

THE BIRD'S-EYE VIEWS OF L. KNYFF AND J. KIP, AS
PUBLISHED IN BRITANNIA ILLUSTRATA, AND THEIR
USE FOR UNDERSTANDING HISTORIC LANDSCAPES.

BY

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ABSTRACT

The thesis studies the significance of the 120 bird's-eye panoramic prints of designed landscapes by L. Knyff and J. Kip, contained in Volumes I and II of Britannia Illustrata, as a unity. It examines the prints as historical documents, and assesses their use in understanding post-Restoration (1660-1710) gardens.

The first volume of the work that would become *Britannia Illustrata* was first published in 1708 as *Nouveau Theatre de la Grande Bretagne*. Volume II was published, originally, in 1712 as Atkyn's *Ancient and Present History of Gloucestershire*.

Leonard Knyff (born Harlem 1650; died London 1722) came from a family of painters specialising in birds and animals. He was the initiator and artist of the set of subscription prints of English estates belonging to nobility and gentry contained in Volume I.

Johannes Kip (born Amsterdam 1653; died London 1722) worked as a draughtsman, engraver and book illustrator. Kip engraved Knyff's drawings for Volume I and Volume II was his work alone. Britannia Illustrata appears to be their only collaboration although their names have always been subsequently linked together. These prints are early English examples of the Bird's-eye form, or 3 dimensional perspectives drawn from above. The result is a cross between a landscape view and a map.

The study is based on site visits between 1999 and 2003. It also draws on Ordnance Survey maps; estate maps; estate accounts, dockets and vouchers; contemporary gardening books and works of other printmakers/artists. The thesis contains case studies of Combe Abbey, Hampstead Marshall, Cassiobury Park, Hutton-in-the-Forest, Ragley Hall, Great Ribston, Newby, Wollaton Hall, Wimpole and Longleat from Volume I and Cassey Compton or Little Compton, Dumbleton, Leckhampton, Coberly, Fairford, Tortworth, Hailes Abbey, Westbury-on-Severn and Dyrham from Volume II as well as discussions of numerous other landscapes from the collection.

The main conclusions are that the dismissive view of 18th and 19th century historians of the *Britannia Illustrata* Kip and Knyff engravings as works of imagination designed to flatter rich patrons is unfounded. The more recent tendency to accept prints uncritically as historically accurate is equally dangerous. The study found ample evidence that the prints are largely accurate, and that many anomalies can be explained.

The prints are, therefore, immensely valuable for understanding the gardening trends, fashions and influences of designed landscapes of the period. However, whilst being enormously detailed, they do not contain enough information on materials and plantings to act as a blue print for garden conservation or restoration.

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PREFACE.

I cannot now remember when I first saw a reproduction of one of Kip and Knyff's bird's-eye panoramas, but I think it was whilst studying at the Architectural Association in 1996, but I was not then really entranced by them. The engravings need to be seen and appreciated life size. Kip and Knyff's drawings are generally engraved on a plate 47cm wide by 35cm long and printed on a sheet of grainy early 18th century paper, which feels like coarse linen, 59cm wide by 53cm long. So that it was handling a copy of *Britannia Illustrata* in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, in 1998, that initiated a passion for these prints which five years later has not in any way diminished. Their allure is very difficult to convey through reproductions since the detail, which is one of the major elements of interest, is lost in photographs. Even the two thirds size reproductions made for *Country Life* in 1984, (1) though fairly clear in detail, do not convey the feeling of the prints themselves, because of the shiny paper on which they are printed and the uniform blackness of the ink. I have photographed all of the prints as a separate volume to accompany chapters 4 and 5, the chapters, which concern the work of Kip and Knyff individually. These photographs, however, are simply for reference and do not convey the magic of these prints to the viewer. To do this a real print should, ideally, be included in the binding of this thesis, to give an idea of the scale and quality of Kip and Knyff's work.

Part of the fun of working on this thesis has been the travelling to see the houses, which figure in *Britannia Illustrata* and in visiting archives to search for relevant documents concerning them. The Gloucestershire sites were mainly visited in 1999 and the Knyff sites in 2000, though site visits continue with the most recent being Eaton Hall in Autumn 2003. The main archival sources for the Gloucestershire prints are to be found in the deposits in the Gloucester Record Office, where I worked continuously between 1999 and 2000, and where the records for Dyrham, Sherbourne and Westbury-on-Severn, amongst others, are to be found. The archives, which I visited for information on the prints made by Knyff, are more scattered and include the following: The Archive at Longleat, which I visited several times in 1999-2000 and would like to have consulted more, but this is a difficult and expensive archive to use: For Chatsworth and the Devonshire Collection I made visits, between May and July 2000 by arrangement with the Keeper of Collections, Peter Day; The Badminton archives were made available to me by permission of the Duke of Beaufort, from

October 2000 to June 2001, where the archivist, Margaret Richards gave me enthusiastic and knowledgeable help. I was able to see in 2003/4 the building records for Eaton Hall, which can be studied with the permission of the Duke of Westminster, by arrangement with the archivist, Miss Eileen Simpson, at the Cheshire Record Office. The records for the Shirley family at the Leicestershire and Warwick Record offices and for Henry Wise at Warwick Record Office, I saw in 2000. I have also made use of the Vernon Papers in the Worcester Record Office in 2000 and the Caspar Henning Papers in the same archive in 2004. I also consulted the Bedford papers at the Stafford Record Office in 2004. The Craven Papers, the Gough drawings, John Aubrey's manuscript of the History of Wiltshire, the First and Second series Ordnance Survey Maps are in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, as well as a host of early gardening books. The Sloane manuscripts, the letterbook of the Second Earl of Chesterfield, the microfilms of the Thynne papers and the memoir of Sir Richard Southwell by his daughter, and the Diary of Sir Edward Southwell, are some of the documents, which I consulted in the British Library Manuscript Room. In 1999 and 2004, I was able to use the Portland Papers at the University of Nottingham.

As the list above shows, I owe thanks to so many people, who answered my queries and helped find documents, but, first of all, I would like to thank my initial supervisor, Mike Thomas, who was obliged to retire because of illness. Then the library staff at Oxford Brookes, particularly Paula Lockett, Judith Button and Sue Brown, who have helped me so much in the last year, when I have been working out of reach of libraries, with photocopies of essential articles like those from Country Life, both from the library and through the inter-library loan service. The two people to whom I owe the biggest thanks are Professor Brian Goodey, without whom I would have given up completely, and David, with whom I live, and who has borne with my uncertain temper whilst the writing-up was going on.

I feel that at the end of this work that the journey to understand and appreciate the prints of L. Knyff and J. Kip has just begun and that all the work so far has provoked new questions and indicated new places to look for answers.

(1) *Britannia Illustrata Kip and Knyff*; Edited by J. Harris and G. Jackson-Stops 1984, privately printed for members of the National Trust, by Paradigm Press, Bungay.

CHAPTER 1

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PRINTS OF LEONARD KNYFF AND JOHANNES KIP, PUBLISHED IN VOLUMES ONE AND TWO OF BRITANNIA ILLUSTRATA, FOR THE STUDY OF EARLY DESIGNED LANDSCAPES.

The suite of bird's-eye prints made by Knyff and Kip of houses and parks belonging to great aristocrats, lesser gentry and professional men in England, between the last years of the 17th century and the end of the first decade of the 18th century, are both very well known to researchers into designed landscapes but are also, frequently, denied their place or undervalued, as a prime source for the study of the gardens and parks of this period. Their value lies in their range and variety and this is something, which is not easily studied without an unrestricted and detailed examination of all one hundred and twenty of them together. Consequently no comprehensive study of them as a record of designed landscapes has been attempted before.

The set includes landscapes surrounding the houses of monarchs such as William III's Hampton Court, and Charles II and James II's St. James Palace, great nobles such as the Dukes of Beaufort and Devonshire, successful entrepreneurs like Sir William Blackett at Newcastle, Bristol merchants and minor county gentry, particularly those of Gloucestershire. Not only are the views in the prints extraordinarily various but they give the viewer a sense of place, which no map can quite convey and include details not easily found by digging. This study is intended to examine whether these views are a reliable tool for discovering and evaluating the history of the landscapes they portray both individually and, more especially, as a group.

But first something should be said about where the prints come from and why these prints are more interesting than the work of other contemporary printmakers. As works of topographical record they are in a much higher category of representational ability compared to most other printmakers working in England at the same time. The artists' grasp of perspective is superior, as is their ability in drawing and appreciation of scale. Their work outclasses the later work of topographical print-makers such as Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, who published from 1711 to 1779, but were not exponents of the bird'-eye view, or that of contemporaries like John Drapentier. Drapentier worked more in the same style as Kip and

Knyff and provided the plates to Sir Henry Chauncy's Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire (1700). His plate of Aspenden Hall (Figure 1) from the latter work is a much more naive work, whose bad drawing and faulty scale make it difficult to see how it could ever be used as a reliable piece of data.

Why take the work of these two artists in tandem? They were certainly thought of as a pair by the first historian of the history of art in England, Georges Vertue. The reason for the association is a practical one. The prints, of which there are roughly one hundred and twenty, (the number varies slightly from copy to copy because of the personal nature of 18th century book making) first appeared as a suite in the initial two volumes of Nouveau Theatre de la Grande Bretagne, simultaneously called Britannia Illustrata, the name by which the series finally went by, in 1708 and 1716. The second volume had a previous life as the illustrations for Sir Robert Atkyns' Ancient and Present History of Gloucestershire (1712). There were eventually four folio volumes in this series and a supplement but the later volumes do not have the unity of the first two, being composed of assorted prints of vastly different subjects by several other printmakers. The two artists are yoked together in this study because Knyff, whose work comprises the first volume, did not engrave his own drawings. They were engraved by Kip, who was the composer and engraver of all the plates in the second volume. This link gives great continuity of style and format to the prints. Not only did Kip's style as an engraver prevail over Knyff's as a draughtsman, but the work of both men was anyway so similar that the few drawings that do survive are not always easily attributable to either artist. Kip later engraved the work of Thomas Badeslade, who provided the plates for Dr John Harris' History of Kent (1719). Thomas Badeslade (d.1745) was a surveyor and engineer who may have been a pupil of Kip's and learnt to draw bird's-eye views from him. However, his plates were not included as a suite in Britannia Illustrata, and to add his set to the first two might have made an already very large group too unwieldy. Chapter III contains as a full discussion as possible of the rather erratic history of the compilation these of two volumes.

The quantity of the prints and the integrity of the two sets, the result of having a common engraver, are one reason for regarding these prints seriously. The second reason is the convention used to reproduce the landscapes, which is the bird's-eye form of the axonometric perspective view. This is a three dimensional perspective view, drawn from

above with the lines of sight perpendicular to the projection plane and the principal axes inclined to the projection plane. The corollary is a worm's eye. At the period under discussion the printmakers of France and the Low Countries excelled in this area. Neither of the two men pioneered the introduction of this essentially Continental method of drawing a landscape to England. Artists like Jan Siberechts, (1607-? 1703) or Hendrik Danckerts (1625-1680) were the innovators, but Kip and Knyff were amongst the most competent exponents of the method among the artists of the period covered by Britannia Illustrata, which would appear to be the last two decades of the 17th century and the first ten years of the 18th century. Indeed, Knyff's training was as a painter, and he may well have learned to make bird's-eye views from landscape painters like Siberechts and Danckerts. Several bird's-eye views in oils were painted by him, such as the one of Hampton Court dated 1702 or one from a similar period of Staunton Harold (1704). However, although the approximate time span covered by the prints can be arrived at, putting a date to an individual print is more difficult. Very few prints have dates engraved on them, nor are they all easily datable precisely from other sources. The rare date engraved in the title of a print, such as 1699 originally applied to the three plates ordered by the widowed Duchess of Beaufort, sometimes refers to other events than the date when the original drawing was made. In this case the year of her husband's death and the views themselves seem to have been ordered later than 1699, in 1701 or 1702. (1)

The importance of the bird's-eye is its viewpoint above and slightly to the front of the subject matter. This is a method, which seems to have had its beginnings in map making. The first example of the method surviving, is a map, of Venice, by Jacopo de' Barberi, dated 1500, and the last well known major mapping exercise, using the bird's-eye viewpoint, is that by Louis Bretez and Michel-Etienne Turgot, who made a folio of twenty-one engraved maps of Paris published of 1739. (3) The mid to late 17th century and the early decades of the 18th century are roughly the high period for the bird's-eye. It is this map-like quality which enables Kip and Knyff's prints to convey such a store of valuable architectural and landscape information to the viewer. There are hints within the corpus that some sort of surveying technique was used by the occasional inclusion of a measurement, such as the length of the avenues in the third print of Badminton, or the acreage of the lake at Westwood, and many of the prints are more like maps than topographical illustrations, such as the views of St. James,

the second print of Wrest Park and the third print of Badminton in Volume I and the prints of Earl Bathurst's house in Cirencester and of Miserden in Volume II. Although it is not possible to associate a map directly with a print by Kip and Knyff, there is both a bird's-eye print and a map of Erddig, (Both displayed in the house) drawn by Thomas Badeslade in 1739-1740. The map in this case seems to be the basis for the aerial perspective of the house and landscape. It appears, however, that strict 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 on one plate; Dyrham Park in volume II is such a case. This becomes evident if one tries to draw a more strict perspective view oneself. This characteristic may betoken a link with the techniques used in designing stage scenery to enable large panoramas to be viewed from the audience by tilting the plane forward but it may be no more than a convention to allow a much larger panorama to be included in the resulting print.

It should be noted that where there is no extended designed landscape attached to a building, the two printmakers do not always employ the bird's-eye but choose a lower viewpoint or even the standard "flat on" view, known at the time as an "upright" (2). Bolsover Castle (Derbyshire), Chepstow Castle (Monmouth), the Tower of London, Lambeth Palace and Windsor Castle (Berkshire), whose landscape was still in an embryonic state, except for a few avenues planted in the time of Charles II, are all given the more conventional treatment. To underline the point, there is a second view of Windsor from the south side of the castle in which the house of the Duke of St. Albans is seen. This house had large formal gardens and here the view is a bird's-eye of its elaborate parterres. The bird's-eye panorama is the only effective way of reproducing the relatively new vast geometric landscapes. (Figure. 2)

Why is such a remarkable glimpse of so many designed landscapes neither regarded more seriously in the study of such landscapes nor more generally esteemed as a worthwhile resource, (4) especially since the prints were made at a critical time in the development of the formal landscape in England? Knyff and Kip portray magnificent gardens such as William III's Hampton Court Palace (Middlesex), Badminton (Gloucestershire), Hampton Court (Hertfordshire), Longleat (Wiltshire), Chatsworth (Derbyshire), Bretby (Derbyshire), Dyrham (Gloucestershire), Cassiobury (Hertfordshire), all of which were newly re-made in the grand manner at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries. One of the most remarkable

aspects of these prints, taken as a whole is that they chart the change from the small and rather utilitarian landscapes, which routinely surrounded both the great and the gentry house, in the 16th and 17th centuries, familiar to us from estate maps and pictures like Jan Siberecht's 1675 portrait of the south front of Longleat, (Figure 53) to the much larger sophisticated ones composed of regular formal gardens surrounded by a web of avenues receding into the distance. This was the style, which came to be despised as tastes changed under the influence of poets like Pope or James Thomson, patrons like the Earl of Burlington and landscape designers like William Kent, Charles Bridgeman and Lancelot Brown, but which, nonetheless, forms the basis of the "typical" English country house landscape of the later 18th century. Kip and Knyff show views in their prints of the magnificent recent layouts of Chatsworth, Bretby, Dyrham and Badminton as well as innumerable examples of the earlier agglomerations of small gardens and yards, which abound in the Gloucestershire series. In short they give a panorama, albeit a rather eccentric one, because of the nature of the publishing history of the prints, of a transitional period in garden art.

First, comes the adoption in England of the magnificent continental style, principally derived from France after the Restoration of Charles II, which led to greatly enlarged gardens, centred on axes running through the house, and then, in the last years of the 17th century, a second wave of French, influence, but this time modified by Dutch taste, when William and Mary reigned. However, more details of these trends and how they relate both generally and specifically to the prints are given in the more detailed analysis of specific gardens in chapter 6.

Yet this magnificent resource has not always received a good press from later historians, from Ralph Bigland in the late 18th century to John Kenworthy-Browne's (5) first guide book for the National Trust at Dyrham in the 20th and, neither George Vertue nor the writer of their potted histories in the Dictionary of National Biography, accorded Kip and Knyff praise on the artistic front. This attitude has coloured the general approach of the landscape historian to the prints, even to the extent of suggesting that they are mainly works of the imagination, or at best the results of exuberant artistic license. Again these opinions are discussed more specifically, in detail, in the chapters 4 and 5 in which the work of each artist is analyzed.

Conversely, more recent landscape writings seem to rely on them almost routinely, assuming that the print can be used as evidence without comment. As an example, the print of New Park (Surrey), which belonged to Lawrence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, is accepted by David Jaques and Arend van der Horst in The Gardens of William And Mary, as a reliable view of the landscape (6) and fieldwork on the park was, as a consequence, carried out on the same assumption, using the print as a template, fortunately with results satisfactory to the researchers. (7) A similar attitude is inherent in the Register of Historic Parks and Gardens 'entry for Staunton Harold (Leicestershire), or in the discussion of Melton Constable (Norfolk) in Norfolk Country Houses from the Air, (2000) in both of which the Kip and Knyff print is presented as part of the chain of evidence for the development of the landscape, without any further elucidation or explanation. In The Grovesnors of Eaton, (2002), the print of Eaton is presented as a definitive representation of the house and park in the 1670s (8) again without any discussion.

It is much more common to find the prints published, nowadays, individually, than discussed as a group. They occur frequently as illustrations decorating the guide books of those houses, open to the public, which are fortunate to have been the subject of such a print as with, Hutton-in-the-Forest (Cumberland), Ragley Hall (Worcestershire), Dyrham (Gloucestershire), Westbury-on-Severn (Gloucestershire), but they are again very seldom properly discussed or thoroughly evaluated in these manifestations (9). It is as if a topographical print cannot be regarded as being important as a document or nor can it be given the importance accorded to its modern equivalent, the photograph. Nikolaus Pevsner's series, The Buildings of England, routinely cites Knyff and Knyff's works where they occur and gives them a higher status than that of mere pictorial decoration but then his interest is essentially the built environment to which these gardens are the background.

The prime question of this study is, whether a print by Knyff and /or of Kip is in any sense a valid representation of the landscape it purports to portray and whether it can be regarded, as a consequence, as a valuable and reliable tool for the landscape historian, taken as part of the whole or singly. Can it still be a prime tool if it should be, as it often is, the only evidence for the layout of a house and garden at the time when it was made? Can the information the prints contain carry the researcher beyond understanding the sites in them to a more practical use of their contents? Furthermore can the prints, in any circumstances be

regarded as a good enough source for the restoration and management of a site, even in the case where a print is the only documentary evidence? Do the prints, taken as a group, allow us to chart trends in taste and design in a more general sense? The answers will arrived at by examining as many prints as is reasonable, from both volumes, for which ancillary evidence and documentation still exists and by forming conclusions from these case studies about individual sites and about the complete series.

Nonetheless even if a print is a satisfactory piece of evidence for a landscape it is not necessarily easy to use for a restoration project. Occasionally an individual print has been used as the prime source for the remaking of a landscape. The restoration of the formal garden Westbury – on – Severn (Gloucestershire) by the National Trust uses the Kip print, almost exclusively, as the basis for the re-creation of the c.1702 landscape. The only other evidence is what is left of a site, which is no longer in one piece, and some obscure account jottings. (10) In this case one could reasonably claim that the result is a variation on the theme of the print. This has occurred, partly, because the site has been compromised by the main house having been demolished and the site now used for old people's accommodation and, partly, to make the garden as interesting as possible for visitors. The more exciting elements of the print have been moved and used, out of their original place, in the re-creation, because what is left of the site would have housed the vegetable and fruit garden and not the more colourful flower garden and parterres. In this case the print has not really been the blueprint for restoration, which is what this study is interested in, but as an inspiration for a recreation.

If a print can truly be used in such a way, what can it reliably tell us and where is it too weak and unreliable to be of much use? Can one trust either its perspective or scale, where the overhead viewpoint inevitably distorts? Possibly one can, because it does seem that an element of measurement is present, an issue discussed further in chapter 2. Notwithstanding this factor, are some elements willfully distorted to increase their size and importance and inconvenient elements omitted where they detract? Are some views imbued with elements, which for various reasons were not built? All of these problems occur and are discussed in further chapters. Another obvious failing is going to be in the assessment of the essential element of colour. Although it is possible to get an idea, from the drawing conventions used, of what parts or the design are grass, and what are gravel or earth, there is

no way of knowing that statues, gates, railings and pots are gilded and painted, or that walls and steps are sometimes whitewashed. Painting, gilding and whitewashing were used often and entries occur for payments for such work in the accounts of Dyrham, Longleat and Chatsworth. (11) Another difficulty lies both in interpreting the fine detail that is present and remedying the inevitable lack of visual information when so much is crammed into a small compass. Although the prints are in general remarkable in this area, one must remember that the dimensions of the plates, though large in terms of contemporary prints, being a double folio in size, still only contain an area of 17.5 or 19 inches high by 13.5 inches wide, into which the artists crammed vast panoramas. Nonetheless, coney-garths complete with rabbits can be seen in the print of Westbury-on-Severn and duck-holes with ducks at Dyrham and bowling greens peopled by parties of players with the bowls visible, are common, occurring in the prints of Cassiobury (Hertfordshire), Wollaton (Nottingham) and Uppark (Sussex). Occasionally the artists were defeated by the area of what they wanted to portray and had to use several plates as they did for Grimsthorpe in Lincolnshire and for Badminton.

Also because of the scale, one can not tell from a print what the variety of plants in a parterre are, beyond the alternation of pyramid and mop headed standards, or what variety of trees are being planted other than the broad difference between conifers and deciduous trees. And so, even were a print to prove an unfailingly reliable source it could still never be approached without looking for help in its interpretation from other sources such as contemporary gardening books and other practical literature as well as original documents.

This may indeed mean that the prints, even if they possess a complete accuracy as to dimensions and layout, are nonetheless difficult to interpret and need to be used with caution as John Harris suggests in his updating of the National Trust's Dyrham guidebook (12). They cannot be used alone as a source. This may be the reason why at Dyrham, where the records are unusually full, and where the footprint of the garden made by William Blathwayt at the turn of the 17th century is still plainly visible, the National Trust are not intending, in remaking the landscape, to attempt to replace the original one. Perhaps it might be unreasonable to expect them to try, if cost counts, to re-establish the enormous cascade and canal and stone terraces. Instead the Trust is considering a contemporary design, (Figure 3) "which will bring back some of the style and symmetry of the earlier garden" (13) Has this decision simply side-stepped the issues that using the prints raise or does it underline the

unavoidable difficulties in using the prints as a conservation tool, no matter how reliable they turn out to be? There is a suspicion that cost is an essential element in the decision to rebuild the garden when one sees that the cascade is to be replaced with a platform of low cut beech which will ascend the cascade hill, and that the new scheme is one in which green elements prevail. However there would have been problems and issues in deciding what the fine details of the print, which portray the crucial elements of the garden, plants, trees and surface finishes, actually mean, as those involved in the Privy Garden restoration at Hampton Court Palace found. (14). The author of the new design, the architect, Arne Maynard, has avoided these issues and is using the engraving by Kip, along with archaeological information as an “inspiration”, and not “a blue print,” intending to “bring the wildness of the garden into a formal framework.” He sees his job as one of reinterpretation, in which he makes a new garden, in this case adding features such as an amphitheatre and four beds filled with a modern form of herbaceous planting, which were never a part of the Blathwayt garden but which, nevertheless, are appropriate for the property its surroundings. (15) This proposal is at present just a suggestion and will need planning permission to implement because of the listed status of the existing landscape. However, if the restoration of the early garden is not a realistic proposition, this new garden seems unnecessary since the landscape, which remains at Dyrham now, is the quite pleasing result of the changes in taste over the intervening three hundred years.

In conclusion, it is the number, detail, overhead viewpoint and connection to map making which makes this suite of prints potentially so valuable as a source for landscape history and worth investigating. It is thought that not enough research has, as yet, gone into their use either as a group or individually and that, consequently, assumptions are often made about their worth, which are not true. Individually, however, as a blueprint for the restoration of a specific garden, it is anticipated that there is not enough information within a print for it be used for this purpose without other ancillary sources.

Lastly in this introduction to the subject matter of the thesis the programme followed in the subsequent chapters is set out. The next chapter, Chapter 2, outlines the methodology adopted in studying the two suites of prints, including the decision to obtain a full set from both Volume I and Volume II, and discusses and assesses the various sources available. Chapter 3 sets out the background to the compilation of Britannia Illustrata, including what is

known of the lives of Knyff and Kip. It also sets the production of the prints in their historical context and elucidates both the connection between the two artists and why the two men's work is studied as separate but linked entities. It also examines the precise nature of the bird's-eye view and its element of measurement. Chapter 4 concentrates on the landscapes drawn by Knyff and Chapter 5 on those by Kip. In both of these chapters attention is paid to the views of subsequent writers on landscape of the value of the work of each artist as well as covering several sites in detail. In chapter 4, Knyff's views of Staunton Harold, Combe Abbey, Hampstead Marshall, Cassiobury Park, Hutton-in-the-Forest, Newby, Wollaton Hall, Ragley, Wimpole, Chatsworth and Longleat are examined in detail. In chapter 5 studies are made of Kip's bird's-eyes of Cassey Compton, Dumbleton, Leckhampton, Coberley, Fairford, Tortworth, Westbury-on-Severn and Dyrham. The final chapter draws together the findings from these two investigations and draws conclusions about the worth of the prints as a source for landscape history, particularly concerning the nature of various design influences in the period covered by the prints, the sources which influenced the makers of these landscapes, both dilettante and professional and the precise nature and quality of the information they contain of interest to the conserver and restorer.

NOTES

- (1) Duchess of Beaufort's letter to one of her daughters dated c. November 1701, Badminton Muniments FT/B 1/2/1(24) from which it is clear that Knyff's three prints are a retrospective monument to the late Duke. One of the three prints from this series remains at Badminton with the date 1699 in the bottom left corner. This date has been scraped off the plate when it was included in Britannia Illustrata and it and the other two plates have traces of the date still visible notwithstanding the attempt to remove it.
- (2) A commonly used term for elevation as opposed to plan or plat or ground plat. For example, John James writes, "You may judge by the Upright of the Handsome effect this Cascade would make." This comes from p.156 of Theory and Practice of Gardening (1712), which is a translation of an earlier book by Dezailier d'Argenville, itself, the only exposition of the grand style of Le Nostre, published in Paris in 1709.
- (3) The Noble Collection: The Spenser Album of Old Master Prints, M. B. Cohn, Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass. 1992, p.143. See also, G. Lambert, Les Premiers Gravures Italiennes Bib, de France, Paris 1999 and The Folding World, Catalogue of the Shapero Gallery, London Spring 2003. There are modern protagonists of this method of depicting landscapes such as Jonathan Miles-Lea.
- (4) More opinions of this sort are mentioned in chapters 4 and 5 of this study in relation to both sets of prints.
- (5) J. Kenworthy-Browne: Dyrham Park, The National Trust 1998 edition, pp.37-38.
- (6) D. Jaques and J. van der Horst, The Gardens of William and Mary p.76.
- (7) There By Design: Field Archaeology in Parks and Gardens; see the contribution Giant Steps; Fieldwork in London's Parks by P. Pattison; p.40.
- (8) See Register of Historic Parks and Gardens: the entry for Staunton Harald, which forms Appendix A to the Staunton Harald Conservation Area Appraisal and Study, April 2001, published by North West Leicestershire District Council on the Internet. This version is unpaginated. Norfolk County Houses from the Air, by D. Edwards and T. Williamson, 2000, p.32. The Grovesnors of Eaton, by D. Newton and J. Lumby,

published in 2002, p.8.

(9) In the Hutton-in-the-Forest guide book the Knyff is used as the cover of the book, Westbury on Severn, National Trust 1997, center fold pages 24 and 25, Ragley Hall guide book, page 22; Dyrham Park, National Trust, 1998, p38, is an exception, here the print attracts criticism about the reliability of its information. The Trust also sells copies of the engraving as a souvenir and The House, A Portrait of Chatsworth, 1982, by the Duchess of Devonshire, uses the Chatsworth print as a design for endpapers.

(10) Gloucester Record Office; D36 A4.

(11) References are attached to these later discussions.

(12) Dyrham Park, The National Trust, 1998, pp. 37-38.

(13) National Trust News Letter for members, Spring 2003, p.9.

(14) The full account of this restoration is given in a special issue of Apollo, 1995.

(15) Gardens Illustrated, June 2003, pp.96 and 97.

CHAPTER 2

THE METHODOLOGY USED IN ESTIMATING THE RELIABILITY OF KIP AND
KNYFF'S PRINTS.Selection of prints to be studied:

One of the fundamental difficulties involved in this endeavor is the necessity for constant access to both sets of prints. Britannia Illustrata is not especially rare. The Bodleian Library at Oxford University has four copies of Volume I and three of Volume II, for example. There are, outside libraries, increasingly fewer intact copies available, because of the habit of the print trade of breaking up the folios in order to sell the prints individually. As recently as October 2003 the American dealer, Warren Bagget (www.rareprintsgallery.com), was offering, singly, the complete set of prints from a 1740 edition of Britannia Illustrata, all of which had been hand coloured. It quickly became apparent that more frequent and more intimate access to the prints was needed than using library copies allowed. It would be necessary to photograph each print both as a whole and in part, in the course of the study, and to produce an appendix with photographs of all the prints as part of the review (2) to enable the reader to have an idea of what their scope actually is. It might also be necessary to compare details across the series and maybe make copies of them, and above all, to be able to compare the print with the site, which meant either having instant access after a visit to the folios, or taking the prints to the site. This last is the most useful way of comparison. When visiting Combe Abbey (Warwickshire), print in hand, it was immediately and disconcertingly obvious that a wing on the house as drawn by Knyff was missing and an older building stood on the site and more investigation revealed that the missing wing had been projected but never built.

Because of the need to handle and use the prints it rapidly became clear that it would be necessary to own some of them. Bearing in mind the cost, from £ 200 to £250 per print, depending on the desirability of the subject, it was hoped that by purchasing, if possible, two prints from each series to use as paradigms, that this small group would contain enough information to give an idea of typical detail and layout. Beyond this it might be possible to work with photographs, where they existed, in order to flesh the four prints out, notwithstanding that photographs are not good enough for seeing minute details. The Bodleian Library's copies would then be used as a backup source of reference. Accordingly,

it was decided to try and find two prints from each volume of gardens: two of great houses such as Chatsworth, or Dyrham, and two of gardens surrounding houses belonging to lesser gentry or squires. And so, prints were acquired from Sanders of Oxford of Westbury-on-Severn, owned by Maynard Colchester and Little Compton, owned by Sir Richard Howe, Bart; both smaller houses from the Gloucestershire or Kip series, and of Dunham Massey, incidentally a dated print of 1697, owned by George Booth, Earl of Warrington and Eaton Hall, owned by Sir Thomas Grovesnor Bart, coincidentally both in Cheshire, from the first or Knyff series. However, this too was not a good enough basis to work on. Because of the very diverse variety of the landscapes in the prints these four prints were by no means typical, and it was difficult to decide which selection of the prints would be appropriate, assuming that they could be found. Furthermore, buying photographs of the rest of the prints from Bodley was expensive, slow and not very useful. And so, the solution had to be to buy copies of Volume I and II of Britannia Illustrata. Sanders had a 1708 copy, the earliest version, of Volume I, which contains Knyff's prints, (3) but not a Volume II of the right date. Fortunately it was possible to buy instead a 1768 edition of Atkyn's Ancient and Present History of Gloucestershire, printed first in 1712, from a dealer in Bath. Atkyns' history was the origin of all the Kip prints in the second post 1712 volume of Britannia Illustrata and contains all the prints found in Volume II as well a few extra, such as views of Gloucester town and cathedral. The list of prints used from this version has been conflated with the earliest copy of Volume II in the Bodleian, that of 1724, by using the running order from this volume and by excluding the prints from Atkyns' work not reused in Volume II. From this starting point the plan was to proceed by a combination of field visits, archive work, contemporary printed sources and maps; In short a process of triangulation between print, site and archive and printed material, choosing the fullest examples, both for good and ill, as patterns from which to evaluate the rest of the series of prints and tackling each book separately.

Site visits, initial timetable:

Site visits, which amongst other advantages, point out the differences in scale between one place and another since the uniform plate size tends to make everywhere look much the same size, were programmed for the late Spring, Summer and early Autumn in 1999, 2000, 2001, with a gap for 2002 and a few being made in 2003. To be made when the

deciduous trees are in leaf, because this is the time that Kip and Knyff would themselves have been able to travel in the difficult contemporary road conditions. All the prints are of the summer or early autumn months with trees in full leaf. This process was begun in 1999/2000, with a series of sorties into Gloucestershire, the subject of the prints in Volume II, as the easier of the two volumes, the sites being much more accessible from Oxford and much of the relevant archival matter being held in the Gloucester Record Office.

In 2000/2001 and 2003, the work was continued with sites in Volume I, much less easy, because many are very far away (see map in chapter 4) in North Yorkshire, Westmoreland and Cumberland. With the Gloucestershire sites one could afford to visit as many as were reachable and hunt for archive links afterwards in the rich mine of the Gloucester Record Office, but with the sites in the first book, it was more expedient to choose those where one knew, thanks to the Historical Manuscript Commission, that archive sources existed and that it would be reasonably easy to access them. Unfortunately in 2001, from early spring, access to many places particularly those in the north, became impossible because of the foot and mouth epidemic and access continued to be restricted well into 2002. For this reason, visits are still being essayed, wherever possible although most of the basic research has been done.

Site visits, results:

The extreme fluidity and surprising fragility these landscapes as physical entities makes site visits often very perplexing. There is for example virtually nothing left of the magnificent landscapes of either Eaton Hall (Cheshire) (Demolition started on the later Eaton Hall by Alfred Waterhouse as recently as 1961)(4) or of Bretby (Derbyshire) not because they have been destroyed, as houses like Hampstead Marshall have been, but because later houses and different landscapes replaced those that Kip and Knyff drew. One could say that the continuing prosperity of such houses virtually ensured the destruction of the landscape in the print. Conversely, when a house has lost status and been downgraded to a farm, a thing not uncommon amongst the Gentry Houses of Gloucestershire, the landscape of Kip's time, though neglected, often survives beneath the ground. One can see the almost complete fossilized earthworks of the garden Kip saw, surrounding what remains of the house at Cassey Compton. If a landscape has continued to evolve as fashions change, it has often undergone radical changes, which obscure the original pattern, especially when the

undulating “natural” landscapes of the mid to late 18th century, which often involved remaking contours, overlay the earlier formal one.

Sites and archaeology:

These changes can affect the sub structure as well making archeological investigation perplexing so that where it exists archaeological work is not always very helpful. Archaeological investigations of the banqueting house at Temple Newsam (Yorkshire, West Riding), which appears in the eponymous print, was unable to determine whether the building was located on the site as shown in the print, because of the latter extensive remaking of the landscape by Lancelot Brown. (5) Conversely, William and Mary’s remaking of the Tudor Privy garden at Hampton Court had the same effect on the older substructure, leveling the site to marry it to the new Wren King’s Apartments. Hampton Court Palace’s Privy Garden is the only garden amongst the 120 prints where intense archaeological investigation, using magnetic resonancing amongst other techniques, has been carried out in order to re-instate the formal gardens that Kip and Knyff depicted. However, the print from Britannia Illustrata did not form part of the chain of evidence because it gives far too small and indistinct a view of this tiny part of the whole Hampton Court Palace landscape. (Figure 22) Instead, another Knyff drawing in the British Museum c.1702 was used. (6) It is unlikely that other archaeological investigations, leading to a restoration, would be entertained, especially for such a house as Casey Compton, which is privately owned and not exceptional, except in this one respect. Expense is one factor. Another is the fact that one restores one layer of landscape activity at the expense of others, both earlier and later, which are destroyed in the work, a consideration, which now affects most archaeological sites. The Hampton Court Palace restoration was quite controversial because evidence of all the succeeding gardens was destroyed as well as some trees and hollies, which posthumous ring counts dated back to Queen Anne’s reign.

Importance of site evidence:

However a visual reconoitre of the remains of landscapes has formed a major and very important part of this investigation and a comparison with what one can see and what was drawn. As a consequence one or two of the landscapes in the prints do look, when one compares the print and the remains of the earthworks on the site, as if they might be excellent candidates for archaeological investigation and a subsequent attempt at restoration

in the manner of Hampton Court Palace. These are few, and are places where, very shortly after the print was made, some radical change of use or downgrading of the status of the house and landscape or some catastrophe interrupted the normal organic process of landscape growth. Cassey Compton (Gloucestershire) is certainly such a site, but there is almost no more evidence to be found for it beyond the print and the visible landscape remains. Another site is Hampstead Marshall (Berkshire) destroyed by fire in 1719 (7) where substantial built remains, such as gates can be seen and until recently, in oblique light clear outlines of the great garden remained beneath the surface. Then deep ploughing began to erode them.

These are exceptional places. Dumbleton Hall (Gloucestershire), a site where the house itself was completely erased in the 19th century, retains as a depression in a field the central section of the formal garden, made in the 1690s (8) and this level of survival of physical remains is more common. However in these three sites, the tangible, physical evidence has formed part of the process of triangulation. Many of the discussions of the different places, which follow in chapters 4 and 5, are accompanied by photographs taken on site visits and which, themselves, form part of the evidential train. With this form of evidence the print itself is being used as a check on the landscape and *visa versa* as part of a dialogue. Occasionally the results of this dialogue are contradictory and appear to negate the idea of the prints as a valid resource. Combe Abbey has already been mentioned, but looking at Hailes Abbey (Gloucestershire), and Cassiobury Park (near Watford) also produced alarming contradictions between landscape and print.

For many of the sites the visible remains, with or without the house are all that one has to go on. What remains is almost always landform or small architectural features like gate piers, but now and then some plants remain; trees are obviously the best survivors because of their longevity. There would be more avenues surviving had Dutch Elm disease not devastated elms, which had been, with lime, the preferred tree for avenues. Sometimes lime avenues survive as that at Sandywell Park. (Cheltenham, Gloucestershire) where a lime avenue runs from a marvelous late 18th century wrought iron gate to the main façade of the house. Sometimes a large specimen tree such as the Tortworth chestnut at Tortworth (Gloucestershire) is still extant. Rarer still are the green components of a formal parterre but, at Cassey Compton, the pyramid yews on the edge of the bowling green terrace and its

mirror on the other side of a lawn, can be seen, grown large but still bearing the traces of the frequent pruning needed to have kept them as pyramids.

Questions posed by site visits:

There have been occasions when it has not been possible to equate a site with a print, even by trying to orientate oneself by the copious information included in it about the more distant landscape of fields, mountains, rivers and landmarks like church towers, which have often, but not always, never been moved. More information about the subsequent history of the whole landscape is required to identify where it is. For example, Sir Mathew Hale's modest manor house, drawn for his widow Mary, in Alderly, near Winchcombe (Gloucestershire) was difficult to locate. The position given to it by the Kip plate in relation to the church tower did not agree with that given to it by Pevsner in the Gloucestershire and the Cotswolds volume of The Buildings of England (9). In this case the body of the church had been rebuilt but the late mediaeval tower had been left, so that the church was a reliable fixed point. Nor did its placement in relation to Winner Hill up which the terraces of its gardens climb match the spot where Pevsner placed Sir Mathew's house. The puzzle was not unraveled until, in reading Sir Mathew's will of 1706, (10) it appeared that he had had two house in Alderly and had left one, called the Upper House to his cousin, also a Mathew Hale, and this is the one Pevsner discusses, and to his wife, he left the manor house and the rest of the manor of Alderly, which is the house in the print. Likewise it was difficult to be convinced that Brockhampton Park, Sevenhampton, near Cheltenham was Kip's Sevenhampton until Nicholas Kingsley pointed out in his excellent The Country Houses of Gloucestershire, that it had been extensively re-modeled and greatly enlarged, in the Cotswold Style in 1860 and in 1900. (11) The result is still very difficult to equate with the Kip original.

Pitfalls of site visits:

There are also pitfalls to be wary of. Occasionally, as the interest in formal gardens has grown, a conscious effort has been made by the owners of some private houses to reinstate the gardens, using the print loosely as a blue print. The two examples that I found are all from Gloucestershire. They are, Ampney Crucis and Bradley Court, which are two small manor houses. The National Trust has also undertaken a similar restoration at Westbury-on-Severn, which is more carefully researched, as one would expect and is

explained clearly in the guidebook to the site. In private gardens the presence of hedges and pleached alleys reminiscent of the style of the print, but far too young to be more than a decade or so old, are the clue, as well as a tendency to pick those aspects of the Kip and Knyff planting and lay-out which are convenient.

Ordnance Survey Maps

The next main source of information after a comparison of site and print is maps and primarily, the Ordnance Survey, not the current edition, but the results of mapping carried out in the 19th century, the first and second editions of the County Series, covering all of England in a scale of 1: 2500. For example the mapping of Gloucestershire was done in 1873-84 and revised in 1898-1902 (12). The counties in Volume I of *Britannia Illustrata* were mapped also in the late 19th century and the exact dates will be given whenever one of these maps is used. The later editions are useful for following the decline of many of these places which began after the 1914-18 War. These highly detailed maps include the minutiae of designed landscapes, large parterres, specimen trees, avenues and water features and were made at a time when, if the house and landscape still retained some element of its Kip and Knyff form, then it would appear on the map. They are particularly useful when it comes to trees. These 19th century maps often show the trees, planted in the period covered by the prints, in their maturity. For many of the lesser house in the Gloucestershire series, such as Coberley and Leckhampton the Ordnance Survey is the only other source of evidence besides visual inspection and the print itself, with which to attempt a triangulation of information.

Ordnance Survey maps and the discerning of old landscapes under newer schemes:

Even if the landscape had been greatly altered, made simpler and more “natural” by Brown, or one of his disciples, the basic lines and divisions of the earlier landscape can still often be discerned behind the new curving lines and the chopped up and clumped avenues on these Ordnance Survey maps. The bones of older gardens governed the shape of the new, just as at Longleat the enclosures which surrounded the house before George London and Henry Wise began on the First Viscount’s greatly extended landscape governed what they did, so the shape of London and Wise garden can be seen under Brown’s simplification of the landscape on the Ordnance map.

Smaller landscapes, attached to the houses of lesser gentry also followed the

fashions, but in a less wholesale manner. Here, the gardens often retain their early 17th century divisions of great garden on the south, stables and offices on the north, orchard, kitchen garden, all clustered round the house, but the boundaries are blurred between them or a few avenues are planted, or the design or the parterre in the great garden is modernized. There are several examples of this amongst the map sequences in the chapter concerning the Gloucester houses.

At Dyrham, not the house of a squire, but that of a great self-made court official, William Blathwayt, the geography of the site and the position of the house itself did not allow for great changes in the basic relationships of the main elements of the site. As the gardens of William Blathwayt declined, the terraces and the great cataract, (which like that at Chatsworth was a descendent of the Grand Rivière at Marli), were removed by Humphrey Repton. The slopes that supported them however remain and the relationships between one element in the landscape and another are constant and underlie the Ordnance Survey map.

Where the Ordnance Survey cannot help:

There are occasions when the County Series Ordnance Survey maps are of no help at all. Do what one will there is nothing to be found on the 1:2500 survey of Gloucestershire to help with a site like Williamstrip, once a truly astonishing garden about which almost nothing whatsoever is known, and, which had become completely degraded by the late 19th Century. Williamstrip was on a flat site without earthworks and the modern landscape offers no clues as to what it once was. Nor can the Ordnance help as part of the triangulation for houses like Dumbleton or Tortworth. (Gloucestershire) In both cases the old house and gardens have been pulled down and replaced, on another site, by enormous new buildings before the survey was made. George Stanley Repton rebuilt Dumbleton in 1830 and Teulon rebuilt Tortworth between 1849 and 1852. Teulon covered the site of the Tudor Tortworth House with an estate village and Repton covered the part of site of Dumbleton with enormous stables. So, although an Ordnance Survey map exists in the 19th century series for every house and landscape drawn by Kip and Knyff, there are occasions where this universal tool is of no help.

