Gibbs and painters such as John Wootton and James Thornhill. Unfortunately, he mismanaged his financial affairs significantly and had to sell Wimpole in the late 1730s and move to his London residence in Dover Street. He drank heavily for the remaining part of his life and died in 1741. His collection was broken up and sold, although the manuscripts were sold to the nation and now form a significant collection in the British Library (http://www.oxforddnb.com).

Wimpole Hall is a largely eighteenth-century house, but with seventeenth-century origins and some significant alterations and additions in the nineteenth century. It was begun c.1640 for Sir Thomas Chicheley to replace an earlier moated manor house. This building is at the core of the remodelled house. It is built of red brick and has a double pile central block with lower flanking wings. The south front is symmetrical comprising seven central bays and wings of five bays each. This front was remodelled by Flitcroft in 1742, although the chapel was designed by Gibbs c.1720. He also added a library wing to the north-west. Flitcroft also remodelled the fourteenth-century church in 1749 (www.parksandgardens.org).

There is documentary evidence that Bridgeman frequently visited Wimpole. His visit in 1721 is recorded in James Thornhill's poem *A Hue and Cry after Four of the King's Liege Subjects, who were lately suppos'd to be seen at Roystone in Hartfordshire*, although there is some suggestion that Bridgeman himself is author of the ballad (Willis 2002, 436). He is also recorded by the antiquarian Humfrey Wanley as having frequently visited Harley's library between February 1721 and April 1725 and looked at 'fine books'. Letters held in The Portland (London) Collection in Nottingham University Library contain references to Bridgeman's involvement at Wimpole (Willis 2002, 437).

Wolterton, Norfolk

Grid reference: TG 16309 31846



Wolterton Hall: MSGD a4 fo.20 1st Edition OS 1890 1:7,500

Principal geology: sand and gravel

The estate at Wolterton was bought by Horatio Walpole, brother of Sir Robert Walpole, in 1722. Walpole was a diplomat and politician, serving both in negotiations in Europe and in Walpole's government. Horatio Walpole sat in the Commons from 1710 to 1756, first for seats in Lostwithiel, Castle Rising and Bere Regis, but latterly for the Norfolk constituencies of Great Yarmouth and Norwich. Between 1721 and 1730, during the period which covers the building of Wolterton Hall, he was employed as Secretary to the Treasury and cofferer to the Royal household (https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093).

Walpole had begun to reshape the gardens under the direction of Joseph Carpenter when a fire destroyed the original house. He commissioned Ripley to design and build a new house on a slightly different footprint. The house is in the Palladian style, built of brick and stone under a slate roof. Originally the entrance was on the first floor of the north front, but the steps have been removed and the door is now a window. The house was completed in 1741 (historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1001022).

Bridgeman began work on a substantial project for Horatio Walpole at Wolterton, his newly purchased house in Norfolk. Willis attributes seven plans showing versions of the design for Wolterton, held in Gough Drawings at the Bodleian Library, to Bridgeman. This work is well

documented in letters from Britiffe, Walpole's steward, to Walpole, beginning with the summons of 'Mr Ripley & Mr Bridjely' to see Britiffe on 9th December 1724 at which meeting Britiffe was able to 'Impart to them what [Walpole] desired' (Box 73L 8/5A). Although it is impossible to be sure, it seems likely that the 'Mr Bridjely' referred to in this letter is, in fact, Bridgeman. Both Bridgeman and Ripley were involved in the construction of the house and landscape park at Houghton Hall for Sir Robert Walpole between 1722 and 1730 (Williamson 1998, 49 – 50) and it is completely plausible that this letter indicates that he was involved in the creation of the landscape at Wolterton from 1724. Bridgeman seems to have been involved at least until 1737 when the steward wrote to Walpole '…we have some ale Brewd w[hi]ch I …..is very good but very little wine for what was left by Mr Charters in part dranke when Mr Bridgman and Mr Ripley Have been Heere (w[hi]was but very little)….' (Wolterton archive 8/20 Box 29L).

Wroxall Manor, Warwickshire
Grid reference: SP 21475 70791

Wroxall Manor: 1st Edition OS 1880 1:10,000

Bridgeman may also have been employed in 1714 to produce a survey of Wroxhall Manor in Warwickshire. Willis notes that William Ryland's *Records of Wroxall Abbey and Manor, Warwickshire* contains an illustration, the caption of which reads 'This plan and survey of the Manor of Wroxhall was made by Mr Bridgman in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and fourteen: I have known this plan and survey for upwards of sixty-two years when in the possession of my grand-father Christopher Wren, Esqr. Wroxhall February the eighteenth 1831 Chris Wren'. (Willis 2002, 437). Willis reproduces part of this plan (Willis 2002, 240a and b) dated 1714.

Appendix III

A summary of Willis's catalogue from *Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape Garden*

The following lists are a summary of Willis's catalogue (Willis 2002 pp. 177 – 186 and 425 – 438). Since the dates he gives are largely conjectural, the plans are listed in alphabetical order without dates. The plans for which Willis withdrew attribution in his 2002 addendum have been excluded. All catalogue numbers quoted in the list below are current and not necessarily those given in Willis's text.