Estate Maps:

Sometimes, estate maps exist, to be added to the Ordnance to form a compelling series or to supply the deficiencies indicated above, and there are a surprising number of

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these remaining even for the smaller house. However it is more common to find these maps where a large amount of estate papers remain and this tends to be in the archives of large estates. These maps need more care in their use, for maps were made both, as a survey of what was on the ground, often at the time of the estate's passing from one generation to the next, and, as plans of what was projected and may not have been accomplished. If the map is titled this may give a clue as to what sort of map it is. Even having a long series of estate maps is not always very helpful. None of the Dyrham maps and surveys were made precisely for the period when William Blathwayt was making his garden and park, though letters he wrote from Whitehall to his steward, Coz Watkins, constantly call for " draughts" of projected projects or of the park and pleasure grounds, and this suggests that many plans and maps were sent between London and Gloucestershire and were continuously discussed and amended during the making of the house and garden. (13) There is a survey of the estate made in 1689, just before work began on the transformation of Dyrham, which William Blathwayt acquired by marriage, and a survey from 1776, when the Blathwayt landscape had begun to deteriorate and important elements like the cascade had gone, but still retained traces of the previous landscape form. However using these two surveys in conjunction with the Ordnance map and, with the print taking the place of missing contemporary maps, allows valuable information to be gained.

For Fairford (Gloucestershire), (14) a map is the principal check for the Kip print made between 1708-1712. This is an undated survey of the estate, presumed to date to between 1690 and 1699, of which only a central portion survives. Happily this section practically coincides with the view in the print and includes details of the formal garden close to the house, such as its elaborate semi- circular termination, bounded by iron fencing and wrought gates as well as the shapes of the parterres and the position of the clipped evergreens. The whole is a landscape, which is an astonishingly elaborate surround for the house built possibly by a wool merchant, Andrew Barker, whose son, High Sheriff of Gloucestershire at the time the print was commissioned, may be the maker of the French style garden. However, this map shows more of the landscape than Kip was able to, including a whole series of radiating avenues, including a goosefoot. The formal gardens at Fairford were swept away in the mid 18th century, but the radiating avenues of trees remained to be recorded on the 1882-4 Ordnance Survey. Fairford Park itself has been

demolished, but by working with these three pieces of evidence, one can see that the latest map underpins the earlier survey, which in turn allows one reasonably to suppose that the coincidences between the 17th century survey and the early eighteenth century print represent a real landscape.

The significance of plans rather than surveys:

The map discussed in the preceding paragraph was firmly labeled as a survey. Surveys like that of Fairford, Tortworth or Dyrham cover the whole estate of which the area generally composing the Kip and Knyff bird's-eye, forms a small section. As has already been mentioned, some contemporary maps are more speculative. Often they were suggestions made by tradesmen like London and Wise for changes to the formal parts of the landscape, near the house, the pleasure grounds, which were a small part of the whole estate. Such plans more commonly survive for the work of later landscapers like Brown, (he certainly produced such a plan for Aynhoe Park in Northamptonshire) and even better known, the Red Books of Repton. Furthermore, anyone interested in changing the aspect of their property might simply have sent to them a selection of plans for reference and which did not refer in any other way to the property amongst whose archives they now remain. Henry Wise, one half of the most well known garden building partnership of the time, had a collection of plans made by other people, including Andre Mollet (15), gardener to King Charles II at St. James. There is such a plan amongst the Longleat plans, a design, which seems to have no links to this garden as projected or built by George London but, George London himself, says in a letter quoted below in chapter 4, that he supplied Lord Weymouth with plans of other properties as models for what could be done at Longleat.

This sort of plan, which was produced as a suggestion to be discussed and then acted on wholly or partly, is rare. We know many were made for Dyrham, but only a plan of the fountains at the foot of the cascade is extant. Longleat retains the best collection, which all refer to the garden made for the First Viscount by the London and Wise Partnership between 1684 and the death of George London in 1714. However the nature of these Longleat plans makes them difficult to use as evidence since, the gardens as well as being newly created were, at the same time, apparently, being continuously remade and modified. But amongst them there is a large plan, which agrees reasonably well with the Knyff print and a series of details for parts of the great garden, some of which are the same as the Knyff, some very like

and others not at all the same. None are dated and none are signed. Fortunately Longleat also possesses a good run of accounts, bills and docketts for the period of the making of the first Viscount's garden. Dyrham is another place with an excellent run of accounts and so is Chatsworth, where there is also a contract for one of the major parterres with London and Wise, unique for the series of prints.

Estate Documents, accounts, docketts and vouchers:

Estate papers of this sort, if dated, can supply certain limited helpful information. It may be possible to identify certain features and when and by whom they were built, but there is rarely enough of a description to be quite certain that the item looked as it does in the print. However, there are entries, which are so convincing that they do seem to refer exactly to an item in the print. In the Longleat print, round the principal basin, Knyff has minutely delineated, a whole series of vases, possibly made of stone. Such vases appear in many of the other prints as part of the standard furnishings of the up-to-date garden. They are drawn by both Kip and Knyff in such a conventional way, that it may be that they were simply automatically inserted props. Happily there is a very helpful bill, dated 1693, (16) presented by John Harvey, the Bristol mason, who carved the statue of Neptune, currently at the head of the cascade at Dyrham Park, for 82 flowerpots with another sum of money asked for carving coats of arms on them. The print includes 86 of these round the cruciform central basin, as does a drawing of the same basin amongst the garden plans. John Harvey's bill would appear to fit this item in the print well. Neither the print of Longleat nor the drawing amongst the plans gives a precise idea of what these looked like, but a number of stone pots, carved with coats of arms, thought to date back to the late 17th century, are still in their original places on the terrace at Hill, a small Gloucestershire manor house in Volume II, which in other respects has undergone strenuous changes. (17)

Mentions of plants and trees in estate papers and bills:

Bills and docketts of this sort, quite often include lists of plants supplied, and although such lists at this period present hazards of their own because of the vagueness of nomenclature, they can be very helpful in explaining some of the standard features of the prints. In most parterres there are rows of little trees in narrow beds around the edges, planted as alternate cones or pyramids and something shaped like a standard rose. Their treatment has the same conventional look as that given to the flowerpots. Accounts often

mention standard hollies, Laurestinus (*Viburnum tinus*), Phillareas and pyramid yew trees and like the accounts kept for Westbury-on-Severn by Maynard Colchester between 1664-1715, (18) frequently specify quantities of such plants without saying where they were planted. The Longleat Drawings include a sketch of one of the terraces with the commonly seem alternation of standard and pyramid trees and a key identifying them. (Figure 4) Not only is the use of what seems to be broom as a standard unexpected, but this drawing emphasizes that Kip and Knyff were including contemporary fashion in their views and not just conventionalized decoration. Similar lists and account entries allow the plantation of trees near the church at Dyrham to be identified as dwarf pears and the avenue up the hill at Westbury as being made up of standard pear trees. This type of document gives the viewer the ability to read a print in a much more detailed manner and to apply the information to other prints in the series.

There are unfortunately too few such caches of estate papers and in these collections Account books are more commonly kept than the loose bills, receipts and tradesmen's letters, which make the Thynne papers at Longleat, such a mine for landscape history. The reason for this is, partly, that although, at the period vast sums were spent on new houses and the fashionable formal avenues radiating outwards from them, these enterprises were peripheral to the lives of the people who commanded them into being. The Duchess of Beaufort kept nothing at all relating to the construction of the princely landscape at Badminton, although she was a noted pioneer plants-woman in her time and left her notes on plants to Sir Hans Sloane in her will. Phillip, Earl of Chesterfield, who spent many years retired to the country, whilst building the marvelous house and garden at Bretby, copied out his favorite letters in a letter book at the end of his life, presumably choosing those he regarded as the most significant in regard to his activities during it. None refer to the remaking of Bretby (19), only in his autobiographical calendar at the front of the book is this subject mentioned, but tantalizingly briefly. The estate records for the Earls of Chesterfield were, it seems, dispersed after the lands themselves passed with an heiress into the hands of the Ferrars family from Staunton Harold in Leicestershire in the 19th century. And so the wonderful series of accounts, bills, letters relating to the making of the landscapes, which survive for both Longleat and Dyrham, are exceptional.

Contemporary gardening books:

Besides the hints and nudges one can occasionally glean from less obvious sources such as letter books, something too can be learnt from contemporary gardening books. There are two written by authors from their experience working on the sort of landscapes drawn by Kip and Kniff; Moses Cook, gardener at Cassiobury Park wrote The Manner of Raising and Ordering and Improving Forest-Trees, published in 1676, at the beginning of the period spanned by the prints, and Stephen Switzer, who worked for London and Wise at the Brompton Nursery, wrote The Nobleman, Gentleman and Gardener's Recreation or Ichnographia Rustica published in 1715 and 1718, at the end. Moses Cook was also one of the four founders of the Brompton Nursery, all of whom were working master gardeners. Both authors are valuable in regard to the subject matter of the prints. Moses Cook mentions work at Cassiobury whilst discussing the garden practice of the 1660s and 1670s. Stephen Switzer, who helped Francis Wise in the making of the Blenheim gardens, is the source for most of what is known about George London's work and life. George London is known to have worked on layouts at Chatsworth and Longleat and is credited, with Francis Wise, in having made virtually every other garden of note between 1680 and 1714, whether there is evidence for the assumption or not. Switzer gives us an idea of the garden practices of the preceding twenty years as well as being the herald of the reversal of taste that was shortly to come about.

These two books are unusual, because most other contemporary books on gardening were heavily influenced by French writings or direct translations of French authors and gardeners such as the Mollet family. The Complete Gardn'r of Monsieur De La Quintinye, the superintendent of Louis XIV's kitchen garden, was translated twice into English. Once by John Evelyn, author of the seminal book on trees, Sylva, the most influential writer on gardening of his time and a founder member of the Royal Society. Gardening as both a science and an art was one of the interests of the society and then within the intellectual sphere of cultivated people, a rarefied pursuit and not as it is today, the pass-time of the mass of society. Evelyn's translation was made in 1693, shortly after De La Quintinye's death and just before the second French edition. The next English edition was a translation by working gardeners, George London and Henry Wise, published in 1699, very shortly after George London made his second visit to France and although they have added some of their experience to the book it is far from being a description of their own ideas and practices.

Gardening literature and fruit growing:

Fruit had always been grown in England but as William Lawson's book A New Orchard and Garden (1618 but still being issued in 1631) demonstrates, far fewer varieties were known and peaches and nectarines were not grown, nor were such arts as the dwarfing of fruit trees practiced, an art, which was a great passion in the late 17th century. Switzer has a tale, taken, from Charles Perrault's life of de la Quintinye, (20) that William III tried to bribe him with enormous sums to remain in England and work for him, because of his knowledge of fruit growing. At the time the Royal Society was interested in the promotion of fruit growing in counties such as Gloucestershire; John Evelyn wrote Pomona and another member, John Beale, wrote encouraging the planting of orchards. John Evelyn in his version of De La Quintinye's book mentions that the Brompton Park Partnership possessed especial expertise in this field and so to does Stephen Switzer in his encomium of George London. London and Wise's version of The Complete Gard'ner included remarks about their own experience in the area.

Correspondences between gardening books and the prints:

How do these books help in the pursuit of Kip and Knyff's gardens beyond alerting one to the presence of large quantities of fruit trees? Evelyn's version of this book contains two plates of fruit and vegetable gardens. One is the Louis XIV's kitchen garden at Versailles and the other is a smaller vegetable and fruit garden with paths cut on the diagonal like a St. Andrews cross. (Figures 5 and 6) The striking feature of the two plates, apart from the use of every available piece of wall for fruit trees and the central space being occupied by a circular basin and fountain, is that the individual beds are filled with rows of vegetables or herbs surrounded by a small pole hedge and standard fruit trees or just a border of small trees. This is a new way of ordering such a garden, which makes not only, the best use of space, but also includes a permanent framework of fruit trees, allowing the garden to look furnished even when the vegetables have been harvested. Many of the prints include gardens similar to the Versailles kitchen garden, allowing some idea of the spread of a trend, but, Williamstrip, (Gloucestershire) includes a facsimile of the striking St. Andrew's cross arrangement. Contemporary gardening books enable us to trace the influence of ideas on practice as it is shown in the prints and from there possibly get a reasonable idea of who built the garden. London and Wise in this case seem a reasonable assumption. A note in the

Dyrham accounts for 1696 mentions William Blathwayt's gardener, Thomas Hurnall, visiting Mr. London whilst he was at Colonel Ireton's; Colonel Ireton owned Williamstrip. (21)

The work of other printmakers and artists:

Prints by other print makers and paintings are another stage in the evidential chain, but have exactly the same difficulties attached to using them as are associated with the Kip and Knyff prints. However, contemporary landscapes like the Siberechts trio of Wollaton Hall, which are all very like each other and equally close to the Knyff, are without a doubt a form of supplementary evidence, especially since the Knyff print is not a copy of any of the three oils by Siberechts. (22) The same may be said of the print of Knowle in Harris's History of Kent, 1719, drawn by Badeslade and engraved by Kip, and also, of the design for the great parterre at Hampton Court Palace printed in Daniel Morot's Oeuvres of 1703, though there is only one of each. There are also contemporary prints of European garden landscapes, particularly Versailles, which was a seminal garden for both England and the Netherlands and of the great Dutch palaces. The views of these landscapes by printmakers like Israel Sylvestre are useful, enabling one to measure English trends and fashions against their European models. Educated connoisseurs like John Evelyn collected prints, and in his diary for April 30th 1650, he recollects visiting Perelle, "the landscape graver," whilst in Paris. The makers of the gardens in Kip and Knyff's prints must have used images of foreign landscapes, which they bought on their travels abroad or from London print-sellers, like the Daniel Mortier, first printer of Britannia Illustrata, which they then adapted to their own gardens. Stephen Switzer in his Hydrographia uses engravings of famous foreign fountains to illustrate his points, and he had never been abroad. Unfortunately, although the use of prints, or rather a print, is mentioned in the correspondence connected with Dyrham and hinted at in George London's letters to the First Viscount at Longleat, it has not been possible to make any direct connections between contemporary prints of foreign landscapes and specific English ones. However, in using prints, one must always remember what a long life a plate might have and that its being dated as being issued in one year does not mean that it was made in that year. Just as the plates of Kip and Knyff were issued and reissued, so too were the prints of continental print-makers, so that matching a print definitely to the dates during which a garden was being made is not plain sailing.

Other written sources:

Journals, letters, notebooks, diaries give information which sometimes vital for establishing that a garden existed and did indeed look something like the print. The only facts about the building of Bretby are to be found in the Stanhope letterbook already mentioned, but this gives no idea of whether the gardens looked like the print and Knyff's Bretby has long ago been pulled down. Celia Fiennes saw Bretby in 1698, and while her description does not tally exactly with the print, (23) for the Earl continued to work on the gardens, and especially the waterworks, until 1705, there are enough points of coincidence for one to be sure that this is the same landscape.

For Longleat, the rather erratic series of letters from George London to the first Viscount Weymouth (24) give an idea of how a professional garden-maker tackled a job like Longleat and, whilst they do not help with establishing the details of the plates of Longleat, which can be done by other means, they help explain the process by which such a garden was made. These letters take the study a stage further and help in discussing style of the gardens at Longleat and the origins of their design.

The enormous landscapes of Badminton, displayed in the three plates Knyff made and the plate by Kip, are underwritten by very scant documentation. A letter from the apothecary and engraver, James Pettifer, copied into his daybook, establishes, what was guessed at but never certainly known before, which is that George London made regular visits to Badminton as well as Longleat and so probably did as much there as he did at Longleat. (25) He may therefore have been the principal creator of the decorative scheme at Badminton as well. Comparing these two gardens with Chatsworth, where the partnership also worked, may give us an idea of the style of the Brompton Park Partnership, if there was one, and so be able to surmise which of the other gardens in the series may have been designed with London and Wise's help.

The process of garden making at this period has left behind very erratic traces and so virtually any contemporary document should be looked at if possible. It was an expensive but mainly ancillary activity to the lives of prominent men. To illustrate the wide range of sources from which valuable information may be gleaned the case of Dumbleton in Gloucestershire, the home of Sir Richard Cocks, (c. 1681 –1726) an MP and High Sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1692 is interesting. The House at Dumbleton was replaced in the 19th century and there seem to be no remaining estate papers. What papers remain to work with

are 19th century sale particulars for the new house with a plan of the park, which includes the old house, and places the house and garden, as Knyff did, close to the parish church, and an earthwork in the park, also near the church, which seems to be part of the Great Garden as drawn by Knyff. There were no certain dates for the building of the house, though it would appear from its style to be have been built in the late 17th century. Fortunately, Sir Richard kept a book of notes on his parliamentary speeches, which is in the Bodleian. (26) In the back is a prayer, which he wrote on the completion of his house at Dumbleton, and presumably the landscape too, in October 1696. This vital date, together, these two other later pieces of information, a triangulation of sorts, underwrites Knyff's view of the house and park.

Current research in relation to Kip and Knyff's work:

Now to turn to current work in the field of landscape, which has been directly relevant to or useful for this study. The policy of the author has been to try and go behind recent work, if there is any, and approach the original documents and papers connected to the sites discussed in the course of this study. This has not always been possible, because privately owned documents, which some authors have been able to consult, are not available to everyone. Such a case is Hutton-in-the- Forest, discussed below in chapter 4, where the Country Life articles are an important primary reference because some of the information contained in them cannot be replicated. (27)

There are several recent studies of historic gardens relating a particular county, such as Historic Parks and Gardens of Shropshire (28), Historic Gardens of Dorset (29) or Historic Gardens of Gloucestershire (30), some of which touch on gardens within the Kip and Knyff series of prints, but whose main thrust is the charting of the history of garden making within the relevant county. There have also been some recent studies of specific houses found in the prints, namely, Bradgate Park (31), Leckhampton Court: Manor House to Hospice (32) and more importantly The History of Dawley (Middlesex). (33)

However the most useful work in relation to this study has been done in the field of garden-archaeology. Here there is a possibility to compare tangible finds with the information contained within the prints. There is also the possibility of using the results in the reconstruction of the historic gardens investigated. There are a few recent collections of papers in this field, which are germane. There by Design and The Lie of the Land are two,

both of which touch briefly on the subterranean remains at Dyrham Park (Gloucestershire) and New Park (Middlesex), and the former more lengthily on those at Hampstead Marshall (Berkshire), amongst the sites drawn by Kip and Knyff. (34) But there is not enough information given concerning the complete layout of these three gardens to satisfactorily underpin the prints.

The Privy Garden 1689-1995, is a much more detailed set of papers, which describes fully, finding the subterranean traces of the King William III's private gardens at Hampton Court Palace and the process of their subsequent reconstruction. This publication is especially valuable for this study, since the Privy Garden forms part of the print of Hampton Court Palace. (Volume I, Plate 6) Furthermore, this collection evaluates the hazards of reconstruction and makes it plain that not every site within the corpus of prints would be suitable for a complete excavation. To be suitable requires that traces of the Kip and Knyff gardens have not been destroyed by later work. Even if a site were suitable, there would still be large gaps in the information that the print, however accurate, coupled to the archaeological investigation, could convey. The shortfall in information would have to come from some of the other resources mentioned in the preceding chapter.

Not all these possible resources are available for every print. The common denominator is visiting the site itself, which has been done for each of the case histories in chapters 4 and 5, except Hutton-in-the-Forest and St. James Palace. Otherwise, it is noticeable that maps have played a greater part in the discussion of Kip's Gloucestershire prints than they have in the dissection of Knyff's wider selection of views. Whereas a much more various selection of sources has been used in relation to Knyff's prints. The reason for this is that the smaller houses in Gloucestershire and their landscapes have survived in a state closer to that of the Kip period and their sites can be traced in the County Series of the Ordnance Survey, whereas the generally grander houses and landscapes in the Knyff series have altered much more since the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries. Also, inexplicably, there are a large number of estate maps in the Gloucester Record Office relating to sites in the Gloucester series of prints. Really full accounts exist for three of the sites only, Dyrham, Longleat and Chatsworth. In the first two cases combined with plans and maps. Thereafter the type of evidence associated with each case study varies enormously and depends entirely on the random nature of what can be found, although great efforts have been made to find as

many different sorts of information as possible and to balance each new item against the others and make a judgment.

Before proceeding to the detailed explanation and analysis of examples from the two sets of prints, it is proposed in the next chapter to examine how the two groups of prints came to be made and published. The history of their publication is important for the whole study. It explains how the sites to be portrayed came to be chosen and why the selection is so unbalanced with one county, Gloucester, predominating and the rest of England portrayed sporadically. The background of the two printmakers is also important and so is an estimate of their intentions in undertaking the two series, as far as they can be known.

NOTES

- (1) The Bodleian copy, which would make the numbers of Volume I and II even, is the first version of Volume II, which includes cathedrals and has no Kip landscapes.
- (2) The Bodleian will do this but it takes a long time to get the results and is very expensive.
- (3) The accompanying Volume II was the earlier version and therefore no good to me.
- (4) Cheshire: The Buildings of England, founding editor, Sir Nikolaus Pevsner, Penguin 2001, p.207.
- (5) Excavation of the Garden Banqueting House (at Temple Newsam) by D.G. Wild and C. G. Gilbert, Leeds Arts Calendar, no. 60: an excavation which produced results so discouraging as to almost call in question the existence of this prominent feature were not the accounts for its building, in 1635-6, extant amongst the Irwin Papers.
- (6) The Privy Garden 1689-1995, Apollo March 1995, page 3, in which Simon Thurley considers Knyff's drawing to be "the earliest and most reliable view of the Privy Garden".
- (7) Landscape With Gardens; Topographical and Geophysical Survey at Hampstead Marshall, Berkshire by G. D. Keevill and N. Linford in) There By Design (1998) pp. 13-22. This site is discussed fully in chapter 4.
- (8) Dumbleton is discussed in chapter 5. The date of the completion of the house is given in Bodleian Library, Ms Eng. Hist b.209 f.104v.
- (9) The Buildings of England; Gloucestershire and the Cotswolds, edited by N. Pevsner, p.81.
- (10) Gloucester Record Office D1086 f.31, Sir Mathew Hale's will written May 16th, 1706, probate 8th July 1706.
- (11) Nicholas Kingsley: The Country Houses of Gloucestershire, Volume III, p.82-83.
- (12) Ordnance Survey Maps; A Concise Guide for Historians, 1993, R. Oliver p.140.
- (13) See section on Dyrham in Chapter 5.
- (14) See Section on Fairford in Chapter 5.
- (15) Gardener to Queen Anne, D. Green, Appendix III, p. 210, includes A Catalogue of Books belonging to Mr. Henry Wise of Brompton Park. Feb. 1710/11.
- (16) See section on Longleat in Chapter 4.
- (17) Gloucestershire: The Vale and the Forest of Dean. The Buildings of England, Ed. N.

Pevsner, p.273.

(18) Gloucester Record Office, D36 A4.

(19) Letter Book of the Earl of Chesterfield, 1651-1711, Add Ms. 19253, f.208b.

(20) Ichnographia Rustica, London, 1718, p.42 and C. Perrault, Hommes Illustrés, Paris 1698, Vol II, p181

(21) Gloucester Record Office. D 1799, A106 March 25-May 9,1696.

(22) John Harris: The Artist and the Country House, Catalogue to Sotheby's 1995 Exhibition, p.17.

(23) The Journals of Celia Fiennes ed. C. Morris, London 1947, p 170-173.

(24) Thynne Papers: Vols. XXII, XXIII, XXV, XXVI, the property of the Marquis of Bath, Longleat, supplied on microfilm by Microform Academic Publishers, Wakefield also available on microfilm in the manuscripts room, the British Library.

(25) Sloane Ms 3336, f.65, 9th May 1708.

(26) Bodleian Library, Ms Eng, History b.209, f. 104v.

(27) Hutton-in-the- Forest by J. Cornforth, Country Life 1965 pp.232-235, 286-289, 352-356.

(28) Written by Paul Stamper and published for Shropshire County Council Archaeology Service by Shropshire Books 1996.

(29) T. Mowle: Tempus Publishing Ltd. Stroud, Gloucestershire 2003.

(30) T. Mowle: Tempus Publishing Ltd. Stroud, Gloucestershire 2002.

(31) J. Stevenson and A. Squires, Kairos Press, Leicestershire 1994, in which pp.37-38 refer to the period 1660-1700.

(32) E. Millar, Matador 2003, in aid of the Sue Ryder Foundation, a very useful publication, which clarifies the later history of Leckhampton and explains how the hall came so close to complete ruin in the late 20th century.

(33) B.T. White, Hays and Harlington Historical Society 2001.

(34) There By Design, edited by P. Pattison, Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, Swindon 1998 and The Lie of the Land edited by Robert Wilson-North, Devon Garden Trust, The Mint Press, 2003.

(35) The Privy Garden 1689-1995 edited S. Thurloe, Apollo Magazine, London, 1995.

CHAPTER 3
THE BACKGROUND TO THE MAKING AND PUBLISHING OF BRITANNIA
ILLUSTRATA.

The purpose of this study is to evaluate the work of Kip and Knyff, as a resource for the study of designed landscapes, of the period from, approximately, 1680-1710. Kip and Knyff, however, seem to have had no didactic intention when they made the prints originally, but without having an idea of what lay behind the publication of Britannia Illustrata, the modern user may well credit the prints with characteristics they were never intended to have and purposes, which were never envisaged by their makers. Britannia Illustrata itself was at first a single folio volume of views, but grew in a rather haphazard manner to be two volumes and finally, four, passing in the process, through the hands of several publishers of books and prints. This chapter will outline the history of the artists and of their work within the context of their time.

As their names suggest neither Kip nor Knyff were English, they came from the Low Countries. It would have been surprising had they been English, for England lagged behind Europe in the visual arts. Leonard Knyff, who drew the plates for the first volume, was born in Harlem on October 10th 1650 and is thought to have arrived in England 1680 when he was thirty or thirty-one, (1) and died in 1722, by which time he was living in St Margaret's, Westminster. He had been successful enough to leave his wife, Elizabeth and two infant children, £1700, "more or less", in South Sea Stock (2). Leonard was a son of a painter of birds and animals, subjects he painted also, as well as topographical subjects, and seems to have followed a brother, Jacob, to England, who specialized in the latter subject matter. Jacob arrived circa 1673, died 1681, and John Harris thought that he taught his brother, Leonard, how to paint bird's-eyes. (3) It is, however, difficult to imagine that a trained professional of thirty did not arrive in England without already having acquired this skill. He also returned at least twice to the United Provinces, whilst living in England, and so could have been expected to be aware of the work of Dutch printmakers like D. Stoopendaal (1672-1726), who produced magnificent bird's-eye views of places like Heemstede (1700) or of the of A. Begg and A. Blooteling, who made a Bird's-eye of Honselardijk in 1699. This may well be the skill he came to England to exploit.

Georges Vertue, in his notebooks confirms that making bird's-eye formed only part of his abilities, and described Knyff's oeuvre thus, "The most remarkable of his works were the views drawn and painted by him of the Palaces and Gentlemens houses and Seats... but he was chiefly a painter of fowls and dogs". Virtue also mentions "several drawings with the pen finely done by him about Westminster," as well as a painting of the prospect of the River Thames at Westminster Bridge. (4) It seems from what little we know of his work practice, that he intended to find a market in the production of large topographical oils, like those of Staunton Harald (1704) and Hampton Court Palace (1702) and that print-making was by way of advertisement for his skills. It is perhaps significant that both of these oils have matching prints in Britannia Illustrata. (5)

The one artist-client relationship of Knyff's that we know a little about is that with Lord Ingram at Temple Newsam, for whom he worked between 1699 and 1702. This association began with his making a prospect of the house in 1699 and went on to include a portrait of Lord Ingram and studies of hunting dogs. This first prospect of 1699 may well be connected with the making of the print of Temple Newsam and Knyff may have used this first small commission as an opening in the hope of procuring more important orders from his patron, particularly a full scale portrait in oils of the house and grounds. There are, significantly, several houses and landscapes within the series for which both a print and a nearly identical oil painting exist. He also sold Lord Ingram pictures made by other artists and it is clear from the letters printed at the end of this chapter in appendix II, that picture dealing formed an important, but not quantifiable part, of Knyff's living.

Of Johannes Kip, less still is known. He was born in Amsterdam in 1653, came to England about 1687, settled in Westminster and died in 1722, the same year as Knyff. His background was as a draughtsman, engraver and book illustrator, from a family of engravers and he is thought to have been a pupil of the printmaker, Bestiaen Stoopendaal, (sic) between 1668 and 1670. (6) He had made several well-known prints, the Siege of Gronigen in 1672 and the Arrival of William and Mary in The Hague in 1686, before he came to England. Here he continued to produce the same sort of work, with projects such as a Prospect of the City of London drawn on 12 sheets and "taken in the vicinity of Buckingham House." This was first issued in 1710 and reissued in 1720. He also drew and engraved views of London churches and other English cathedrals, many of which appeared in later volumes of Britannia

Illustrata. We rely on George Vertue for much of this information, which is found in his 1713-1721 notebook, “ Kip (engraver) born at Amsterdam came to England about / after the revolution time, (i.e. c.1688) remained here did many works, especially views of Palaces. Houses. places. of many people of Distinction & Quality. Knyff first drew them and then he etched them-see the two Volumns. he was not over curious in his manner but expeditious (at his first coming some prints appear to be done very well as I have seen) He educated a daughter (in the Art of Painting) still living who has shown a great deal of Ingenuity and affection to the Art. He died April 1722 aged about 70 and buried from a place called long Ditch Westminster where he lived and died. All his work was done with Acqua Fortis.” (7)

Kip was a minor artist and were the plates in Britannia Illustrata not so important as portraits of contemporary landscapes, his career would not be much regarded, although he may have been the first engraver in England, to accomplish a Bird’s-eye, which is of Chelsea Hospital, signed and dated 1690. The earliest dated Knyff plate is 1697, of Dunham Massie. Before he engraved the plates for Volume I, Kip seems to have had no professional association with Knyff, nor did he afterwards. It may also be Kip, whose style as the engraver, naturally imposes itself on that of his colleague, who has added to the plates the little touches, human figures and animals of all sorts, even coney in a coney-garth, which enliven them so, for those few drawings possibly identifiable as being by Knyff lack these lively touches.

The practice of art of engraving in England at the time when Kip immigrated to England was regarded as being much less skilful than it was in France and Holland. The antiquary, George Vertue, whose notes are so informative, was also an engraver and produced work for the Oxford Almanac. He thought that the art of engraving, which, he said had come to England in 1600 with Simon Pass (sic), had not become more skilful in the period up to 1700, but had, instead, regressed (8) and lagged behind the standard achieved on the continent. George Vertue, who through Walpole’s reworking of his notes, could be classed as the founder of the science of art history in this country, writing of the period around 1697, assessed the situation in these words, “ this I mention to stir up Emulation, & if possible to stir up our Countrymen, that wee may not forever be out done by the French and the Dutch, to the reproach of these shameless Bunglers of ours, who daily disgrace so noble & ingenious an Art with their wretched Sculps of Frontispieces, Low Figures Landskips &

prospects without design Simmetry nor any regard to perspective.” He names the bunglers; “Gravers at that time were living, R. White S. Griblin, J. Sturt. M. Vandergucht J. Kip, W. Elder Vansoners etc;”(9)

Most of the engravers slated by Vertue appear like Kip and Knyff to have immigrated and therefore might have been expected to have brought the much- praised expertise with them. Vertue, who regarded himself as the first competent burinator or engraver since De Pass in 1600, is denigrating, as all young men do, the generation preceding his, most of who were dead, when he jotted down his thoughts. He began to make his own reputation about 1713, when subtler effects using etching and mezzotint rather than plain engraving were expected and the work of his predecessors was old fashioned. (10) Nevertheless, he makes this type of remark frequently.

Nor did the next generation think any more highly of Kip. Ralph Bigland, when he came to write his History of Gloucestershire, published in 1791 as an updating of Atkyn’s Ancient and Present History of Gloucestershire, published in 1712 and from which the prints in Volume II of *Britannia Illustrata* were taken, was severe in his criticism. Of Kip’s view of Barrington, he wrote “ The delineations of Kip as unpicturesque as they are, and totally void of Perspective, are now valuable as exhibiting faithful Representations of many Capital Residences which in the course of one century are no more.” The word “unpicturesque” represents a change in taste but to imply that the Kip had no sense of perspective seems unreasonable. It is not possible to produce this sort of overhead view without an occasional distortion to allow a large panorama to be fitted into one sheet. Also a tilting of the whole plane towards the spectator was necessary to include all the details of a garden, which might be obscured if a strict perspective scheme were to be adhered to, a more plan-like than strictly axonometric approach. Bigland, however, does seem to recognize the worth of these views as historic documents if he does not esteem them as artistic works.

Within the sub-set of the bird’s-eye, the contemporary work of Dutch engravers and, in France, the bird’s-eye views of Versailles by Israel Sylvestre are much more accomplished and sophisticated than the work of Kip and Knyff, but they, in turn, are ahead of other print-makers practicing in England. (Figure 7) Perhaps they chose to come to England to profit by a niche in the market caused by increasing expenditure on the arts after the Restoration, which native artists could not fill, whereas the competition for work in their

own country was much fiercer. Kip and Knyff are perpetually associated together because of Britannia Illustrata, which was originally published without their names appearing on the title page. They are acknowledged only in the later editions of 1724 and 1749, by which time both men were dead. Virtue talks about them as a pair, whenever he mentions Britannia Illustrata, which is three times in his diaries. They probably did not come to this country together and, once here, did not work together regularly. Nor was the idea of making the prints a joint one. It seems to have been Leonard Knyff's idea as the advertisement in the Post Boy for the 31st May 1701 shows; "whereas Mr. Knyff hath undertaken by way of subscription the drawing and painting of 100 Noblemens and Gentlemens seats whereof 60 are finished, the subscription not being full. This is to give notice to all Lords and Gentlemen who have a mind to be concerned to come or send to the Undertakers house at the corner of old palace yard. The articles are; That 100 subscribers shall pay £10. That every subscriber shall have two 2 prints of each impression and shall have 60 prints double delivered. And such gentlemen as shall have a mind to buy such as are done may have them at the undertakers for 2 shillings apiece. (11) The print of Dunham Massy dated, 1697, that of Chatsworth, paid for in 1701 and the agreement with the Duke of Newcastle in 1698 for prints of Bolsover, Haughton and Newcastle (printed as an appendix III to this chapter), which mentions the Duke making a choice from a selection of prints already made of other properties, belong to the pre Britannia Illustrata period in Knyff's work There is no mention of making the prints into a book in the Post Boy advertisement but the mention of subscribers seems to suggest the production of something which could be bound .

This way of selling by subscription was a common means of financing the prepublication costs of books and suites of prints, but had its difficulties, both in drumming up enough custom to make the enterprise solvent, and, in keeping clients, especially the high and mighty ones, to their bargain. We see Lord Ingram trying to wriggle out of his agreement by putting the price of some of the prints he had committed himself to buying against paintings that Kip was trying to sell him. Knyff reminds Lord Ingram in the second letter printed in appendix II to this chapter, of the substance of their agreement, and remarked that to take back prints and give his Lordship credit for them was to take money "out of my own pocket."

Kip's role in all this was simply to turn drawings into engravings. He may not have

been the first choice. The plate of Broadgate (Figure 8), in volume I was engraved by Henry Hulsbergh, (d. 1729) in a style more florid than that of Kip and which overwhelms the more restrained manner of Knyff, with which Kip's style is more sympathetic. Hulsbergh's more Baroque style may have been antipathetic to the appearance of cartographic accuracy, which informs the style of the prints. It was common for an artist not to engrave his own work with the result that his personality, the essential essence of his work is always second to that of the engraver, hence the usual description of a print as being by X, the engraver, after Y, the draughtsman. The greatest prints are those engraved or etched by their originators like those of Durer or Rembrandt and this may well be why Perelle's prints of Versailles and other royal gardens are more pleasing than Knyff's prints.

The very few drawings that can be reasonably attributed to Knyff, which include a preparatory drawing for a painting of Hampton Court, dated 1702, the drawing of Whitehall and St. James, circa 1698 are in a rather more spare style than the engraved plates and much sparer than the Hulsbergh plate of Broadgate. Whereas the drawing of Moor Park, circa 1696-1700, attributed to Kip is very similar but may be slightly livelier in invention. (Figure 9) There are no original drawings for any of the plates by either artist, which could help in illuminating their working practices and separate contributions to the making of the final print. At one stage, it seemed that there might be a preparatory drawing by Kip of Shurdington, made for Sir Richard Atkyn's book, hanging in the Greenway Hotel in Shurdington. This is not the original of the print in question, but is a 19th century copy, not of a drawing but of the finished print.

And so, originally, these prints were to be sold unbound and without a title page, as a group and not singly to each subscriber, but what were the subscribers going to do with them? Knyff suggested that Lord Ingram's wife send those she did not want to friends. (See letter dated 26th. January, 1701, in appendix II to this chapter) The Duchess of Beaufort's, apparently, separate commission for three prints of her dead husband's building and landscaping work at Badminton in 1701, was made with the intention of sending them as a memorial to other people so that the scale of "his" works at Badminton could be generally appreciated. (12) The same motive may be behind the commission of a print by the Duke of Devonshire to include the recently completed south elevation of Chatsworth, with London and Wise's west and south parterres and Grillet's waterworks. The print was paid for in

1700. (13).

An agreement made with the Duke of Newcastle (14) on January 20th. 1698/9 for drawing Bolsover, Haughton and the Duke's house in Nottingham in which (The text is reprinted in appendix III to this chapter) he too agrees to buy a bundle of assorted prints besides the three commissioned, " Four hundred of such houses and seats as ye said Duke shall chuse ye said duke to pay for the same 20 pounds". It seems from this that as early as 1698/9 Knyff was contemplating making or had actually begun a series of 100 different views. He certainly accomplished the views of Haughton and Bolsover for the Duke, which are dedicated to him, but the view of Nottingham, which includes the Dukes' house, the castle, Wollaton Hall and the house of a Mr. Pierrepoint, is not dedicated to the Duke. This suggests some break down in the terms of the contract, since each print is usually decorated with the Arms and title of the person who commissioned it. It is, maybe, possible to conclude, that, although Knyff was very flexible in the terms he accepted for providing his clients with prints, he was finding it difficult to get enough clients and to keep those he had to their bargain. This difficulty dogged him from 1698 until 1708 when the prints were published as a suite.

He never did find 100 subscribers. The advertisement in the Postboy in May 1701 seems not to have increased the number of his clients. By December 4th. 1702 he had finished 69 (15) of the drawings to be engraved. Some of the plates in the final version were not subscription plates. Most of those of the plates of Hampton Court and Windsor were executed at the request of Prince George of Denmark, including that of Hampton Court Palace with the Daniel Marot parterres. These were not engraved in 1702 because Prince George had not paid for them (16), but Knyff must have decided to include them in the final version to make up the numbers of prints needed. The plate of Chelsea House was not a commission, also. " He do's it on his owne account ..." the duchess of Beaufort wrote in 1701. (17)

If the date of the contract with the Duke of Newcastle could be taken as a starting point, Knyff had now been engaged on this project for four years or so, and possibly as early as 1697, when he dated the print of Dunham Massey and although Knyff had attracted very notable clients, such as the owners of Longleat, Chatsworth, Bretby, Badminton, the collection of prints is by no means all- inclusive and did not attract all the "noblemen and

gentlemen” one might expect. As a for instance; Easton Neston, which was especially celebrated because Lord Lempster had bought the remnant of the Arundel marbles, (18) many of which he incorporated in the garden scheme, in such confections as the Tomb of Germanicus, is not included. This house had lately rebuilt in 1702 to a design, which may have been partly by Wren and was certainly also by Hawkesmoor would seem to have been an absolutely appropriate inclusion in the series and Lord Lempster a client keen to show off his wealth and taste.

The difficulty Knyff experienced in completing the series may well have been caused by money problems. Had all the 100 subscribers appeared there would have been £1000 paid in. As it is he must have grossed between £600-700 but out of this there were the engraving expenses to be found. These were high, both Dr. John Harris in his preface to his History of Kent, London 1719, for which he had attracted over 350 subscribers, and Henry Winstanley in a flyer concerning a similar sort of undertaking in 1690, (Reprinted below in appendix I) grumbled about their cost. Figures are difficult to come by, but the accounts for St. Paul’s Cathedral in 1702/3 mention two large copper plates, which cost £3 12s 6d to buy and an astonishing £60 the pair to be engraved by Gribelins. Kip too worked on engravings for St. Paul’s, but he was only paid £10 for the plate of the north west front and the ground plan. (19) Many of these engravings from the St. Paul’s office of works appeared in later volumes of Britannia Illustrata and were therefore of a comparable size to the rest of the plates. At this sort of cost there would have been very little money left over after Kip had been paid and there would have been, besides, the expense of traveling to the various houses, some of which were far from London, in Yorkshire, Cumberland, Norfolk and Somerset, to make the preparatory drawings. Kip’s plates for Atkyns’ History would have been paid for, as they were ordered, by the subscribers to Atkyns’ work, and he would not have encountered the same difficulties in making a profit, though we have no idea what was charged for inclusion of a print in Atkyns.

Knyff may even have taken his work abroad in the hope of achieving publication of the series. In 1707 a series called Les Délices de la Grande Bretagne was printed in Leyden. Volume V of this series is concerned with the houses and parks of the principal families of Great Britain and the plates included a handful of those already done for Britannia Illustrata, which were re-engraved in octavo. (Figure 10) These are not ascribed on the plate to an

engraver and the engraver was not Kip, judging by the style but may have been Van der Aa.
(20)

Seven years after the advertisement in the Postboy, in 1708, Knyff's work appeared as the first Volume of a two volume Britannia Illustrata, with 80 double page plates. Daniel Mortier, a print-seller, who was originally from Amsterdam first published Britannia Illustrata. In this version a French title, Nouveau Theatre de la Grande Bretagne came before the Latin one, with descriptions of the houses being given in French only, an indication both of the supremacy of French culture at the time and also that a European market was being addressed. Mortier was the first of a series of publishers, for Britannia Illustrata was reissued several times until the final four-volume version in 1746. There is another issue with the same date in which Daniel Mortier of Amsterdam, at the Erasmus Head in the Strand, is joined by Daniel Smith at the Three Crowns in St. Paul's Churchyard and Joseph Smith "at ye pictor shop ye West end of Exeter Exchange in ye Strand". Does the fact that the risk of production was being borne by three booksellers indicate doubt as to its success? The third person in this group, Joseph Smith, is the person associated longest with the publishing of Britannia Illustrata. He went from selling pictures to selling books, and also, published Vitruvius Britannicus and Dugdale's Monasticon. Finally in 1746 he produced a four volume version in which Kip's views formed Volume II, a volume containing mainly ecclesiastical buildings was Volume III and a new set of views of Royal Places and Ports "including Scottish towns and Henry Winstanley's Eddystone Lighthouse, wrecked by storms in 1703 was Volume IV. In short this edition contained all the prints from every version preceding this one and one completely new volume.

The first two-volume version of 1708 could not include Kip's Gloucestershire plates, since Robert Gosling, in London, did not publish the Atkyns' History, from which they were taken, until 1712. It would seem from the very little that can be deduced from analyzing the dedications and titles to these prints, that Kip would have been working on his preparatory drawings in the years 1708-1711. This first version's volume two contained an assortment of prints of Cathedrals, many by Kip, as well as some plates of Wren's St. Paul's and plates of the Sheldonian and Ashmolean at Oxford. This was obviously a makeshift because a 1709 copy of Volume I, advertised a Volume II, which was to have more plates of "Noblemen's and Gentlemen's seats", with the drawing to be provided by the owner and to be engraved by

the bookseller at 5 guineas a time. Nothing was said about these plates being bird's-eyes, and one wonders if the "uprights" of Montague House and Buckingham House, which found their way into later versions of Volume II were the survivors from this advertisement. The price of 5 guineas, which was over and above the cost of making the drawing to be sent in, may well have deterred subscribers and is notably higher than that proposed in 1701 by Knyff, but rather reinforces the idea that Knyff's plates were disastrously under-priced.

Joseph Smith published Kip's plates as Volume II in 1716 under the misleading title of "Views in Perspective of the Seats of the Nobility and Gentry of Great Britain", which implies the contents cover a much larger geographic area than they actually do. It is with Joseph Smith that the prints begin their extended career, being published and republished again and again from 1708-1746, with a last reissue of the Kip plates in 1768, by another publisher. (21) At this point the prints loose their connection with whatever original purpose either artist may have had and assume a life of their own as part of a picture book. Even by the date of the first publication, 1708, many of the Knyff plates had assumed a historical status since many of the subscribers and owners of some of the most magnificent estates were dead. These included the Earl of Craven, the Duke of Beaufort, for whom the prints were a memorial, and the Duke of Devonshire. The death of someone who had been solely responsible for the remaking of a landscape, often meant that the landscape started to disappear, for the next heir was not always a gardener and for this reason the gardens at Longleat and Badminton very soon ceased to look like the print. By the time of the last edition in 1746, many of the houses and landscapes themselves had begun to succumb to the vicissitudes of time. Hampstead Marshall and Lowther were largely burnt down by 1720 and Rycote was mostly destroyed in a fire in 1746.

This was also true of the Kip's plates. It was suggested, by the publisher William Herbert, in to whose hands the Kip plates had passed, in the late 1740s, to Samuel Rudder, who was writing a more modern version of the Atkyns' History, that he make use of the plates again in his book. Samuel Rudder declined because "most of the houses being pulled down and the gardens totally changed with the taste of the times". Nevertheless, William Herbert himself reused the Kip plates in 1768, more than 50 years after they had been made. (22) Had the whole corpus by then achieved an antiquarian status? Certainly one version of the 1791 edition of Rudder, printed by Rudder himself in Cirencester, contains many of the

Kip engravings. Some like those of Nibley and Sandywell have 1770 Bonner engravings beside them (Uprights not bird's-eyes) demonstrating the changes in architecture and landscape, some plates now show vanished houses and landscapes, such as Coberley, Saperton and Didmarton, the rest of the prints, another 17 approximately are of outmoded gardens and un-modernized houses, as Rudder said. This copy of Rudder belonged to Richard Gough, the antiquary, (1735-1809), and he may well have caused the Kip plates to be bound into his copy, because of their historical interest. (23)

Because plates were costly, prints did have very long lives. There is an album of prints in the Radcliffe Collection, again in Bodley, containing views of Paris, Versailles, the Trianon, Marly etc mainly by Avelline and Perelle, which illustrates this. The Avelline prints were made originally in the 1660s and 1670s but the plates here have the author's name scraped off and the volume itself can be dated to between 1694 and 1699. (24) Many of the views are of bosquets in Versailles, which had long ago been altered such as the Bosquet de la Renommée, which was finished in 1665 and altered in 1667 into the Bosquet des Domes (25). These plates were still being bought 20 to 30 years later, but this is a much shorter period than that, during which, the prints of Kip and Knyff had a market. It may be that their prints did pass through a stage when they became mere pictures to look at to one, where they were regarded, if it is not too over elaborate to call them so, as historical documents or, at least, as having an antiquarian interest.

The reason for this may be two fold. Firstly Knyff's initial project of portraying the houses of the great and those who would be great, was a novel one in this country and so was the way he choose to do it, by using an aerial view, which produced a cross between a landscape and a map. Such an idea had been proposed in the 1680s by Henry Winstanley, engineer, engraver, showman and constructor of the Eddystone Lighthouse, in which he drowned, when it was destroyed by the furious storm of 1703. There exists a print by him of his house at Littlebury, Essex, (Figure 11) whose grounds were full of mechanical toys of one sort or another and was open as a sideshow. On the margin of this print is a flyer for a scheme to engrave a volume of the prospects of the principal houses of England at £5 or £10 a copy depending on the size of the print and a stitched copy ready for binding of the whole. (The text of this is reprinted in appendix I to this chapter) This idea did not progress very far, although the text in the print claims that progress has been made by 1680 (26) and the few

engravings that remain are not of the quality of Knyff and Kip's work nor are they true bird's-eye views. In the unpublished manuscript of A History of Wiltshire, written c.1691, John Aubrey also thought about publishing the projected plates separately as "a glorious volume by itselfe, and like enough it might take well in the world." (27) Aubrey does not seem, either, to be contemplating bird's-eye views since he mentions a plate of Longleat house and garden, which is to be made after an already existing plate of a Danckerts (c.1630-1679) painting, (28) which would have shown Longleat before the vast improvements of the First Viscount.

The second innovation was the method used to offer an English audience the sort of depictions of their own house heretofore used to represent great Italian Villas, the Palaces of France, or the Royal Gardens and castles of Holland. Winstanley's Advertisement on the Littlebury print made it plain that his inspiration was from the work of foreign engravers in depicting celebrated houses and, he, like Vertue, stressed the local inability to provide such views, for which he hoped to find a market both in England and Europe. Although the aerial panorama had been used in Italy since the 16th century, in the Lunettes by Giusto Utens painted for the Villa Pratolino painted in 1599, for example, the immediate inspiration for two provincial artist might well have been Flandria Illustrata, (note the similarity in title) published in 1641/2 in the Spanish Netherlands. This is a different sort of book because it has a copious descriptive text and maps, plates representing famous historical figures, more like one of the later English county histories in content, but like Britannia Illustrata, it is full of views of the house of Noblemen and other worthies (Figure 12) and these views are all bird's-eyes.

What makes this type of view special, and this is why the prints of Knyff and Kip were still regarded highly enough to print and reprint them for 50 years, is that there is a distinct link between this type of view and contemporary mapmaking practices in which a three dimensional element is not unusual, especially when it came to drawing important buildings such as the great house at the centre of an estate survey. Some of the prints include measurements and areas. Maddingly (Vol. I, plate57) has a scale given to the main façade of the house "in front 150 feet" and theoretically one should be able to use this to scale off other measurements and convert the Bird's-eye into a plan. Westwood (Worcestershire) (Vol. I plate.65) includes a piece of water with the legend "this pool contains 120-122 acres",

which is admittedly less useful. The most persuasive is the third print of Badminton (Vol. I plate.11) which includes a whole series of distances and lengths for avenues and drives: “from the Gate to the House is two and a half miles “ and “ Marshfield Steeple 6 Mile “. This print may be indeed a copy of a map. (29) Compare it to the 18th century survey of Rycott house (Figure13) to which it has great similarities of format. The Duke of Beaufort was having a map made of Badminton about this time, as one can see from a letter written to the Duchess, on March 28th 1694, by Jacob Bobarts, who was in charge of the Oxford Botanical Gardens.(30) In it Bobarts writes, “ yr grace is pleased allso to intimate my Ld Dukes desire of our Artificer to engrave the map of Badminton with all its appurtenances: We have here a most excellent person, Mr. Burghers, of whose very great skill and goodness of workmanship we have proofs enough. He doing all that done here, and is very able to perform any such work, either propectively, ichnographically or how you shall please to appoint.” Unfortunately Mr. Burghers is so busy that he has no time to wait on the Duke at Badminton, but will be able to do the job if a draught is sent to him, in which case “I doubt not but he will be able to the same, and make as good work in the engraving as any one in England.”(31) What happened here we do not know, there is only one possible plan of Badminton House in the Muniment Room at Badminton and its immediate surroundings, which might be the work of Burghers, but it is both unsigned and undated (32) and is not really a map, almost more of a “plat”. It seems that Knyff ‘s print may be derived from the map, mentioned by Bobarts, which was finally engraved as part of the memorial trilogy.

Another indication that there is a cartographic element in the production of the bird’s-eye print may be assumed from what is known of drawing of similar views for Dr. John Harris’ History of Kent (1719). This took eight years to bring to fruition. The man who did the drawings, 18 of which were engraved by Kip, (33) was Thomas Badeslade, who was a surveyor for most of his career rather than an artist. He made many surveys of estates between 1710 and 1745. There is a series of surveys by him of Haughton in 1720 and a survey Boughton in 1730 for which he may also have done a Bird’s-eye sketch. (34) In 1742 he published an atlas of England and Wales called Chorographia Britanniae and worked on surveying and constructing drainage schemes for the fenland waterways. Principally, a surveyor and cartographer, he also seems to have done some work on the earthworks required in the making of large garden landscapes.

It is in this aspect of his career we find a direct link between the bird's-eye and surveying. In 1736 we know he was working at Exton Park (Rutland), where he was "engaged with a great many hands in making some banks for water works." (35) A bird's-eye of the park at Exton, which was drawn by him subsequently and engraved by John Harris, includes the finished waterworks, which were lakes and includes dimensions, such as the circumference of the park at 13 miles, the area of timber wood at 300 acres and the water at 68 acres, which was composed of two interconnecting lakes of 30 and 38 acres apiece. He may well have produced bird's-eyes as a regular adjunct to map making when it was connected to the landscapes of great houses. At Wimpole on Cambridgeshire, where he also worked on plans, there was a "perspective draught of the house," (36) now lost. This was most likely a bird's-eye since a straight elevation would have been an "upright". Both a plan and a bird's-eye print were made of Erddig by Badeslade in 1740 and are still hanging in the house. Another surveyor, Joseph Dougherty, when making a set of Surveys of Hanbury Hall in Worcestershire, in 1732, also included such an overhead view of the Hall and its gardens. (Figure 14) Charles Bridgeman also made plans and bird'-eyes in tandem. There are two plans and a bird's-eye sketch amongst the records at Boughton House made in the late 1720s. (37) There is therefore a firm link between bird's-eye views and contemporary surveying, which means that the idea of measurement and the bird's-eye went together.

Through Kip's connection with Badeslade, whom he may have instructed in the art of making bird's-eye views, but whose career and activities are even more obscured by time than Kip's, there is a possible firm link between the overhead axonometric view and map making. This link permits us to regard the prints in *Britannia Illustrata* as belonging to the same class as contemporary maps and plans and possibly to give them something of same weight. It would also appear from Knyff's advertisement that, although the making of the first set of prints was primarily a commercial exercise, yet there was behind this the idea of completing a unified set, which by its unity, informed. This must also be true for Kip's Gloucestershire views for Atkyns' book by the very nature of the book itself. However, Britannia Illustrata was not published as an 18th century equivalent of Pevsner's Buildings of England. The prints in it only portray a small selection of the houses of noblemen, and gentlemen, because of the difficulties Knyff had in attracting 100 subscriptions, and can not be seen as representative of what all or even most English houses and gardens looked like.

The contents of Britannia Illustrata became even more unbalanced when it came into the hands of the booksellers, whose purpose would have been simply commercial, for they skewed the content further by adding the exclusively Gloucester Plates in Volume II. The popularity of the prints is also an indication of their factual worth. Knyff's prints were issued from 1697 to 1746 and Kip's from 1712 – 1768, immensely long runs at the end of which, if the remarks of Rudder mean anything and the fact that Gough bound them into his copy of Rudder is significant, they passed from being simply pictures to having an antiquarian significance. These three factors in the making of Britannia Illustrata, intention, method of making and the way they came to be viewed later in the 18th century are relevant to the close examination of Knyff and Kip's work as it can be used as a practical and intellectual tool for the conservation of historic gardens. In the following chapter, with these provisos in mind, Knyff's prints from volume I of Britannia Illustrata will be discussed and analyzed.

NOTES

- (1) He is recorded as living in St. Martin in the Fields, in 1681 at the age of 31, in the article, Leonard Knyff by Hugh Honor, Burlington Magazine Vol. 96, pp.337-9. J. Harris The Artist and the Country House, Sotheby Parke Bernet London 1979, pp.91-92.
- (2) Will made 16 April 1722, proved December 22, 1722 Court of Canterbury, Middlesex W: Probate 11/588 sig.240.
- (3) John Harris as above, p.89
- (4) The Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 1975, is the basic biographical source for both artists but Hugh Honor, in the Burlington Magazine, vol. 96 pp, 370–339 and Leeds Arts Calendar, Vol.7.no.23, 1953, has investigated Knyff and his patron, Lord Irwin of Temple Newsam. Georges Vertue, notes on Knyff are printed in Notebook I, The Walpole Society, Vol. XVIII, p.117 and Notebook V. Walpole Society, Vol. XXVI, p.14. Unfortunately I have been able to add nothing significant to the biographies in the DNB.
- (5) The painting of Staunton Harold is owned by the present Earl Ferrars and the one of Hampton Court Palace is on display in the palace property of Her Majesty the Queen.
- (6) This information is published by the bookseller, Donald A. Heald, Rare Books, New York, in his description of a Knyff print of Dawley (Middlesex) that he was selling through Abebooks on the web in September 2003.
- (7) I have left this quotation and any others quoted below as Vertue jotted them down in his own haphazard manner. Vertue Notebook, Volume I, Walpole Society Vol. XVIII 1930, p.105-106. Vertue seems to have got this information from a seller of engraver's plates called Harris, who must have known Kip. However the mention of acid is a little odd. All Kip's work for Britannia Illustrata is engraving with the burin and it is because the plates were engraved not etched that they lasted so long. It seems he did etch plates as well as engrave them. One of Pierce Tempest's 16 large plates of bird's-eyes, dedicated to Lord Maitland was etched by Kip. See A. Griffiths: The Print in Stuart Britain 1603-1689, p.142.
- (8) Walpole Society as above; autographical notes on p.1 and also Griffiths, as above, p.245, who writes "The first successful projects to produce prints of English Topography were the country house views of Leonard Knyff and Jan Kip at the end of the century and the town views of the brothers Samuel and Nathaniel Buck in the 1720s." the Buck prints are not so

sophisticated and are not in the bird's-eye format.

(9) Vertue Notebooks Volume II, Walpole Society vol. XX, 1923, p.144-5 and Notebook I, Walpole Society, Vol. XVIII, 1713-21 p.1.

(10) Walpole Society Vol. XVIII, Vertue Notebook I, p.117 and Notebook V, Walpole Society Vol. XXVI, pp. 14 & 60.

(11) John Harris prints this advertisement in The Artist and the Country House but I have been unable to find it in the Postboy for May or June 1701.

(12) Badminton Muniments, FT/B 1/2/1(24) Letter, undated, but thought to have been written in 1701, to one of her daughters, by the first Duchess, "my designe when these are all done, is to have some of them bound in books, & give them to friends indeed my chiefe aim is to show what a noble place my deare Lord has left this." None of these books seem to be still around but two of the three prints hanging at Badminton, have the date 1699 on them and belong to the group printed for the Duchess. In Britannia Illustrata the date has been scraped off.

(13) The payment to " Mr. Kniff, painter on Account of taking ye Prospect of Chatsworth, £2, occurs for sept.29th. 1700. In the same account, a Mr. Ciberus, (surely Jan Siberechts?) was paid £10, "on Account of taking the Prospect of Chatsworth." This painting's whereabouts, if it was finished, are unknown. It seems that Knyff also made a painting of Chatsworth from the east of which a photograph is printed in English Country Houses, Caroline 1625-1685 by O. Hill and J. Cornforth, Country Life Ltd. 1966, p.35. The current whereabouts of this painting is not known in 1966 it belonged to the late Lord Sandys, and may still hang at Ombersley Court Worcestershire.

(14) Nottingham University, Portland Ms PW2 572.

(15) John Harris, The Artist and the Country House, p92 and the letter quoted in the appendix dated Jan 9th, 1702.

(16) Letter to Lord Ingram as above.

(17) Badminton Muniments, letter of c. November 1701, already quoted, FT/B 1/2/1(24)

(18) Bought when Lord Lempster was Sir William Fermor in 1691. Northamptonshire Record Society 1994, Northamptonshire in the Early Eighteenth Century, edited by Bruce Bailey.p.54.

(19) Accounts for St. Paul's, Wren Society, vol. XIV, 1937; in the monthly account book for

engravings officially issued p. xi, “ to John Kip the engraver for engraving the copper plate of the plan and NW prospect of the fabric, £10.0.0”; p. xvi. Engraved two plates of St. Paul’s and interior of the cathedral drawn by lens and engraved by Kip.

(20) Craven Country, P Stokes, Guildford, Surrey, 1996, figure 15, p.45. The plate here is one from Les Délices de la Grande Bretagne but from an edition, published apparently in 1727. The caption names the engraver as Van de Aa.

(21) This was a new edition of Atkyn’s History, published not by Smith but by W. Herbert.

(22) Introduction to the 1977 reprinting of S. Rudder’s A New History of Gloucestershire, which was issued in 1779, later than W. Hudson’s Atkyns, but which was compiled over the preceding 12 years.

(23) Gough would have bought his book unbound from the printers and then had it bound as he wished with whatever additions he wanted.

(24) Radcliffe d.31, a print in the middle of the book has in it William III, his dead wife, Mary, who died in.1694, over head in a medallion, Princess Anne, Prince George of Denmark, and their son the Duke of Gloucester, who died in 1700, aged 11. The likely date for this print is 1698, for the little Duke appears about 10 in it, and thus the earliest time the collection of prints could have been bound together.

(25) P. Lablaude, The Gardens of Versailles, 1995, p.77 for details of the complex changes of the Versailles Bosquets.

(26) The engravings of Audley End were issued as an appendix to the last volume of the 1746 edition of Britannia Illustrata, thirty years after they were first engraved. Otherwise there are few engravings of this subject matter by Winstanley, and they are one of Wimbledon Palace dated 1678, Littlebury in Essex, his own house dated 1680, Tyton House, Oxon and Rycott House, Berkshire.

(27) John Aubrey, The Natural History of Wiltshire, www.Gutenberg.net/etext04/nhwil 10.txt, pp.133-135 Aubrey included a list of houses and prospects at the end of this manuscript which he thought should be engraved for his book and also with them the names of the people who should be approached to pay for each plate. He also thought about the possibility of publishing the eventual plates as a separate book.

(28) As above p. 133, “ I have seen a print of the house; it was engraved after Mr. Dankertz’

painting. Quaere Mr. Thompson, the print seller, for it? Perhaps he hath the plates.” This painting is lost according to John Harris op.cit. p.42.

(29) Shapero Gallery, This Sceptered Isle, Spring 2003, p.67 selling a copy of this plate describes it as a plan.

(30) Jacob Bobart corresponded with Mary, Duchess of Beaufort, on the subject of new and rare plants, which he sold to her for her famous experimental hot houses and gardens at Badminton.

(31) British Library, Ms Sloane 3343, f.37.

(32) The archivist says that the date given to it, 1700, is the opinion of John Harris, who now lives at Badminton and is cataloguing the paintings and drawings at Badminton.

(33) The copy of Dr. John Harris’s History that is being used here contains some 35 bird’s-eye views. 18 of these are ascribed to Kip and 13 to J. Harris (the younger). 4 more have been trimmed so close that the signatures have been cut off. John Harris gave George Vertue the biographical details about Kip Vertue I p.105 -106 and may like Badeslade have been trained by Kip. Kip’s life was drawing to a close in 1718/9, but Harris was still working, like Badeslade, in the 1740s and 50s and went on to paint bird’s-eyes of Dunham Massey in 1753 The National Trust Guide to Dunham Massey 2000, pps.5, 43, 49.

(34) Alan Davison, (Ed) Six Deserted Villages of Norfolk, in East Anglian Archaeology 44, 1988, p.85. The plan of Boughton by Badeslade was published in Vitruvius Britannicus Vol. IV, (1739), the unsigned sketch may not be by him despite being very similar to the map in content, but may be the work of Charles Bridgeman, to whom Peter Willis has ascribed it, see note 32.

(35) History of the Ancient and Present State of the Navigation of the Port of King’s Lynn etc 1725 and The New Cut Canal, 1736, p.6. This earth moving activity probably explains the survey of Boughton in 1730, which shows a significant increase in the size of the Broad Water, forming the centerpiece of the principal vista before the house.

(36) Davison *ibid*.

(37) Charles Bridgeman, Peter Willis, Elysium Press, 2002, pp.54-56 and plates 190a to 191b.

APPENDIX I

TEXT ON THE PRINT OF LITTLEBURY, ESSEX, BY HENRY WINSTANLEY
 PUBLISHED BY E. GRIFFITHS: THE PRINT IN STUART BRITAIN, BRITISH
 MUSEUM PRESS, 1998, p.250.

ADVERTISEMENT

(RIGHT HAND SIDE)

All noble men and Gentlemen that please to have their Mansion Houses design'd on Copper Plates, to be printed for composing a volume of ye Prospects of ye Principall Houses of England: may have them done by Mr. Hen: Winstanley by way of subscription, yt is to say, subscribing to pay five Pounds at ye delivering of a fair Copy of their respective house, as large as this Plate or ten Pounds for one as large as Royall paper will contain. He likewise obligeing himselfe to furnish as many Prints of all sorts, att 4s & 6d a Print as any that subscribe shall require, & to deliver one fair sticht Book of as many houses as shall be done, when it is demanded without further charge.

You may have also Prospect of your house, or any distance, Painted in Oyle, of any size att A reasonable rate, by me likewise.

(LEFT HAND SIDE)

The undertaker of this great work can not be thought to designe extraordinary profit to himselfe, considering ye charge of Copper Plates, ye expense of journeys, especially of place far remote to take designes etc: But that he hath seen most of the famoset Houses in France, Italy & Germany, & have been drawn to ye expence & of traveling of some prints done after them in this kinde; And having likewise observed many most worthy houses in England, not only of Noble men but likewise, that have bestowed great charges in beautifying their Fronts with good Architecture, & Symmetry, which is for ornament, more than conveniency. And notwithstanding these great expenses, their houses are not only unknown to all forrigners that come not into England, but likewise to all people that travaile not about, and not heard of by many people of ye same County. I have proposed this way to shew my endeavour to serve

my Country, by letting forrigne Nations have a sight & small prospect, of what is as much deserving as in any Kingdome, & an easy eg. For all my Country men to turn from leafe to leafe, & soe have sight of as many house in as few minutes, as would cost many dayes and weeks to travaile to them.

SUBTITLE TO HENRY WINSTANLEY'S PRINT OF LITTLEBURY.

The Prospect of the Dwelling house of Hen: Winstanley Gent: att Littlebury in the County of Essex, forty Miles distant from London, on the Road to Cambridge, to which place any person of Quallity, in any part of England may send to him, and he will answer their desires, if they pleas to send notice that they will subscribe to the above said proposition. I likewise give notice that I have made some Progress in this worke already.

APPENDIX II

LETTERS PRINTED IN THE LEEDS ARTS CALENDAR, VOL. 7, NO. 23, 1953, pp. 23-24
LEONARD KNYFF PAINTER AND PORTRAIT DEALER BY HUGH HONOR,
 ORIGINALS IN THE LEEDS PUBLIC LIBRARY.

London Jan. 9th 1702.

Mr. Rhodes. (Third Viscount's Agent)

I have sent you a box with prints & pictures by Wm. Ware Leeds Carrier who setts out this day theirs 58 Single prints. ye same as my Lord had. theirs eleven done which I have sent double. I have done a great many of Hampton Court and Windsor for his Highness which are not yett engraved. I not being payd for them. Their is in all 6 pictures for my Lady to take her choice St. John Baptizing our Savior is the same price as the biggest picture which my Lord had and the resurrection is the same price, and the birds and beasts on Copper is the same valew as the little picture which my Lord had. The other with a gold tankard (is the same valew) has an ebony frame to itt but I could not put itt in the box theres likewise two ovell pictures upon lapis Lazure fitt for a lady Closset those two are the price of the largest my Lord had. They are great curiosities. I have sent no varnish lest itt should run out and spoile what was in the box, but if you please to send for two ounces of Strasbourgh turpentine and

add double the quantity of turpentine oyl and stir it very well and then lay it on very bare with a brush but lett the picture be well washed with a sponge and through drey before you varnish itt prey returne the pictures my Lady does not like with those two my Lord had as sone as possible pray be very carefull of the two little pictures if you returne them

your Leonard Knyff

London, Jan. 26th. 1702.

Mr. Rhodes

I received yours as for the two little pictures which my Lord had I valued them all at five guineys the biggest and three the other. these I have sent Saint John Baptizing our Saviour att five Guineys and the resurrection all the same price. those two on lapis Lazurre att five likewise which they cost me. that peice with a tankard and the other on copper att three guineys each. I do not remember any such peice as you mention when I was there but I exchaing for another picture to the vallew. The reason I sent the same prints again is acording to the article agreement each Subscriber to have two of each. therefore I cannott chaing them for pictures which are mony out of my pockitt, as for temple newsam you may keep it if you please and I shall send the other when I send my Lady some more prints. If her Ladyship has no occasion for so many she may disperse them amongst her freinds. The first opertunity I will send some vernish for my Lords picture and make an acknowledgement to you for your trouble doing itt. I wonder you should think the picture not finished because itt was not varnished when most pictures goe without any and it is not convenient that they should till they have been done some time itt may be done by any one without prejudice to the picture and for Six pence charge. I am your humble servant Leonard Knyff

(In the left margin of the letter) if my Lady does not want turpentine varnish, you may take whites of three or four eggs and beat them very well and lett them stand till next morning and then with a drey sponge do itt over. which may be washed off at any time without harme.

APPENDIX III

FROM THE PORTLAND PAPERS, NOTTINGHAM UNIVERSITY, PW2.572.f.65.

January 20th.1697. An agreement between his grace John Duke of Newcastle & Leonard Knyff Gent for drawing engraving and printing three seats of the said dukes viz.

1. Nottingham Castle wth the prospect of ye town of Nottingham, ye park, ye River Leen, ye meadows, ye River Trent & the vale beyond.

2. Bolsover Castle in ye County of derby, ye garden, stable, terras, & wth ye prospect of ye Town of Bolsover, the vale of Scarsdale.

3. Haughton in ye County of Nottingham, wth ye Avenues, ye Park, the Rivers, meadows, Woods, Walks, Loundhall, ye Decoy pond, & other ponds, the prospect to be regularly taken a mile above ye house.

The sd Leonard Knyff to deliver to ye sd Duke four hundred Prints of such houses and seats as ye sd Duke shall chuse & ye sd Duke to pay for ye same Twenty pounds: Twelve pounds part thereof when ye sd. Leonard Knyff shall have drawn and painted platforms of ye sd 3 seats according to ye liking & approbacion of ye sd Duke and Eight pounds remainder of ye Twenty pounds, when ye whole number of prints are delivered.

CHAPTER 4

KNYFF'S PRINTS IN BOOK I OF BRITANNIA ILLUSTRATA

After having looked at the circumstances in which Leonard Knyff set out to make his series of innovative bird's-eye landscape prints of English houses, this chapter will explore some of the garden landscapes which Knyff drew and which Kip engraved for Volume I of Britannia Illustrata in order to evaluate their worth as historical documents and, consequently, their value to those interested both in understanding these early designed landscapes and in putting that understanding to a practical use in their conservation and restoration. Kip's prints will be discussed as a group in chapter 5.

Knyff's work, which became eventually Volume I, is treated separately from Johannes Kip's suite of prints for several reasons. His collection of 80 prints was made earlier than Kip's, covering a period from the 1690's to the first few years of the eighteenth century and his work, on this collection and as a painter, may have contributed to a renewal of interest in the overhead view with its capacity for including a much larger field of vision which led, in turn, to both Kip's and Badeslade's being commissioned to produce work in the same manner. John Evelyn in his 1706 edition of Sylva praised Leonard Knyff for his "most laudable undertaking" in drawing so many of the new symmetrical garden schemes and by implication acknowledged that Knyff had created an original and novel record. (1)

Besides being innovative, Knyff's prints were created for a slightly different reason to Kip's, being intended to provide a view of great houses all over England. They include more representations of magnificent high status buildings and vast designed landscapes than do Kips' views, which, in contrast, depict a large number of small gentry houses, because his work concentrated on one county, Gloucestershire. For instance, in Volume I, there are four royal palaces, the Tower of London, Lambeth Palace and the estates of four dukes, fourteen earls, three viscounts, four barons, nineteen knights and baronets and nine plain gentlemen. Whereas in Volume II, which contains Kip's views, there are by contrast, only five estates belonging to the great, those of the Duke of Beaufort, Viscount Weymouth, the lords Tracy and Berkeley and a powerful official,

William Blathwayt of Dyrham, Secretary-at-War to William III. The remaining houses and gardens belong to five baronets, four knights, thirty-seven esquires or gentlemen, four widows of gentlemen, a clergyman and plain John Sampson of Henbury.

Lastly, Knyff's prints differ from Kip's because they were made to stand-alone and not as an accompaniment to someone else's text. There is in both series, though, a random element as to which views were included, as a consequence of all the work's being paid for by subscription. Some counties are not represented at all by Knyff, such as Shropshire, Bedfordshire, Devon, Cornwall and Essex, for, apparently, no other reason than that no-one from these counties responded to the advertisement in the *Post-Boy*.

First it seems worthwhile, in view of the intention of this study, to indicate how Knyff's prints have previously both been regarded and utilized as a source. This should give an idea of the somewhat various responses to his prints, which, in turn, explains why a fuller examination of their contents is worth undertaking. Then to proceed to a discussion of the suite as a whole and to investigate some sites where it has been possible to find enough alternative evidence to flesh out the prints. It is intended to discuss 12 sites fully with others being mentioned. However, photographs of all the prints in Volume I are printed in a separate volume for reference. These prints do not, unfortunately, reproduce well because of their size and no photograph captures the quality of the originals. The main sites discussed are Staunton Harold (Leicester) Hampstead Marshall (Berkshire) Combe Abbey (Warwickshire), Cassiobury Park, (Bedfordshire) Hutton-in-the-Forest (Cumberland) Ragley Hall (Warwickshire), Great Ribston (North Yorkshire), Newby Hall (North Yorkshire), Wimpole Hall (Cambridgeshire), Longleat (Wiltshire) and Chatsworth (Derbyshire). At the end of this series of comparisons of the prints with other evidence, it might be possible to decide whether a print can be entirely relied upon as a blue print for a site where house and landscape has been overlaid by later building and there is little contemporary evidence to be found, such as Coley (Reading, Berkshire), Dawley (Middlesex) or Southwick (Hampshire). Perhaps even to formulate an idea of the answer to the more general question of whether any print by Knyff can be used, without other supporting evidence, as a reliable visual description of a landscape.

George Vertue's opinions of Leonard Knyff have been rehearsed already and

were mainly concerned with the artistic quality of Knyff's work, which he thought was slight. (2) However Knyff's only biographer, Hugh Honor, writing in the 1950s, was rather inclined to view the evidential value of the prints as being limited. He wrote; "One is tempted to distrust the fine enclosed gardens of Britannia Illustrata supposing them to show ambitions rather than the achievements of many landowners." (3) Conversely, earlier writers on garden landscapes such as Reginald Bloomfield, author of The Formal Garden In England, had a more positive view and regarded Knyff's work as essential to the understanding of the way these landscapes looked and for an appreciation as to how they were laid out (4) and J. A. G. Gotch writing in 1909 wrote in much the same vein, "No better idea of the ancient aspect of Jacobean houses can be gained than from the views of Knyff and Kip; and although the accuracy of every detail cannot be guaranteed, there is no doubt that the general disposition is fairly true to the facts". (5) An opinion, which combines the positive view of Blomfield with the doubts of Hugh Honor. Compare this sentiment with a more recent view of the prints written by Adrian Tinniswood; "It used to be said that such aerial perspectives were unreliable, and that because much of their work is undated and is more or less contemporary with new houses and garden layouts, Kip and Knyff were depicting might-have-beens and aspirations rather than recording what they saw. We know this to true in one or two instances. A 1707 engraving of Wimpole Hall for example, portrays a projected remodeling that didn't take place, with the original mid-seventeenth century hall refaced and extended by two bays on either side. In the vast majority of cases where other evidence has survived it corroborates the engravings in every detail...." (6)

Some of these quotes talk exclusively of the landscape and some of the house in the landscape. Although this study is not concerned with architecture, it is difficult to separate a discussion of the evidence regarding the house, figured in the print, from that concerning the garden and landscape surrounding it, because the two are so interrelated; the landscape is focused on the house and is nothing without it. Furthermore, it is often evidence concerning the building and development of the house, which will be used to come to conclusions about the landscape for the want of any other evidence. There may, however, be a danger in proceeding from evidence concerning the house to conclusions about the landscape. Adrian Tinniswood mentions, in the excerpt above, that the print of

Wimpole (Cambridgeshire) may not be completely accurate on the subject of the remodeling of the house and that Knyff's version contains too many bays in the principal block of the house, 11, as opposed to the 7 drawn by Flitcroft in his 1742 survey (7), which is still the number of bays in the existing house. When it comes to the landscape, however, the surveys and plans drawn up by Charles Bridgeman for the remaking of the grounds in 1721-1725, support Knyff's representation of the gardens round the house closely. (8)

This uncertainty about the truth of Knyff's birds-eyes may be caused by the many ways the prints are used by writers on gardens of the period, sometimes as a single instance, to describe the style of a specific garden such as Melton Constable (Norfolk) in Norfolk Country House From The Air, (9) sometimes as a document in a chain of evidence as in David Souders's discussion of the development of the landscape at Wimpole Hall, (Cambridgeshire)(10) or, very occasionally, as a starting point for an archaeological investigation of a site such as in the field archaeology carried out in Richmond Park (11) and sometimes simply as an illustration,(12) but not in most of these cases with any discussion of the contents of the prints as historical documents. The reason may be that the prints are so well known that there is, implied in their use, the idea that this aspect of them has already been assessed, coupled to the fact that they are very seldom used as a group, since most of these instances are site specific. (13)

Added to this, Knyff's work is not always distinguished from that of Kip, and because Kip was the engraver for both series of prints, he is sometimes credited with the authorship of the prints he engraved for Knyff as well as his own. The convention of naming the engraver as the main contributor to a print is partly responsible for this occasional confusion. Furthermore, because there were several editions of Britannia Illustrata, the date of one of the later editions is sometimes given as the date a print. (14). The gardens of Staunton Harold (Leicestershire) were assessed as having been constructed in 1716, for this reason, in the Leicestershire volume of Pevsner's, The Buildings Of England (15) creating a certain confusion as to the history and associations of this landscape, which this entry then compares to the gardens of nearby Melbourne Hall (Derbyshire)(16) The Melbourne gardens are the creation of Sir John Coke and his son, Thomas, mainly the latter (17) who employed the famous nurserymen, George

London and Henry Wise of Brompton Park, to approve his designs and supply plants, between 1704-1706.(18)

In so far as the inception of the work at Staunton Harold is dateable, for nothing about the gardens portrayed in the print can be gleaned from the Shirley papers, which are scattered amongst several British record offices and the Huntington Library in America, (19) it appears to predate that at Melbourne. There are a few indications, which point to a possible date for the completion of most of the gardens surrounding the house. A tangible indication is the gateway by the church which has the initials RF and the date 1681 on it, (figures 15 and 16) and although the gate is not in its original position, for there were no gardens on the south west flank of the church, the initials and date relate to the Robert Ferrers (inherited 1650- died 1717), mentioned in the dedication of the print. Robert Ferrers is credited by early topographical writers like John Macky, in his Memoirs of the Court of Great Britain (21) and William Wooley in the early 18th century, with the making of the gardens and plantations at Staunton Harold. (20)

Then the print itself bears the dedication to Right Honourable, Robert Lord Ferrers of Chartley Bouchier and Lovain (sic). Sir Robert was made a Baron in 1677, a Privy Counselor first by James II in 1685 and then by William III in 1699 (22). 1699 is the date that Sir Robert got married for the second time to the daughter of a London merchant and this event as well as becoming a Privy Counselor might have been the spur to commissioning a print of his gardens. Furthermore, George London made a visit to the north of England accompanying his friend and patron, the Bishop of London and the Bishops' brother, the Earl of Northampton in 1701(23) and wrote to Thomas Coke about coming to see him at Melbourne, whilst on this journey (24) during which he and his two distinguished companions intended to visit the gardens and plantations of Staunton Harold and this letter provides another important date.

It appears from these indications that the gardens of Staunton Harold were at least largely in existence well before 1700 and were probably constructed in the 1680s, and so pre-date substantially the beginning of the work at Melbourne. It also appears that once completed the gardens did not long remain in the state that the Knyff shows them. Knyff also painted Staunton Harold, (Figure 17) though quite when he did this is uncertain, but a date of 1704 has been suggested, (25) and this view shows that the

abundant topiary, the fountains and most of the statues had disappeared and the formal gardens on the North East front have been reduced to grass rectangles and a few shaped trees. When Smith of Derby painted the 5th Earl's improvements to the house c.1764-67 only sweeping lawns surrounded the building. (Figure 17)

Not only can the gardens of Melbourne not have been begun when Staunton Harold's were finished but also the two gardens were never very alike. Some idea of what Melbourne looked like in the early 18th century can be ascertained from the survival of the basic lay-out to the present day (Figure 18) This consists of a formal garden to the East, on two levels ending in a semi circular basin a wrought iron pavilion known as the bird cage, by the smith, Robert Bakewell, and beyond the boundary wall an avenue. To the North there are a series of hedged bosquets with fountains and basins punctuating each vista. There is no contemporary plan for this garden, though a scheme was drawn up by Thomas Coke and sent to George London, (26) only one of a simpler design presumably made for Thomas Coke's father. (Figure 18)

However, it is possible to get a more detailed idea of how Melbourne looked from some of the bills sent in from Brompton Park. A "division of parterre work" was begun in 1704 to the east of the house, for which five pyramid yews and 600 yards of Dutch box were supplied in 1706. Elaborate parterres combined with a unity of design were something that London and Wise often designed and their names are firmly attached to parterres within the Chatsworth and Longleat, gardens, which will be further discussed later in the chapter. There seems to have been at Melbourne a conscious French influence: a fountain for the a great basin was to be " A Venus coming out of the Sea, standing on a piece of Rockwork, and four nymphs (sic) at ye corners of ye rock. Ye rockwork to be like that under Neptune at Vaux-le Vicomte", which is consistent with George London's French training (27) as are the Jet's d'Eau and the huge formal basin. There was also an Etiole or star wood, situated on high ground, another French feature associated with gardens and plantations where there is a London and Wise connection such as Castle Howard and Longleat.

A closer look at the print of Staunton Harold shows that this garden was made in quite another manner from that at Melbourne. (Figure19) There are no box parterres or indeed any parterres in the best garden, as might be expected to occur in gardens made in

the first decade of the 18th century, with the advice of London and Wise, like Longleat, Chatsworth and Cassiobury. Instead there are plain rectangles of grass, a plethora of shaped trees and a vast number of statues, described by John Macky, on his tour through England, printed in 1723, as being “very entertaining”. (28) A remark, which suggests that the statues were idiosyncratic and not of the normal classical or pastoral subjects such as the Venus at Melbourne. In short the garden at Staunton Harold belongs to the 1680s and far from depending on imitating Melbourne seems to be more the personal creation of the Sir Robert Ferrers (1650-1717), which the presence of the distinctive steps, between the upper grass parterres and the lower garden of shaped trees, so reminiscent of a design by Sebastiano Serlio, from The Five Books Of Architecture, (29) a frequent inmate of a gentleman’s library and widely used as a pattern book, also suggests.

If there is a more pervasive influence in their design it may be one from the Low Counties rather than France. Sir Robert ‘s family seems to have owned property in the Netherlands in the 1630s and the rehearsal of his title below the print, mentions his being Baron Louvain, which suggests a link with the University town in the Spanish Netherlands. The connection with Louvain, unfortunately, turns out not to be of any significance for the gardens at Staunton Harold. The name was chosen by Robert Ferrars as one of his titles to emphasize his descent from the Devereux family. (30) However, it is perhaps unwise to be too dogmatic on the subject of stylistic influence, in a period when the influence of various design traditions in Europe was becoming increasingly interwoven in the gardens and palaces of the rich and traveled. (31)

Now for an excursion into the history of the gardens at Wilton which were laid out in the 1630s, as examined by Sir Roy Strong, in The Renaissance Garden in England, in order to elaborate upon the contention that Knyff’s views are sometimes used to illustrate the interconnection of trends and ideas in landscape design without the relevance of each chosen view having been carefully assessed. (32) Three Knyff plates of Staunton Harald, Haigh (Lancaster) and Dawley (Middlesex) given as examples of the borrowing of Wilton’s 1630s layout and its use in the design of later gardens. It seems unlikely that Wilton survived the Civil War and, appeared well into the 1680s, in the same condition as it was before the war, to be copied again in the making of three post

Restoration gardens. It would appear that the only source for copying its layout would then have been the prints in Isaac de Caus's, Le Jardin de Wilton, printed in Paris c.1645, and which was not reissued in England and does not seem to have formed a common component of a gentleman's library.

However, of the three gardens (Figures 20 and 21) mentioned as being like Wilton, Staunton Harold, which belongs to the 1680s, is the garden about which most is known and from the paragraphs above one can see that what is known is not very much. Still less is known of the history of the Hall at Haigh at the time that Knyff drew it. The Sir Roger Bradshaigh, mentioned in the title of the print, had inherited the hall in 1675, which Celia Feinnes in 1698, described as " standing on the declining of a hill in the midst of a fine grove of trees; severall fine walks and rows of trees thereabouts, " a description from which little can be gleaned. (33) Dawley belonged, when Knyff saw it to Charles, 2nd Lord Ossulstone (34) and although few details can be obtained about its construction, the view Knyff gives can be dated between 1695 and 1704. 1695 being the year Charles Bennet, 2nd Baron Ossulstone, inherited Dawley from his father and 1704 being the year that a large stone basin was made in the south garden drawn by Knyff. (35)

Lacking any documentary links, there remains only the visual comparison of all four gardens and beyond the fact that in all of the views there is a great garden before the house, which is walled or partially hedged and has an axial path centred on the façade of the house, there is little similarity. Wilton's path leads to the celebrated grotto and terrace by way of three separate divisions, a parterre de broderie, a wilderness containing the river Nadder and what may be a dwarf fruit garden; Staunton Harold is a garden without elaborate parterres of any sort, composed of five descending terraces, one running the width of the house, then two plots of grass with circular basins in them, the next two crammed with beds of topiary and an very large number of statues, and then, a canal, horizontal to the house in which there are two fountains of rockwork across which the axial path leads to a building, whose use is not clear and finally the garden terminates in a plantation, shaped like an arrow-head; At Haigh there is a terrace running the width of the house, then a sunken area divided into four grass plots two with statues in the centre and the next two with fountains and basins in the centre and the axial path running as a walkway between them, descending to and stopping at a canal, which, like the one at

Staunton Harold, runs across the width of the garden, the main ornamentation is composed of round headed shrubs and pyramid conifers, alternating and planted urns along the margins of the canal. From this area, two gates in the boundary hedge lead to an island duckery in a square pond flanked by two matching, hedged, vegetable gardens eventually giving onto an avenue of conifers. At Dawley there is a much smaller entrance terrace to the garden which begins with a section divided into four grass areas, each with statues at the center and corners, then four small curvilinear parterres of grass-work, stretching like a band of braid the width of the garden, four larger sections made of little rectangular beds rather like strap work, and of the sort illustrated by John Rea as patterns, in his Flora, published originally in 1655, and studied with little shaped trees and lastly, a section of four partitions of pole hedges, possibly enclosing beds of flowers and four arbours of trellis work, which appears quite similar to part of the garden at Wimpole (Cambridgeshire, plate 32 in the appendix of photographs of Knyff's prints contained in the volume of photographs of the plates). This garden like the others is bisected by a central walk way but, in this case, it ends at a wrought iron gate crested with arms leading out into an avenue composed of three walks.

The link between all three gardens is axuality and what Evelyn called, regularity, (36) but this feature would link them to many other gardens, particularly French gardens of the early 17th century, familiar to travelers abroad and Royalist exiles, who would be able to borrow and reinterpret these familiar concepts in their own post Restoration gardens. Otherwise, the three gardens are not at all alike and portray a diversity and individuality greater than their similarities and none of them have parterres de broderie, which are a singular feature of the Wilton layout. However, this dissimilarity is less apparent from looking at photographs, which emphasize the rectangular outlines of the formal gardens, than it is from examining the full-sized print.

Before proceeding to discuss individual prints some remarks, about the characteristics of Knyff's prints as a group as an indication of their integrity, are material. The detail found in these prints is one of their strengths and has led to a few attempts to use them and related works in restoration projects. There is a drawing of Moor Park, home of Sir William Temple, (1628-99) author of The Gardens of Epicurus, written in 1685, which has been attributed to both Knyff and Kip, (37) whose dimensions the

architect Harald Faulkner, checked in 1949, against what features were left of the landscape surrounding the heavily altered house (38) with apparently satisfactory results, enabling him to work out a scaled plan. Only two prints in *Britannia Illustrata* have so far been used as the basis for a full restoration of a garden. One is the print of Weston-upon-Severn in Gloucestershire by Kip, and a discussion of this garden belongs in chapter 5. The other is Hampton Court Palace where the Knyff print, taken from the West was used as part of a chain of evidence in the restoration, carried out from 1991-1995, of the Privy Garden, made for William III, together with a rare Knyff (39) drawing of the place and garden from the south. The process of this restoration has been very fully written up in a special edition of *Apollo* (1995) and the author of the introductory article emphasizes that the drawing, which (Figure 22) gives a head-on view of the south façade of the palace and the Privy Garden, was regarded as being the more accurate of the two, since it was felt that the engraving process, the conversion of a fine pen line into the coarser one, cut into the copper plate by pushing the metal burin across it, had inevitably affected both detail and accuracy.(40) However, the drawing, which is a preparatory drawing for another work, whether print or painting is unknown,(41) contains much less incidental detail than the print, which is seething with additional detail of coaches arriving, figures in the gardens and deer in the park.

Whether one agrees with this assessment of the worth of the drawing of Hampton Court Palace compared with the print or not, the Hampton Court Palace restoration project certainly underlines one thing, which is, that although the plates, generally, are enormously detailed, for example in the Chatsworth print, the basket of fruit on the head of the Van Nost statue of Ceres as well as the branches of the willow tree fountain are plainly outlined, (42) they do not contain enough information to enable them to be used exclusively as a blue print for a restoration. Whilst the engraving establishes the general form of the landscape, including the design of the parterres in the Privy Garden at Hampton Court Palace, which are seen to be composed of sand, shaped grass and long bands of pyramid and round headed shrubs and may include box hedging, this is still not enough to recreate and replant the parterres in the appropriate plants and materials used at the time.