Willis listed the following surveys: Windsor Forest (NA MR 1/279), Warwick Priory (WO CR 26.2.1 and 2), Fulham Road (NA MPE 1/482), Hampton Court (NA MPD 1/23), Hyde Park Road (NA MPD 1/164), and Wolterton (BoL MSGD a3 fo.33).

The remainder Willis considered to be designs and are listed below:
Signed: Amesbury Abbey, Wiltshire (BoL MSGD a3* fo.33), Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire,(BP), Hampton Court, Middlesex (SM 36/3/1).
Unsigned: Audley End, Essex (BoL MSGD a4 fo 60 and fo. 67), Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire (BoL MS Top Oxon a37* fo.2), Boughton House, Northamptonshire (two plans and bird's eye view held at Boughton House), Brampton Bryan, Herefordshire (SMVol. 111/43), Brocket Hall, Hertfordshire (BoL MSGD a3 fo.7 and a4 fo.40), Buckingham House, Middlesex (SM 111/42), Claremont, Surrey (SM 62/1/1), Down Hall, Essex (BoL Gough Maps 46 fo.262 and BL Add MS 70371), Eastbury, Dorset (BoL MSGD a3* fo.9 and fo.10, a4 fo.21),Greenwich Park, Middlesex (BoL MSGD a4 fo.49, CL Art/II, CL CMP 30), Gunton Hall, Norfolk (BoL MSGD a4 fo.21, fo,24 and fo.75), Hackwood, Hampshire (BoL MSGD a3 fo.4,), Hampton Court, Middlesex (HH drawings fo.39, BoL MSGD a4 fo.62 and fo.74, BL K.XXIX.14u, NA MPD 1/23), Houghton, Norfolk (BoL MSGD a4 fo.57), Kedleston, Derbyshire (SC), Kensington Gardens, Middlesex (BoL MSGD a3* fo.15, BL K.XXVIII.10.d.1, HEH ST MAP 147, NS CC.2753), Ledston (BoL MSGD a3 fo.19 and a4 fo.85, OT), Lodge Park, Gloucestershire (BoL MSGD a4 fo.68), Lumley Castle, County Durham (SH), Marble Hill, Middlesex (NRO MC 184 10/1 and /2), Mereworth, Kent (MSGD a4 fo.52), Moor Park, Hertfordshire (BoL MSGDa4 fo.48 and fo.58), Purley, West Berkshire (BoL MSGD a4 fo.54), Rischmond Gardens, Surrey (NA Work 32/96, Work 32/282, MR1/528, MR 1/696,), Rousham, Oxfordshire(BoL MSGD fo.63), Sacombe, Hertfordshire (BoL MSGD a4 fo.29 and fo.64), St James' Park, Middlesex (NA Work 32/70 and SM 62.1.1), Scampston, North Yorkshire (BoL MSGD a4 fo.37, fo.66 and fo.73), Stowe, Buckinghamshire (BoL MSGD a4 fo.46), Trafalgar (formerly Standlynch) Wiltshire (BoL MSGD a3 fo.24, fo.25

and fo.36, Tring, Hertfordshire (BoL MSGD a4 fo.25, fo.32 and fo.78), Warwick Priory, Warwickshire (WO CR.56, CR 217), Wimbledon House, Surrey (BoL MSGD a3 fo.31, a4 fo.44), Wimpole, Cambridgeshire (BL Add MS 36278, BoL MSGD a4 fo.30, fo31, fo.35, fo.69, four plans NT), Windsor Castle, Berkshire (SM 111/45) , and Wolterton, Norfolk (BoL MSGD a4 fo.10, fo.18, fo.20, fo.55, fo.56 and fo.61). Five unidentified plans were catalogued. All are held in the Gough Collection in the Bodleian Library. They are: MSGD a4 fo. 22, fo.33, fo.36. fo.fo.37 and fo.43. Willis also included plans for Bridgeman's property in Stilton, acquired in 1736. All are held in the Gough Collection in the Bodleian Library and are catalogued as MSGD a3 fo.40r and 40v, and a4 fo.3 and fo.51.

Willis also suggested, based on documentary evidence, or on other scholarly research, that Bridgeman might have been involved at Badminton in Gloucestershire, at Briggens in Hertfordshire, at Castle Hill in Devon, at Cliveden in Buckinghamshire, at Coopersale in Essex or Welford in Berkshire, at Dallington in Northamptonshire or The Rolls House in London, at Esher in Surrey, at Gobions in Hertfordshire in the construction of Cavendish Square, Grosvenor Square and St James's Square in London, at Hartwell in Buckinghamshire, at Longford Castle in Wiltshire, at Shardeloes in Buckinghamshire, at Wrest in Bedfordshire and at Wroxhall Manor in Warwickshire.