This exceptional detail within the drawings emphasizes another aspect, which is

how much diversity there is between them. This combination of detail and variety is another indication of the general trustworthiness of Knyff's views, which John Evelyn regarded as a pattern book for other potential improvers of plantations and gardens. (43) If these views were the primarily the fruits of the artist's imagination one would expect much more sameness in the views. All the gardens would be expected to exhibit the latest fashions in gardening and would all tend to resemble the designs of High Status gardens such as Hampton Court Palace, with its elaborate parterres of grass cutwork and of broderie, so-called because outlines in the beds are derived from embroidery patterns. The plates are actually arranged according to the social position of the various owners, so that, if fancy alone had directed Knyff's hand, it would seem more likely that the gardens of the humbler sort would be less magnificent than those of the greater, and that all the social gradations would be expressed in landscape, but this is not so.

Some of the Royal residences like Somerset House, home successively of the Dowager Queens, Henrietta-Maria (44) and Catherine of Braganza are drawn with very bare gardens. Windsor Castle is shown with virtually no gardens at all. This agrees with what is known of its history. Charles II spent several years at the end of his reign on a project to plant an avenue, 240 ft broad, between the Castle and the Great Park and to clear all the houses away, which impeded the view from the castle terrace to the Thames. These projects were barely completed by his death, in February 1685, because buying up the tenements, which lay in the path of the projected avenues and under the terraces of the castle, was a long and tortuous process. (45) Knyff made one print of the castle and one print in which the landscape of the castle is included in a view of Charles Beauclerk, Duke of St. Alban's house. In the first print the view concentrates on view of the castle from the Thames, the viewpoint being below the buildings, in the second, a bird's-eye, the aerial viewpoint allows the new avenue from the castle to the deer park to be shown. During the next two reigns, James II (1685-1688) and William III, (1688-1702) the gardens and plantations, at Windsor Castle do not appear to have been enlarged. When Knyff made his print for Prince George of Denmark, which carries the arms of Queen Anne, he had the opportunity in drawing this landscape of adding the "might have been" that Hugh Honor wrote about (46) since William III appears to have commissioned elaborate plans in about 1698 from both Wren and Claude Desgots. (47) Knyff was quite

able, as the discussion of other landscapes will show of including either of these proposed schemes into his drawing.

The gardens at St. James Palace, as Knyff drew them, are the gardens, which were designed by André Mollet and his nephew, Gabriel, gardeners to King Charles II, between the years 1661 and 1665 (48) and published by André, as plans for a Royal Garden in the English version of Le Jardin du Plaisir (Paris 1651), in 1670. This garden was still being laid out to Mollet's plans in 1667 (49) and if these plans are compared to the plan which Knyff issued, alongside a bird's-eye view in 1708, the form of the Royal garden had not been much altered during the intervening period, under four succeeding Royal gardeners, John Rose, Captain Leonard Gurle, the painter Verrio and George London

Hampton Court Place, by contrast, is portrayed in its print, with a resplendent surrounding of gardens and avenues. The gardens near to the palace, the Fountain and Privy Gardens could have only just been finished on the death of William III in March 1702. The necessary final touches to the Privy Garden like the superb screen by Tijou, which was erected in November, 1702, were carried out for Queen Anne, probably only because the screen was already finished, and who, thereafter, sanctioned no more serious expenditure on the embellishment of the gardens at Hampton Court Palace. The triangle of land beyond the screen was not brought into cultivation but left waste and by 1707, the year before Britannia Illustrata was published, the parterres in the Fountain Garden had been replaced by grass and gravel walks. (50) The most magnificent of the Royal gardens in Knyff's prints, seems to have been in existence for a very short time and may not quite have achieved the development that the print portrays. (51)

Conversely gardens belonging to people much further down the social scale easily eclipse St. James, Somerset House and Windsor Castle. Eaton Hall (Cheshire), the house built by Sir Thomas Grovesnor, a wealthy man but a mere baronet, is set in a extensive new landscape including a canals and a long axial vista centred on the hill on top of which the remains of mediaeval and iron-age, Beeston Castle. (Figures 23, 23a and 24) This hill is seven miles away and was never included in the Eaton estate but the

avenue in the print ran for at least a mile, South of East, across the Dee to the edge of the Grovesnor lands and has been planted to look longer than it is by placing a double avenue close to the house and a single one beyond the river.(52) The house at Eaton was begun in 1675, to designs furnished by William Samwell, not, as so often happened, on the site of the old Grovesnor house which was at nearby Eaton Boat, but on a fresh site surrounded by a new landscape. The gardens look quite raw in the Knyff, which agrees with the views of the Rev Rowland Davies who saw them in April 1690, (53) and emphasizes the tremendous amount of time needed to accomplish such a task.

Nor are all the gardens in the suite of prints newly made. This mainly applies to the great or principal formal garden associated with the house and not the wider landscape of avenues and plantations, which are, generally, the work of the post Restoration years. This, too, seems in accord with an intention by the artist to record rather than invent. There are gardens amongst the prints, which seem to have been built even longer ago than St. James Palace gardens, which were begun again at the Restoration. Temple Newsam (Yorkshire) (Plate 42) is such a garden though the wider landscape of avenues is probably more contemporary with Knyff's visit. Knyff was there in 1699, working for the third Viscount Ingram (54) and the great garden he drew is one of Italianate terraces, one placed just before the Jacobean house from which stairs descend into the area of four grass plots and ascend to another one at the end of the garden, with two pavilions at either end of it. This garden has visual affinities with the garden of Sir John Danvers in Chelsea, (55) which John Aubrey described as being the first garden in England made in the Italian manner (Figures 25 and 26) and also with Moor Park, the garden made by Lucy Harrington, Countess of Bedford, which Sir William Temple praised so highly (56) and which was made in the 1630s. The Temple Newsam garden may date from 1635-6, which is the date when the banqueting house, situated at one end of the first terrace, was built. (57)

Rycote (Oxfordshire) (Plate.34) may also display a pre Civil War aspect in its great garden, though it is known that the marshy landscape in the background of the print had just been drained and large ponds made to hold the water in the 1690s by the Montague Bertie, Earl of Abingdon, to whom the print is dedicated. (58) The view is

drawn after 1699, the year in which Montague Bertie inherited Rycote and the title and shows the Tudor house, partially moated and a bridge leading over the moat into the main garden, which ends in a remarkable arcaded terrace up which two flights of stairs, flanked by obelisks, lead to a classical portico, reminiscent of a Roman triumphal arch. There is an archway into the side of the second flight, which could lead into a grotto. Little substantial detail of this elaborate piece of architecture can be gained from Knyff's view, which is taken from the south and shows the terrace endways on. Nor does the slightly earlier print made by Henry Winstanley give a better view of the terrace though the version consulted here is a mid 18th century copy (Figure 27) made to illustrate a history of Rycote, written at the same date. (59) There is little physical information to be gathered about this interesting architectural feature because after the house was gravely damaged by a fire in 1745, and was rebuilt about 1760. It was finally sold for building materials in 1807, leaving only part of the stable block still standing. (60)

Nothing easily recognizable remains of the garden terraces. John Loveday, traveler and diarist, visited Rycote in 1736 and saw this terrace and described it thus, "To secure the house from a mischievous wind, a large and long Mount (as they call it) was reared up parallel with the length house, Gardenwards; Inigo Jones has contrived to make it wonderfully ornamental by designing a light, open kind of Alcove on the top; on a lower part making proper Ornaments for an Approach". (61) He adds as a note that the terrace was built in 1656, information, which may have been given him by the family, and which makes Inigo Jones's participation unlikely, since he died in 1652 (62), but does put a general date, some forty five years before Knyff made his drawing, to the construction of this garden.

A few gardens and landscapes, though not mediaeval, retain the rather constricted planning associated with late mediaeval houses, such as Ingleby manor, (Yorkshire) or the grand entrance court associated with Elizabethan and Jacobean houses as in Constable Burton (North Yorkshire) or Doddington (Lincoln) rather than house being set in the center of a design whose axes radiate from it. Older houses are orientated with the best gardens to the south of the house, the service blocks to the north and the entrance front on the east. A balanced landscape with the main axis running through the house into the

formal garden and beyond is a principle of design, which Mollet laid down in his The Garden of Pleasure (1672), (64) and, which informs many of Knyff's landscapes, such as Cassiobury Park (Hertfordshire), the new house at Stanstead Park (Sussex), Wimpole (Cambridgeshire), Ragley Hall (Worcestershire) and Melton Constable (Norfolk).

In the prints of these older, retarded landscapes, the house is often still surrounded by high walled yards, and although there are frequently avenues added to the wider landscape in order to expand the lines of interaction between the house and its surroundings, it has not always been possible to place these where they make axial lines, because an old landscape and house are being adapted to new ideas and there is not enough geographic scope to put the new ideas into place. The new gardens at Longleat are placed to the east of the house rather than having the main south front of the house as their central focus for this reason.

Althorp (Northamptonshire) (Plate 27) is another place where the new extended landscape has been only partially added to the older one. Although the background of the print includes a few lines of trees, at Althorp the main gardens lie to the side of the house in the moat, which has been filled in. These gardens were chiefly used for fruit and vegetables, for which they were celebrated to such a degree, that the idea was propagated in John Macky's A Journey Through England, that their plan had influenced Louis XIV's Master of the Kitchen Gardens at Versailles (65) in laying out that splendid fruit and vegetable garden. Although the Althorp gardens were esteemed for what varieties and quantity of fruit was grown in them, in contemporary terms they were old fashioned, because the new idea was to place food production further from the house, as the Kitchen Gardens were indeed located at Versailles itself.

Some plates have been drawn not to emphasize the pleasure grounds and parterres but to highlight the new tree plantings of plantations, avenues, rond points and stars, which are in the background of many other plates. Ashdown Park (Berkshire) (Plate 46) a hunting lodge built by the Earl of Craven before 1696 is simply set in trees with four avenues radiating from the house at the four points of the compass. For the time this was a minimalist landscape. Westwood Park, (Worcestershire) (Plate 65) originally a

Jacobean hunting-box is also set in a predominately wooded landscape cut through with rides. Cassiobury Park (Hertfordshire) (Plate 28) is also a garden in which trees and the rides through them form the main component. The influence of Evelyn's *Sylva*, 1664, written as an encouragement to tree planting, on the construction of the garden, is acknowledged by the gardener, Moses Cook, who himself largely planted Cassiobury, in the preface to his own book on tree planting. (66) The third of the prints made of Badminton (Gloucestershire) (Plate 11) is also mainly of trees and records the vast web of avenues crisscrossing the estate. The instructions from the Duke of Newcastle to Knyff (67) in 1697, by making him take the view of Haughton (Nottingham) a mile away ensure that the focus of this view is the lines of new trees.

This short analysis of Knyff's prints, as a group and of the variety of their content, leads to the interim conclusion that the gardens and landscapes are much as the artist saw them, rather than being the fruits of his visual invention, because not all the landscapes are uniformly grand and reflect contemporary ideas of design, nor are all the grand gardens owned by the grandest people. The plates are set out to reflect the social order. The order of the prints starts with gardens belonging to the King and the Archbishop of Canterbury and then proceeds in order of social standing with the estates of dukes, earls, viscounts, barons, baronets, knights and ends with the house of Tancred Vachel Esq. The grandeur and modernity of the gardens and grounds does not follow the same pattern and reflects instead the wealth of their owners rather than their social status.

There is however a warning note in the history of the Hampton Court Palace landscape, where not quite all Knyff drew may have been created. In proceeding from the general to the particular, by making a closer analysis of some of the landscapes in the series, it must be noted that it is often necessary to discuss evidence regarding the building, where there is little no evidence remaining concerning the landscape, and to apply the quality of evidence for one to the other, because house and landscape are interrelated. The first two landscapes discussed are;

Combe Abbey (Warwickshire) Plate 47 and Hampstead Marshall (Berkshire) Plate 45

William, Lord Craven, owned both these houses when Knyff drew them, having

recently inherited them from his uncle, William, Earl of Craven, who had died in 1697. They are, however, the work of Earl William, overseen by his nephew, as his agent, for the refurbishing of Combe Abbey, at least. (68) Earl William was a devoted supporter of the Stuart cause and particularly of the exiled Elizabeth of Bohemia and spent the years of the Civil War abroad, with most of his properties in England (except apparently Combe Abbey) suffering sequestration. His earldom in 1664 was an acknowledgement of this loyalty and papers in Bodley testify that, on his return to England, two of his houses underwent considerable expansion and refurbishment. These were Hampstead Marshall, which seems to have been his principal country residence and Combe Abbey, for both of which there are drawings in Gough Drawings (a.2) and a volume of accounts for Combe Abbey in the Craven papers, beginning in 1681. Knyff drew another property of the Earl's, Ashdown Park, which was built in the 1660s as a hunting lodge, to judge by its setting amongst a forest of close planted trees, but for which no accounts or plans have been found. (69)

Hampstead Marshall, near Newbury (Plate 45) is no longer standing, having been burnt down in 1718, patched up roughly subsequently and soon afterwards abandoned. (70) The fire was so damaging that no attempt seems to have been made to rebuild the house but more traces remain, especially of the gardens, than might be expected. There was a house here when Earl William's widowed mother brought the estate, for her son, from the heirs of Sir Francis Jones in about 1620 and since the existing house was sound it was extended and not rebuilt from scratch, with an extra floor, two new wings forming a U shape and a hipped roof. (71) These modernizations seem to have begun around 1664 /5 according to the date of a set of ground plans in Gough (72) and to have been carried out according to designs provided by Sir Balthazar Gerbier (1592-1663), some of whose dated drawings remain in the collection (73), including details for the treatment of windows and magnificent gates and piers for the entrance to the house. (74) These are no longer on the site but have been re-sited to the Benham estate, another local Craven property, reworked in the 19th century. (75) After Gerbier's death, Captain William Winde, a soldier and an architect, (76) who was Gerbier's pupil and a godson of the Earl, took on the job of overseeing (77) the work. He must also have been engaged in the construction of the landscape surrounding the house, for there is a drawing for "Ye

staircase of ye orchard at Hampstead Marshall,” dated 1682 (78) as well as overseeing the plantations in 1684. (79) At the same time he was concerned with the renovations at Combe Abbey for his signature is found approving drawings by master craftsmen and letters from him to the steward, William Craven appear in the Craven papers. (80)

Some of the drawings of architectural details in Gough are the same as those to be seen in Knyff’s drawing and by looking at the coincidence of these with Knyff, it may be possible to form some view about the quality of the depiction of the gardens and further landscape. It is often inescapable that evidence about the building has to be discussed in relation to the landscape, for the building is the heart of the design, more important than gardens or plantations and not infrequently there is more evidence left concerning it than there is for the gardens. In the Gough drawings there is an undated ground plan for the whole house, which changes it from a single block into a U shape and the overhead view in the print, taken from the junction of the main façade and the south wing, which was the garden front, shows this configuration. (81) Then this coincidence is put in doubt by two seemingly conflicting plans of the garden front, one which is entitled “The Ground Plan of the garden Wing having been built and finished, 27th July 1664”, and shows the wing to have eight bays and one preceding it in the series of drawings which shows the garden wing with eleven bays, which is how Knyff has drawn it. This apparent conflict is resolved when a careful scrutiny shows that the plan with the shorter number of bays is for the addition only and the plan with the larger number shows both the old and new work together. (82)

The plans in Gough also give some information about the main elevation of the building, which as drawn by Knyff, is a mixture of what may be a Jacobean range of two floors with an added upper story in a quite different style. A plat or ground plan of the “Bass Court”, dated 1665, includes an outline of the four bays and a central porch seen in the print (83) but can not confirm the number of storeys. Another page subtitled, “Ye inner court before ye cloisters the roof and platforme at Hampstead Marshall,”(84) corroborates the general configuration of the roof, including the number of dormers on the Eastern elevation. There is also a drawing of the arrangement of the pedimented windows on the added upper floor of the main façade, undoubtedly by Gerbier himself,

linked by swags or carved foliage from which depend cartouches on which there are linked, reversed “Cs.”(85) This detail is difficult to reconcile exactly with the print because on it for the cartouche and garland measure only 6ml. wide by 8ml. long, but cartouches and garlands if not the reversed “Cs” are there.

These meagre points of coincidence between the print and the house may seem too few to be certain that Knyff’s view, the only one of the long destroyed house, is a true one, but fortunately this is a landscape where there is also quite considerable evidence for the gardens consisting of a few drawings for the staircase at the end of the orchard, the plan of the base court, already mentioned and a series of gate piers by the carver Edward Pearce, the younger (c.1635-1695). These cannot easily be compared with the print because the seven sets of gate piers in it are far too small, though the principal entrance bears a resemblance to the Gerbier drawing. (Figure 29) Besides this there is one very important air photograph and lastly, but by far the most important, there is the evidence of the remains of the garden architecture itself, in very good condition, which have survived the destruction of the main house.

There are working drawings for some of the eight sets of gate piers still standing, two sets of brick and stone gate piers, by the church and at the end of the main east/west axis and a heavily decorated set of stone at the western end of the garden beyond the Bowling Green (all of which have been ringed on figure 28). If the photographs of these are compared to the rough copies of Edward Pearce’s sketches (86) taken from the Gough drawings (Figures 30 and 31) there is a striking similarity. The remaining sets of piers, from the Great Garden two of brick and stone and one of stone, the stone set terminates the path from the principal door of the garden front, the most important vista in this part of the garden, match their places in the engraving and are in the same style as and contemporary with the rest. (Figure 32) One of these bears a “graffito” from 1697. (87) There is also a drawing with piers, for the place where Knyff shows the entrance to the bowling on the West side of the house. These are set in a half moon of brick wall jutting out from the straight wall which enclosed the grass parterre on the west side of the house. The quoins and cappings of this wall are made of stone, but Knyff’s scale does not allow him to show the change in materials and is interrupted by a series of niches, fourteen in

all, which Knyff has faithfully reproduced. Lastly, there are two remaining sets of piers by the church, one obscured in the print by the baulk of the house. In short all the ornamental gate piers, which appear on the print, except for Gerbier's main gates, are still in their original position when compared to Knyff's drawing and are irrefutably contemporary.

The perimeter of the garden and its divisions are also remarkably well defined despite deep ploughing of the Base Court and the Great Garden (Figure 33). There has also been recent building of executive housing in the kitchen garden and bowling green and on the site of the stables and a less recent building of a mock Georgian house within the orchard and wilderness but without disturbing the basic divisions and boundaries of the garden. Moreover, the terrace (figure 33) at the end of the orchard is still extant but, without the staircase "built in ye year 1682". (88)

Until recently it was still possible to discern the layout of the garden itself from a remarkable air photograph published in *There By Design* (89), which plainly shows the outlines of the parterres Knyff drew in the Great Garden to the south of the site of building. That photograph was taken in 1948. In a more recent, 1996, aerial photograph, published in the same article, the detail has now been ploughed out and even the divisions of the garden plots are vanishing. (Figure 28) This is a very rare piece of evidence for a late 17th century garden. Usually for a house of the importance of Hampstead Marshall, there would have been a continuous history of change in the designed landscape, which might well have obliterated the outlines and patterns of this garden, which had replaced an earlier formal garden, but the loss of the house in 1719 prevented this.

There is only a little information about what was grown in the gardens. The Household Expenses for March 1650 (90) include an entry, "Paid for 900 yd. of box to sett in the garden £5 11/-" which suggests a garden of interlaced dwarf box hedges or knots and not the squares of grass that Knyff has drawn in the Great Garden, the central outlined with the ubiquitous late 17th century plat bande, nor the star, probably composed of earths and gravels in the Base Court, nor the enclosed garden directly to the west of the house, again composed of shapes made of grass. Although this is quite an early use of

box, the interlaced box or box edgings were replaced by the arrangement seen in the Knyff. (91) There is also a possible reference to tree planting in Captain William Winde's being sent to view the plantations in 1684. (92) It is not apparent whether the word "plantations" refers to the avenues in the background of the print, which are represented as being composed of young, newly planted, trees, or to blocks of trees, the word could have either meaning.

The subtitle to the drawing of the steps to the orchard referred to above means there was, as expected lots of fruit trees at Hampstead Marshall and there is a mention of Hampstead Marshall by Sir Roger North, in his architectural writings, which implies that Hampstead was largely a fruit garden. (93) Writing apparently in 1698 and discussing the common habit of making the garden before the house was finished, a practice he has not followed at his own estate at Rougham, Norfolk, he writes "... and I was also blamed for not making gardens first, that fruit might have grown while the house was building, and so inhabit and enjoy all together. For it hath happened, as at the Lord Craven's house at Hampstead Marshall by Newbury, elegant gardens were made and kept, but the house never finished, and I have heard of some who have made gardens and never began the house." (94) It was really important to have the gardens ready and in use as soon as possible, for no garden of the period was simply ornamental and a household like Hampstead Marshall had to be largely self-supporting. However, having set out the points of coincidence between the evidence of one sort and another and the print (figures 33 and 30) it seems more than likely that Knyff's view is the Hampstead Marshall of c. 1700-1708 and the doubt created by Roger North's remarks about the house being unfinished are unjustified.

Combe Abbey (Warwickshire)(Plate 47) The refurbishment of this former Cistercian house by the Earl of Craven seems to have been begun some twenty years after the alterations at Hampstead Marshall and was carried out entirely under the hand of Captain William Winde. Perhaps the property was less dilapidated, because it had not been sequestered in 1653, (95) being at the time tenanted by Earl Craven's nephew and agent, William Craven. It was owned, previously, by Lord Harrington at the end of the 16th Century and sold by Lucy Harrington, Countess of Bedford (1581-1627) to Earl

William Craven's mother in 1622. (96)

The first significant document for our purposes is a map, or rather, most of one, (Figure 34) entitled, "The Ground Plot of the House stables Gardens orchards and other offices of Comb Abbey as it is at present, June 5th 1684," endorsed by William Winde. This seems to represent what alterations had been achieved by this date, since it contains details of the old building, the newly erected wing and the wing, which was "The new intended" and yet to be built. The rebuilding had begun in May 1682. (97) This map plots the house and its immediate environs, including the Great Garden to the east, the old former kitchen garden, north of the abbey, the new kitchen garden next to the great court on the south and the great court, the orchard, the brew-house, the bake-house, dairy, smithy, stables and outbuildings as well as the pigeon house on the brook called the Smite. The divisions of the gardens and the disposition of the domestic buildings and outhouses concur with those in the Knyff print which, however, includes gardens on the west front where there is nothing marked on the map.

The first disagreement between map and print concerns the area to the west of the great court, which is marked as an orchard. Planting an orchard seems to have been started in 1683, as an inscription in a 1679 copy of *Sylva*, which was in the library at Combe in the 1820s, indicates: "2 Oct, ye 17-1683. Sir William Dugdale, Garter King of Arms presented mee with betweene two or three thousand abele sets, (98) which I planted in a Nurserie adjoining to the lodge in Comb Park where at the same time I began to Make an Orchard and sett that month and in November 284 stocks for grafting upon. I also planted at the same time several walnut trees on ye outside of ye orchard payle by ye lodge whereof I bought a dozen of them of ye Ladie Skipworth at too shillings a tree and the rest cost me twelvecence a tree of the Gardener at Warwick"(99) This was written by William Craven, nephew and distracted agent to the Earl, though out the process of modernizing the Abbey, and who also wrote in a letter to Captain Winde, dated December 4th 1683, "I have planted a fine nurserie of some thousand off setts (viz.) Abeeles, Elmes, Limes, and Beeches besides an orchard of fower acres of ground, and some walnut trees, to avoid ye Charge and trouble of buying these severall Sorts elsewhere; I have alsoe got some workmen that are good artists in cutting and plashing of

hedges in the severall grounds, what were never done, Since first planted.” (100)

If this is orchard was planted in the same space marked “orchard” on the Winde plan, then by the time the print was made, which seems to have been between 1691 at the earliest and the death of the Earl in 1697, from internal evidence (101), the orchard has been replaced by a garden of geometric parterres and a flower garden surrounded by pole hedges. The nursery of forest trees referred to, seems to have been planted in a different place to the orchard, probably on the other side of the road from the area marked “orchard” on the plan, and, indeed there is an area of woodland there in the Knyff, but also many of these nursery trees, especially the limes and elms would have been transplanted to form the obviously newly planted avenues in the print. The only identifiable fruit trees in the print are those on the walls of the garden of parterres and the kitchen garden beyond it. Neither the position of the orchard nor of the tree nursery can be satisfactorily established.

But even more of a problem, is the building itself as it has been drawn in the Knyff. The plan drawn for Captain Winde in 1684 plan shows the building in three separate parts, “the old”, consisting of a hall, chapel and living ranges round the late mediaeval and Norman Cloister, “ the new, ” which was two thirds of a Pratt style house, including a frontispiece, (102) very much in the manner of Clarendon House in the Strand (built in 1664-7, demolished for its materials, 1683) and the “new intended” a wing to replace a Jacobean building in order to make the new building symmetrical. There are two drawings in Gough drawings (103) for this building. (Figure 35) One is of the north side of the building, consisting of a refurbished hall and chapel, the work begun in 1682, which agrees more or less perfectly with the Knyff view of this elevation. The other view is of the west wing showing it with the part finished 1680s Winde block attached to a Jacobean building called the Sir Isaac Gibson building. The Knyff print shows all of the Winde building in place, but a visitor to Combe Abbey now will immediately see that the Isaac Gibson wing is still in place and that there remains the awkward combination of the Jacobean range attached to the center section of the 1680 building. Sometime after 1900 the projecting wing of the Wide block was taken down. (Figure 36)(104)

Where does this leave the Knyff print, the only engraving of Combe Abbey in the 1690s (105) and also, the only view and, essentially, the only complete map of the landscape around the Abbey? How much of the formal garden as Knyff drew it was even there since the part immediately outside the unbuilt wing must have been invented? It is difficult to find tangible evidence of these early gardens at Combe Abbey for Capability Brown removed the formal gardens and made a lake (Figures 36 and 37) sometime before 1778, and a map of his park survives. (106) In the mid 19th Century W. A Nesfield, (1793-1881) a garden designer who gave his houses landscapes, which were mediaeval or renaissance in style depending on the age of the house, recreated the formal gardens and added what had never before existed, to wit a moat and a canal. These later improvements have not left many traces of the landscape of the 1680s to compare with the print although a recent air photograph displayed in the ranger's centre in the country park at Combe (107) seems to show the same general outline as the south side of the park as drawn by Knyff. (Figure 38)

Were it not for the existence of the Winde map there would be no documentary evidence either of the landscape either. Georgiana Craven had pasted in her Scrap Book a copy of the Knyff, but hers is one of the very small prints published in Les Délices De La Grande Bretagne 1707, which she must have acquired loose, because she writes, "It is impossible to say in what year Combe Abbey was as here represented. (108) I remember my aunt Johnson told me that Combe Abbey in her recollection was surrounded with gardens. My aunt Johnson was born in 1745 and died in 1816 March 11th." This reported recollection, which is too early to apply to the Nesfield alterations, must refer to the pre-Brown landscape at Combe, whereas Georgiana herself would have known the landscape as Brown had altered it.

It is possible to reach a conclusion about Knyff's view. When Knyff made his preparatory drawing it was plainly felt by whoever commissioned it, that the "new intended," a building, which had been in the offing since 1684, would be completed by the time the print was finished and published. It cannot have been difficult to copy the wing that had been already built or to use a working drawing provided by Captain Winde. Whether the death of the Earl in 1697 and the change of ownership to his nephew were

the cause of the failure to complete the building is impossible to ascertain. If, however, the print is compared to the 1684 map and to a print (Figure 38) made before the Knyff, also pasted into Georgiana's Scrap Book, (109) a building can be seen projecting forward from the Gibson Block, called the "Cole House". The Knyff print shows a blank piece of grass where this building was in front of the site of the unbuilt wing. It also shows the garden before the new block, which is a walled enclosure with a central oval pond and fountain, on an oblong lawn with statues at the corners and pots containing shaped trees at interval along the edges of the lawn. (Figure 40) A broad walk goes round the outside of the grass. The garden work at Combe may have been carried out around 1683/4 and that is certainly the sort of date that marries with the style of this part of the gardens. (110) This garden fronts two thirds of the Winde block, having an entrance from the from the central façade, leaving the last third with nothing in front of it but a patch of grass. The walled formal garden should be as long as the whole range and had the range been there when the print was made, there would not have been this awkward juxtaposition and the empty space next to it. Therefore Knyff drew the gardens as he saw them, substituting grass for the plot where the Cole House was before the-never-to-be-built last third of Winde's façade.

Cassiobury Park, (Watford)(Plate 28). After resolving the perplexities of the view of Combe, Cassiobury Park presents us with another difficult example. Algernon Capel, second Earl of Essex (second creation) owned Cassiobury at the time the view of it was printed. He was son, nephew and grandson to four distinguished horticulturists. His grandfather, Lord Arthur Capel (1604-1648), executed for his support of Charles I, was a noted plantsman. His father, Arthur, first Earl of Essex (1631-1683), imprisoned by Charles II for his part in the Rye House Plot, laid out Cassiobury as a landscape of trees with the help of his gardener, Moses Cook, the author of The Art of Raising, Improving and Ordering Forest Trees (1676) and one of the co-founders of the Brompton Park Nursery. His aunt, Mary, Duchess of Beaufort, (d.1715) was a famous collector of new exotic plants, which she was sent from the West Indies, America, South Africa, China, (111) and which she grew in stove houses at Badminton. His uncle, Henry Capel (d.1696) was celebrated for his fruit growing and was allegedly visited by Monsieur De la Quintinye, (112) the master of Louis XVI's kitchen and fruit gardens and it was to him

that the printer's of Evelyn's translation of De La Quintinye's, The Complete Gard'ner, 1693 dedicated the book.

It was over twenty years by the publication of Britannia Illustrata in 1708 since the death of Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex, in 1683 but Cassiobury was still famous. According to Switzer it was known "as one of the first places in England where the polite spirit of gardening shone the brightest" and he added, " I must Confess, I never see that truly-delightful Place, without being more than ordinarily Ravished by its Natural Beauty. " (113)

Cassiobury Park was not the original seat of the family. That was Little Hadham in Hertfordshire. Cassiobury came to Sir Arthur Capel by his marriage to Elizabeth Morrison, whose grandfather, Sir Richard Morrison, had acquired the house, formerly the property of the Abbey of St. Albans, circa 1537. Sometime between 1661, when the second Arthur Capel was given an earldom in gratitude by Charles I for the sacrifice his father had made in the Royalist Cause and 1676, when the first edition of his head gardener, Moses Cook's book on The Art of Raising Trees, which is written from Moses experience as gardener at both Little Hadham and Cassiobury, the Earl began to make Cassiobury his main house and to lay out a garden of trees. John Britton, who wrote A History and Description of Cassiobury Park (1837), says that in 1677, the Earl finally moved to Cassiobury permanently. (114) From remarks made by Moses Cook in his book, it seems that by 1676 the major tree planting and the laying out of the rides and avenues had been completed (115) but the formal garden near to the house had not been finished and Cook published a design of what it would eventually look like. (Figure 41) John Britton suggests, obliquely, that the Jacobean garden surrounding the Morrison house was still flourishing at the time that the Earl and Moses Cook started to alter the landscape and that some of the features of its great garden were retained in the later design. (116)

John Britton also published three prints, two by A. Pugin and one of the entrance front by J. Eldridge (117), which are reproduced as rough sketches in figure 42. The drawings by A. Pugin were made shortly before the house was remodeled by James

Wyatt c. 1800-1810, retaining and encasing some parts of the old house. The Wyatt house was demolished in 1927 and the dismemberment of the park, which had begun in 1908, continued and only 77 hectares of park, now owned by the Borough of Watford, are left (118). It is immediately obvious that these Pugin drawings and the house drawn by Knyff differ substantially. Knyff has drawn a completely restructured house conceived in the classical manner. The Pugin views are of a partially restructured building attached to substantial ranges of late mediaeval and Tudor buildings. The top sketch shows the main entrance front or south front (marked A on the accompanying photograph of the house from the Knyff print) with the left hand wing of two stories of bay windows and Tudor chimneys, which must be part of the Morrison House. The second sketch (B) is of the east front facing the great garden and bowling green, in which a classical range comes to an abrupt end just after the pedimented central section of five bays where it is grafted on to a much earlier turreted building, reminiscent of the great hall at Hampton Court Palace. On the southern end of this wing there is what looks like a Regency bow window with wrought iron balconies, the only addition, apparently between the 1680s and Wyatt's work.

John Evelyn, who was a friend of the Earl, (119) visited Cassiobury on May 18th 1680 and saw the newly built house, which he says was "a plain fabric" built by Hugh May (1621-1684), Comptroller of the Works (120). Evelyn also remarks that the May building was "just where the old one was, which I believe he (the earl) only meant to repair." The house in the print, although completely remade in a classical style is still an "H", suggesting that the old Tudor house forms the basis for and maybe even the core of the new one. The placing of the gardens in relation to the Hugh May building may be the result of an underlying link to an older landscape. An axis runs from the entrance court through the building and along a great avenue forming the central avenue of three, making a kite-shape through the woods and an attempt has been made to balance the service ranges, kitchen gardens and orchards on the west side of the house with the Great Garden and the walk to the bowling green on the east side, with triple rows of trees, planted as screens so that the view of the grounds is more regular when seen from the entrance approach. This arrangement does not disguise the fact that the gardens on the eastern side of the house are on the site of an earlier great garden and the impact this makes prevents

complete regularity in the landscape being achieved.

The Knyff print of Cassiobury epitomizes the difficulty experienced at many other places of modernizing an ancient house and creating about it a large regular landscape in which the house was placed at the centre of a web of axes, with all the divisions of the gardens balanced. This is what Switzer defined as “ the Extensive way of Gardening....this the French call le Grand Manier” (121) and is also the style advocated by Evelyn in Book III of the last edition of his *Sylva* in 1706. (122) Evelyn’s description of 1680 demonstrates that he thought that the new work at Cassiobury had not been entirely successful. Compromises were often inevitable even where the greatest houses were concerned. The new work at Hampton Court Palace was hampered by the position of the old Tudor building close to the Thames. The best copies of this style needed space and a new beginning rather than an adaptation and extension of the original building. Wimpole Park, (Cambridgeshire, Plate 32) built between 1689 and 1710, Eaton Hall, (Cheshire, Plate 62) built to the designs of Samwell, begun circa 1675 and Stanstead Park (Sussex, Plate 36), built in 1689 by Talman are examples of new houses with landscapes designed at the same time as the buildings. The plate of Stanstead includes the old Tudor house, reused as offices and stables, surrounded by fruit and vegetable gardens set outside the regular gardens and avenues of the new house.

What has Knyff done by exaggerating the amount of modernization that the house at Cassiobury has undergone when he drew it in the late 17th Century? He may have altered the style of the building without altering its earlier “H” plan for the Pugin engravings published by Britton (123) (Figure 42) suggest that the partially converted building occupies the same site as Knyff’s building does and is the same size, except for the addition of a Regency bow at the southern end of the garden front. Knyff has substituted May’s design for the northeastern and southeastern arms of the “H” and drawn the whole of the garden front as a classical range grouped round five bays under a pediment and frontispiece. This was, actually, partly a classical range and partly a battlemented and turreted one, and wholly bizarre in terms of the architectural taste of the time, and so Knyff balanced it up. He would not, necessarily, have needed May’s plans at hand to do this, because what was already built was the plan for what was yet to come.

Why the Second Earl, Algernon Capel, should have chosen to have his house represented, as it patently was not, is difficult to say, but the print was possibly commissioned to celebrate the second Earl's taking control of Cassiobury in about 1692-93, ten years after the death of his father, who had made the gardens. (124) Maybe the second Earl was hopeful of completing the May design for the house. The gardens may also have suffered a period of neglect, but, by 1692-3, the gardens were in the charge of George London of the Brompton Park Nursery, who had a contract to maintain them and supplied the head gardener and, as George London pointed out in a letter to another patron, Viscount Weymouth, these were not remote gardens, but were situated only 16 miles from London and easy to visit. (125) The gardens were still celebrated when Switzer wrote about them in 1715 (126) and at this date Moses Cook was alive, but no longer working at Cassiobury. These considerations preclude any intention to deceive the contemporary viewer as to the configuration of the landscape.

It is possible to find quite a lot of information about the gardens at Cassiobury as they were in the 1680s and from this to be able to deduce that they had by then largely assumed the shape that Knyff saw. Moses Cook, who is the principal source of much incidental information in his book on the cultivation of trees, published in 1676, mentions planting in November 1672, 296 Lime trees in four lines making three walks from the new garden to the bowling green and, at the end of the Lime walk, a triangular formation of trees with the base of the triangle formed by a metal grill or gate leading into the "new garden" on the east of the house. This arrangement was unknown in England at the time according to him. He also planted the pretty oval, 240 feet in diameter which was the bowling green with "Spruce Firs" of which there are 269, two rows of 90 trees and the middle row being of 89 trees (one having been stolen). (127) The oval, the walk and the Spruce fir trees are in the foreground of the print (Figure 43) and were admired by Evelyn on his April visit in 1680. (128) These two dates indicate approximately when the garden was begun and when it was essentially completed, for Knyff's portrait twenty years later shows a landscape of large trees not young saplings.

Moses Cook also describes cutting "a straight line through the wood walk at Cassiobury" from the North-front, over one Wall and several Hedges, "near a mile long". (129) This information comes from the section of Cook's book, which he devoted

to instructions for the setting out of long avenues and complicated walks. In Knyff's view this straight axis leading from the court of the north façade is the central axis of a kite-shaped formation of avenues and this arrangement is also mentioned by Cook, who made three such walks conjoin in an oval, 205 feet long by 124 four feet broad, beside the Hemstead highway "on the orders of my lord". (130) Likewise the point of walk through the kite-shaped wood in Knyff's print ends in an oval beside a highway.

Moses Cook's book is principally about tree cultivation and he does not wish to go too far "... into the orchard or garden; I must retreat to my Forest-trees to shelter me from the gardener's anger." (131) And so he does not write about the gardens around the house or deal with subjects like knots or pole hedges, still less with fountains or statuary (132). However he does include a plate of a garden at Cassiobury, (Figure 41) which is variously described in the text as "now the Garden at Cassiobury" and as "Yet to be done" and "This is only as it is intended to be". The plan includes a greenhouse, which it appears from another aside in the book, was in existence by 1669 (133). This plate was added to the book as an example of making a measured drawing of a ground plan or platt (134) but agrees so closely with the Great Garden in Knyff that it seems reasonable to conclude that work had started on this garden, which was on the site of the previous Jacobean one, of which the two mounts may be a survival, by 1676 and that the work was concluded after the publication of the book. All the main features of Moses Cook's plan, the sunken area of the garden with raised walks on either side and the fir-tree planted mounts, the central gravel path leading from the terrace before the house to the roundel between the mounts, intended for a fountain and basin are in Knyff's print.

The main difference is in the design of the parterres themselves and the conversion of the fountain and basin into a grass octagon. The London and Wise partnership designed very similar parterres for the Privy Garden at Hampton Court Palace, (Figure 44) which was laid out in 1701. (135) George London had been running Cassiobury for seven years by 1704 (136) by which time he might well have felt that the great garden mentioned by Moses Cook, (137) and planted round 1676, needed replanting and modernizing. The lines of little trees running round the terraces are too small to have been planted more than a decade before and to have remained so neat and are noticeably younger than the fir trees on the mounts.

There is enough information to confirm the three largest features of the garden, the avenues to the north of the house, the walk to the Bowling Green and the Great Garden. Moses Cook also mentions the old orchard which was near the stables (138) and this seems to describe the out-buildings and mature trees in the background of the print, behind the west wing. There are no great discrepancies in the representation of the gardens as there are in the representation of the house, but there are areas about which no useful information is forthcoming, such as the two formal gardens on either side of the entrance front; one a parterre, in style not unlike that in the Great Garden and the other, judging by the rows of shrubs and small trees, a fruit garden. This would have been a garden, which was for show and not a kitchen garden to be hidden away, hence its prominent position. At this period there was a great upsurge of interest in the planting and propagating of fruit from the time that Andre Mollet became Royal Gardener and planted his orchard of Dwarf fruit trees at St James Place for Charles II c. 1661. No fashionable garden after 1680, when George London comes to prominence as a peripatetic garden advisor and nurseryman, would have been without a fruit garden. This enthusiasm is evinced by the visit of Monsieur De La Quintiye to England in 1672 or thereabouts and the several translations of his book on fruit into English. (139) George London became an expert in fruit growing (140) and this fact and the similarity in style of the two parterre gardens, suggests he designed and made these two gardens on the south front and that they belong to the period after Moses Cook gardened at Cassiobury.

Moses Cook mentions one major feature, which is certainly not included in the print. This is an oval kitchen garden, (141) which would have been walled and measured 28 rod long or 19 rod broad. The plot was already staked out and ready for the kitchen garden to be started, when he wrote his book. This was a very large space, 462 feet long by 313.5 feet broad, as large as the Great Garden and its shape would have been an innovation. The design is the same as that of the kitchen garden laid out at Blenheim by Henry Wise, who overlapped Moses as a partner with George London in the Brompton Nursery but this Blenheim kitchen garden was not built until 1705. (142) However there is a period of at least twenty five years between Moses Cook and the making of the print, for which a date of 1702 seems a possibility (143) and what Moses projected may either never have been completed, like the house, or changed, though the former is more likely.

Despite the anomalies in the depiction of the house, it has been possible to arrive at some positive and encouraging information about the landscape surrounding it. Although the gardens as portrayed by Knyff have a lack of cohesion, this is a result of their history, from which it appears that there were two phases in the construction of the landscape. The garden mainly of trees, which the First Earl and Moses Cook made and the later embellishments of Algernon Capel and his gardener, George London. This in turn means that parts of the landscape, in the print appear younger than others, because of the size of the trees in them, but this does not make Knyff's view conjectural. By the size of the trees and from the information in Cook, it would appear that the tree gardens on the north of the house and the bowling green and at least the basis of the Great Garden to the east date from the time of the First Earl and were planted from c.1670-1683. By 1683, nothing had been done to regularize the area of vegetable gardens, orchards and outbuildings behind the house on the west side, although a great oval walled kitchen garden was projected. Nothing had been attempted on the north front of the house because the alterations to the building had not been completed. When the second Earl took an interest in the gardens c.1697, and employed George London to oversee them, he either planted or, more likely replanted the parterres in the Great Garden; caused a treble line of trees to be planted on the south side of the outhouses and stables, which are obviously younger than a similar and older line on the east side of the south front, and had the two gardens laid out before the entrance front, one of which is a fashionable fruit garden.

Hutton-in-the-Forest (Cumberland) (Plate 59) This plate gives us a third example in which the print anticipates events, by including architectural alterations, intended to impart regularity to an old house, which appear to have been only partly carried out. (Figure 46) The core of Hutton is an old pele tower or border fortress, at the centre of an estate bought by the Fletcher family, merchants of Cockermouth, (144) about 1581. To this core, Sir Henry Fletcher, an ardent royalist, who was killed in 1645, at Rowntown Field, added a two-storied gallery on the northern side of the fore court abutting the boundary of the great garden, sometime after 1641. The Knyff print was made for his son, the third generation of Fletcher owners, in the person of Sir George Fletcher (1633-1700), six times MP for Cumberland and Lord Lieutenant of the County. His relationship

to the Jacobite, Viscount Preston put him out of favour in the reign of William III, during which he held no public office. (145)

Sir George Fletcher added the classical entrance front with balcony and coat of arms possibly about 1675/80, (146) a building attributed, as are so many of the period to Inigo Jones, but which appears to be the work of a local mason, Edward Addison. (147) The building on the south of the entrance courtyard, matching the 1641 gallery and making the entrance courtyard symmetrical is the element that Knyff added and which may never have been built and possibly, neither was the south east tower, placed to balance up the pele tower. Unlike the examples of Comb and Cassiobury, it is not absolutely certain that this wing did or did not go up or as to what Sir George Fletcher's intentions were in this direction on his death in 1700. The Country Life article of 1965 mentions a 1740s estate map as hanging in the house at Hutton, and had it been possible to examine this map, some surer conclusion might have been possible but it does not seem to be at Hutton now and its present whereabouts are uncertain. (148) It is not impossible that just as the urge in the late 17th century was for regularity, in the later 18th century, irregularity was desirable and the south gallery may have been both built and demolished as a result of both of these fashions. The question is now difficult to resolve because of the remodeling in a mediaeval style of the southern side of the whole building carried out by Anthony Salvin at the beginning of the 19th century. (149)

There is little information to be gleaned about the gardens, which are shown by Knyff as having avenues planted from front to back on the east and west fronts, vast fruit and vegetable gardens on the south and a walled garden of grass quarters edged with dwarf conifers and having larger conifers in the center of each quarter on the north side. The most eye-catching feature is the fountain surrounded by statues in a clearing in the forest through which a walk runs to a distant arbour (Figure 46), which is reminiscent of a bosquet at Versailles. There is no evidence that Sir George traveled abroad, but even if he was unable to make a tour of France and Italy, as was common at the period, because of the political difficulties of the 1640s and 50s, there is every possibility that prints were available to him. There is reference to his gardening activities by Bishop Nicholson of Carlisle (150) who visited on January 9th. 1685 and saw, " Sir George's project of making

a new way from ye park to ye house”, which could be taken to refer to the double walk with fir trees as the outer line and broad leaves on the inner, visible in Knyff’s plate, probably drawn between 1689 and 1700. (151) Bishop Nicholson also visited Hutton in September, 1705 and Sir George’s successor, Henry, (d.1708) and whilst remarking on the squalor of the house praised the gardens “ The House is overrun with Rats which eat all his Beds, Hangings but the gardens are in very good condition; with several new plants from the Indies, fair plantations of Fir, Beech, Elm, Lime trees etc.”(152) This passage seems to describe mature rather than new gardens and so refers to the work of Sir George, his predecessor, but gives the reader not much concrete information. If, however the present map of the gardens and grounds (Figure 47) is compared with the print, notwithstanding the work of William Sawrey Gilpin and Anthony Salvin in the gardens in the 1820s, the west and south terrace and the position and extent of the great garden would seem to be much the same, although the great garden is now slightly trapezoidal in plan. (153) The presence or absence of the southern gallery would not have a great effect on the gardens in Knyff’s print, except on the forecourt before the main façade, where a wall would have been a reasonable substitute for its omission. Perhaps what happened here is the same as what Roger North saw happen at Hampstead Marshall, (154) which is that the landscape preceded the alterations to the house.

Ragley Hall (Warwickshire) (Plate 71) At the time that Knyff made this print it is highly possible that the shell of the Hall itself may have been built but not completely fitted out. Knyff ‘s drawing was made for Popham Conway, a son of Edward Seymour, Edward Conway, first Earl Conway’s cousin. Edward Conway began to build or possibly rebuild Ragley Hall, beginning about the year 1677. (155) By this date his family had owned Ragley Hall, which Earl Conway’s great grandfather, Sir John Conway purchased, since 1581, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. This new building was designed after consultations with Dr. Robert Hooke in 1679 and 1680. (156) The earl died childless in 1683 with the house, which he left to his third wife, for her lifetime, unfinished. However in his will he asked that the executors allot a sum of money yearly to complete Ragley. (157) In 1686 Lady Conway was married to Lord Musgrave and would have spent little time at Ragley and so it is more than likely that very little was done to the house except to maintain it. (158) When she died in 1687, Popham Conway inherited but was killed in

a duel in 1699 in London. (159) From these to events, it is possible to date Knyff's view quite narrowly and also to suggest that the print was commissioned to celebrate Popham's fortunate inheritance. Popham could not have had the time, in this short period, to materially alter the house and landscape at Ragley and cannot have been responsible for the way the house and grounds looked in 1697-9. For reasons set out further down the text, he may not even have inhabited Ragley.

Again there is a question as to the real state of the house and surrounding landscape as seen by Knyff. Arthur Oswald in 1958 (160) suggested that much of the Knyff view is overstated and that the contours of the landscape have been flattened out. The latter is certainly true and was immediately apparent on a site visit made in the spring of 2000 (Figure 48) but the flattening out of contours is also a consequence of the overhead view, which has a map like quality and of the engraving technique, which is not able to produce the range of shadow that mezzotint or etching can. As to ascertaining the actual state of the house and landscape in 1697-99 this is made very difficult by the paucity of documentation. Horace Walpole writing in 1758, says that when he visited Ragley he found the remains of Lord Conway's papers buried under lumber in the unfinished chapel part of which had already been used by the steward to light kitchen fires. (161) This state of affairs certainly accounts for the lack of any building accounts for Ragley in the family papers which are conserved in the Warwick Record Office

Roger North wrote about Ragley in his musings on contemporary architecture in 1698 and gives us some idea of its progress, without giving any indication of how long before that date he had made his visit to Ragley but certainly sufficiently long ago to muddle which county it was in. He writes about the house as an example of the main body of a house being flanked by pavilions; "That begun by the late Lord Conway in Worcestershire is a pile of a vast many rooms, and was just one storey high when I saw it, and if finished will be great, at least upon account of its situation, which is high and yet easy of access; having declivities backward". (162) When Horace Walpole first visited Ragley in July 1751 he too was struck by both the house and its situation, which he thought "was far beyond anything I have seen of that bad old age," (163) but he continues by saying that the final roofing had recently taken place and that although the

family were able to live in the attic storey, the main floor lacked both ceiling and flooring. This letter gives a disquieting portrait of a house standing roofless but in the same letter he mentions that the house was full of portraits, dating from Earl Conway's time, which suggests some sort of furnishing and from the remarks about the steward's using old documents to light the kitchen fire, it had servants. What seems most likely is that the shell of the house was mostly completed but stood empty and barely used from 1683 until 1758, through the lifetime of earl Conway's widow, the short ownership of Popham Conway, the lifetime of his brother Francis 1703-1732, who was an absentee owner and the minority of the owner in 1758, Walpole's cousin Lord Hertford. (164)

It may be that Roger North's remark about the gardens at Hampstead Marshall being finished and the house itself being left unfinished (165) would have been more appropriately attached to Ragley for it appears that the gardens were well under way in 1677, when only the model of the house had been made, which was two years before Dr. Robert Hooke became involved. (166) There is very little information about the gardens and all of it comes from the one letter of Lord Conway's in 1677, (167) which suggests that the two pavilions on either side of the main block and the walls round the main garden were being constructed, one pavilion and half the walls in 1677 and the mirror image in 1678. The walls were being planted with fruit trees. These elements including the fruit trees on the walls are in Knyff's print and the pavilions, which are detached from the main block, were still standing until 1778/9. (168) Nothing else so far has come to light about the rest of the gardens which may have been altered radically by Capability Brown, (169) who would have moved the wrought iron gates of the forecourt to the walled kitchen garden, where they remain. The formal parterre design does have a resemblance to designs made by George London for Castle Bromwich Hall (Figure 49) and is not unlike the parterres at Longleat and Badminton, which would place it in the 1680s. This is consistent with the occasion of the 2nd and third marriages of Earl Conway and his regaining of interest in Ragley from 1679 to his death in 1683. (170)

Present day Ragley has a newer formal garden and there is thus nothing that the site can offer by way of corroboration for the print except to answer the complaint that Knyff's view flattens out what Roger North called the "declivities backwards."

Remembering that Knyff would have worked from ground level in creating his aerial view, he has reproduced an illusion of flatness that anyone walking down the main spine of the site of the formal garden and looking beyond it across the valley would still experience. (Figure 48)

Although, the prints of Combe Abbey, Cassiobury Park, Hutton-in-the-Forest and Ragley Hall are all examples of views where Knyff has anticipated the completion of the house at the center of the print, in none of them has it been possible to say the same for the landscape where a greater integrity is observable. However the quality of the evidence for the landscape in these prints is not generally as great as that for the architecture. At Ragley there is very little evidence to make use of and none of it is particularly compelling. However, there are a few cases where the one piece of evidence available for the state of the landscape in a Knyff print is very convincing indeed. The plates of Great Ribston Hall (Yorkshire) (Plate 61) and Newby (Yorkshire) (Plate 53) are both supported by one piece of written evidence and that of Wollaton (Nottingham) (Plate 58) by three paintings.

Great Ribston (Yorkshire) (Plate 61) The print of Great Ribston, (Figure 50) taken from a lower viewpoint than usual, is of a house surrounded on two sides by what looks like a fortification with bastions. Sir Henry Goodricke (1642-1705) a man with a military background, who became lieutenant General of the Ordnance to William III from 1689-1702, owned Great Ribston. (171) This landscape may be an example of the fashion for fortified gardens of which the most notable is Blenheim Palace, (172) built for the Duke of Marlborough after 1702, or just a house within a defensive outwork, created in the light of plots to oust the catholic, James II, and substitute the protestant William of Orange, which culminated in the revolution of 1688. (173) No traces of this considerable earthwork remain yet there is no doubt that it was newly in place in September 1688, when Charles Bertie wrote to Lord Dartmouth, Sir Henry Goodricke's brother-in-law and one of James II's commanders, "Lord Danby, Lord Drumblane and he are all at Ribston. One of the most charming seats he has yet seen in the north, both in respect of its noble structure and the lovely country about it. What would yet more particularly please his Lordship is that Sir Henry Goodricke is environing his gardens with a kind of

fortification, and has already formed 2 bastions, and hopes when Lord Dartmouth visits the northern forts, he will be pleased to reckon this amongst the number.” (174) Admittedly this only confirms one feature of the garden but it is the most unusual one, which makes Great Ribston unlike any of the other gardens, pictured in Knyff’s work.

Newby (Yorkshire) (Plate 53) Newby was owned at the time the print was made by the industrialist and coke magnate, Sir Edward Blackett, (d.1718) may have been rebuilt about 1705 or possibly a decade earlier in 1695, but no contemporary maps or accounts have as yet been identified to confirm either date or the process. (175) George London visited Newby on one of his month long journeys to see northern clients in September 1701 (176) and he must, therefore, have advised on the gardens. This seems likely because of the presence at Newby of large fruit gardens with dwarf fruit trees, which were his special expertise and because the design of the main parterre garden is similar to work which is known to be his at Chatsworth and Longleat , both of which will be examined later in the chapter. (177) However it is the diarist and traveler Celia Fiennes who gives a firmer date for the changes to the house and landscape, which she visited on her northern journey in 1697 and wrote what appears to be the only contemporary description of the house and grounds, which were seemingly finished by this date. (178) There are descriptions of other houses in Knyff’s collection of prints in her Journeys, such as the one she gives of Bretby (Derbyshire), a magnificent landscape created by the Earl of Chesterfield, but this description, which is also the only contemporary one of Bretby, does not have the clarity of what she wrote about Newby and is difficult to interpret. (179) It was also written before the Earl of Chesterfield had finished the landscape, which Knyff subsequently drew.

When the following is compared with Knyff’s plate (Figures 51 and 52), it will quickly become apparent how closely Celia Feinnes’ words and the details of the print agree, despite the difficulty the reader has in following some of the passage, especially that part where the several sets of gates and piers are described: ... “ it looks finely in the middle of a good park and a river runs just by it, it stands in the middle and has two large Gardens on each side; you enter one through a large Iron barr-gate painted green and gold tops and carv’d in severall places, this is fine gravell walks between grass plots

4sqarw with 5 brass Statues great and small in each Square, and full of borders of flowers and green banks with flower potts; on the other side of the house is just such a Garden , only the walks are all grass, rowl'd, and the squares are full of dwarfe trees both fruited and green, set cross ways , which looks very finely, there is a Flower Garden behind the house, in it and beyond it a Landry Close with frames for drying of cloths, wall'd in , there are Stables and a Coach-house and all the offices..... His house is built with bricke and coyn'd with stone, and a large Cupelow in the middle; you may see a greate way round the Country: the front Entrance is 3 gates of iron spikes painted blew with gold tops, and brick work between the gates and pillars, with stone tops carved like flower potts, the pillars all coyn'd with stone ; the middle gate is made large in a compass like a halfe moone; there are four more spaces in the wall open with iron barres and spikes, 2 of which are in each side, into the Gardens and answers two like them on the other side of the Gardens; The other two are less and are at the end of a terras walk just along the entrance which you ascend by steps from the middle gate , they are all adorned with brick pillars coyn'd with stone and stone heads , these are all painted blew and gold tips, from the Taress you have a Court that leads into the middle of the house into a large hall; over the doore at the entrance is a fine Carving of stone with leaves and flowers and the Armes cutt finely , there is a fine dyall and clock above all.....”(180) Around 1748, when Robert Adam worked in the house, this landscape was replaced (181) and so Celia Feinnes word picture is especially important as a comparison to the Knyff.

Wollaton Hall (Nottingham) (Plate 68) Wollaton is a late 16th century house built to the designs of Robert Smythson for Sir Francis Willoughby, whose fortune came from mining coal. It was begun about 1580 and remains standing, externally, more or less unchanged. (182) By the late 17th century the house was in a poor state because of the long minority of Sir Francis Willoughby, (1668-1688) brother to the Sir Thomas (1672-1729), to whom the Knyff print is dedicated. Sir Francis Willoughby's stepfather, Sir Josiah Childs, the financier and builder of Wanstead Park, Essex, plundered and wasted the estate during this minority. (183) According to a plate by R. Hall, engraved by Wenceslas Hollar, to be found in R. Thoroton's, The Antiquities of Nottingham (1677) there were no gardens surrounding the Hall at that time. (Figure 53) (184) Yet Knyff, who must have drawn his view after 1688, includes a vast garden, remarkable terraces

and several avenues. Unfortunately there is hardly any evidence for the period covered by Britannia Illustrata, because there is a lacuna in the accounts from 1683-1711 (185). However, Cassandra Willoughby, (1670-1735) sister to the owner Sir Thomas Willoughby, who lived with him at Wollaton until her marriage, to the Duke of Chandos in 1713 (186), writes in her history of the family, concerning the gardens, that her eldest brother (Francis) “ ..began to form a new and my youngest brother (Thomas) now greatly enlarged”. She describes the gardens at Wollaton, when her brothers took over, as being small ” after the fashion of those times” and consisting of a plan of the house planted with box trees. (187)

There is one piece of exceedingly detailed evidence to set along side the general statement made by Cassandra Willoughby and the minutely observed drawing made by Knyff and this is a painting, or rather a suite of three paintings of Wollaton made by Jan Siberechts (1627-1703), a Flemish landscape painter, who arrived in England as an established painter at the age of 44 and worked for Sir Thomas Willoughby in the 1690s. The three paintings are taken from the same overhead viewpoint Knyff used, looking down at the house and its grounds from the bowling green and oval terraces on the east. Siberechts was a very exact painter, concerned with the minutiae of his subject, and his paintings define the short but appreciable gap between one view and another even if taken quite closely together. This meticulous attitude can be seen in the two dated views of Longleat (Figure 54) in which the chief difference between one and the other is the growth of the creeper on the front of Longleat between 1675 and 1678. The three views, by Siberechts, of Wollaton also chart changes in the landscape round the house. The first seems to be the view now at Yale University, either taken in 1695 or 1697, which shows Wollaton surrounded by an elaborate formal garden, which post-dates the engraving in Thoroton. The next painting, dated 1697, is very similar to the first except that in it the farmyard behind the house has been removed and the vegetable gardens on the left of the picture are being changed into a more formal orchard. The last view, which is undated, has yet more changes, the orchard is now an elaborate garden of pole hedges centred on two fountain basins and in the background, to the west and southwest and north west, three avenues have been planted. (188)

It has been suggested that the Knyff is the basis for the middle of the three paintings, but the engraving is more like the last of the three views and includes all the avenues and the formal garden, which replaced the orchard and vegetable plots. (189) Knyff's view is not a copy of the last painting. It includes several variations from simple changes in the number and disposition of the figures to changes in the landscape and these changes are developments from the last view. The grass parterres in front of the main entrance have statues at the edges as well as in the middle, much the same as the arrangement at Newby described by Celia Fiennes in 1697; the little garden in front of the orangery (?) in the background has parterres in front of it and not just grass and the trees, which in Siberecht's view, obscure this garden, have been pruned or plashed up. Knyff's view is in fact, the latest view of a garden and its wider landscape which, it seems reasonable to conclude, was begun when Sir Francis took over the management of Wollaton in 1687, but was developed continuously after Sir Thomas inherited Willoughby in 1688 and reached a peak round about 1700, when Knyff made his bird's-eye of the grounds. (Figure 55)

Wimpole (Cambridge) (Plate32) This is another of the sites for which extreme paucity of information about the landscape at the time when Knyff was involved is made up for by one compelling item. The gardens in Knyff's print seem to have been made between 1691, the year Rachael Cutler, heiress to Wimpole, married Charles Bodville, Lord Robarts, 2nd. Earl of Radnor, and 1710, when debts contracted in remaking Wimpole, forced Charles Bodville to sell it to John Hollis, Duke of Newcastle, already the owner of Bolsover and Haughton. (190) Thereafter the estate passed with the marriage of the Earl of Newcastle's daughter and heiress to Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford, who besides employing Gibbs and Thornhill to revamp the house, a process which began c. 1713, employed Charles Bridgeman to rework the landscape which he did between 1720 and 1724. (191)

There are two references to Wimpole before Bridgeman went to work there which both mention the magnificence of the Earl of Radnor's gardens. The first is in a set of directions or itinerary, written in June 1701, for young Sir John Perceval, who had just left Cambridge and was embarking on a journey to survey England, by his tutor Peter le

Neve. (192). Peter le Neve wrote “ Here you must turn off on the right hand to go to Wimpole, cross the county if you have a mind to see the fine gardens lately made by the Rt. Hon, the Earl of Radnor, I am told worth riding twenty miles out of the way to see”. Defoe in The Tour of The Whole Island of Great Britain (1722) as part of his East Anglian Journey visited Cambridgeshire and writes ...” Wimple-Hall, formerly built at vast expense by the late Earl of Radnor: adorned with all the natural beauties of the situation; and to which was added all the most exquisite contrivances which the best head could invent to make it artificially as well as naturally pleasant.”(193)

Neither of these remarks tells us anything specific, which definitely associates the activities of the Earl of Raglan with the landscape in Knyff’s print, and there is no documentary evidence either for the reconstruction of the house, in which Talman is said to have had a hand, nor for the gardens, which have been attributed to London and Wise. (194) Furthermore the author of the National Trust handbook casts doubt on the accuracy of Knyff’s representation without being specific. (195) Fortunately the Bodleian Library, Oxford holds a number of plans related to Wimpole and attributed to Charles Bridgeman (?-1728). (196) Two of these plans appear to reproduce the outlines and divisions of the gardens as Knyff drew them. (Figure 56) Bridgeman’s plans include in them the formal parterres behind the house, like those in Knyff in outline but altered as to their internal arrangement; the central area ending in a semi circle from which a long avenue begins; two bosquets or cabinets of hedges crossing in a central roundel, which in the minuter detail of Knyff can be seen to be gazebos of trellis work, a common feature of French gardens in the 1690s, according to Dr. Martin Lister’s account of his visit to Paris in 1699. In the front of the building Bridgeman has mapped the avenue ending in a forecourt and has set out the square island, which Knyff shows as being occupied by orange trees. (197) (Figure 57) Bridgeman’s plans are indubitably of Knyff’s landscape, set down after ten years at least have passed. Some alterations have been made by this date to the details of the gardens but not to their quite specific divisions and general arrangement.

Longleat (Wiltshire)(Plates 39 and 40) Longleat is the one site discussed in this chapter, which has a substantial archive of accounts, plans, paintings and a few letters. Only Chatsworth, whose gardens are discussed in chapter 6, possesses nearly as much

documentation, which enables many of the features in the Knyff print of its gardens to be securely dated, (Figure 58) (198) but this documentation is not rich in garden plans, plant lists, instructions to gardeners, vouchers for payment and letters as is that at Longleat. Unlike Hampstead Marshall there are not the same tangible and visible remains of the 1690-1700 landscape and the evidence concerning the landscape is mostly paper. The Longleat garden landscape, represented in the print, was the personal creation of one man, the first Viscount Weymouth, (inherited 1682 d.1714) with the help of his garden advisor, George London. It is noteworthy that the First Viscount, who inherited Longleat after the murder of his cousin, has two gardens depicted in Britannia Illustrata. The year before he acquired Longleat, he became the owner of the late mediaeval house of Kempford in Gloucestershire (Plate 33 in Volume II), which like Longleat, had been part of the property, with which Sir John Thynne, in the reign of Edward VI, had been able to enrich himself. (199) Kempford is tiny compared to Longleat, the main garden being no bigger than the churchyard next to which it stands. This garden is, however, very similar to the earliest version of the new gardens at Longleat, possibly painted in 1686/7 by Robert Thacker. (Figure 59) This shows part of the great garden on the east of the house as a walled oblong, with terraces on both sides that overlook two grass parterres bordered all the way round by beds filled with little shaped trees. Was Kempford the forerunner of Longleat and were George London and his partners involved? There are unfortunately no documents to inform us.

After the death of the First Viscount, there followed the long minority of his great nephew, who was four in 1714 and when he attained his majority, he did not occupy Longleat often, nor was he an enthusiastic gardener and so the gardens round the house were thought to have been neglected for thirty years. (200) This Lord removed what remained of the 1682-1714 gardens, according to John Loveday, who visited on the 3rd June 1737 and commented that there had been £1000 spent on making a serpentine river in the garden and that the garden itself had been destroyed and that Lord Weymouth “has laid every thing open so wildly and without any judgment.” (201)

There may have been an inherent difficulty in maintaining the gardens made for the First Viscount, which contributed to their decline. The waterworks in the great east

garden, which is portrayed in plate 40 in Britannia Illustrata, are built using the old monastic fishponds as their basis, built originally on a wet and marshy site, and drainage was difficult. A schedule for work to be done in the east garden and the divisions beyond it in 1710, mentions drains blocked or needing to be replaced by the greenhouse, kitchen garden the summerhouse garden, the wilderness, the middle walk of the parterre and the garden between the bowling green and the canal, in short most of the new garden. (202) Stephen Switzer in his book on fruit growing, The Practical Fruit Grower, (203) when writing of the difficulties caused by waterlogged soil refers to Longleat; “ That this is not a speculative invective against clays, will appear to any Gentleman that ever saw Longleat, that ancient and noble Seat of the Thynnes: Where notwithstanding all the Cost and Pains that have been laid out, there is no such thing as a good Peach, Apricock, or anything else, though the Garden Part of that Noble Seat, is said to have cost forty thousand pounds.“ It may not have been therefore the change in taste alone, which caused the third Viscount, who succeeded in 1757, to employ Lancelot Brown for three years making a chain of lakes and islands, Ford Pond, Petit Jean’s Island and the Great Pond and its island. (204).

The gardens at Longleat were not like those at Cassiobury, begun some twenty years before and reaching maturity when Knyff drew them, but more like those at Chatsworth, in the process of development when the print was made. The architecturally revolutionary 16th century building was not, apparently, accompanied by an equally splendid set of gardens, or if it had been, these had disappeared by the time Jan Siberechts made two virtually identical views of the south front in 1673 and 1678. (Figure 54) These views show that the gardens had certainly never been very extensive and include a courtyard to the south entrance front, another walled garden composed of grass and paths on the east, stables and offices to the west and possibly a kitchen garden hidden behind the house on the north side. When the new gardens come to be made this area is always referred to as the old kitchen garden.

It is conceivable that the garden on the east of the house was once more elaborate and enlivened with knots, topiary, flowers, woodwork and statues in the taste of the 16th century and did not only contain the four oblongs of plain grass separated by gravel paths

which is the taste of the pre civil war 17th century. (205) Though these plain grass plats may seem to be a dull design after the sumptuous complications of late Tudor and Jacobean gardens, which Bacon gives a glimpse of in his essay, On Gardens (206), yet they do represent a certain luxury, for being able to keep grass short and smooth by hand was not as easy as maintaining grass is now. These two Siberechts paintings, because they are signed and dated give us a starting point, the state of the gardens in 1678, from which to begin tracing the changes in the landscape, which resulted in Knyff's view of Longleat c.1702.

The redesigning and building of a new garden landscape at Longleat seems to have been started about 1682/3, and was a continuous process of development including changes of mind and direction until 1714. The group of plans in the archive at Longleat, none of which are dated concentrate, round two areas, the courtyard and entrance to the south of the house and the garden to the east with a sunken walled central section round a canal within a greater walled garden containing several more divisions. A central axial path bisects the whole length of this garden and ends at a gate set in a semi circle of wall. This latter plan only occupies half the sheet and the next section of the garden, the grove on the other side of the terminal gate, which appears in the accounts, Knyff 's drawing and Colen Campbells's 1725 plan, is left blank for an additional drawing. Presumably the plan for the grove was drawn up separately and is lost. (207) Nevertheless these two basic plans can be given an approximate date, because they must precede the digging and leveling needed to construct the basic shapes they describe. (208) There are also several sheets of alternative treatments for different areas of the eastern garden some of which were used and some not, (Figures 61-62), all contained within the same folder of plans. The drawing, which Knyff made, comes in about 1702/4, twenty years after the new grounds were begun. (209) The basis for the work throughout was this 1682-3 plan submitted by George London and his partners at the Brompton Nursery, which remains at Longleat. (210)(Figure 60).

This garden according to Switzer was " One of the first undertakings" of the partnership composed of four professional gardeners; George London who worked for Bishop Compton at Fulham, John Field from Woburn Abbey House, William Looker

from Somerset House, gardener to the Queen Dowager and Moses Cook from Cassiobury Park. Switzer wrote that each of these men, in turn “abode his month” at Longleat and directed operations in the new gardens. (211) By 1697 the partnership was reduced to George London and Henry Wise and no more is heard of Field, Lucre and Cook at Longleat. (212) The design that they proposed for Longleat is centred on an axis, which runs from the eastern façade of the house out into the grove terminating at a summer house bisecting a series of garden compartments and rides running through the trees in the manner of the Mollets at St. James and of the French style of Le Nostre, but, because of the geography of Longleat, this garden does not lie behind the house (on the north façade) and tie in with the southern entrance court, nor is it balanced by a garden on the west, where the stables and other offices stood.

A Jean Mollet, possibly a son of the André who was gardener at St. James’ Palace, wrote to the First Viscount in 1687 about a design, which he had made for the late Mr. Thynne for Longleat, which would have been accomplished at least five years previously, and for which he had not been paid. Does this mean that the Mollet plan was somehow being utilized in the new campaign to give Longleat a suitable landscape? (213) His fee was £30, which suggests an extensive design.

Because of the changes to the landscape after the time of the first Viscount, which mean that few if any remnants of his gardens remain, (214) it is more valuable to compare Knyff’s two representations, especially plate 40, with a sequence of paintings and plans and to relate these to the documentation. The first document is George London’s plan for the whole garden to the east of the house, of 1683/4 (adapted from the original in figure 60) which sets the general outlines of this garden without filling in every quarter or division, and without including the wooded area called the Grove. (215) Then the Robert Thacker painting, c.1686-7, which is at Longleat, and shows the central section of the eastern parterre and canal looking back towards the house. (Figure 59) This garden is similar in design to the top plan in figure 61. Knyff’s view, which is likely to have been made c. 1702/4, comes next in the sequence. Lastly there is a plan of Longleat (Figure 65) by Colen Campbell in Vitruvius Britannicus, (216) and dated 1725. Since the legend accompanying it states that this is the Longleat of the First Viscount Weymouth it must represent the gardens in their 1714 form. The period between then and 1725 fell

during the minority of the second Viscount, when presumably the gardens would have been maintained as their creator left them. It is not known whether this plan was made by Campbell or was copied from a plan supplied to him. The second option seems more likely because using a plan already in existence is much quicker than traveling to Longleat to survey the landscape and it is highly likely that a survey was made of Longleat when it was finished or as a matter of course at the death of the First Viscount and such a survey was available to be sent to Campbell.

Using these and the documents, which are retained at Longleat, it is possible to see the process of implementing the general plan produced by the Brompton partnership. (Figure 58) Work began about in December 1683, when a contract to a level ground by the canal, which is the length of water running from north to south across the east garden and which widens in the middle to form a fountain, is issued to a man called Hayward. (217) Next year, in June also, the southeastern corner of the parterre is being sunk and clay carried away. (218) This is the sunken central section of the great eastern garden. By September of the same year the great middle walk up to the wood, which is the spine of the whole garden has been leveled. (219) Timothy Redman, the steward wrote to his master at the end of the year, "The terrace walks are raised and leveled: but there's some part of ye Hill within ye wall at ye south-east-corner of ye garden not yet removed: The labourers are hard at work upon it. The Canal and ye Arches are finished on both sides..... They are now turfing the upper Grass-plot that lies south-east of ye canal."(220) By 25 march 1685, payment is being made to a mason, John Singer, for work on the water course in the "new flower garden", which is the garden on the bottom right hand corner of plate 40 or the south western corner of the enclosure, (221) and is also on the London and Campbell plan. (Figure 63) They are also hanging gates in the "best garden " which is the central section of the print with four grass parterres and the fountain. This payment signifies that the central part of the enclosure is finished and that the groundwork is over in the outer sections where the hard landscaping has begun.

The work on the southern entrance courtyard is also dateable. There is another folio of plans at Longleat (222) of the digging piecework given out to gangs of labourers under a gaffer. Each gaffer contracted for a certain task for his company, whether

bringing in clay to make up a level or digging earth out to sink an area. The measurement used for this task was called a “flore of earth”. Thus 96 flores of clay were brought in to raise the walks in the inner courtyard and 82 flores were removed from the base court and this was accomplished by 15th of April 1685.

By April 1st 1687, when James Vance received a contract as gardener at Longleat, the gardens he was to look after are enumerated as the court to the front of the house surrounded by a brick wall, terrace 640ft by 20ft, the great parterre garden, the kitchen garden, the great division of gardening (the area between the great parterre and the entrance to the Grove) with bowling green wilderness and orangery, the old kitchen garden now the melon garden and last of all “the grove.”(223) Within four years the main elements of Knyff’s print are present, but the fact that the Grove is added on to the list of the gardener’s responsibilities, without a description of his duties there, suggests that the work here was behind that of the other major divisions of the garden.

Indeed payments for making borders in the star walks in the Grove, digging 1262 holes and planting trees are made in January 1693. (224) Knyff in his print carefully distinguishes the lines of newly planted trees from the mature trees that fill the spaces between the walks in the Grove. Next year, 1694, there are payments for digging holes and leveling ground for the arbour in the hexagon in the grove, which is the complicated feature surrounding the summerhouse or gazebo, forming the terminus to the walk, which runs from the east front, through the whole parterre garden to the Grove. (225) The arbour is the little building on the left of the hexagon in Knyff’s view. John Harvey, the Bristol stone mason, who was also working at Dyrham Park (In Volume II of *Britannia Illustrata*), which was being built at much the same time and where he gave a lot of trouble by seldom appearing when expected, sent in a bill for carving the fountain in the wilderness in 1701 and for providing the stone and iron for the gates to the grove in 1702. (226) These facts suggest that work on the Grove occurred a decade later than the work on the east and south gardens.

The responsibility of looking after the Grove does not appear as a major part of the gardener Thomas Vance’s contract in 1693, but this area became more important as it

was developed. Twelve years later it is more extensively and specifically described, when the duties of the gardener, Phillip Davies, are set out in his 1711 contract. He was responsible for maintaining as containing, amongst other things, in the Grove, a division for flowers by the pale, standard fruit trees against the walls, beds, borders, lines of trees and grass walks. (226)

There is no London plan for the Grove and in the Thacker painting c.1686/7 the artist is standing with his back to the entrance to the Grove. The only visual comparison with Knyff's print is Campbells' plan, which although it agrees largely with the Knyff, contains elements, which are not in the print such as the series of beds along the edges of the Grove. These are very probably the beds for flowers along the pale mentioned in the Davies contract and their inclusion is consistent with the continuing work which the bills testify to, which is carried out in the Grove after Knyff took his view.

There are, however, elements in the London plan, the Knyff and Campbell's plan which are common to all three; The design of the 640ft. long terrace which looks on to the whole east garden, the grass layout of the great parterre, bordered with tree lined viewing terraces, the canal, central basin and fountain with little flower pots lining its rim, for which John Harvey sent in a bill for providing 82 stone pots and carving arms upon them, (227) the brick walls surrounding this part of the garden and the second brick wall enclosing the complete garden, " the great division of gardening , "which includes the wilderness , what may be the orangery and the kitchen gardens. The Thacker painting, c.1686/7, of the canal and the great parterre shows a different and simpler design for this important feature, plain grass plats edged with beds of small pointed trees and rounded shrubs. There are several different treatments for this area amongst the drawings and one is very like Thacker's painting. (Figure 61) There is a possibility that Thacker's garden was planted at the start of the work on the landscape but was later altered to conform to George London's initial design for parterres made of cut grass shapes or *gazon coupées*, an arrangement, which bears a great likeness to the grass parterre in Le Nostre's Parterre de Lantonne at Versailles (Figure 65) and is more sophisticated than the first planting, which, in turn, has affinities with the gardens at St. James Palace. (228)

Such a change is not so unlikely. The process of making the gardens was not just a simple matter of drawing up one plan and following it to the finish, but one of review discussion and change, which is not unreasonable over so long a period. A letter of George London's written in June 1704 suggests just such a manner of proceeding: he wrote, "It would be serviceable for Hull (the then gardener) to take a rough draught of yr Lordship's plan of parterre and plantations against I come which will be ready for me to make ye more service."(229) At least three times in the 22 years that the gardens were being worked on, there are mentions of new designs or of a change of direction and looking at these in the context of the various plans and Knyff's print is very helpful in reaching an understanding of the latter.

In a letter to his employer, dated May 24th 1686, George London mentions that the Viscount had asked him to make draughts of the best houses that he has seen and bring them with him on his next visit to Longleat and in a postscript he offers to bring "four or five designs which are making at this time" (230) This may explain the presence of some drawings which do not fit into the layout but are not unlike parts of the gardens, such as a drawing, similar to the hexagon in the grove and the division in the great garden with another little building in the middle of a hexagon of beds which may be the Summerhouse Garden.(231) (Figures 63 and 67) By this date it would appear that substantial parts of the new gardens were already well under way and this command of the Viscount's hints at changes.

A second major change of direction seems to have occurred in January 1708/9, after the first volume of Britannia Illustrata was published, when a bill refers to "making ye 4 quarters according to Mr. London's first plans", for which the charge was £240. (232) Such a sum indicates a large undertaking. To what does this entry refer? Quarters in this sense do not mean just a square or oblong divided in four, but all the rectilinear enclosures within the boundary of the garden and resembles more the use of the word in grand quartering in Heraldry. These four quarters can be identified. There are four quarters in the east garden, to the west of the Parterre or Best Garden in "the Great Division of Gardening", mentioned in the gardener's contracts, which are similar in London's large and, presumably, first plan and the Campbell Plan but appear in the Knyff

as more simply treated. There are also two other similar treatments to London's first ideas for these quarters to be found amongst the plans (Figure 62) but all show the easternmost two quarters composed of a pair of green walks enclosed by hedges with a characteristic scalloped design and the two western ones are bosquets made of crisscross diagonal walks. Knyff has the three of the four quarters planted with simple lines of fruit trees and one with firs and two large basins separating each pair on either side of the central path. This relatively simple spatial treatment and greater emphasis on fruit trees in this area was replaced in 1709. It is noteworthy that Knyff does not seem to have substituted what George London had proposed for these quarters initially for what was actually growing in these spaces when he visited Longleat.

The third major change can be found in the internal arrangement of a quarter as it appears in the London and Campbell plans and which is different in the Knyff. This appears to have been drawn by London and Campbell as a labyrinth (Figures 60 and 65) and filled the quarter situated between the bowling green quarter and the flower garden. Knyff drew this section as an area subdivided into six quarters and this is how it remained up until 1710–1711, for it is described as Knyff drew it in the schedule of works for the coming year presented to the Marquis by Thomas Gardiner. (233) This area was altered in 1712 when it can be identified as “The new ground below the bowling green.” (234) A detail of this new ground remains, (Figure 63) which clarifies its composition. It is not a turf labyrinth or daedalus but one made up of trees and shrubs cut into hedges and, according to the sketch plan, the plants used were as diverse as cytusus, not a good hedging plant and short lived, especially if it is cut back too fiercely, lilacs, privet, whitethorn, laburnum and cornelian cherries (*Cornus mas*). This was not a new and original design. Plans like this appear at the back of the Traité Du Jardinage, written by the Superintendent of the Royal Gardens for Louis XIII, Jaques Boyceau, which contained ideas dating back to the middle of the 16th century, and, in England, in The English Gardener, written by Leonard Meager in the second half of the 17th century. (235)

There are a large number of bills for plants supplied by George London's Brompton Nursery at Longleat, which emphasize that Longleat was a great fruit garden.

By looking at these it is possible to identify some of the planting in Knyff's print. The Great East Garden is double walled: the enclosure round the Great Parterre measured 600 feet by 460 feet and that round the whole East Garden, was 800 feet by 700 feet, (236) which is a vast length of wall. Knyff's print shows what must be fruit trees on all these walls. Two bills, one from George London in 1685 and one from Henry Wise in 1687, give an idea of the quantities of fruit trees bought (237) The first bill is for 17 apricots, 66 cherry trees, 41 plum trees, 193 vines, 23 figs, 61 pear trees, 7 double nuts and 200 filberts. The vines and figs could only be grown on walls and many varieties of cherries, pears and apples were often grown on the cooler walls rather than in the open. The second bill has peach trees figs and apricots in lesser numbers. The fashion was to intersperse the fruit trees with climbers, such as jasmines and there are 50 white and 201 yellow jasmines in William Looker's bill sent in March 1684 and 60 in George London's bill for October 1685. (238) Knyff has drawn wall fruit interspersed with taller and more slender plants which must be jasmines or a similar plant.

An apple quarter was one of the parts of the garden, which stretched from the greenhouse to the canal in 1711, (239) and was still there in 1725, despite alterations to the four neighboring quarters and despite George London's first plan having this area as two wildernesses. (Figures 60 and 65) Knyff has drawn what can only be fruit trees, because they have been planted in lines, bearing out the purchase of 355 apple trees in 1685, and he drew many of the other quarters in the East garden as fruit gardens, which explains the purchase of 30 dwarf almonds, 20 mulberries, the large numbers of filberts, 230 cherries and the 731 gooseberry and currant plants in the same year. There were also substantial purchases of asparagus. Payment for 700 plants receipted in 1684 by William Looker (240) and there are several areas, which are plainly vegetable plots, within the northern boundary of the great garden. The area covered by this type of garden is described in the gardener Davies's contract in 1711, which mentions the kitchen garden to the north of the great parterre as well as the old kitchen garden, which was placed on the north of the house. In the first garden were asparagus, artichokes, fruit trees and flowers and in the old kitchen garden, covering 1.5 acres there is a melon ground and several quarters of necessary things "for ye use of ye house" (241)

Knyff has drawn two quarters planted with fir trees, both on the south side of the central path in the East Garden. These seem to match an entry 55 silver fir trees and 40 spruce trees in the 1685 bill from George London already referred to. One of these quarters was replanted between 1708 and 1725, but the Silver fir quarter is still there in 1710 and is mentioned along with the bowling green, next to which it is drawn in Knyff's print, in the 1711 gardener's contract. (242) But otherwise matching specific plants to parts of the print is difficult because of the scale of the drawing and the lack of colour.

In the course of this chapter, ten of Knyff's prints have been compared to the evidence, Hampstead Marshall (Berkshire), Combe Abbey (Warwickshire), Cassiobury Park (Hertfordshire), Hutton-in-the Forest (Cumberland), Ragley Hall (Warwickshire) Great Ribston (North Yorkshire), Newby Hall (North Yorkshire) Wollaton Hall (Nottingham), Wimpole (Cambridgeshire), Chatsworth (Derbyshire)(very briefly) and Longleat (Wiltshire). Staunton Harold (Leicestershire) and Dawley (Middlesex) have been discussed extensively in the course of the opening remarks. This means that out of the 72 different houses amongst the 79 prints, the evidence for a sixth has been assembled and dissected. These are not the only sites for which there may be reasonable evidence. There are indications that Grimsthorpe (Lincoln), at least, might well be worth investigating in the Lincoln Record Office. However, too many case studies might make an already very long chapter too unwieldy to be useful.

To conclude, although there are the anomalies in the prints of Combe Abbey (Warwickshire), Cassiobury Park (Hertfordshire) and Hutton-in-the-Forest (Cumberland), these seem only to affect the buildings and not the landscapes surrounding them. There appear to be no sites where parterres or other ambitious garden features have been added. It must be remembered that there is, unfortunately, usually less information to be found about the designed landscape, which is generally subservient to the house in importance in contemporary descriptions and in accounts and other estate papers. Were it not for compelling, but limited, items of information such as those attached to Wollaton (Nottingham) in the shape of Jan Siberecht's paintings, or Bridgeman's plans for Wimpole, it might be necessary to agree with the opinion of Knyff's first biographer,

Hugh Honor (243), that these prints memorialize the ambitions rather than the achievements or the various owners.

The information for places like Wollaton and Wimpole largely confounds the view that the prints are essentially untrustworthy. Even at sites like Combe and Cassiobury, where old buildings are drawn extended and altered beyond what actually occurred, but not beyond what was projected at the time, what evidence there is about the gardens and grounds is positive. There seems to be a reasonable explanation as to why Knyff's prints portrayed the houses in these examples in a slightly different form to their actual one. What the owners of these houses were essaying was the remaking of an old house to a regular design, on the same footprint, without pulling it down all at once and starting from scratch. They wanted their house immortalized in the state, they were sure, it was just about to achieve, rather than as a half-finished hodge-podge. This rebuilding process did not prevent work being done on the gardens and surrounding landscape, which was often far more advanced than that projected for the house. Having begun the alterations these owners were sanguine that reality would soon catch up with Knyff's print, when, for unknown reasons, it did not.

Hampstead Marshall, which has compelling remains both above and below ground, takes the evidence a step further than that available for Ragley, Wollaton or Newby. Here the walls of the various parts of the gardens are still standing along with the great raised bastion on which the orchard stood and most of the gate piers carved by Edward Pierce. Added to this there is the air photograph of the outlines and patterns of the great parterre. At Chatsworth, it is possible to enumerate and date most of the items in Knyff's print from entries in the accounts. The chart produced by Francis Thompson, the Librarian at Chatsworth in 1949, (244) has been reproduced here. Although the archives at Chatsworth were visited again in the course of this study, nothing more could be added to it. However, it is the plans, the gardener's contracts, the bills and the letters at Longleat, which allow the fullest comparison between Knyff's work and the documents concerning the making of the landscape in his print. The positive information from Longleat strongly underlines Knyff's topographical views. Coupled to the information from other sites, it does produce a conclusion, that at least where the landscape is

concerned, Knyff is often remarkably accurate.

But this conclusion only relates to volume I of Britannia Illustrata and it would be foolish to assume that the findings for Knyff's work can simply be transferred to that of Kip, without questioning examining his representations also. Accordingly, the next chapter will focus on Johannes Kip and the plates he made in 1708-1712, which were eventually published as volume II of Britannia Illustrata.

NOTES

- (1) C. Thacker, The Genius of Gardening, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 1994, p.133.
- (2) The Walpole Society, vol. 18, p.83, p.105-106 and p.117-118; vol. 26, p.14 and p.60 contain George Vertue's opinions of Knyff's work and its worth. All reprinted 1968 by Dawson and Sons, London.
- (3) See Leonard Knyff, by Hugh Honor, The Burlington Magazine; vol.96, pp.337-338.
- (4) This was first published in 1892, and was then a pioneering book reintroducing the idea of the formal symmetrical garden to the public. The edition consulted is published by Waterstone, London, 1985 p.61-62, and what Bloomfield wrote is as follows; "The book was published in 1709, though many of the drawings were made much earlier, and is absolutely invaluable for a knowledge of the method of laying out gardens and grounds on a large scale at the end of the seventeenth century. Kip's book (by which he means volume I) and another book named Les Délices de la Grande Bretagne, are in fact almost the only sources of information available."
- (5) The History of the English House, London, 1909, republished Bracken Books, London, 1985 p.182.
- (6) Country Houses From The Air, Adrian Tinniswood, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 1994, p.14.
- (7) See the National Trust guidebook for Wimpole Hall by David Souden, 1999, page 9.
- (8) The plans are to be found in the Bodleian Library, Ms Gough Drawings, a4, nos. 30, 31, 35 and have been published by P. Willis in Charles Bridgeman, Elysium Press, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2002, plates 228, 230a and 233.
- (9) Derek Edwards and Tom Williamson, Sutton 2000, p36 and 38
- (10) Wimpole Hall, by David Soudern for the National Trust, 1999, p 8-9 and 80.
- (11) Giant Steps, Fieldwork in London's Royal Parks, by Paul Pattison in There By Design, edited by Paul Pattison, Royal Commission On The Historical Monuments of England, 1998.
- (12) The Grovesnors of Eaton, By D. Newton and J. Lumby, Jennet Publications, Chester

2002, p.8.

(13) An exception is to be found in D. Jaques and A. van der Horst, The Gardens of William and Mary, London 1988, in which the work of both artists furnishes many of the exemplars for the text, but again without considering the historical value of the prints cited or their value as a group.

(14) J.A.G. Gotch, The History of the English Country House, 1909, p.182-183 and note 4.

(15) The Buildings of England: Leicestershire, ed. N. Pevsner and by N. Pevsner, revised by E. Williamson, Penguin 1998, p 391.

(16) This garden is not illustrated in Britannia Illustrata but according to William Wooley, the Derbyshire antiquary writing early in the 18th century, the boundaries of the two estates were then within a mile of each other; P.E. Shirley, Stemmata Shirleiana 1873, reprinted Hammersmith Publishing, Houston, Texas 1998, p.166.

(17) David Green, Gardener To Queen Anne, Oxford 1956, chapter V, p.40-47. For the work of London and Wise at Melbourne see as well the guidebook to Melbourne by Virginia Kerr privately printed, available at Melbourne Hall.

(18) Ibid.p.43.

(19) There are papers in the Leicestershire Record Office, 26 D53, 26D60, 22D64 5D69, concerning Staunton Harold, but these have little to offer for the period 1660 to 1720, and deposits in Warwick County Record Office, which also concern Staunton Harald but have nothing significant for these dates. The Huntingdon Library has inventories for 1657 and 1720. A document, which might have relevant information, a Household Book for 1684-1687, is privately owned by the present Earl Ferrers and I have not been able to examine it.

(20) Quoted by Philip E. Shirley in Stemmata Shirleiana, op. cit. p. 167.

(21) W. Wooley, A History of Derbyshire, edited by C. Glover and P. Riden, Derbyshire Record Society 1981, vol. VI, p.172. Wooley must have visited Staunton Harald between 1711 and 1717, since he refers to Sir Robert Ferrars as the Earl. Robert Ferrers became first Earl Ferrers in 1711 and died in 1717. Wooley's description of, "His Lordship's improvements in parking and gardening," continues in this manner; " Staunton Harald is a noble old Seat becoming the Antiquity of the family to which it belongs: it has a noble

new front towards the gardens which are very large and good, and on one side of thereof are well watered with fountains and canalls, and very good averies and a decoy, and a great many exotick fowls; the park and woods about it are very large and good, and reach within a mile of Calke, and a mile of Melbourne, but being seated on a clay soil it is somewhat dirty; on the south-east side is a very handsome stone church; the east end of the church abuts on a very large canal, the biggest in the country; the gardens lye on the north-west side, consisting of severall parterres of easy descant from the house, which adds a gracefulness both to the one and to the other. “

(22) Sir William Dugdale, The Antiquities of Warwickshire, London 1656, vol. II p 661 and Stemmata Shirleiana op. cit. pp. 163-66.

(23) The letter is headed August 18th with no year given but 1701 seems likely and was assigned to it by the anonymous author of the Country Life article on Staunton Harold, 1913 p.529.

(24) In the letter written by George London to Thomas Coke to arrange a meeting with Coke at Melbourne in which he writes of his proposed journey, “It is a journey to se gardens and plantations, as my Lord Chesterfields, Lord Ferrers, Duke of Devonshire’s etc.” printed in the Historic Manuscripts Commission, vol. XXIII, Appendix II, p.179. The implication is that the gardens listed by London are already in a state to be viewed for pleasure by himself and his two companions, since their presence means that this journey could not just be one of London’s famous business trips to see as many clients as possible, which Stephen Switzer wrote about in Ichnographia Rustica, London, 1718, p.81. An example of one of London’s Itineraries is given by David Green, op. cit. p.44.

(25) John Harris, The Artist and the Country House, Exhibition Catalogue, Sotheby’s, London, 1995 p.47, suggests this date. After his second marriage in 1699, Lord Ferrers spent less time at Staunton Harold, choosing to live most of the time in Twickenham; Stemmata Shirleiana, 1873 p.169. However he probably commissioned the magnificent wrought iron gates with the earls’ coronet above the coat of arms from Robert Bakewell in 1711, the year he was given the title, Country Life, 1913, p.530, and so, could not have lost interest in the grounds entirely. At the very latest this painting must have been made before Knyff’s death in 1722. However, since a suite of splendid gates were made and erected at Staunton Harold, where they can still be admired, and no such gates appear in

the painting, a date before 1711 seems more likely.

(26) See David Green, *ibid*; p .43.

(27) See David Green, *ibid*. p. 44-45. Stephen Switzer (*ibid*. p. 80) is the authority for London's early career and first visit to France; his second visit to France was in 1697 in the train of the Duke of Portland, Dr. Martin Lister, *A Voyage to Paris*, London 1698, p.223.

(28) From J. Macky: *A Journey Through England*, quoted in *Staunton Harald, Part II* in *Country Life*, April 1913, p.529.

(29) Sebastiano Serlio, *The Five Books of Architecture*, 1537, first published in English in 1611. This reference is to a facsimile of the 1611 edition issued by Dover Publications, New York 1982, f.69, third book, fourth chapter.

(30) Records in the Leicester County Record Office; 26 D 53 and *Stemmata Shirleiana* p.170.where all the titles of Robert Ferrers from his memorial stone are given. *The British Compendium or Rudiments of Honour*, part II, London 1746, pp.3-6,Walter Deverreux d.1576 First Earl of Essex bore the title of Baron of Louvain, his son was Queen Elizabeth's favourite, executed 1600, whose second daughter married a Shirley, who was the direct ancestor of Robert Shirley, first Earl Ferrers.

(31) An opinion advanced by T. Williamson in *Norfolk Country Houses from the Air*, D. Edwards and T. Williamson, Sutton 2000, p37-38 which seems much more likely than the idea of contrasting Dutch and French influences which are opposed to one another.

(32) *The Renaissance Garden In England*, Sir Roy Strong, Thames and Hudson, London 1998 plates 106-108.

(33) Haigh Hall was rebuilt in 1827, the old building having been damaged by mining and taken down. Coal was the source of the Bradshaigh's wealth. Celia Feinnes description of Haigh is on page 186 of C. Morris' edition of her diaries, *The Journeys of Celia Feinnes*, Cresset Press, London, 1947.

(34) Charles Bennet inherited Dawley in 1695, died 1722, married in 1695, the heiress of Lord Tankerville of Uppark, Sussex (also drawn by Knyff), which he inherited. The title of Earl Tankerville was revived for him in 1714: *The History of Dawley*, B.T. White, Hayes and Harlington Local History Society, 1997 p.16, 18.

(35) *The History of Dawley* p.39.

(36) C. Thacker, The Genius of Gardening, p. 133.

(37) John Harris gives this drawing tentatively to Kip in The Artist and the Country House, Sotheby, Parke-Bennet Publications, 1979, p.116, whereas, Christopher Hussey in Templum Restauratum, Country Life, vol.25, 1949, p.1580, favours Knyff as the draughtsman. The drawing is presently in the keeping of the County Library, Surrey County Council, Guildford.

(38) Templum Restauratum, as above p.1579. This investigation of the site does not seem to have been written up in any greater detail elsewhere and the report where it concerns the gardens is tantalizingly brief.

(39) This is the only Knyff drawing of a subject subsequently made into a print and also included in Britannia Illustrata, although a drawing exists of Whitehall Palace, c. 1696, that might have been made for the same purpose. Unfortunately a fire ravaged Whitehall Palace in that year which may have precluded its use: Harris, The Artist and the Country House p.113. The drawing of Hampton Court Palace by Knyff is not, however, the model for the later print.

(40) The Privy Garden, Apollo 1995, William III's Privy Garden at Hampton Court Palace, Research and Restoration by Simon Thurley, p.5, note 2. The opinion of the author, when comparing the original print with the drawing, of which only a photograph and a blown up detail in Apollo are available, is that there is very little difference between them except that necessarily the lines in the engraving are less fluid than those in the drawing.

(41) The other Hampton Court in Herefordshire is represented in the series by a print, but there are also two bird's-eye paintings of the house and gardens by Knyff, apparently, later than the print, all taken from different points of the compass. Taken together they produce a complete view of the house and garden. The paintings are reproduced as plates 27 and 28 in The English Garden, L. Fleming and A. Gore, Michael Joseph, London 1979. In the case of Hampton Court Palace, the print, the drawing under discussion and a painting by Knyff, c.1703, all bird's-eyes, form another such trio of views. The painting is figured in The Privy Garden, Apollo, p. 5. Was the intention in both cases to work towards a set of paintings, and a print of one of the projected works was also made for Britannia Illustrata, the remaining paintings either being lost or never completed?

(42) Pointed out by Francis Thompson, the archivist at Chatsworth at the time when he wrote A History of Chatsworth, Country Life, 1949, p.56.

(43) John Evelyn, Sylva, 4th Edition, 1706 edited by J. Nisbet, Arthur Doubleday, London, 1908 p.176. Whilst discussing work at Longleat, Badminton, Ashdown Park, Westwood etc; Evelyn adds “most of which have been graphically plotted and design’d (together with the seats, gardens, fountains, piscinas, plantations, avenues, vista’s, and prospects about them) by Mr, Kniff, in near a hundred copper plates: A most laudable undertaking, and becoming the encouragement of those noble persons, who would do honour to themselves, their family and the whole nation. By these, and the like examples, gentlemen (lovers of improvements) may learn how to contrive and adapt a square, oblong, regular or irregular figure,” etc.

(44) William Looker, one of the founders of the Brompton Nursery partnership, supervised these gardens, G. Scott Thomson, Life In A Noble Household, London, 1937, p.247 and S. Switzer, Ichnographia Rustica, London, 1718 p.78, so this state of affairs is surprising but the explanation may lie in the comparative poverty of the Crown.

(45) Calendar of Treasury Papers, vol. V, p. 533/4 and vol. VIII, p. 1124.

(46) Hugh Honor, Leonard Knyff, Burlington Magazine, 1954 p.337.

(47) William III was contemplating a more fitting landscape for Windsor Castle and plans exist both from Claude Desgots, a nephew of Andre Le Nostre, who came to England at the request of the King in July 1698 (A. De Ganay, Le Nostre, Paris. 1962, p.111-112) and also in 1698, from Sir Christopher Wren, Surveyor-General of the Royal Works since 1669. A plan of Windsor attributed to Desgots is to be found in the National Museum of Stockholm and is reproduced in an article entitled The Influence of Le Nostre and His Family by R Strandberg, plate VIII, Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on Landscape Architecture, III, 1974. Wren’s plans for 1698 are printed by the Wren Society in vol. XXXI, plates XI and XII. In the reign of Queen Anne some ground preparation for Wren’s second design was undertaken.

(48) André was one of the sons of the celebrated Claude Mollet, died c.1651, who had been in charge of the New Garden at the Tuileries and wrote Theatre du Jardinage, published posthumously in Paris in 1652. André ended an international career working for Charles I, in c.1630 and in 1642, for the Prince of Orange from 1633-35, for the King

of France in 1642 and the Queen of Sweden from 1648-1653 and as gardener to King Charles II at St. James from 1661 to his death in 1665. Gabriel, who died in 1663, is thought to have been his nephew, The Oxford Companion to Gardens Oxford, 1986, p.378.

(49) The Calendar of Treasury Books, vol. I for 1660/67 p. 294, an entry dated October 14th 1667, mentions a warrant to John Rose, the successor to André Mollet and calls him "Keeper and gardener of the garden plotted and laid out and to be found and made in St. James's Park etc." This implies that the making of the garden at St. James Place was still ongoing in 1667.

(50) See David Jaques, The History of The Privy Garden, in The Privy Garden, Apollo, 1995, p.33-35.

(51) Some parts of the garden are included in the print in a form, which was never actually achieved on the ground, but this aspect of Hampton Court Palace gardens will be discussed later in the chapter along with other examples where Knyff's view preceded events on the ground.

(52) Lancelot Brown also used Beeston Castle as a focal point when he redesigned the gardens and grounds, Eaton Gardens, I. Callister, Chester 2002, p.8. The hill is still visible from the present gardens but no longer as part of a design, which takes the wider landscape into the grounds of the hall. Without going and looking for oneself, it was hard to believe that Knyff's view, which includes some uneasy foreshortening of the avenue, was quite believable.

(53) C. T. Gatty, Mary Davies and the Manor of Ebury, London 1821, vol. II, p.210 and p.213-214 includes the remarks of the Rev. Rowland Davies, traveling with the Earl of Orrery in April 1690. He writes, "April 26th I carried my brother to see Eaton Hall, a very noble house, square and very regular, with many fine walks and trees planted round it, but all new work." The Building Accounts, EV438, (Eaton Hall) contain payments for the making of the Gardens from 1678 to 1683, which include references to the canal, greenhouse, garden house and two banqueting house which were slated in 1679.

(54) See Hugh Honor's article in the Burlington Magazine already referred to.

(55) Bodleian Library, Oxford, Aubrey Ms 2. f. 54.

(56) Sir William Temple: The Garden of Epicurus, 1685. The edition consulted is edited

by A.F. Sieveking and published by Chatto and Windus, London, 1908, pp.50-51.

(57) Leeds Arts Calendar, 1960, no.60: The Excavation of Garden Banqueting House by D. G. Wild and C. G. Gilbert, p.4.

(58) John Loveday of Caversham, 1711-1789, by Sarah Markham, published by Michael Chantry, Wiltshire, 1984 p.215, is based on the diaries and correspondence of John Loveday.

(59) The Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms Gough Oxon.31, f.212v. This is a manuscript history written by the vicar of Hazely, the Rev. Thomas Delafield and the copy of Winstanley's print is by the vicar's son. It is not very different from the original, printed in J. Harris, The Artist and the Country House London 1979, p.103.

(60) Bodleian Library, Oxford Ms. Top DD Bertie C.3/8, 1st of June 1807, Catalogue Of Sale Of Building Materials of the "Rycote Mansion" Capital Building Materials In Lots To Be Pulled Down. This was a three-day sale, which included tapestries as well as the fabric itself. Lot no.60 was 400 and 300 feet of stone paving from the greenhouse. This entry might refer to the arcaded area beneath the terrace, which looks as if it was an orangery, but otherwise there is no definite mention of this huge structure.

(61) op. cit. John Loveday of Caversham ,p.215.

(63) It is not impossible that the terrace was built from a drawing supplied some years earlier but more likely, that the terrace being of the right style and period, the name of Inigo Jones was attached to it to give the construction an appropriate dignity.

(64) Draught 2, p.3-5.

(65) Volume II, London, 1722 p.172, " Althorp is a fine Seat, in the middle of a charming Park, on the Skirts of a beautiful Down; t'is moted but the Mote was drained, and turned into a Garden so fine, that Monsieur La Quinteney, took the plan for some of his works at Versailles. " This is most unlikely for several reasons, the writings of Mons. De La Quintinye were translated into English by John Evelyn in 1693 and by George London and Henry Wise in 1699, as The Complete Gard'ner, because the French expertise in fruit and vegetable growing, especially the former, outclassed the English; There is only anecdotal evidence that De La Quintinye ever visited England, though Stephen Switzer wrote that he corresponded with Sir Henry Capel at Kew, Ichnographia Rustica 1718, p.61, a famous raiser of fruit, and Charles Perrault (Hommes Illustrés, Paris 1704-5

p.181) in his life of De Quintinye says that he visited England twice and that King William III tried to lure him away from Versailles by offering him a huge salary. William Upcott, The Miscellaneous Writings of John Evelyn, London 1825, p 718 quotes a remark made by Evelyn in an Advertisement prefixed to Mons. De La Quintinye's, Directions Concerning Melons, which Evelyn translated in 1693, that it may have been more than twenty years since De la Quintinye visited England and Evelyn's house. This visit is not event that Evelyn mentions in his diary. This would mean De La Quintinye came in 1671/2, in the reign of Charles II, which might be the first of the two visits Perrault mentions. Lastly the kitchen gardens at Versailles had a very distinct design published by John Evelyn in his version of the "Complete Gard'ner.. Made English" in 1693, which is quite unlike the plan of Althorp's gardens.

(66) The Manner of Raising, Ordering, & Improving Forest-Trees. Evelyn praises Moses Cook's tree knowledge in his diary for 18th April 1680 and in the fourth edition of *Sylva*, 1706, ed. J. Nisbet, Vol. II p.175.

(67) Printed as an appendix III to chapter 3.

(68) Letters written to the architect Captain William Winde in Ms Gough Warwick I (Bodleian Library, Oxford) make this clear.

(69) The Buildings Of England, Berkshire, Nikolaus Pevsner, Penguin Books, 1998, p.72.

(70) G. D. Keevil and Neil Linford in Landscape with Gardens, a contribution to There By Design, Royal Commission For Historic Monuments, 1998, p.15. There was a plan to rebuild in 1739 with James Gibbs being chosen as the architect. This intention was not carried through, but a house was still standing at Hampstead Marshall, on the site of the Gerbier/Winde house on a survey map of 1775 made for the sixth Baron Craven. This survey is not among the Craven papers at Oxford. Penelope Stokes refers to it in her book and the implication is that the Craven family still owns it, Craven Country, Penelope Stokes, 1996, pp.45 and 48/49. If there was a house still in use on the site well after the fire in 1719, it would help to explain why so much of the garden architecture is still standing, especially the relatively fragile gate piers.

(71) The Victoria County History for Berkshire, vol. IV. p.178-183. Sir William Craven, Earl William's father, had made a vast fortune, as a draper. He had been a member of the Merchant Taylor's Company and, eventually, Mayor of London, dying in 1618. He left

this fortune in trust for his twelve-year-old son with the injunction that an estate should be bought for him. *Country Life*, December 1909, Combe Abbey Warwickshire, part I, p.800 and Craven Country, Penelope Stokes, p.21

(72) Gough Drawings a 2. f. 4.

(73) There are drawings dated 1662, *ibid.* f. 2 and 1663, *ibid.* f.3. The choice of Sir Balthazar Gerbier whose activities as a spy amongst Royalist exiles in Holland made him according to Clarendon “ Too infamous a fellow to be trusted even by the rebels, ”(The Evolution of the Grand Tour, Notes Towards a Biography of Sir Balthazar Gerbier, by Edward Cheney, Frank Cass, London, 1998, p.222), seems odd for a life long Stuart sympathizer like William Craven, who not only supported Charles I and Charles II but who was one of the few to attempt to support James II, by arms, against the invasion of William of Orange and was consequently out of royal favour from 1688 until his death in 1697. The link must have been quite close because Gerbier is buried in Hampstead Marshall church, at the gates of the Earl’s mansion. There is also some doubt as to how long Gerbier provided the plans for Hampstead Marshall and oversaw its progress. His tombstone in the Church puts his death at 1667, but was erected some time after his death. The Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1663-4 p.253 includes an entry for August 24th 1663, which is a petition from his daughters for arrears due to their late father from the King, with an explanation of their financial plight, which says “ Their case is made worse by the expenses of their six months solicitation.” This places his death in February 1663.

(74) Gough Drawings a 2, ff. 24 – 25 and f. 30.

(75) N. Pevsner, Berkshire, p.225 also Craven Country, P. Stokes, 1996, p.31. The gate piers and lodges are on the NE corner of the Benham Estate, at Speen, Newbury on the A road between Newbury and Bath. Unfortunately, I have not been to see if this is indeed so but they should be easily recognizable for their mixture of stone and red brick. These are the only set out of seven in the engraving, which are no longer on the site.

(76) Ms Gough Warwick I, Letters relating to Combe Abbey from the Scott sale of 1781. There is on the first page a resume of Captain Windes’s career, which says he was Balthazar Gerbier’s only pupil. See H. Colvin, A Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840 p.1065, for the relationship between the Earl and William Winde. During his life

the Earl paid William Winde an annuity of £100 pounds a year from 1677 to 1697, Craven Papers 284, receipts 1666-1732 for Nov.26th 1677 to Feb 13th 1696.

(77) It is not quite certain when Captain Winde took over after Gerbier's death. The first certain date seems to be 1670 when he signs his approval of a drawing of the ceiling of the passage by the screen, Gough a 2 f.13, and the next is 27th November 1684 when he writes in a letter to Combe Abbey, that he has been sent to Hampstead by his lordship to view the plantations, Craven Papers vol. 360 f.32. It can only be assumed that he took over in 1663 since the drawings indicate uninterrupted work at Hampstead.

(78) Gough a 2 f.15.

(79) Letter as in note 77.

(80) Craven Papers Vol. 360, f.2, Directions of several things to be done at the right Honourable Earl of Craven's House of Comb Abbey Sept. ye 19th 1681.

(81) Gough a 2. f. 1,

(82) Gough a 2. f. 4, and 6.

(83) Gough a 2. f. 3.

(84) Gough a.2. f. 29

(85) Gough a.2. f. 30 the authorship is established by comparing this drawing with f.25, the drawing of the main gates and piers.

(86) Gough a.2 ff. 11,12, 36,42.

(87) Craven Country, p.31.

(88) Gough a. 2. f. 15.

(89) There By Design, Field Archaeology in Parks and Gardens, R. C. H. M. p. 17, figure 9, aerial photograph, NMR 58/5225 F21, 48; MOD, and p.22, figure 13, 1996.

(90) Craven Papers 77, accounts for the week ending 9th March 1650.

(91) Claude Mollet in Theatre des Plans et Jardinage, Paris 1652, pp.202-203 writes that he introduced box into parterres de broderie because the plants used before its introduction needed replacement every three years. London and Wise wrote in The Retir'd Gardener; 2nd Edition 1717, p. 128, " In former Times the Use of Box was not known but now is more us'd, and found much better for the edging of borders and all sorts of Embroidery." This book was originally published in 1706. Box always had a dubious reputation because of its cat like smell. J. Worlidge in Systema Horticulturae,

London, 1677, “Most of the gardens of England were formerly beautiful with the never dying box, but by reason of the ill savor, emitted from it, and by its spreading roots continuing long in a place sterilizing the confining earth, it is now banished our gardens.” His view suggests the decline of the use of box rather than the increase in its use but of the two, London and Wise’s view as practitioners and nurserymen, is more likely to represent how box was actually used in gardens.

(92) Craven Papers, 360, f. 32.

(93) On Building: Roger North’s Writings on Architecture, ed. H. Colvin and J. Newman, Clarendon, Oxford, 1981, p.81.

(94) Does this mean that Hampstead Marshall was really never finished and therefore the print is misleading? All the surviving evidence makes it look as if the house was finished, why build the gate piers otherwise, and yet Roger North’s remarks are worrying. He was writing about 1698, which is just after the death of the Earl of Craven and the print was published in 1708. It is possible that the house was not finished at the death of the Earl and his successor Lord William Craven finished the house off. There are so many working drawings for interior details in Gough a.2 such as plasterwork for ceilings, many of which are signed as being approved by William Winde, which suggests that the ceilings were actually installed and that the house was very far indeed from being incomplete.

(95) Craven 153 includes “ A True and Perfect Narrative” of the sequestration, which lead to the house at Caversham (Reading), which had cost £20,000 to build, being stripped of its fireplaces, paneling and lead, which were sold for £1,500 and his woods in general being felled “for the use of the navie.” Caversham was not rebuilt after the Restoration.

(96) This is the same Lucy Harrington whose garden at Moor Park, Sir William Temple praised in Upon the Gardens of Epicurus, 1685, ed A.F. Sieveking in Essays on Gardens, 1908, pp. 50-53.

(97) This map is loose in the front of Craven 360. Ms Gough, Warwick 1. Letters relating to Combe Abbey, between William Winde and the steward, William Craven, f.19.29th May 1682/3 “This morning we began to pull down the old building which we found extremlie rotten and decayed both in timber and walls, that were only supported by ye

severall butteries, else had fallen long ere this.”

(98) Abele is the name for white poplar, Moses Cook, The Manner of Raising and Improving Forest Trees, London 1717, p.106, “The Best is the large white, Poplar.... Which the Dutch call Abele.” This book is compiled from notes made by Mr. Cook as gardener to the earl of Essex at Cassiobury Park, Watford, in the 1670s.

(99) Lady Georgiana Craven copied this inscription into a scrapbook concerning the History of Combe Abbey, which she began 1820, Craven 361, since this book has no page numbers no more specific location can be given for anything quoted from it.

(100) Ms Gough Warwick I, f.44.

(101) The piers in the Great Court, which Knyff has included, are in a dated drawing 1691 in Craven 360.f.78. Their inclusion means the print cannot have been drawn before that date.

(102) Ms. Gough Warwick I, f.9, William Craven thought this frontispiece, the pedimented center section of the new building with carved stone coat of arms set within it, forming what was usually the entrance to the building, unnecessary, “as thinkeng it not soe necessarie to have a ffrontispiece in this place, which will be noe proper coming into ye house...”.

(103) Gough Drawings, a.2, ff.89 and 90.

(104) There are two payments to John Harvey, the Bristol sculptor, for gate piers to the Grove (First Viscount 275 2.4.1702 and Sept/Oct 1704) so the initial drawing could not have been made before these piers, which appear in the print, were installed and may even be as late as 1704. The drawing must have been made before February 1708 when changes occur in the garden which appear in the later print by Colen Campbell in Vitruvius Britannicus (First Viscount, 275, 18.1. 1708), which is anyway the year in which Britannia Illustrata was first printed.

(105) Country Life, December 1909, in an article on Combe Abbey prints a photograph, which is of precisely the same view as the Gough Drawing made 220 years previously, with two thirds of a classical frontage tacked on to the Jacobean Gibson wing.

(106) Samuel and Nathaniel Buck made a print of Combe Abbey dated 1729, which is of the entrance court and only includes the minutest portion of landscape.

(107) The Memoirs of the Margravine of Anspach, by herself, London, 1826, Vol. II

page 88, records that Capability Brown had been paid over twelve thousand pounds by Lord Craven at Combe Abbey. No map or scheme by Lancelot Brown himself remains but "A Survey of Comb in the County of Warwick etc. Belonging to William Lord Craven Taken in the Year 1778" by Mathias Baker, in the Warwick Record Office (CR8/184), is of Combe Abbey and its surroundings, which are assessed as covering 30 acres, altered to include a huge serpentine lake and must represent, to judge, from its date and style, the landscape that Brown had put in place.

(107) The outer park at Combe is managed by the City of Coventry as a country park, the house and the immediate gardens are now a hotel.

(108) Unlike the prints in Britannia Illustrata, those in Les Délices have no titles above or below them, other than the name of the house and so Georgiana was not able to associate this print with Lord William Craven.

(109) The version printed in the illustration is from another source in the Bodleian Library, Ms Gough Warwick, folio 6v. This print was originally made for Sir William Dugdale's History of Warwickshire, written in 1649-50.

(110) Craven 360 f.25 contains a letter from Captain Winde to William Craven about making a great court before the house, which may give an approximate date for the making of the gardens.

(111) Ms Soane, 3343, 4070, 4071, in the British Library contain lists of her plants and the suppliers of them.

(112) S. Switzer, Ichnographia Rustica, 1718, p.61, "The Plantations of the Right Honourable the Lord Capel are still to be seen at Kew over against Brentford; The Greatest advance made by him herein, was the bringing over several sorts of soft fruit from France; and this Noble Lord we may suppose to be one that held for many years a Correspondence with Monsieur de la Quintinye. (as has been before observ'd) The Earliness in which this Lord appear'd in Gardn'ing, merits a very great place in this History, and a better Pen than mine to draw it."

(113) See above p.62.

(114) John Britton, A History and Description of Cassiobury Park, London, 1837, p.15.

(115) Moses Cook, in the earliest 1676 edition, page 180 and accompanying plate.

(116) John Britton, as above. He refers on page 22 to an Ms in the Ashmolean Oxford

reprinted in Letters etc. from the Bodleian Library, 1813, which includes a letter written by John Evelyn describing the Morrison garden. I have not been able to find this reference.

(117) John Britton as above.

(118) N. Pevsner, Revised B. Cherry, The Buildings of England, Hertfordshire, Penguin 1997, p.387, footnote and A. Rowe, Unraveling Cassiobury, 1998, Hertfordshire Gardens Trust Website.

(119) The Diary of John Evelyn edited by William Bray, London 1859, vol. II, p148.

(120) “The works” means the department, which oversaw the royal buildings and is the direct ancestor of the Ministry of Works and subsequently English Heritage. The head of this Department was the Surveyor General, to whom the comptroller was deputy and oversaw the work to be done in looking after Royal Buildings. Christopher Wren was made Surveyor of the Works in 1669 and Hugh May was second in command. H. Colvin in A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840, p.646-648 has written a full biography of Hugh May.

(121) The Nobleman, Gentleman and Gardener’s Recreation or Ichnographia Rustica (1718 edition) p.xii of the preface.

(122) Sylva edited by John Nisbet, London 1908 Vol. II, pp.176-177. Evelyn includes a plate of a perfectly symmetrical landscape.

(123) John Britton, A History and Description of Cassiobury Park as in note 14.

(124) The Thynne Papers, Vol. XXV, 254ff. include a letter dated May 9th 1704 from George London to another patron of his, The First Viscount Weymouth, concerning ordering the gardener at Cassiobury to transfer to Longleat, “and he being one which is a servant to me by reasone those gardens and plantations are lett to my order by the year “ London suggests in his letter that it was about seven years ago that this particular gardener, who he does not name went to Cassiobury when the Earl took Cassiobury under his own control, which would have been about 1692 –3. These are available on microfilm in the manuscripts room of the British Library, catalogued by volume number.

(125) Ibid.

(126) S. Switzer, The Nobleman, Gentleman and Gardner’s Recreation, 1718 edition, pp.61-62.

(127) Moses Cook, The Manner of Raising, Ordering and Improving Forest Trees, London 1676, pp. 21-22, 137 and figure 24. Page 195 in the 1716 edition conveys the idea that the triangular arrangement of trees was a novelty.

(128) This is what Evelyn wrote about the Cassiobury gardens, “ The land is exceedingly addicted to wood, but the coldness of the place hinders the growth; black-cherry trees prosper even to make considerable timber, some being 80 foot long. They also make very handsome avenues. There is a pretty oval at the end of a fair walk, set about with Spanish-fir trees. The gardens are likewise very rare, and cannot be otherwise having so skilful an artist to govern them as Mr.Cook,...There is an excellent collection of the choicest fruit. The Diaries of John Evelyn edited by E.S de Beer, Oxford Clarendon Press, 1955, Vol. IV p.200

(129) Moses Cook, p.138.

(130) Moses Cook, p.140 and p. 143.

(131) Moses Cook, from the1716 edition, p. 134.

(132) Moses Cook, 1676 edition as before, pp. 96 and 135.

(133) The plan of the garden published by Cook, plate 47 in the 1676 edition, includes a table listing the greenhouse but does not actually locate it on the plan. Knyff's location for it is probably right since he places it within the Great Garden by a walk, another factor mentioned by Cook in the preface, page xviii, which includes a possible date for the building of the greenhouse. This building survived right up to the demolition of Cassiobury park and a photograph of it is published in the article on Cassiobury Park Country Life, 1910, Vol.28, pp.392-4.

(134) Moses Cook, 1716 edition, p.242 for the text accompanying the plan, which is as follows.

The pricked lines shew the top of every Slope.

The Two mounts AA are to be set with trees; so are the tops of all the Slopes where the Pricked Lines be, but being not yet set, I shall not shew them.

The walks marked O are to be Gravel.

The letter C. sheweth where the Orange-house is.

The letters gg. shew one Front of the Dwelling-House.

The rest is Grass.

This is only as it is intended to be, etc.

(135) Simon Thurley, William III's Privy Garden at Hampton Court Palace, Apollo 1995, p.32.

(136) Thynne Papers Vol. XXV 254ff. May 9th 1704.

(137) Moses Cook must have left Cassiobury before George London took over, in approximately, 1697. He had worked for the Second Earl at Little Hadham since 1666 at least and probably stayed with him until the Earl's death in 1683. George London in a letter to Viscount Weymouth at Longleat in 1686 mentions asking Mr. Cook's advice about buying Lime trees from an English Nursery rather than a Dutch one. (The Thynne Papers, vol.XXII , letter 378. August 7th 1686) He sold his share in the Brompton Nursery sometime after this date and was still alive when Switzer wrote his chapter on the history of gardening in 1715. (Switzer, 1718, p.70)

(138) Moses Cook p.131

(139) Garden History, Summer 1998, p.12, L. Pattacini, André Mollet Royal Gardener quotes George London and Henry Wise's praise of this orchard of dwarf pears. Monsieur De La Quintinye visited England around 1671/2 according to John Evelyn, The Miscellaneous Writings of John Evelyn, edited by W. Upcott, 1825.p.718.

(140) Switzer 1718 p. 81,82 and the advertisement, which John Evelyn added to the preface of his translation of De la Quintinye's The Complete Gardener in 1693. London's translation of the same text with Henry Wise in 1699 testifies to his interest in fruit growing especially since notes of the authors' own experience were added to the original text.

(141) Moses Cook, p. 177.

(142) David Green, Gardener to Queen Anne, Oxford 1956, p.101.

(143) Algernon Capel was Gentleman of the Bedchamber to William III, Britton p.16. He would have lost this place on the King's death. The dedication only calls him Earl of Essex, so the print could not be before 1702. By 1702 George London would have had five years to effect changes to Cassiobury and elements in the print appear to be much newer than others. The Earl died in 1709 a year after Britannia Illustrata was published.

(144) The only sources of information on Hutton-in-the-Forest, which it has been possible to consult, are the eponymous articles by John Cornforth, in Country Life, 1965, p.232/5

and p.286/9. This article contains more information than the official guidebook to the house and park, which is printed without an acknowledged author or publication date. The copy used here was purchased in 2001.

(145) For a biography of Sir George Fleming see The Flemings in Oxford: Documents in Illustration of the Lives and Ways of Oxford Men, 1650-1700, ed. J Mcgrath, Oxford Historical Society vols.44, 62, 79, Vol.44. p. 5 note 1.

(146) The Buildings of England, Cumberland and Westmoreland, N. Pevsner, Penguin, 1967, p.140/141 for the date 1675 and John Cornforth in *Country Life* for 1675-80.

(147) John Cornforth gives the name of the architect according to the Machell papers in Carlisle Cathedral Library, examined by Sir H. Colvin. The guidebook to Hutton, p.12 adds that Addison was clerk of the works to Talman at nearby Lowther. See H. Colvin, Architectural drawings from Lowther Castle, Westmoreland, published by the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain, 1980.

(148) According to enquiries made by me in 2001, there seems to be no such survey at Hutton now.

(149) Pevsner and Cornforth as in note 147 and the Hutton Guidebook p.12.

(150) John Cornforth, as above.

(151) The plot involving Viscount Preston took place in 1689 (see entry Dictionary of National Biography under Richard Graham) and Sir George died in 1700. The subtitle to the print mentions no offices held by Sir George and so dates from after 1689.

(152) John Cornforth, Hutton-in-the- Forest, part II, *Country Life* 1965, p286/9.

(153) It seems that records retained at Hutton give details of the walls of the great garden being (re)built in 1736 and the planting of enormous numbers of fruit trees.

(154) See note 93.

(155) *Country Life*, May 1958, Ragley Hall, Part I, by A. Oswald, p.939 quoting Historical Manuscripts Commission, 14th report, part ii, p.357, Lord Conway wrote to Sir Edward Harley (his cousin) on November 22nd 1677, "Heere you will find me playing the foole in laying money out upon building. Having cheerfully undertaken it because I finde my grandfather designed to build here; yet I am not satisfied with my selfe. I have finisht one side of the outbuilding and halfe the garden wall which I am planting with fruit trees. Next yeare I hope to finish the other part of the outbuilding and the rest of the garden

wall. I have also the model of the house designed". Horace Walpole writing to his friend George Montague on 22nd July 1772 writes that he found a letter from Lord Ranelagh to Lord Conway in the library, which included the information that the house was begun in 1680. Horace Walpole's Correspondence with George to Montagu, vol. 1, p. 120, edited by W. S. Lewis and R. S. Brown is volume 9 of the complete correspondence, edited by W.S.Lewis, Yale and Oxford 1942. Lord Ranelagh appears to have been asked for his advice over the design of the house. On August 8th 1680 a letter from Lord Ranelagh enjoins the Earl to send him the drafts of the house so that he can show them to Hugh May at Windsor and get his opinion, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Vol.21* p.623.

(156) Robert Hooke's diary in The Architecture of Dr. Robert Hooke FRS, M. I. Battern in the *Walpole Society XXV, 1936-37*, p.97, which mentions a design made for Lord Conway in 1679 and a visit to the house in June 1680 to view the model of the house and discuss its merits. This was presumably the model mentioned in the letter of 1677 above.

(157) *Country Life*, 1924, Ragley Hall, Part I by Avray Tipping, pp477/8, quoting a letter written by Francis Gwynn, Clerk to the Council a close friend of Lord Conway's to another, Lord Preston 13th August 1683; ... " On Saturday last my poor Lord Conway died, which is one of the greatest losses that ever yet befell me. The Thursday before his death he made his will, and disposed of all his money which was 33,000l and all his other personal estate to his lady and her heirs etc and likewise gave her ladyship her life in his whole estate both in England and in Ireland, which is about 7,000l per annum. The remainder after my lady's life of his whole estate he hath settled upon my cousin Seymere's eldest son by this lady, and upon his two brothers successively, upon condition they take the name of Conway; He hath left directions that his great house at Ragley should be finished according to the discretion of Mr. Seymere and myself out of his Irish estate during my Lady's life, by as much annually as we shall think fit.

(158) The Ellis Correspondence, edited by the Hon. George Agar Ellis, London 1829, vol. I p.67. letter dated March 15th 1686 and also p.72.

(159) Sir William Dugdale's, Antiquities of Warwickshire Illustrated, London 1730, vol. II, p.851 and The Diary of John Evelyn, ed. William Bray, London 1859, vol. II p366. See the entry for 15th June 1699.

(160) Country Life, 1958, Ragley Hall, part II, p.1009.

(161) See a letter from Walpole to Henry Zouch October 5th 1758 in Country Life 1958 p941. Another earlier reference to the fate of Secretary Conway's correspondence occurs in a letter written by Walpole to his friend Montague, dated July 22nd 1751, in Horace Walpole's Correspondence, edited by W.S. Lewis, Yale 1941, vol.9, p.120.

(162) On Building: Roger North's Writings on Architecture, edited by H. Colvin and J. Newman, Oxford 1981 pp. 76/7.

(163) Horace Walpole's Letters as above, letter to Montague July 22nd 1751, "The prospect is as fine as one destitute of a navigable river can be, and totally hitherto unimproved. So is the house, which is just covered in after so many years. They have begun to inhabit the naked walls of the attic storey: The great one is unflored, and unceiled: The hall is magnificent"

(164) Country Life, March 1924, Ragley Hall part II by Avray Tipping pp 478-480.

(165) Roger North, p.81.

(166) Letter published in the Historical Manuscript Commission 14th Report, part ii .p. 357, from Earl Conway to his Cousin Sir Edward Harley, dated 22nd November 1677 which is as follows" Heere you will finde me playing the foole in laying out money upon building having cheerfully undertaken it because my grandfather designed to build here; yet I am not satisfied with my selfe. I have almost finished one side of the out building and halfe the garden wall which I am planting with fruit trees. Next yeare I hope to finish the other part of the outbuilding and the rest of the garden wall. I have also the model of the house designed." The first entries in Robert Hookes diary, published by The Walpole Society in Vol. XXV in an article called, The Architecture of Dr. Robert Hooke by M. I. Batten, p.97, have Robert Hooke making a design for Lord Conway July 5th 1679 for which he was paid 10 guineas and going to Ragley to view the model, presumably that spoken of in 1677, on June 26th 1680

(167) See letter above to Sir Edward Harley.

(168) Country Life 1958, part II, p.1008.

(169) Dorothy Stroud in Capability Brown Faber, London 1975, p.237, quoting Walpole's letter to George Montague, 20th August 1758.

(170) Staffordshire Record Office, Bedford Papers D1287/8/6. This garden plan seems to

date to 1699/1700 according to a letter written by Captain William Winde to his client and sister in law, Lady Bridgeman, S.R.O. Bedford Papers D1287/4/1, February 26th 1699/1700. For the two remarriages see The Conway Papers, M.E. Nicolson, Oxford University Press and Yale, Oxford 1930, pp 468-469.

(171) History of the Goodricke Family by C. A. Goodricke, London 1885, p.25-32.

(172) David Green, Gardener to Queen Anne, Oxford 1956, chapters X and XI and Sir John Vanbrugh and Landscape Architecture in England, Ed. C. Ridgeway And R Williams, Sutton 2000, Chapter 4, Fortified Gardens by R. Williams

(173) R. Williams in Fortified Gardens, as above, p. 64/65 suggests that these bastions are defenses and not a gardening conceit. If Great Ribston is an example of the fortified garden it is amongst the earliest, most gardens of this type were built after the battle of Blenheim in 1702.

(174) Gervase Jackson-Stops, Ribston Hall, Yorkshire, Part 1, Country Life, October 1973 pp.1050-1053 quoting a letter in the Dartmouth Papers, Volume I, published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission. G Jackson-Stops also writes “ Doubt has often been cast on the veracity of Kip’s views (sic), yet time and again details of his engravings dismissed as unexecuted schemes have been proved to have existed by the discovery of contemporary documents. A case in point is the extraordinary fortified garden at Great Ribston.”

(175) Newby Hall by J. Cornforth, Country Life 1979, pp.1802-1806. There may be some documents in the Northumberland Record Office but I have not been able to visit this record office yet.

(176) Gardener to Queen Anne, Oxford 1956 by David Green, p.44.

(177) The guide to the house and gardens at Newby, written by the owner, Richard Compton, claims that the gardens made for Sir Edward Blackett were the work of Peter Aram, c.1695, an apprentice of London and Wise, but where this information comes from is not stated. Such papers for the Blackett family at Newby Hall that do survive are in the Northumberland Record Office and include Sir Edward Blackett’s letter book for 1709-15. It is more likely that Aram was provided by George London as the head gardener at Newby and carried out the ideas suggested to him by both London and his employer. It was not uncommon for George London to provide gardeners; His letters in the Thynne

Papers (Vols, XXII, XXIII, XXV) from 1686 to 1714, to the first Viscount show him providing gardeners for Althorp, Cassiobury and Longleat

(178) Celia Feinnes' Northern Journey and Tour of Kent, 1697, in The Journeys of Celia Feinnes, ed, C. Morris, London, Cresset Press, 1947, pp84-85. In the later 18th century Newby became the home of William Weddel, friend of Palgrave and a connoisseur of vertue and where both Robert Adam and John Carr worked. A huge archive for Newby at this period is held by the West Yorkshire Archive Service

(179) Celia Feinnes, pp. 170-3.

(180) Celia Feinnes, pp. 84-85. The passage omitted, describes the dimensions of a fine ox bred at Newby and Celia tasting the small beer brewed in the offices.

(181) Newby Hall and Gardens, R Compton Newby Hall Website, 09/10/2002

(182) M. Girouard, Robert Smythson and the Elizabethan Country House, Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1983, pp. 82-83

(183) Wollaton Hall and the Willoughby Family, P. Marshall, Nottingham Civic Society, Nottingham 1999, pp.99-104.

(184) This print seems to have been made shortly after the marriage of Francis, Thomas and Cassandra Willoughby's mother's marriage to Sir Josiah Childs in 1675. The view published by Thoroton is from the entrance front and not from the side where the Great garden might have been. Since other prints in Thoroton's book do show houses surrounded by gardens, it seems reasonable to presume that this view shows no gardens because there were none worth recording.

(185) The assistant keeper at the Hallward Library, University of Nottingham, Mrs Linda Shaw, supplied the information concerning the gap in the Accounts (Mi A) for Wollaton Hall from 1683 to 1717.

(186) Wollaton Hall, P. Marshall, p.103.

(187) Cassandra Willoughby, The Continuation of the History of the Willoughby Family, ed. A.C Wood, University of Nottingham Shakespeare Head Press, Nottingham. 1958. p.134.

(188) The first painting is published by John Harris in The Artist and the Country House, Sotheby Parke Bernet, London 1979, p. 43 and is in the Paul Mellon Collection, Yale Center For British Art signed and dated 1697. The second painting, belonging to the Hon.

Michael Willoughby, which Harris says is dated 1695 (Sotheby's 1995 Exhibition catalogue, The Artist and The Country House p. 46) and is published by P. Marshall, Wollaton Hall, p.100 with the date 1697. These two paintings are not the same, the second includes more of the orchard than the first and a wider landscape background. There does not seem, at first, to be any material difference between the details of each painting. However in the second painting, on the west side of the house, the farm yard has been replaced with a lawn and the orchard and vegetable area on the north side, the left hand edge and back of the paintings, has been changed to orchard with out a vegetable garden, a much more formal area. This makes the Willoughby painting the successor to the Yale painting. The third and latest Siberechts, also belongs to the Hon. Michael Willoughby and was exhibited in 1995 in the Sotheby's exhibition, the Artist and the Country House, (catalogue, John Harris) as exhibit no.17. and is later than the other two views because of the inclusion in the background of two avenues, running west and southwest of the house, and the conversion of the orchard into a garden two sections of union jack shaped segments, each centred on a fountain and basin.

(189) P. Marshall, Wollaton Hall, p.106.

(190) Victoria County History for Cambridgeshire, Vol. VIII, p.144. The terminal date must be before 1708 when Britannia Illustrata was first published.

(191) P. Willis, Charles Bridgeman and The English Landscape Garden, Elysium Press, Newcastle-upon-Tyne 2002, pp. 79-80.

(192) Historical Manuscripts Commission, Egmont Ms, Vol.II p.106.

(193) Daniel Defoe: A Tour through The Whole Island of Great Britain, Penguin edition 1971, pp.108-109.

(194) Wimpole Hall, by D. Souden, published by The National Trust, 1999, p.8-9.

(195) As above p. 8.

(196) Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms Gough Drawings, a.4, f.30, 31, 32, 35 and 39. The central portion of f.35 and f.69, which appear to be surveys of the gardens and grounds at Wimpole before Bridgeman's proposed changes.

(197) See the chapter on the gardens of Paris in Dr. Martin Lister's, A Journey To Paris in 1698, London, 1699.

(198) Francis Thompson, the archivist at Chatsworth made the comparison between the

features in the Knyff of Chatsworth and items in the Chatsworth accounts in The History of Chatsworth, published by Country Life, 1949, which he published as plate 16, page 52. Knyff received £2 for taking a prospect of Chatsworth on Sept. 29th 1700. Chatsworth Accounts vol. VI, f8.

(199) Sir Robert Atkyns: The Ancient and Present History of Glostershire, London, 1768 edition, p.257.

(200) Longleat by the Marchioness of Bath: Longleat Estate Company, 1951, pp34-39.

(201) John Loveday of Caversham, 1711-1789, The Life and Tours of an Eighteenth-Century Onlooker, S. Markham, published Michael Russel, Salisbury 1984, p. 294.

(202) First Viscount 275: 14.11.1710 a schedule made by Thomas Gardener for Lord Weymouth of what needs to be done in the garden, between November and May the next year as well as what had lately been done in the gardens.

(203) The Practical Fruit Grower, London 1724, p.23. As a comparison of costs, the Duchess of Beaufort, Mary Capel reckoned that refurbishing the old house at Badminton and making the gardens surrounded by huge avenues, between 1664 and 1691 cost £29,760 13s 5d. Badminton Muniments Fm I 3/7.

(204) D. Stroud, Capability Brown, Faber and Faber, London 1975, pp. 85-86.

(205) Cornelius Johnson 's The Capel Family c.1639 in The National Portrait Gallery, London has a similar plain garden of grass in the background but the outlines of the grass areas are more elaborate.

(206) The Essayes or Counsels Civill and Morall of Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, 1597, Revised 1601, transcribed as an e-text By J. Boss, University of Oregon, 1988, p.69.

(207) This group of plans was referred constantly an entry in 1709 reads " To making ye 4 quarters according to Mr. London's first plans, £230." Colen Campbell's plan of the gardens was printed in Vitruvius Britannicus, vol. III, London 1725, plate 64.

(208) First Viscount 275: 11.06.1683; 07.06.1684 and 06.09.1684 and 25.03.1685. The reference numbers for each voucher are the of date each one.

(209) The garden plans at Longleat are catalogued as First Viscount; 2751/1/1685, i-xii, and are all undated but given on the cover the approximate date 1685. From other documents such as the (First Viscount 275: 11/12/1683) contract to Heywood in 1683 for leveling the ground by the canal, which appears to have been underway by 1684 (Thynne

Papers XII, f.39r), it would appear that the plans for this garden, which is the Great garden on the east, must date to 1882/3. The digging plan for leveling the south or Courtyard garden was apportioned and carried out in 1685. This particular plan and others torn into sections are kept in a separate folio at Longleat but also labeled First Viscount 275: 1/1/1685.

(210) This partnership was formed about 1681 in the opinion of Gladys Scott Thompson (Life in Noble Household, Gladys Scott Thompson Jonathan Cape 1937 p242), who examined the records at Woburn with regard to the career of Mr. Field. Stephen Switzer p.75 in A Nobleman, Gentleman and Gardener's Recreation 1718, gives a general description of the beginning of the partnership and writes that Longleat was one of their first commissions, which the four gardeners tackled by each one going to Longleat for a month at a time. How this was possible, considering their other employment, he does not say nor is Switzer completely reliable, since he did not participate in these events and appears to have joined the Brompton firm after 1700. For instance he has Mr. Field working as gardener at Bedford House in London when Gladys Scott Thompson's researches in the Woburn archives place him firmly at Woburn where he died in 1697. The gardener at Bedford House was called Gilbank, Ibid. pp. 247 ,259.

(211) Whereas George London is associated with Longleat until his death in 1714 and frequently visits. Indeed by 1694 he was overseeing Longleat by the year at a salary of £300. (First Viscount 275: 9/06/1694) The presence of other three is less easy to find in the vouchers and accounts. Mr. Looker or Lucre, (presumably gardener to the Queen Dowager, Catherine of Braganza from 1685, a year after he is traced in the Longleat accounts, and not to Henrietta Maria who died in 1669. No mentions of him surface in the Calendars of Treasury Books of other calendars of state papers) appears twice amongst the vouchers at Longleat (First Viscount 275: 03.03 .1684 and 03.31.1684) each time sending receipt a bill for plants supplied to Longleat, mainly flowers and asparagus. These could be things he supplied from Somerset House to Longleat, a business, which was part of a head gardener's allowable perks. John Rose at St. James Palace sold his vines as a sideline and advertises this trade in his book, The English Vineyard Vindicated London 1666, 1675. John Field receipted a bill for 600 flowerpots bought from Will Small of Deaverill Longbridge in April 1684 (First Viscount 275, 21.04.1684(?)) This is

Longbridge Deverill, close to Longleat and this receipt suggests Mr. Field was at Longleat at the time. Moses Cook presents a bill for attendance at Longleat, also in April 1684. (First Viscount 275:20.04.1684)

(212) The first bill from Henry Wise is dated 22nd Sept 1687 (First Viscount 275, 22.9.1687) Stephen Switzer has Field and Lucre dying apparently at the same time and Field died in March 1687 (Life in A Noble Household, p.259.) and Moses Cook selling his share, seemingly to Henry Wise, p.78.

(213) The Thynne Papers, Vol. XXIII f.302, 1687 and vol. XXIV dated Sep. 1st 1688.

(214) One of the last reworkings of the formal gardens on the east and south of the house was by Russel Page, when the house and grounds were opened to the public, after the last war. He reused plantings of the late 19th century, when the formal gardens were reinstated but replanted box parterres, see The Education of a Gardener, Harvill, London, 1994 and the plates between pages 20 and 21 and p.119. The result can confuse the observer, because what are obviously younger box edgings surround enormous umbrella shaped *Viburnum tinus* and pyramid shaped yews, a very typical late 17th century planting device and for one minute you think you are looking at original plants, before remembering that Viburnums do not live for three hundred years and both Brown and later Repton (in 1804) have worked on this garden and neither of them used this type of planting. However the size of these Viburnums is impressive and underlines the truth that none of the gardens Knyff drew could have survived in to this century without periodic radical replanting of all the shaped trees, including yews, and all the box work.

(215) First Viscount 275: 1/1/1685, i-xii plan ii. The best I have been able to do to reproduce this plan is to make a drawing from it, because the policy in the Longleat archives is against any other sort of copying including photography and tracing over acetate, which many archives allow. The original is much bigger, but this is in proportion with it, although reduced to a manageable size. I have had to reconstruct all the other Longleat plans from similar notes.

(216) This plan was published in Vitruvius Britannicus Vol. III, 1745, plate 64. The plate here is a tracing made from a copy in the Bodleian Oxford.

(217) First Viscount 275: 11.06.1683.

(218) First Viscount 275: 07.06.1684.

- (219) First Viscount 275: 06.09.1684.
- (220) The Thynne Papers Vol. XII, f39r.
- (221) First Viscount 275: 25.03.1685.
- (222) First Viscount 275 /1/1/1685 is a folio of ten plans, which are the digging plans for various parts of the Garden has ten pieces of torn plan in it. Each piece being assigned to one digging gang by the name of its gaffer and signed off when finished by George London. The sections are not necessarily contiguous and only one of them has a date on it. Fortunately this is a whole plan representing the southern entrance courtyard divided into an outward court and a base court.
- (223) First Viscount 275: 01.04.1687.
- (224) First Viscount 275: 26.01.1693.
- (225) First Viscount 275: 19.08.1694.
- (226) First Viscount 275: 01.09.1711.
- (227) First Viscount 275: 07.07. 1687. Occasionally flowerpots like this survive in old gardens, Canons Ashby in Northamptonshire has a few but the best collection are to be found on the terrace at Hill, a small manor house near Berkley, Gloucestershire. This house is discussed in chapter 5, which concerns Volume II of Britannia Illustrata. The house at Hill was rebuilt in the 19th century but the gardens retain their old form of terraces surrounding a sunken area and on the terraces area is a large set of pots carved with the family's arms impaling those acquired by marriage.
- (228) The Gardens of Versailles, Pierre-André Lablaude, Zwemmer, London, 1995, p.63.
- (229) Thynne Papers: vol. XXV, f.334, St. James ye 27th June 1704.
- (230) Thynne Papers: vol. XXII, f.346, May 24th 1686.
- (231) First Viscount 275: 13.09.1709.
- (232) First Viscount 275: 19.01.1709.
- (233) First Viscount 275: 14.11.1710.
- (234) First Viscount 275:08.09.1712.
- (235) Jaques Boyceau's Traité du Jardinage, was printed in 1638, and contains a selection of patterns for various types of garden at the end. Leonard Meager in The English Gardener, London 1670, prints a similar design as plate 24, entitled " For Wilderness Work."

- (236) Items 2 and 6 in the gardener, Phillip Davies's contract provides the dimensions of this area, First Viscount 275: 01.09.1711.
- (237) First Viscount 275: 19.11.1684 and 22.09.1687.
- (238) First Viscount 275:31.03.1684 and 05.10.1685. For the interspersing of climbers and wall fruit see the sections on the subject in London and Wise's translation of The Complete Garden'r, 1699 and Evelyn's version of the same work, 1693.
- (239) Thomas Gardiner; schedule for work to be carried out in the coming year, First Viscount 275: 14.11.1710.
- (240) First Viscount 275: 05.10.1685 and 31.03.1684.
- (241) First Viscount 275: 31.03.1684.
- (242) In section 6, "dealing with the great division of gardening", as note 236 and item 2, as note 239.
- (243) Hugh Honor, Leonard Knyff, Burlington Magazine, vol. XCVI, 1954, p.337.
- (244) Francis Thompson, A History of Chatsworth, Country Life Publications 1949, plate 16.

CHAPTER FIVE

KIP'S GLOUCESTERSHIRE PRINTS

PRINTED ORIGINALLY AS ILLUSTRATIONS TO SIR ROBERT ATKYN'S
 ANCIENT AND PRESENT HISTORY OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE (1712),
 REPRINTED AS VOLUME II OF BRITANNIA ILLUSTRATA (1716).

This complete suite of prints was made as to illustrate Sir Robert Atkyns', Ancient and Present History of Gloucestershire (1712). The person to whom each plate was dedicated would have ordered the plate and paid for it, in addition to whatever sum he may have paid as a subscription, in advance of the publication of the History. It has been suggested that the choice of places, which were included, was a reflection of editorial policy, (1) when it was, instead, a much simpler matter of payment guaranteeing inclusion. There is no significance at all in the choice of views, which include new houses and landscapes like Dumbleton and Dyrham and small unpretentious ancient manor houses like Hull or Leckhamton. The artist in this case was Johannes Kip, who engraved the plates that Knyff had drawn for volume I of Britannia Illustrata and may have begun to work on this series somewhere between the publication of Britannia Illustrata in March 1708/9 and the end of 1711.

Atkyns' book forms part of resurgence in the writing of county histories, which followed the Restoration of 1660 and which was given its impetus by the publication of Sir William Dugdale's (1605-1686) Antiquities of Warwickshire in 1656. (2) Sir Robert Atkyn's work belongs to the next wave of county histories, alongside Dr. Ralph Thorton's Antiquities of Nottingham, (1677), Dr Robert Plot's, The Natural History of Oxfordshire, (1677), and The Natural History of Staffordshire (1686). Both of which latter works combined the innovation of observations on the natural history of the county alongside the more usual antiquarian and genealogical considerations. Other contemporary county histories such as Sir Henry Chauncey's history of Hertfordshire, The Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire, (1700), and Dr John Harris's, History of Kent (1719), which come before and after Atkyn's book are modelled, like his book, more closely on Dugdale's work.

What singles this book out from the others is the number of illustrations it contains of houses. Most of which are of smaller houses, belonging to the ancient Gloucestershire gentry like the Duttons of Sherbourne (3) or to newer men like Sir

Robert Atkyns and his father, (4) who had made successful careers as lawyers in London, or to businessmen such Richard Daws of Bradley Court, Wotton, who had recently retired from the cloth trade “because he knew he had enough”, (5) and had thus achieved gentry status. There are fewer plates of great houses belonging to the nobility than in Volume I. Although Badminton, the house of the 2nd Duke of Beaufort appears again and there is a plate Dyrham Park, the creation of William Blathwayt, Secretary-at-War to King William III, a rich and important government official. In total there are 61 bird’s-eye illustrations in Atkyns compared to 27 in Chauncey and 30 in Harris’s History of Kent. Later editions of Dugdale contain some bird’s-eye views of houses, for instance in a subsequent edition, there is a plate by Henry Beighton dated 1728 of Blythe Hall, Sir William Dugdale’s own house. There are some plates in Thoroton’s history and 19 plates Dr. Plot’s book on Staffordshire, but in neither of these are the majority of views taken from an overhead viewpoint. (6) The plates by Kip form an exceedingly valuable overview (literally) of an unusually large group of houses and gardens, mostly smaller manor houses, drawn in the years 1708-1711(7) and it is easy to see why they were lifted wholesale, virtually in the same order, to form volume II of Britannia Illustrata in 1716. (8)

The order in which the prints are reproduced at the end of the thesis follows Britannia Illustrata Volume II but using a 1724 copy in the Bodleian Library as the earliest available one. (Figure 68) There are 70 plates in this copy. Badminton has been omitted presumably because the Kip plate, which is not the same as that in Knyff’s set of three views is, nevertheless, not sufficiently different to justify printing a view of Badminton again. The views of the towns of Gloucester and Cirencester have also been omitted. Eight prints by other print makers are included to make up the numbers and vary slightly from copy to copy. This copy includes prints by John Harris of Shobden Court, Herefordshire: prints of Sundridge, Beachborough and Tragpol in Kent by T. Badeslade: of Tenham in Kent by John Collins, as well as anonymous prints of Ashurst, Sedburgh School and Cocken. The rest are by Kip.

Kip’s Gloucestershire views differ from those of Knyff in Volume I. In Knyff’s suite of prints the houses were owned by a more aristocratic and wealthier stratum of society and have subsequently often undergone a more substantial and continuous change to both house and landscape. The views made by Kip are of a geographically integral group of much smaller houses than those featured in Knyff’s views, with a few notable exceptions like Badminton, Dyrham and Berkeley Castle,

and it is worthwhile to discuss them as a group. One of the most surprising aspects of this group is how many quickly many of these houses became ruins or were demoted to farmhouses. Many house were lost or degraded, not in the period following the First World War, but in the years between the publication of Atkyns' History and the period when the research was done for Rudder and Bigland's books, some 50 or 60 years later.

Alveston, Cassey Compton and Didmarton were quickly demoted to farmhouses. Or Alveston, Ralph Bigland, who compiled a continuation of Atkyns, wrote that there were, near the church, " the remains of a large and handsome house; the rooms lofty and spacious commanding an extensive prospect... A farmer inhabits the house" (9) The Kip print of this house includes a wing, which appears to have been built in the 1680s or even later so Alveston was not an outmoded house. Cassey Compton, a newly built house when Atkyns wrote, belonged to Sir Richard Howe in 1712. When his successor became Viscount Chedworth he left Cassey Compton for the much older Stowell Park, possibly because of its position on the Cirencester to Northleach road. By 1740 the new house was partially demolished, loosing its west wing and frontispiece and was used as a farmhouse, which it still is. (10) Didmarton which had come to the Codrington family by marriage in the reign of Elizabeth I was given up in favour of Doddington in the mid 18th century and by the end of the century it had .." gone out of the family and there is only one wing and part of the front left standing. (11)

Easington, which had belonged to the Stevens family since the reign of Elizabeth I (12) was abandoned by them for Chavenage. In the mid 18th Century, Rudder, in The Continuation of the History of Gloucester (1791) wrote that, "The handsome house near the church is going to ruin and has for many years been used as a farmhouse," (13) and his contemporary Bigland adds " it was remarkably spacious, and in the best style of the day, with a front of very curious and expensive masonry. It was levelled with the ground in 1778, and the materials disposed and sold."(14) Kempsford was also levelled in the late 18th century after having been abandoned by Viscount Weymouth in favour of Longleat. (15) Hatherop, a house, which had once belonged to Laycock Abbey and so to Sir John Sharrington, nearly suffered the same fate. It was owned subsequently by the Bloomers and went from them by descent to distant relatives, the Webbs. Mid century the house was falling down because, "Sir John Webb has a noble old house here but by not making it his constant residence, tis

too much neglected and the offices and gardens are falling to ruin.”(16) Bigland writes slightly later, “As it had long ceased to be the residence of the Webb family, it is much dilapidated and wears an appearance of decay.” (17) This house escaped destruction and was remodelled by Henry Clutton in 1850-6 after a fire in 1848. (18)

Hatherop’s history underlines another reason for the loss or downgrading of a house, which was that it was inherited by people, who had no reason to live in it. Sir Robert Atkyn’s house when he died in 1712 was left to his three daughters who were already married. They sold Sapperton to Alan Bathurst, who had recently inherited Cirencester Park and from 1714 onwards he began a lifelong programme of extending his park, outdoing nearby Badminton with the length and number of the avenues he planted. The Park of Saperton became a plantation in this vast park, and figures as such on the O.S. map of 1884. Alan Bathurst took down the house and used the stone to build Alfred’s Bower, a pseudo-mediaeval feature in the park, in 1721-32. Rudder lamented the loss of this house as the greatest ornament of the village of Saperton. (19) Parts of its Jacobean panelling and staircase balusters have been reused in the parish church and its site can be traced in the nearby field.

Similarly Dumbleton, built by Sir Richard Cocks, who was created a baronet in 1661, and was finished on October 22nd 1699, (20) passed in 1765 to a nephew Captain Cocks, when the last baronet died. (Figures 69, 70, 71) Within a very short time the house and gardens, which had been very elaborate, began to decline and the house was taken down and refitted as a farm. (21) The present Dumbleton Hall built by George Stanley Repton in 1830 stands on a different site. (22) Hardwicke Hall had (Figures 92,93) become a farmhouse by the late 18th century, as had Coberley. (23)

This saga of houses being partly torn down and demoted to farmhouses, falling into ruins or pulled down for their materials, when they were no longer desirable to their owners, affects the quality of the evidence for the Gloucestershire group. Lost houses like Dumbleton and Saperton have left visible remains under the grass. In the case of Dumbleton there are traces of a readily identifiable garden feature. Where a house has been made into a farmhouse, like Cassey Compton, not only has no one bothered to spend money on altering the building as fashions in architecture have changed, because it was too humble, but also the landscape has sometimes been fossilized under the ground. This is quite different to the history of so many of the larger house in Volume I, where continuous change to both house and landscape have so altered them that few tangible remains of the “Knyffian” landscape

can now be distinguished, (Combe Abbey, Longleat, Eaton Hall, Chatsworth) but there are detailed and relevant archives to balance this physical loss. Fieldwork is very much more useful in regard to these Gloucestershire sites and more site visiting has been done than for the Knyff series, mostly in 1999 and 2000. The sites visited are marked on the map at the start of this chapter. (Figure 72) There has also been a much greater use of maps as comparisons, not only the 25 inch 1882-5 Ordnance Survey of the county, but also the rich collection of estate maps in the Gloucester Record Office. The discussion and assessment of several sites in this chapter relies on a combination of these two elements. Unlike the Knyff series, there is much less archival material such as bills, letters or accounts notwithstanding that Dyrham has an exceptionally copious archive.

However, looking for physical remnants of the Kip prints can be quite confusing and lead to misapprehensions and mistakes. Ampney Crucis is just such a confusing place (Figures 73 and 74) where, although the landscape has undergone many changes since the house was drawn by Kip for its last Pleydell owner, Robert Pleydell (d.1727), there seems to be a coincidence of sight lines and an survival of the original divisions of the garden. The 1884 Ordnance Survey of Ampney Crucis includes a detailed view of the landscape surrounding the manor house and from this it is apparent that in 1884 there were no similarities between Kip's view and the 19th Century gardens. The present gardens have probably been remade with the idea of imitating the Kip layout. When a visit to Bradley Court, near Wooton-under-Edge, was made in 1998, its then owners were consciously redesigning the garden in imitation of the garden in the Kip print. Another garden in the Gloucester series of prints has been remade using the Knyff print as a model. The National Trust's restoration of Westbury-on-Severn has followed the Kip print with the difficulty that the whole site has been divided and half of it built over. The half that remains, although it contains the canal and garden house, is not the site of the Great Garden. That has now been built over, but of the Kitchen garden. The restoration, if that is the right word in this case, has included those elements from the print, which make the present, attenuated, garden more interesting to the visitor, despite having to move them from their original places.

The same general criticisms attach themselves to Kip's prints as have been often applied to Knyff's topographical views touching the reliability of the view offered to the spectator. This common theme is not surprising considering the

professional links between the two men, the similarity of their methods and style and that, they were both trained in the same tradition. (24) There is, unfortunately, no information about Kip's journey or more likely journeys to Gloucestershire, for he must have needed more than one, to elucidate the process of composition. The prints all show the trees in leaf and the countryside in growth and he may have made his journeys in the best part of the year, between April and September/October, when the roads were passable for a man on horseback. Each preliminary drawing, which may well have required some measuring or surveying, was probably made in consultation with the owner of the house. The owner would have very likely have had to approve the drawing before a plate was engraved from it, itself not a quick process. None of the drawings from which the plates were engraved remain, although it has been suggested that a drawing (Figure 75) hanging in the lobby of the Greenway Hotel, Shurdington, Cheltenham, the house belonging in 1712 to Dulcibella, the widow of Sir Thomas Laurence, might be such a drawing. (25) Unfortunately, a legend in the bottom left hand corner makes it plain that this drawing was copied from the print, not the other way round, the style is 19th century and the writing not at all like Kip's legend on the bottom of each plate.

There is neither correspondence nor receipts to give dates to any of the views, other than they must have been completed before the posthumous publication Atkyns' book in 1712. By comparing details of the pedigrees compiled by Atkyns and the dedications under the print some dates can be reasonably surmised. He seems to have made the Fairford view in 1708, the last year that Samuel Barker, to whom the print is dedicated, was alive. From 1708 onwards the house went to his daughter, a Mrs. Lambe of Hackney, who lived till 1789. (26) The drawing for the print of Swell, a manor house, which belonged to Sir Robert Atkyns, could not have been made before 1709, which is the year Sir Robert inherited the property from his father and not after November 1711, when he died, since the print is dedicated to him (27). The house at Shipton Moyne belonged according to Atkyn's text to Thomas Hodges, but the print is dedicated to his widow and his memorial in the parish church records his death 1708. This places Kip's visit to Shipton Moyne between 1709 and 1711(28) From these indications it seems that, at the least, Kip travelled in Gloucestershire in 1708 and 1709.

However, although he worked on the spot to make his drawings, the results have not enjoyed a reputation as reliable visual documents. To illustrate the somewhat equivocal view of Kip's work the views of two distinguished modern historians of the country house may be informative. Thus John Kenworthy-Browne wrote about Dyrham: (29) "In Kip's view, although the perspective is misleading, the extent of Blathwayt's improvements is clearly shown. One should usually read Kip's drawings with caution, but in this case he seems, if anything, to have understood the garden." Similarly in an article in Country Life on Westbury-on-Severn: (30) "Kip never had a reputation for accuracy and his engravings can be misleading if read too literally but, nevertheless many of the details they show can be supported by documentary and other evidence." Yet Gervase Jackson-Stops writing in 1975, about Westbury-on-Severn took an much more optimistic view of Kip as a recorder of landscapes; "Kip's engraving shows this garden soon after its completion. Its accuracy has been questioned in the past, but practically every detail shown is confirmed by entries in Maynard Colchester's personal account book, from 1696 to 1705". Maynard Colchester's pocket book, which is the only document for Westbury, does not actually mention every major feature of the Kip print, but is found to be convincing, whereas the details of the Dyrham print are supported by a copious archive in the Gloucester Record Office and are nonetheless regarded with distrust. Largely it seems because Kip, in the Dyrham print, has tilted the background towards the viewer to enable the whole garden to be viewed.

Part of the reason why Kip's prints have attracted a reputation for inaccuracy and poor representation in terms of perspective may be in consequence of the opinions of the two men who wrote continuations of Atkyns; Samuel Rudder (1726-1801), son of a pig killer turned Cirencester bookseller under the patronage of Earl Bathurst of Cirencester Park and Ralph Bigland (1711-1784), a cheese merchant who eventually became Garter King of Arms, careers which embody breathtaking social mobility. (31) Both men wrote with the intention of updating Atkyns' History, to which they both frequently refer and whose format they follow in describing parishes in alphabetical order. Rudder's book was underwritten by subscriptions, but nonetheless took so long to produce that he was obliged to place advertisements in the Gloucester Journal to mollify his impatient customers. (32) His New History of Gloucestershire was eventually published in 1779, but was written in the middle of the 18th Century. It was intended to be, like its model, an illustrated work, with plates

of houses being paid for by their owners. The artist, who made these plates, was J. Bonner, who came from Gloucestershire. There were, unfortunately, only ten plates of houses commissioned, all taken from a conventional viewpoint and dated 1770. Seven of these are of houses and gardens previously drawn by Kip. Rudder had been offered Kip's plates by the London bookseller, William Herbert, who seems to have acquired them around 1740. (33) Rudder decided not to use Kip's plates because they were, by then hopelessly, out of date both with regard to the style of gardens and the state of the houses they showed, many of which had been pulled down and many others radically altered, by the time he was writing. (34)

Ralph Bigland's book, also the result of researches conducted about the same time as those of Rudder, was published posthumously in 1791. (35) The original research was done contemporaneously with Rudder's and produced a similar work on the county, because it too hearkened back to Atkyns, but with a greater emphasis on monumental inscriptions. Bigland had intended a straight updating of Atkyns but, having been pipped at the post by Rudder, was forced to alter the emphasis of his book. (36) Just as the advantage of Rudder's new version had been had been lost to the republishing of Atkyn's, with all the Kip plates, by William Herbert in 1768, so Rudder's work made Bigland think again about the nature of his book which changed to concentrate more on monumental inscriptions. However, like Atkyns, both books mention, sometimes with a brief description and some historical information, the chief house or houses of the place they are describing.

The reliability of much of the information contained in these three books concerning distant historical events, derivations of place names and imaginative, august, ancestries may be flawed. Information about recent events was often collected by going to see the places concerned and asking their owners pertinent questions about whether they, or their father, built the new house, information which could reasonably be expected to be accurate. And so they are useful for tracing the sequence of replacing the old house with a new one, for following the downgrading of once fine houses to farmhouses as fashion changed, or the gradual abandoning and disintegration of others. In modelling themselves on Atkyns, both authors had to take some notice of Kip, whose work figured so prominently in the earlier book. Bigland refers to Kip more frequently than Rudder, who does so only once but in terms, which cast serious doubts about Kip as a truthful recorder. Because of this, Rudder's view of

Kip will be discussed after Bigland's comments about his work. Although Bigland's references to Kip are more numerous, they present fewer problems.

To begin with, here follows Bigland's opinion of Kip's view of Barrington Court, which had been rebuilt circa 1757 on a site near that of the old house, which was retained, but subsequently more or less totally destroyed by fire, except for the stables. The surrounding landscape had also been modernized and so drastically altered, possibly by William Kent (1685-1748) and that it would not have looked at all like Kip's print of c.1710. (37) Even the landform close to the house has been changed, with huge terrace walls being built by the River Windrush. Bigland might not even have seen the earlier house and its landscape, when he wrote, sometime in the middle of the 18th Century; "A Birds Eye view of the house and Domain, is preserved by Sir Robert Atkyns. The Delineations of Kip, unpicturesque as they are, and totally void of Perspective, are now valuable as exhibiting faithful Representations of many Capital residences, which in the course of but one century, are no more." (38) Therefore this assessment of Kip's work carries very little weight.

Bigland may, however, have seen Kempsford, a Jacobean house, which had belonged to the family of the First Viscount Weymouth, who had, understandably, preferred to live at Longleat, when he inherited it in 1682. (39) It was tenanted until 1767, when it was sold to Lord Coleraine, whose heirs left it uninhabited until it succumbed to progressive neglect. (40) It was levelled to the ground and the materials shipped down the Thames to be used in the construction of Buscot Park in 1779, (41) five years before Bigland's death. And so when Bigland writes of Buscot "Kip has engraven a plate of it more happily than some which appear in Sir Robert Atkyns History of this County,"(42) it would seem that the state of Kempsford Park at the time hardly allowed a true comparison to be made between one Kip view and another, and it is difficult to imagine that any of the garden landscape, which was no more than a small enclosed formal garden with a terrace and garden house parallel to the Thames, was left.

Yet, when he describes Hailes Abbey (43), he writes, "The greater part of the Buildings as described by Kip and Buck became totally a ruin by 1760", he makes no comment in this case on the accuracy of Kip's work. When Bigland condemns the view of Barrington Court and commends that of Kempsford, it does not seem that this comparison was based on any real knowledge of the two houses, as Kip drew them.

This seems to be true also of descriptions of the gardens he mentions specifically. Of Badminton he wrote, “The Gardens and Pleasure Grounds, as delineated by Kip, in the view, engraved in Sir Robert Atkyns History of this County, abounded with “Topiary Works” green statuary, and labyrinths of Yew Trees; but these have long since yielded to the Refinements of the modern Art of Gardening.” (44) He was looking at the Atkyns print, when he wrote and may never have seen the Badminton gardens as they were drawn by Kip, and of course Knyff before him, with the memorial series of c.1702, (45) for it appears that William Kent began to organize vast changes in the Badminton Landscape around 1745, some of which were incorporated into a view by Canaletto in 1748. (46). Bigland’s description of Dyrham Park is unusually lengthy, if fanciful, assigning its design to André le Nostre; “A Delineation is published in Kip with more than his usual Fidelity. His Delineation is the more valuable as exhibiting a Bird’s Eye View of the Pleasure Grounds, now reconciled to modern Taste, which were designed by Le Nautre. And were the first specimens in that Day of Cascades and Jets d’Eau carried to the very summit of the Hill. Every caprice of the Dutch Style, which could be effected by Art, abounded at Dyrham where such Ornaments were so numerous and sumptuous as to defy both expense and imitation.”(47) Since the gardens at Dyrham, albeit in a decayed state, are thought to have survived unaltered until 1779, these are gardens, which Bigland may have actually seen in a state somewhat like the Kip view. (48)

Bigland does not comment on every Kip print, particularly those houses whose names come at the end of the alphabet and so appear in the last two, posthumous, volumes of his book. His more usual comments tend to be laconic such as that concerning Kip’s view of Sneed Park, Westbury-upon-Trim is described as “stiff but quaintly laid out.”(49) Furthermore, although the antiquarian Bigland could not neglect the landscapes in Kip’s work, he did not like them. The gardens in the prints were far from appealing to his taste, as he made clear when referring to Badminton’s gardens as “yielding to the Refinements of the Modern Art of Gardening” and Dyrham as being “reconciled to the Modern taste”(50) He favoured the picturesque, a term he uses to describe Flaxley Abbey, (51) and did not admire formal gardens at all. Bigland’s description of Fairford, in which he tries to be fair to past taste whilst making his preferences clear sums up his attitude to formal gardens: “The Pleasure Grounds were long and deservedly admired, when in that style of embellishment which distinguished the last century. From the Modern Art of

Gardening, very judiciously employed they have gained additional beauty. The River widened a great Distance with its extremities concealed, gives an Air to the Landscape which a Situation of fewer natural Advantages could scarcely command. The Plantations and Walks are so disposed as to produce that just Combination of Nature and Art by which alone Scenes of real Taste are made complete.” (52) The diarist and traveller, Lord Torrington, (53) records in 1787 that William Eames, who worked for Capability Brown (54) had designed these changes, which Lord Torrington, in contrast to Bigland, did not consider to be in the best of taste.

Bigland must have owned an Atkyn's, which seems a reasonable assumption to make from his frequent specific references to Atkyns and his intention to update The Ancient and Present History in writing his book. He regards Kip's work as having an antiquarian interest, as the entry for Barrington Court makes clear, but his principal use of the Kip prints was as a comparison with other printed sources. (55) Although he may have seen the remains of Dyrham, generally the gardens that Kip drew were no longer accessible to him and his views of the accuracy Kip's work are not, therefore, themselves very reliable, though they may have influenced later and even modern opinions.

Samuel Rudder in his 1779 A New History of Gloucestershire, does more than criticise the artistic worth of Kip's work as Bigland does, he actively condemns it as being inaccurate. (56) When Rudder wrote his section on Sherbourne, (57) Sir James Dutton, who had died in 1761, had rebuilt the stables and coach house, shortly before his death. (58) His successor, Sir John Dutton, informed Rudder, that he intended to rebuild the house itself, but the house was not rebuilt until 1829-1834 (59) by Lewis Wyatt. Wyatt employed a style, which appears to have copied the original closely and which was described by Rudder in his entry on Sherbourne as “ Very much of the Style of the Public Schools at Oxford.”(60) The new house bears a very close likeness to the original house as it was enlarged by Valentine Strong in 1651-53 (61) (Figure 76) but with shorter forward pointing wings.

Rudder's judgement of the print is thus “... of this seat, Sir Robert Atkyns has given a plate in his Ancient and Present State of Gloster, but it is not a true representation. On one side of the west quadrangle does not appear in the engraving, tho' the house is exactly as it now stands when the work was published. And besides, the pallisadoes, gardens, and other decorations in the plate, are all imaginary and never had existence”. (62) This would seem to be an unequivocal condemnation of

Kip's work by a near contemporary and much more serious a denigration than any thing Bigland wrote. However Rudder described Sherbourne some 50 years after Kip made his view, by which time, even if the house had not been altered, one would expect the gardens to have yielded to the new ideas on landscape which Bigland mentions.

It seems that Rudder's remarks about the gardens were made without his being aware that the gardens were substantially altered between 1723 and 1730, by Sir John Dutton, who had inherited in 1721, but who seems to have been managing the estate since 1709. (63) These new gardens included terracing, building walls and the making of a green house and new kitchen gardens and were probably formal, as the purchase of 88 hedge yews and 18 pyramid yews in 1723 and the making of a walled flower garden with a garden house suggest. (64) They also seem to have been lavish. (65)

Furthermore there were changes to the garden landscape at Sherbourne in 1709-1710, with levelling in the old garden. (66) If this levelling was the start of the redevelopment of 1721-30 then there seems to have been a very long and unexplained hiatus between 1710 and 1721, for there are no mentions of the gardens in the accounts in the intervening period. However the clue about what may have happened in 1709-10 is contained in the Kip engraving made for Sir Ralph Dutton, which contains some features, which are contemporary in an otherwise old fashioned landscape. (Figure 76) There is a bowling green on the northern boundary of the enclosure round the house and before the outer courtyard, two squares of grass, surrounded by a narrow bed containing round headed standard shrubs and pyramid evergreens, a typical planting style of time, derived from French examples, but in this country, probably copied from the royal garden at St. James. Between the outer and inner courtyards (67) is another small garden composed of four small grass oblongs surrounded by a similar planting of evergreen and deciduous shrubs. The aim of the levelling of 1709-10 in "ye old garden" was the interpolation of these small formal plantings. The inclusion of the new gardens in the print makes Kip's view very persuasive and incidentally allows the supposition that he made his view in 1711. (Figure 77)

Rudder's critique of the accuracy of the view of the house is very difficult to follow. He describes the western quadrangle, which is the one nearest the viewer, parallel with the western end of the church, as missing a side. He also writes, that "there is a large good entrance to the court through the gateway in the west

quadrangle.” One statement appears to contradict the other and, although, he asserts that the designer was Inigo Jones, (68) this is, as usual, without foundation. Sherbourne as Kip drew it was acquired from the Abbey of Winchcombe at the time of the Dissolution by Thomas Dutton in 1551. He rebuilt it possibly in the first decades of the 17th century and being a friend of Sir William Sharrington chose to rebuild his property in a classical and regular manner. (69) It resembles other Gloucestershire houses such as Siston, Estcourt Park, Toddington, as well as Holmby, the Hatton palace in Northamptonshire, in configuration, having two forward pointing wings enclosed by a base court and great court. However the date when Sherbourne assumed the aspect it has in Kip’s view is not certain. Valentine Strong worked at Sherbourne in 1651-3 and the biography of his family, printed in Clutterbuck’s History of Hertfordshire, includes the information that Valentine Strong enlarged the house between 1651 and 1653 by adding the wings. (70) It seems that the house was built in two principal stages, one late in the 16th Century and one in the middle of the 17th Century.

There is an undoubted discrepancy between Kip’s view of the house and its present day aspect, which is that Kip has drawn the wings as having five bays and the present house has smaller wings, articulated slightly differently. (Figure76). It is therefore necessary to discuss the history of the house itself, as an adjunct to the garden, as has happened in the last chapter. Could this be what Rudder was driving at when he wrote that the western courtyard was wrongly represented? Unfortunately it has always been thought that Lewis Wyatt had completely rebuilt the house beginning in 1831 and finishing in 1834. However, an examination of the correspondence between Wyatt and his patron, the First Baron Sherbourne (71) suggests that rather than rebuilding Sherbourne, he repaired and altered the existing building. His relationship with Lord Sherbourne broke down when dry rot was discovered in the building shortly before Wyatt’s work was due to finish in 1834 (72) and this suggests most strongly that Wyatt’s work was to repair and modernize the existing building, in the course of which the wings were removed.

None of Wyatt’s drawings or plans for Sherbourne remains amongst the Sherbourne Papers and hardly any maps of the estate, but there is just one map made in c.1800 (73) The centre section, which includes the house, church and stables

(Figure 78) shows the wings as being longer than they now are, post Wyatt, as does a 19th century watercolour, undated, reproduced originally in *Country Life* By Dr. Marc Girouard. (Figures 76 and 78) Kip's drawing of the house is not, it seems, drastically wrong.

The views of the two successors to Atkyns, Bigland and Rudder, both of whom are still considered important by historians of Gloucestershire and influence their work, (75) do not appear to be justified. Their disapproval has cast a long shadow over the assumptions that later writers make about Kip's prints and goes to explain the dubious reputation of his representations. As with the work of Knyff, a more justified opinion, requires the scrutiny of several sites and the evidence associated with them, from which it might be possible to form a more informed view of Kip as a source. The first group of sites chosen are those where remnants of the eighteenth century landscape can still be seen, but the documentary evidence is very poor. These are Cassey Compton, Dumbleton and Leckhampton. Then Fairford is discussed, where there is no site evidence of any worth, but there is just one exceedingly important map. Next come sites where there are anomalies to explain, Hailes Abbey, Westbury-on-Severn and Tortworth. Lastly the few sites for which there are documentary sources as well as maps and also tangible remains on the site. These are Dyrham and Westbury-on-Severn again. As with the houses discussed in relation to Knyff's views, there is little choice about which houses and landscapes to examine closely. The choice is made by where there is evidence of any sort extant.

Cassey Compton (Plate 35): Cassey Compton is Little Compton on Kip's print, Compton Abdale in Atkyn's text, (76) to which a site visit was made in 1999. It belonged in 1711 to Sir Richard Howe, whose grandfather, John, inherited the estate from Richard Grubham and was made a baronet in 1672. John Howe may have built the house in the print or rather have refashioned an older house, in the 1680s, so that it was truly as Atkyns wrote, " a large new built House with delightful gardens and a pleasant river running through them and an agreeable prospect on a large wood and a pleasant park of great extent." (77) (Figure 81) Kip's patron was the last baronet and on his death in 1730 his nephew John Howe, who owned nearby Stowell Park, inherited the Cassey Compton house. He preferred Stowell, an older house, to the newer but remoter, Cassey. The result was that Cassey Compton was made into a

farmhouse, which meant that large portions were taken down to fit it for its new use. It was used as a farmhouse until 1907 at least. Norman Jewson, the Arts and Crafts architect, visited the area, by bicycle, in that year, and spoke to the farmer who inhabited one wing. The farmer informed Jewson that the then owner (the 3rd Earl of Eldon of Stowell Park) would not permit him to make careful drawings of the house and the stone piers with carved vases in the garden. (78) This is a loss, because from what he wrote, the house looked then much as it does now, when it is still owned by the owner of Stowell Park, by now Lord Vesty, and tenanted, but no longer just a farmhouse. There was an Art Gallery there in the last years of the 20th Century.

Kip's print shows a sophisticated garden in which the main front of the house faces southwest and had a canal lying horizontal to it, which is the River Colne made formal. Beyond the canal there was a grass parterre composed of six grass compartments and beyond that a *clairvoyée* framing a view of the Colne valley and the Chedworth forest. There is a raised bowling green on the western side of the parterre and a viewing terrace on the eastern side and beyond that a formal garden of grass cutwork parterres or *gazons coupées*. Behind the house there is another watercourse and a lateral terrace dividing the garden on the hillside beyond into flower garden and fruit garden. In order to include this garden Kip's view is not taken from the main front but from the entrance on the west where there is a turning circle for coaches and the stables. (Figure 79)

The main difference between the print and the present view is that the whole of the wing that faces the grass parterre and canal and that projects to make a U shape on the entrance front of the house has been demolished. Remembering the case of Combe Abbey in the last chapter, the first question is, has Kip drawn the house as being complete when it was never completed? The house is without this wing in the 1882-7 series of 1: 25000 Ordnance Survey maps, made some 170 years later, and there seems to be no other relevant documents, which are earlier. Looking at the surviving building (Figure 81 no.14, figure 80 no.3) the end of the block, which joined bays 4, 5 and 6 of the south facing principal front, is not ashlar, like the rest of the building but rough stone. This suggests making good, after the demolition of the south front, in a manner, which was appropriate for the new use of the house as a farmhouse. The position of the one stone mullioned window in the gable end also looks like a makeshift alteration when compared to the regularity of the bays in the

rest of the building. This window may have been inserted using one or the original sets of mullions and transoms.

But the stonework alone would not be sufficiently convincing were there not so many remnants of the gardens to be seen on this side of the house. The canal in which the river Colne runs is still in place, (Figure 82, 8) running horizontal to the vanished south facade. The platform, where the bowling green lay, can be seen beneath a barn and cow yard (Figure 81, 12) and also the viewing terrace opposite, although it is obscured by trees. (Figure 81, 10) Between the bowling green and the terrace, there is the flat plain of the old grass parterre, which once ended in a *clairvoyée*, a demi-lune of wall with a metal grill between two piers, through which the river valley and Chedworth Forest formed an extended view. This is not now quite as Kip saw it. The demi-lune and grill have gone, but the gate piers, with the vases of fruit on top, which Norman Jewson admired in 1907, are still there, although possibly repositioned. (Figure 81, 14)

Most unusually, the pyramid yews, which edged two sides of the bowling green and lined the terrace, are still growing in their original sites, albeit now, they are grown large and blowsy. Confirming the age of these trees is difficult, without felling them, but they are certainly old. Yews grow at very different rates depending on conditions and since all the observations were made from the roads surrounding the house and gardens, girthing was not possible. (79) These trees would have been planted when they had been already shaped into pyramids and were of a reasonable height, about a metre, to make a visual impact. Having probably been pot grown, their growth may have been initially retarded. There are signs of frequent pruning in the scars all down their trunks, which would have been necessary to keep the yews in shape. However they would not have been planted in the positions in which they stand had they not been planted originally to form the design in the print. There is no evidence from their unkempt appearance and the neglect of the site that they are the result a later attempt to replant the Kip garden.

On the eastern side of the house, where the largest part of the gardens lay, the curiously shaped walled enclosure, trapezoidal and running uphill, with the road running alongside it, is still plainly visible. In the print the River Colne goes under the road and divides, part flowing along the southern side of the house and part along the back of the house. Figure 80, 9 shows the stream dividing into two. This area of the garden is now grassland and has not been ploughed. This has allowed the terrace,

which divides this garden in two from north to south, to lie undisturbed beneath the turf. Figure 79, 1 is a photograph of this area, freshly mown. The stripes emphasize the line of the terrace. Lastly on this side of the house, Kip included a view of a distant star shaped wood. This configuration is not apparent now, but the 1884, 6 inches to the mile, Ordnance Survey includes the wood shaped into a star, as well clump to the north of it, and the name survives on the 1977 Landranger Ordnance Survey map, (80) attached to a block of woodland.

Moving round to the north side of the house, which included the outbuildings and offices, as well as the carriage entrance. Here there is a line of cottages at right angles to the stables with dormers above and mullioned windows under hood mouldings below which is easily recognized from the print. (Figure 80, 5) In the stable block, the large doors for hoisting up fodder, which faced the road, have gone, but the scar where they were remains and the pigeonholes are there. The doors and windows and dormers of this block on the entrance courtyard are in the relationship, one to another as Kip saw them. Although the windows have been made smaller, the outline of the former windows is seen in the stonework, with the top part of the transom surviving. (Figure 79, 4)

This leaves the aspect of the house as it faces west, now truncated with one arm of the u shape missing. The cupola has gone and four of the dormer windows. The front door has been moved and lost its pediment. There is no longer a paved and balustraded courtyard, separating the entrance to the house from the stable yard. The space for it was altered when the southwest wing was demolished. Yet the regular bays, three in the centre section and three in the northeast wing of the remaining house, are recognisable at once. So too are the mullions and transoms of the windows. Lastly and less readily quantifiable, if the print is taken to the site and compared with it, the eye knows at once that it is seeing, with the inevitable modifications and losses of time, what Kip saw in 1708/11, over and beyond the 14 points of agreement, already identified between the print and the place.

Cassey Compton is a sophisticated landscape if small. It is regular and individual spaces are divided up in a symmetrical fashion. Although the gardens have not lost the trapezoidal outer walls, which govern the internal arrangement, the landscape is more than a series of yards and the view from the principal façade reaches out through an iron grill into the surrounding countryside, connecting the house to a wider landscape. There is no information as to who designed or advised in

the making of the gardens, but whoever it was must have had connections with the capital and the latest gardening trends.

Dumbleton (Plate 19): The landscape at Dumbleton, also small, is yet more sophisticated than Cassey Compton. A canal surrounds the garden on three sides and so there are few walls or hedges dividing it from the surrounding park. Avenues, or walks of trees, lead from the immediate garden into the more distant green, asserting the owner's dominance and underlining his ownership of the whole parish. (Figure 69) One branch or another of the Cocks or Cox family, who were given a baronetcy by Charles II, had lived at Dumbleton since the early 17th Century, if not earlier. (81) The only thing known about the house in the print is, that it was built by Sir Richard Cocks and finished in October 1699, when he wrote a prayer to commemorate the event. (82) His grandson, another Sir Richard Cocks, owned the estate in 1712. After this Sir Richard's death in 1765, the house was demoted, according to Rudder, to a farmhouse and made serviceable. (83) As a farmhouse it seem to have lasted into the 19th Century because a sale map, dated 1822, shows Great House Farm lying close to the church and the sale particulars record a "Great House and fishponds and Bowling Green" lying close to the church as lot 87 and lot 88, within the boundary of lot 87, as the garden. (Figure 70) (84) At this date Earl Somers owned the estate and his main residence was at Eastnor Castle, Herefordshire, which was rebuilt by Robert Smirke between 1812-1820. (85) The rebuilding of Eastnor might have occasioned the sale of the Dumbleton Estate.

The estate was sold again in 1875 (86) and the lots illustrated by a survey made in 1851. On this map the great house next to the church has gone. The site is described as lot 11, a shrubbery and there is a new house designed by George Stanley Repton, in 1830, on the hill overlooking the park. (87) There were new stables built over the offices at the back of the old hall and a new kitchen garden where part of the gardens in Kip's print lay. This is no longer there. A carriage drive ran to the hall from the churchyard and there is a carriage circuit in the park. The new enlarged landscape has partly obscured the old one and, by 1882, the Ordnance Survey does not include features remaining from the landscape of 1699.

Finding any traces of the gardens from the 1712 view seems, with such a history, to be unlikely. However the 1822 map, although it is very small, seems to show part of the U shaped waterworks forming the boundary to the Great Garden, which were described as fishponds and were possibly remnants of even earlier ponds

from the time the manor was in monastic hands. There is also a fragment of the long canal on the south side of the garden. Fortunately there are traces on the ground, just as there were at Cassey Compton, of the terraces and ponds in the most formal section of the garden, on the west of the house, for enquirer to find. The remains of the two terraces on the north and south of the garden, the distinctive D shaped fountain basin, cut into a slope at the bottom of a double terrace, at the western end of the garden, and the platform behind the basin can be very clearly seen. (Figures 69 and 71) Although this is only a fragment of the garden, it is its most distinctive feature. There are also traces of the canal running north /south on the boundary of the Great Garden and of the deeper pond below the southern terrace.

It was possible to conduct a rough test to see if the general proportions of the remains and those in the print agree. The only feature common to the print and the present day landscape is the church. The south face of the tower, in the print, appears to be horizontal to the viewer. Measuring this face of the tower from buttress to buttress comes to 20.5 feet. (88) The southern terrace, whose visible traces have already been described, is also horizontal to the viewer. It was measured on site as being approximately 100 feet long. Using a pair of dividers on the print the width of the tower went five times into the length of the terrace. From this comparison it appears that Kip has not exaggerated the dimensions of the garden to make it appear more impressive but more measurements would be helpful. The little evidence there is for Dumbleton does seem to be persuasive, but like Cassey Compton, where the gardens are also mainly under pasture, this is a site where archaeology could do so much more in matching the print to the site.

Leckhampton (Plate36): Leckhampton was not newly built in Kip's time like Cassey Compton and Dumbleton and dates to the fourteenth Century. It is a much smaller house and landscape than either of them and the great garden, which forms about half of the enclosed landscape, is not much larger than 190 feet wide by 211 feet long. In fact it is such a small place that it seems surprising that the Rev. Thomas Norwood, whose family had inherited the house in 1509, according to Atkyns, (89) commissioned Kip at all. Perhaps he was prompted to do so because he had added a new wing to the house in the early years of the 18th century. (90) This addition seems to have been the block tucked into the northeast corner of the front courtyard, (Figure 85) (91) which was no longer standing by the time the Ordnance Survey map of 1887 was made. (Figure 83)

This map is the one piece of paper evidence with which to compare Kip's print, other than the obvious remains of the gardens. Comparing the garden in this map, (Figure 83) to the Kip garden (Figure 84, centre) the main differences between the two, besides the Prothero Library and the missing building in the entrance courtyard, are that there is no canal running along one boundary of the great garden and no trace of the small avenue of trees, which lengthens the view through the grill at the end of this garden. The Ordnance shows the great garden complete with central and cross walks and two-tiered terrace and flights of steps on the southern side and the enclosure containing terraced orchard and kitchen garden, the farmyard buildings and the horse pond.

In 1999 Leckhampton was being used as a Sue Ryder Foundation Care Home, having previously been used as a school until 1969 and as an American army camp in the Second World War. After 1969, the house was left to go to ruins before being bought and repaired by Sue Ryder's charity. The photographs in Figure 82, which are on display in the house, are of the Court in its ruined state. Notwithstanding these changes and the 19th century improvements, there are substantial physical remains of the Kip gardens to be seen. Figure 84, 1 and 2, shows the steps and double terrace on the south side of the great garden, which appear in both Kip's print and the 1887 Ordnance Survey. In figure 85,5 the outline of the gravel path up the centre of the Great Garden can be seen under the grass. The brick wall at the end of the same garden is in the background of this photograph, but the centre section, where the grill, which allowed a view out into the landscape and the newly planted avenue would have been, is now a void.

The canal on the northern side of the great garden is the most problematical feature in Knyff's engraving. It is in such an odd place in relation to the rest of the landscape that despite not having been recorded on the 1887 Ordnance Map, the placement does not look like artistic license. Ideally the canal ought to have been placed centrally, either as a continuation of the vista down the main path or at right angles to it. Such an off centre placement suggests that the owner of the garden had to site the canal where he could find, or easily make, a flat piece of ground large enough. Leckhampton is built on the side of Leckhampton Hill, parallel to rising ground and vast earth moving and terracing would have been necessary to place this feature in a better relationship to the rest of the landscape. Where Kip has placed the canal, the

1887 Ordnance Survey map (Figure 83) notes a stream, which could have made a feed to it.

Can any traces of this large element of the gardens be discerned? The building appears to have been most ruined on the side of the Great Garden and on the side where the canal was positioned. (Figure 82, 2 and 3) These are also the parts of the building substantially added to by Prothero. When the site was visited in 1999 there were heaps of stone lying loosely piled in that part of the garden, obscuring partly the position of the site of one end of the canal, (Figure 85 no. 6) but in Figure 85 no.7, there is a long narrow area of flat ground below the retaining wall of the garden. There are remnants of the retaining wall between the position of the canal and the great garden. A digger had been working on this part of the garden and had turned up substantial quantities of blue clay, (Figure 83) quite different to the surrounding soil. The bed of such a feature would have been made of puddled clay. (92) Its localized presence on the surface after recent earth moving, strongly suggests that the canal once occupied the place where Kip drew it in 1712.

There are other coincidences between the present landscape and Kip's view: the Lime avenue leading obliquely from the front courtyard to St. Peter's church, (Figure 87 no.10) the remains of the coach house, (Figure 84 no.4) the gate piers into the entrance court, (Figure 84, no.3) and the general configuration of the house itself, despite enlargements and repairs.

Coberley (Plate 12): Coberley is another house, mainly late mediaeval when it was drawn by Kip, for which an examination of the site somewhat compensates for the lack of documentation. Coberley was larger and more splendid than Leckhampton, having belonged to the Berkleys, then to the Brydges family and thereafter to the Duttons of Sherbourne. (93) In 1660 the manor was sold to Paul Castelman, who may have been a wealthy London merchant (94) and his son, Jonathan Castelman owned the manor in 1712, having a "large house near the church with handsome gardens and ponds and a great estate in this parish." (95) By 1720 Jonathan Castelman had money difficulties and he sold the estate to John Howe, Viscount Chedworth of Stowell Park for £1000. At this point the house was unoccupied as a manor house and, being used as a farmhouse, began to decline. On the death of Viscount Chedworth it was sold off to a Mr Phelps, who did not repair the hall and so the farmer who lived there moved out. (96) By 1791 the plan was to pull down the ancient house at Coberley and rebuild it as a farm. (97) This new farm, which was finally built about 1840, occupies the site

of Coberley now and appears on the 1884 Ordnance Survey of the area. (Figure 87) The church, which lay between the barnyard and the Hall court, was substantially repaired, but not moved, between 1889 and 1872. (98) Stone from remains of the hall was used to build cottages in the village. Kip's print like the one he made of Dumbleton, is the only view of this house and its gardens.

All of this destruction and renewal might well have obliterated all traces of 18th century Coberley and its gardens, which included a large canal, (Figure 87) but Coberley has some surprises. The site is easily visited because there is public access through the barn- yard to the church, through an archway in a range of barns, as well as a footpath over the grounds. The barns lie, as they do in Kip's print, horizontal to the roadway and, although they have been rebuilt, they include much original masonry. (Figure 86, 2) The church yard wall on its north east corner is the same wall which separates the church from the court before the old hall, (Figure 86, 1) though much reduced in length and the 18th century doorway into the Great Garden, on the north side of the churchyard, is still in place. Kip has drawn it from the churchyard side and the photograph is taken from the garden side, (Figure 88, 2) from where he would not have been able to see the pediment. There is possibly a fragment left of the gatehouse to the courtyard before the hall. (Figure 88, 1 and the place marked with a red ring in Figure 87)

Finding traces of the landscape is more difficult, since later gardens have been superimposed on the ones in Kip's print, notably where Kip had drawn vegetable and fruit gardens in the top left hand quarter of the print. (Figure 86) The track, which crossed the canal and divided the canal in two still runs north south down east the side of the court to join a track leading to Coberley Mill. It appeared on the 1884 OS map (Figure 87) and is now a public footpath, but none of the trees, planted in order to turn a way leading to a mill into part of the garden landscape, have survived. (99) Although the great garden, composed of four square grass plots, each one surrounded by a border of (Probably) dwarf fruit trees, has disappeared, its site west and south of the church is recognisable as a small field of unusual flatness (Figure 88, 5) and the same is true of site of the walled garden directly west of the church.

However the most significant feature of the landscape surrounding Jonathan Castelman's house is the canal. It and the avenues leading from the bridge that crosses it are the two contemporary elements in the arrangement of the landscape. Otherwise Coberley's landscape is one of yards and enclosures and not one of vistas and axes,

focused on the house and arranged symmetrically around it. On the 1884 Ordnance Survey map there is a stream where the canal should be, but no canal. (Figure 87) On first looking for traces of this piece of water, it initially appeared that the section of the canal, left of the bridge in the print, might have survived, but had been made into an irregular pond. (Figure 88, 3) This could not be so because the dam is made out of bags of cement, a modern material, as well as not having been recorded on the 1884 Ordnance Survey.

Did this part of the landscape ever exist or is Kip anticipating something Jonathan Castelman intended to build, but could not finish, because he was obliged to sell Coberley in 1720? The stream, which rises at a spring, called Weaden Well, (Figure 87) runs in a gully filled with scrub trees of no age, rather than ancient trees. To have turned this stream into a canal would have needed something more adequate than the sluice in figure 87, because not only is the gully deep but there is steep fall in the land on the western end of the canal. Kip carefully recorded this drop in the print and did not gloss over it or fudge it in any way. There are, however, clear remains under the grass of an earthen dam, which would have been needed to make a canal here. This can be seen in the, admittedly, not very clear photographs in figure 87. (Top left) (These grass covered lumps are very difficult to photograph clearly and a better photograph could be got if it were possible to make several visits to catch oblique sunlight) This discovery makes it very likely that this stream was indeed damned to make the canal that Kip included in the landscape.

Fairford (Plate 21): The prints described so far have been compared to site evidence and Ordnance Survey maps. In the case of Fairford, a house, which was recently completed in 1712 and is described as having large and beautiful gardens and many long walks of trees, (100) the only piece of evidence besides this not very discursive written description, is a very compelling map or plan. Andrew Barker, who was probably a wool merchant, bought the estate from Sir John Tracy in 1650, and built Fairford in 1661-2. He died in 1700 and his son Samuel owned the house when Kip drew it but died in 1708, before Atkyns published his book, leaving the estate to two girls. (101) Fairford itself was demolished in 1951 to make way for a secondary school, which still occupies the site. Before this happened both the house and the landscape had been greatly altered. James Gibbs in 1740 and later Sir John Soane in 1789 had worked on the house, adding different window surrounds, a new upper storey and a range of offices but not otherwise greatly enlarging it. (102)

The landscape, which Kip drew, is a magnificent one, unusually magnificent amongst this group of Gloucestershire houses (See Sketch in figure 89 as well as the photograph of the plate) and probably added to the house some time after it was built by the same Andrew Barker, since it is difficult to believe that a garden of such a axiality, with such long avenues of trees could have been established before the great experiment at Versailles was well under way, unless the maker of the garden had a copy of André Mollet's, Le Jardin de Plaisir 1652, or its 1670 English version to work from. (Figure 91) What is perhaps more relevant is that André Mollet was Keeper of the Royal Gardens at St. James Palace from the Restoration until his death in 1665/6 and his advice and his designs may have been available. (103) The plan of Fairford resembles, quite closely, the first two plates in the English version of Le Jardin de Plaisir, in that there is a grand parterre in front of the house terminating in a semi circle and a wrought iron gate. This also has affinities with the plan of St. James as Mollet published it. (Figure 89 and 91) There are no precisely contemporary descriptions of this garden but if the gardens looked like Kip's version of them they very soon changed.

By 1727 the house was in the hands of a Mr. Lambe of Hackney, husband of Samuel Barker's surviving daughter Esther, (104) and several descriptions are to be found of the direction of the gardens under his proprietorship and, after his death in 1761, that of his successor, Esther Lambe's nephew, Raymond Barker. Bishop Pococke visited in 1751 and saw the gardens when changes had taken place. From his description there were no longer any parterres because there was "a fine lawn" mentioned before the house "in which the trees are planted as three avenues." Although these three avenues are not visible in the Kip print they are firmly associated with the garden of the Kip era, as will be seen from later discussion in this section. Most of the work seems to have been concentrated on altering the River Colne, which flows to the west of the house and park and in Kip's time was not included in the designed landscape. (105) An estate plan of 1761, complements an early passage by Rudder, written about 1763, (106) which mentions the lengthening of the central avenue of the three on the north side of the house to a vista a mile long terminated by an obelisk and appears to suggest that wilderness of serpentine walks had been created in the spaces between all three. It also mentions a canal being made from the river Coln.

Before 1779, possibly about 1785, (107) more changes were carried especially to the area near the River Colne partially altering the layout described by Richard Pococke and by Samuel Rudder in 1763. This landscape seems to have had a formal element in its design, rather like Badeslades' treatment of Rousham compared to William Kent's. The new one lacked any formal element except for the mile long vista, ending at an obelisk. Now besides the deer park and the gardens "kept in proper order" Rudder writes, "There is a vista from the Hall front terminated by an obelisk about a mile from the house. A fine plantation stretches along the east bank of the Coln, with pleasant serpentine walks and openings from several seats and buildings, to take in views of the Wiltshire hills and countryside and other distant objects." (108). This rearrangement, which added an informal "natural landscape" composed about an older avenue with a focal point at its end is reminiscent of Lancelot Brown's remaking of the landscape at Blenheim around the earlier great avenue and the column to the Duke of Marlborough. It is not therefore very surprising to learn from Lord Torrington, who visited Fairford in June 1779, (109) that Lancelot Brown's pupil, William Eames (110), whom he thought inferior to his master, was the assistant called in by Raymond Barker to carry out the improvements, which Lord Torrington saw underway but not finished.

And so from 1727 –1779 and beyond, Fairford's landscape was continuously reworked, each reworking taking it further from the Kip landscape and making it more difficult to discover traces of the gardens he drew. Fortunately there is an incomplete map (uncoloured) in the Gloucester Record Office (Figure 89, a sketch map made life size from a tracing of the original) of Fairford. (111) This map describes the same landscape that Kip drew with only minute differences, as to whether there was a turning circle for carriages before the house, the existence or not of the fountain in the great garden and of the Bowling Green on the north of the house and whether there was an avenue leading west to the river. The map appears to be a survey of the estate and includes a much larger area of the park than does the Kip print. A date of 1690 has been proposed for it, but maps of this date often included a three-dimensional drawing of the main buildings and were not entirely in plan form, such as the Georges survey of Hardwicke, 1699 (figure 92-93) or the earliest survey of Dyrham, 1689. (Figure 110) (112) This convention lasted a long time, the survey of Tortworth, (Figure 94) by R. Hill in 1760, includes a three dimensional representation of the house as also does the map of Erddig by Thomas Badeslade, dated 1740, (113)

and so not too much weight should be given to this aspect of the map, when it comes to dating it.

There are enough small clues, however to be fairly sure that, far from representing the landscape at Fairford in 1690, before Kip saw it, this survey describes the situation after Kip's print was made. Firstly because the map includes a more convenient access for coaches, by making a carriage circle before the house, than the print does, and, secondly, because it marks out an extension of the avenues lying south of the house, across the fields and down to the river's edge, showing that these fields were being taken in to the designed landscape, which is also not in the print. Nonetheless, where this map and the print overlap, they concur in the design of the great garden, including the position of statues, lines of conifers, the flanking enclosures for fruit, the semicircular terminus, in the design of the parterres directly to the east of the house, and in the lines of avenues to the west and south as well as the position of the stables and farm buildings.

Tortworth (Plate 60): Before proceeding to discuss Westbury-on-Severn and Dyrham, both of which are supported by documents as well as maps and physical traces of the 1712 landscape, it is appropriate to discuss those anomalies and disquieting discrepancies, which have been discovered amongst Kip's views. The first is the matter of the Tortworth chestnut and the second the cloister garden at Hailes Abbey. The Tortworth chestnut is a very ancient tree, which happened to be enclosed within the formal gardens of Tortworth and whose size and girth Kip appears to have minimized, possibly because they spoil the regularity of the formal garden. Switzer in The Nobleman, Gentleman and Gardener's Recreation 1715, (114) bemoaned the inclination of the makers of formal gardens to sweep away old and noble trees if they got in the way of a view line or prevented some regular or symmetrical scheme from being carried out. The chestnut at Tortworth (Figures 94 and 95) seems to have been too important to cut down to make way for the garden. In 1712 the tree was considered to be already ancient and to have been planted in the 12th or early 13th Centuries (115) and, although it is unlikely that the tree was as Peter Collinson (1694-1768) thought, 965 years old in 1765, (116) it must, nevertheless, have been a very large tree indeed in 1712. Kip has drawn the tree (Figure 94) in the right place but greatly minimized its size so that its impact on the design of the garden is lessened. Kip has not omitted the tree or moved its place but subtly altered it so that its

presence in the garden produces a more acceptable effect. Knyff on the other hand left the Rycote yew, another ancient tree, out of the print of Rycote completely.

Hailes Abbey (Plate 28): A similar intention of tidying up awkward parts of the landscape may be behind the anomalies in the print of Hailes Abbey, another landscape where evidence is difficult to find. In 1712 the Abbey belonged to William Viscount Tracy of Toddington, whose family had bought acquired it by 1608, (117) from the Hobbeyes, the last of three owners of Hailes since the Dissolution, starting with Thomas, Lord Seymour and William Earl of Northampton (118). Viscount Tracy bought a largely ruined site except for the west range, once the lay brother's quarters and later the Abbot's lodging, which had been made into a house. It seems that Viscount Tracy bought Hailes to live in the Abbot's lodgings, whilst Toddington was being rebuilt. (119) The house at Toddington appears to be of the right period, for this to be possible, both from Kip's plate and the ruins of the gatehouse (Figure 96), but the house itself has disappeared, superseded by Charles Hanbury Tennyson's enormous palace. (Figure 97) The print of Hailes suggests that a stable yard and outbuildings were added to the Abbey when the Tracy family owned it, probably about 1660, since the buildings have a classical pediment incorporated in them as well as what must be a carved stone coat of arms on a gable end.

The first difficulty with the Kip print is that there is some disagreement as to the condition of the house in 1712, for example Rudder thought that the Tracy family had not lived at Hailes since the 1686 and ... "it is since fallen into decay, as to be habitable by a few poor persons only. "(120) Bigland also reckoned that the abbey was in a poor state by 1760. (121) Atkyns in 1712, however, implies that the house was in good condition, but the way he words the entry could mean that Viscount Tracy no longer lived at Hailes. (122) He would by then have had Toddington as his principal house. The answer to this difficulty lies with Celia Feinnes, who visited Hailes in 1694 (123) and writes that Hailes was "a house of Lord Tracy's where my brother Say lived, a good old house and there is a pretty Chapell with a gallery for people of Quality to sitt in, which goes out of the hall that is a lofty large roome: a good parlour and severall good lodging roomes. You ascend into the house by severall stone steps. Within 2 mile of this is a better house of the Lord Tracy with a very goode parke,..." Her description of the house is recognisable in the Kip engraving and it appears that the answer to the apparent difficulty is that Hailes, far from being in decay in 1694, was let out and there is no reason to suppose this was not still so in

1712. The house seems to have been in reasonable condition in 1748 when it was painted Thomas Robins, the Elder (1715? –1770) (124) but thereafter fell into decline and was possibly dismantled like Kempsford by 1760.

However, there is a serious discrepancy between Kip's print and the current state of the landscape, which is that the remains of the cloisters, which are a prominent feature in the present landscape, have been omitted. (Figure 98) Since Hailes has been thoroughly excavated, within the monastic precinct, to find the traces of the 13th Century Abbey at the expense of the much less august post Dissolution landscape, there are very few remains on the site to help. Buck's view (Figure 99, top) taken from the cloisters shows the eastern elevation of the house in 1732 with the square of the ruined cloisters and Lyson's view (Figure 99 middle) shows the ruined and silted up site in 1794. The equivalent area in the Kip print has been outlined in red in the sketch in figure 98. This shows the area of the cloister garth as a sunken garden of four slightly sculpted grass parterres, surrounded by a flowerbed or area of coloured sand. There is a fountain basin in the centre and a statue in each grass plot, a simple design not unlike the parterres at Fairford and consistent with the 1660s and 80s.

The walls of the cloister are thin, not much thicker than a garden wall and Kip does indeed surround this garden with a wall, but it is low and has urns or pots on it. Is the main alteration the tidying up of the cloister arches and their metamorphosis into a neat boundary to the central garden? This area has been altered for the print in the interests of regularity, rather like the treatment of the tree at Tortworth, but probably in this case, mainly, to enhance the east-west axis from the house and to do away with unfashionable compartments. This is the first and only time it has been obvious that part of a garden layout is not quite right and the other parts of this garden, such as the parterre de broderie on the north side of the cloisters, might well be suspect, also, because of the ruins of the abbey lying below the surface.

It is very difficult to find traces of other parts of this landscape, because the Abbey ruins have been exposed and the boundaries of the walled garden landscape in the print and the confines of the abbey appear to be the same. It is too late to apply modern techniques of archaeology to look for traces of the late 17th Century garden, because the top layer of earth has been stripped back. There are some portions of the Kip landscape, surrounding the main area of the garden, which can be described. The area in front of the west range of the abbey, which was converted into the house, is

shown by Kip as being a small walled garden. Next to it is the remains of a cross. The base of the cross can be found in the field to the west of the abbey site and using it as a guide the remains of a rectangular enclosure, lying obliquely north, can be seen under the grass. (Figure 101 bottom two photographs)

At the other end of the garden, beyond the eastern boundary there is an oblong pond with sluice gates (the feed for the fountain?) and an orchard. The site of the pond, which was originally part of the Cistercian water system, is easily made out. This point can be used to look for the boundaries of the orchard, which Kip has drawn as walls. There are two parallel dykes running along the eastern boundary of the field, which appear to answer. (Figure 101 top two photographs)(125) A large proportion of the Hailes gardens as Kip drew them are planted as orchards, entirely consistent with the enthusiasms of the late 17th century, and there were orchards planted on this hill behind the abbey on the 1883 Ordnance Survey map (Figure 100) and there are still orchards, further up this hill, presently.

Kip's view of Hailes is drawn to emphasize the east-west axis from the house, through gardens and orchard and up the hill where Hailes woods lie. The Tracys leased these woods from the Cecils (126), which may have been used as coppice, possibly from the same time that they bought the Abbey from the heirs of Sir William Hobby c.1608. The line of this axis, running down the middle of the cloister garden, through the orchard and cutting a path through the woods can not have been as absolutely east west as it is in the print. The Ordnance Survey map of 1883 (Figure 100) shows the position of the earthwork crowning Hailes Wood as being north of west. (127) Kip has also shortened the length of this view line, which from the map would have been about two thirds of a mile long, in order to include within the frame of the drawing. Nonetheless on the summit of Hailes Wood there is one gate pier standing, doubtless one of the pair shown in the distance by Kip, as the terminus to the east-west axis through the landscape. The other gate pier appears to have been destroyed by erosion of the bank on which it stood. (Figure102)

Although the physical remains of this landscape are slight, because the site of the Abbey, from the standpoint of the post Dissolution landscape, is so degraded, those traces, which do remain are persuasive. It does seem, though, that the Hailes landscape confirms what the matter of the Tortworth Chestnut suggested, which is that Kip would make a landscape more regular than it actually was and would tidy out of the way annoyingly irregular details, where necessary. This is the opposite of

Knyff's prints, in which it appeared that the main building had been, occasionally, drawn in its projected, rather than real, form. There is no way of ascertaining how many other Gloucestershire landscapes were made to look slightly more updated and sophisticated than they actually were.

In regard to most of the sites discussed so far, the visible remains have been a primary source of information to compare with the print, conjoined to the occasional relevant map. The last two places to be discussed, Westbury-on-Severn and Dyrham Park, have more copious sources. Both landscapes were begun in the last decade of the 17th Century, Westbury in 1694 and Dyrham in 1696 and were completed in the first decade of the 18th Century. At Dyrham the rectification of faults was being seen to in 1704/6 and at Westbury the last entry in the accounts is for walling at the canal in 1706 and it does appear that the gardens were completed to the state of the Kip print by then. (128)

Westbury-on-Severn (Plate 63): Westbury is the smaller of the two gardens and was owned, at the time Kip made his drawing by Maynard Colchester, who had inherited from his father, Sir Duncombe Colchester, in 1694, a house which was at least 100 years old (129) and possibly earlier, which his father, in turn, had acquired from Nicolas Roberts of the Inner Temple. (130) Sir Duncombe may have been able to do very little to the house since he was hampered by the results of the financial reprisals taken against his estate whilst he was still a minor because of his father, Richard's, delinquency in the Civil War and he himself was involved in the second Civil War of 1648. (131) Maynard Colchester left the house apparently unaltered and rebuilt the gardens at Westbury. It cannot have been financial constriction, which caused him to concentrate on the gardens at Westbury, rather than rebuild the house, since he married the daughter of the mayor of London, Sir Edward Clarke, in 1694. (132)

The feature, which makes this garden so celebrated, is the long canal and especially the little garden house at one end of it, which is so very Dutch in character. (Figure 105) There is no equivalent of this building amongst the other prints not even at William Blathwayt's Dyrham with its unequivocal Dutch connections. (133) In the Kip view, the canal is bounded on either side by standard bushes and pyramid yews, which are the common denominator of all the fashionable gardens of this period, though this arrangement did not last for the whole of the garden's life. (Figure 106, for early 20th Century views of Westbury) Maynard Colchester II succeeded Maynard

Colchester I in 1715 and he finally pulled down the old house and rebuilt it in 1743 (134). It has always been assumed from its style, that Maynard II built the second garden pavilion now at Westbury, and he placed the Neptune in the second T shaped canal, since neither of these things appear in the Kip print.

By 1964, this garden was in a desperate state and in serious decay. The last of the three houses on the site had been demolished and in the by going the pavilion suffered serious damage. The intention of developer who bought Westbury was to fill in the canals. Gloucester County Council and Gloucester Rural District Council bought the site and eventually built a care home on the site of the demolished house. Thus splitting the site in two. (135)

Up to this point the bones of the garden were still to be seen, canals, walls, the Neptune statue, ironwork, stone piers and pineapples, the garden house and the unique pavilion. Between 1960 and 1964, the garden, which had survived so long, nearly disappeared. The remains of the gardens were handed to the National Trust in 1967. This organization has done a wonderful job, especially in resurrecting the pavilion from a heap of rubble, but the Trust only owns half the garden site, albeit the most important half. Although the Kip print has been used as the model for the restoration of the gardens, (136) the garden between the two canals has not been remade as a vegetable and fruit garden but as a flower garden, on the model of the parterre, which once lay next to the vanished house. The restoration has also taken into account the additions and alterations made by Maynard II after 1715, since he contributed to the garden architecture. This means that here at Westbury very little besides the canals and the site of the pavilion are remainders of the Kip landscape and it is not possible to match features of the present landscape against the print very easily.

These considerations make the surviving accounts fundamental to tracing the shape of the garden in 1712 vis-à-vis the Kip print. These accounts are not formal ones made by a steward of a household, but the personal jottings of Maynard Colchester, who may not have employed such a person, and for this reason many entries simply say that so and so's bill was settled in full or that Maynard "evened" with someone else. This means that each step in the creation of the garden is not set out plainly. Nevertheless they are much more specific than the accounts of Sherbourne discussed earlier in the chapter. From these entries, it appears that there was a great deal of building work done between June 1698 and April 1700, huge quantities of bricks were made on the site and laid. For instance there is a payment for

laying 87,500 bricks in September 1697, but it is not clear just what these bricks were used for (137) since other work was being done on the estate. None of these bricks can be definitely associated with the garden, despite the pavilion and the garden wall being made of brick.

More specifically, by December 1699, the provision for bringing the water needed for the canal had been made. (138) There are two payments, which mention the canal, and which indicate that it was nearly finished in 1704, along with the fountain at the north east or road end and the pine apple and pillar gate posts at the grill on the road. (139) The pavilion which is referred to in the accounts as the summerhouse was at the plan stage in 1702 and in 1703 was being tiled and a coat of arms made for it. It was wainscoted in July 1704 and decorated in July 1705. (140) (Figure 103 top)

Maynard I also planted the hill garden, that is the orchard beyond the second canal in Kip's print, with cherry stocks in 1703 and in January 1706, pear trees were bought for the hill garden. There is also a very large number of pear trees bought, 7 ½ dozen, enough to plant the avenue or walk, which Kip drew, running up the hill south east of the garden and quantities of fruit trees, like cherries, which may have been planted here. (141) Some of the fruit mentioned was for the walls of the garden, the 35 wall cherries, the 45 apricots, the two white and one sweet red grape (142) and the wall behind the house is drawn by Kip covered with wall fruit and there is an arbour in the garden to the southwest of the house, which would have been suitable for the vines.

There was work done in the garden round the house. In January 1706 the court was paved and on the 6th April 1706 there is a note for payment towards knots in the garden. Kip has drawn a parterre for flowers on the side of the house, made up of little beds, decorated with pyramid yews and round-headed clipped standards. It would be for this parterre, as well as for the borders of the canal and the rest of the garden that the pyramid hollies, pyramid yews, standard hollies, headed phillyreas, headed laurestinus, silver phillyreas, mezereum trees, were purchased. These were choicer than the 500 holly and yews and 1000 each of hollies and yews of three years growth, which were also bought and possibly used for hedging. (143) Kip's garden is full of little shaped trees and hedges lining the canal and the D shaped piece of water in the background. Coz Colchester, a relation, who seems to have been in charge of the garden, is paid frequently for providing trees and seeds but only once for flowers to

plant, presumably, in the parterre, 50 jonquils, 100 iris, 100 crocus, 50 double hyacinths, 50 double narcissus, 50 anemones, 50 ranunculus and 150 tulips. (144) These were exactly the sort of plants suggested by John Rea in Flora, Ceres and Pomona (1665) or John Evelyn's Kalendarium Hortense (1666). These are far too small to be picked out in the print.

Whilst traces of work in the gardens about the house, planting in the hill garden, possibly even the planting of an avenue of pear trees there, the building of the garden house at one end of the canal, the canal itself, the fountain and clairvoyée at the other end are to be found, there is no obvious trace of the piece of water in the background of the print. This became a T shaped canal after 1712, associated with a later 18th Century garden house, (Figures 103, bottom: 105 and 107) and remained T shaped. Because Kip's drawing differs from this arrangement and because this piece of water is not mentioned as a second canal in a topographical account of the Parish in 1708, which describes the construction of the canal minutely; or a legal document of 1723, the National Trust's guidebook suggests that that this is an addition made by the second Maynard after 1715, possibly in 1743-5, when the Elizabethan house was replaced. (145) It seems extraordinary that Kip should have inserted a feature, which was not added to the garden for more than 30 years and may have been the invention of another owner. However in the light of the examples of Hailes and Tortworth, such an idea cannot be rejected, though this canal is a feature much more fundamental to the structure of the landscape at Westbury, than the cloister walls at Hailes or the tree at Tortworth.

The explanation as to why this D shaped piece of water was not mentioned is that, far from being a later addition, it actually belongs to an earlier era in the history of the Westbury landscape. It is not a canal in the 18th Century sense of the word, but more likely, fishponds, or even an ornamental moat, which were made by taking advantage of the course of the Westbury Brook. (Figure 107) Fishponds were often quite regular in shape having been man made and carefully managed and maintained such as the ponds at Edgcote. (Northamptonshire, not a Kip or Knyff landscape. (See Figure 108) Such ready-made pieces of water were too valuable to do away with and were converted into "regular" features of the newer landscapes. This is what happened at Dyrham where a new canal was made on one side of the house and the pre-existing horse ponds on the other were made into ornamental water features. The process goes one step further at Edgcote where the ponds were eventually made into

a lake of irregular shape (Figure 109) and Newnham Paddocks (Plate 25 in volume I) where Lancelot Brown altered canal and fishponds in 1744-6 into a serpentine lake. (146) Moreover both the Ordnance Survey map of 1881 (Figure 107) and the plan drawn by the architect, Inigo Triggs for the Formal Garden In England And Wales 1902 (Figure 103) show that the T shaped canal at Westbury was never as rectilinear as the canal proper, which supports the idea of its being re-used in the new gardens.

If this piece of water antedated Maynard Colchester's improvements this would explain the very curious position of the canal itself in relation to the house on what is a flat site. It would be more in keeping with contemporary ideas of fitting design if Maynard Colchester's Canal and garden house were arranged in a position perpendicular to the house, as with the canal at Dyrham, so as to form an axis and long view. The position of this feature in the print in relation to the whole garden suggests it was fitted in where there was space on a site whose outer boundary was already fixed. If the Kip print is studied carefully, it is possible to see that the new canal is separated, by a hedge, from the portion of the garden containing the other "canal" which is in fact situated beyond another hedge behind a large garden area. The second canal is beyond the working part of the garden, the vegetable plots, fruit trees and bushes, a coney garth and a pond with duck islands in it, divided from the ornamental garden by a hedge and gates. It is not to create one garden designed round both canals.

Supposing, as seems likely, that Maynard Colchester II built the summerhouse at the end what is now the T shaped canal, then he would have brought this part of the garden into the pleasure ground and made this piece of water more regular than it had been. He would filled in the section running away south east from the Summerhouse, this is now a path creating the T shape which confounds the shape of this piece of water in Kip. (Figure 103 bottom) It seems very likely by analogy with other sites and from the details of the print itself, Kip's this contentious D shaped canal, actually antedates both Maynards' improvements. Kip is absolved from the charge of invention or exaggeration in this case.

Dyrham (Plate 18): The last of the gardens discussed here is Dyrham, which is, with the exception of the Duke of Beaufort's landscape at Badminton, the most magnificent of the gardens in the Gloucestershire prints as well as the best documented. It and the Talman house were built for William Blathwayt (? 1649-1717) who had acquired the estate of Dyrham by marriage to Mary the daughter of John

Wynter Esq. in 1686. (147) He was a man of national importance, the wealthiest of the garden owners, examined in this chapter, having been Secretary of State at War to William III. By 1712 he was retired from public life, for having been a favoured servant of William III, he could not hope for office under Queen Anne. He was also a highly cultured man having travelled widely at a time when the Grand Tour was not quite the common experience it became from 1750 onwards. As a servant from 1672-3 to the Duke of Richmond, he travelled to Denmark, Sweden, Germany, Italy and France.(148) His strongest connection was to the culture of the Netherlands and Flanders where he served in 1668 as secretary to Sir William Temple, ambassador at The Hague and a noted lover of gardens, especially those of Brabant, and which he subsequently, visited annually as a servant of William III. (149)

The gardens at Dyrham are very much William Blathwayt's personal creation. This can be gathered from the want of cohesion in the whole layout. For, although he consulted the famous nurseryman George London (150) during the course of the garden's creation, William Blathwayt himself guided and commanded the making of this landscape, even when he was away in Whitehall or Holland. The house at Dyrham, when William Blathwayt acquired it, was a Tudor house, in very poor repair, built hard against the churchyard on one side and with the village close by. An idea of what it looked like, at that time, can be obtained from the 1689 map of the estate, drawn by Christopher Jacob for the new owner. (Figure110) This is the same site that William used for his new house and gardens with the inclusion of Nicholls Orchard. Work began on the house in 1694 with the central block and continued beyond 1698, when work on the rest of the house and the outbuildings began and, from which time, there is a bill for taking down "The Kitchen, larder, and brew house, the slaughter house and hen house, the diary, the old parlour and gallery, the bank wall behind the parlour, the garden wall by ye diary, the pigeon house." (151)

The orientation of the new house had been changed from north south to east west, a necessary change, for, otherwise, there would have been no possibility of making vistas from the entrance and garden fronts of the house. Unlike the owners of Leckhampton or Maynard Colchester at Westbury, William Blathwayt was able to do better than make do with an old house and an unfavourable site. He had the money to engineer sweeping changes. Also his job kept him away from Dyrham and he did not have to live all the time in the consequent upheaval of demolition and earth moving.

This does not mean that every feature of the old site was removed. The horse pond and mill-pond were civilized and formed part of the scheme on the west of the house, (Figures 110,112,114) and the stream, which fed them became the “Great Drayn”, which served to fill the new canal on the east of the house. Besides the whole landscape was constrained by the church, which was not moved, and the hills, which closely hedged it in. These if they could not be removed could be terraced.

The gardens, with Dutch characteristics and a Marot style parterre, reminiscent of that in Knyff's plate of Hampton Court Palace (Plate 6 vol. I), were started in 1697, when a bill exists, amongst the copious accounts and letters which remain in Gloucester Record Office, for the basis or foundations of the sides of the canal, the fountain above the canal, two pairs of stairs and the stairs, referred to as the compass stairs, at the eastern end of the canal. (152) In 1703 the work was still going on though most of it had been done, the house and landscape having been built simultaneously. In October 1703, William Blathwayt was asking Thomas Hurnell, who seems to have been both head gardener and overseer of the outside works, for a platt or plan of the north side of the hall, a draught of the cascade the preparation of which should not stop the mason Mr. West from preparing the stone work for this area, as well as a platt of the whole park, old and new, with the planting. (152) From this letter it seems gardens were well underway by 1703 but not yet completed, with, it appears, the most characteristic feature, the cascade, not yet begun.

Kip's plate shows the garden in approximately 1710 (Figure111). William Blathwayt must have considered the house and landscape at this date to be finished enough to be engraved. He died in 1717 and from this date until c. 1726 the gardens appear to have been in good condition. There are descriptions of them by enthusiastic visitors, the diarist Dudley Rudder in 1715-16, the Countess of Bristol in 1723 and Defoe in his Tour of Great Britain 1734-6. Defoe thought Dyrham was a noble as Badminton. (153) Dyrham Park seems to have been kept up as a garden during the lifetime of William Blathwayt II (1771-1742), who was also a very keen gardener, (154) but, by the time Rudder wrote about Dyrham, the water works were no longer in good repair. When Bigland wrote about them, the old gardens had been largely done away with. (155) An undated map, from the late 18th Century, documents the loss of major features in the garden like the cataract. (Figure 114) This feature was a tour de force, remarkable as the most magnificent example in this country of a step cascade, because of its size and because of the enormous quantity of water for it and its

waterspouts, which had been carried to the top of a hill. It was so magnificent that a later generation credited the design to André Le Nostre, yet the cascade seems to have been rather fragile and difficult to keep in good order, even when it was first built. (156) William Blathwayt wrote a letter c.1703/4 to his steward Coz. Watkins expressing his doubts about this element of the design, "I would be glad to know in what condition the cataract is from ye winter for a small matter would induce me to make use of the stone elsewhere if it would be more likely to endure ye weather and ye water." (157) Like so many of the gardens in these prints the life of the Dyrham gardens, as Kip drew them, was short, possibly about 50 years.

There are two reasonable descriptions of the gardens one by John Povey, son of Thomas Povey and William Blathwayt's nephew and clerk, written as a letter on December 5th 1700 (158) and a shorter one, by Dudley Ryder, written in a diary of his travels about 1715-16 (159). Together they span the period when Dyrham was being created. Because written descriptions, if clear, are fuller than account entries, it seems worthwhile in pursuing details of Kip's view, to compare these two descriptions with the print and then to do a second comparison of the print with the references in the Dyrham Archive.

Comparing Povey's description with Kip and enumerating the coincidences in Figure 113 identifies 8 definite points on the print. The part of the letter concerning the landscape runs .. " As to the Gardens Terraces and Avenue they are very entertaining at the Entrance of the Avenue (Figure 110 no 1) on the left hand you see three Bountiful Fountains and Cascade Basins (no2) down the Hill and on the other side you see a Cataract of about 12 foot and another of abt six falling into two fish ponds (number 3) that hange one above the other Having past thro the house into the gardens you see on the right hand three fountains one above the other with a good Body and height of Water (these are not plainly visible but may be the Great Fountain walk before the house mentioned in a bill from the mason Philip West in 1700 and obscured from view by the bulk of the house) and before you on top of a Hill abt 50 foot high another throwing a good body of water abt 20 feet high (by the time Kip drew his view a statue of Neptune by John Harvey had been substituted) and under is a large Cataract of Water (number 5) descending the whole hill and coming underground to the parterre, rising again in a large Fountain to a very Great Height, from thence to a Cascade of three large of a stone fall from thence to four more & thence by Three large Basins (these fountains are numbered 6 on figure 113) fall into

a large oval from whence it runs into a Canal (number 7) and passes underground to the Cataract and ponds seen in the Avenue, (Back to the east front of the house) the whole Disposition of the garden consisting chiefly of walks and Terrases the Hill on the left hand (number 8) I need not describe to you since I believe you have a good idea of it all ready. “

Dudley Ryder adds a few more details all of which are outlined in green on figure 113, though he seems only to have seen the cascade side of the house. Presumably as a tourist he entered the grounds down the same avenue which visitors use today but which was a new entrance on the Bath Road in the early 18th Century. John Povey was using the old entrance down the side of the church.” Mr Blathwayt’s house is a very handsome one... but the gardens are the most pleasant, the situation of them is on several hills that entertains the eyes with a variety of prospects. The parterre runs along between them with a pretty canal in the middle at the end of which are several fountains and a cascade from a very steep hill of 224 steps, the finest in England except the Duke of Devonshire’s. We saw all the waterworks play which was very agreeable and delightful. At one side of the gardens there is a wilderness of high large trees in which there are a great many agreeable shades.”(159) Ryder mentions the Wilderness, which was probably not yet planted in 1700.

In using the papers and accounts in the Gloucester Record Office, consisting of the weekly accounts, tradesmen’s bills, of letters from William Blathwayt in Whitehall to his stewards, the Rev. Samuel Trueman, his successor Coz. Watkins, to Hurnell the gardener, as well as their replies, gives the enquirer details of several more areas in the print, besides those already broadly described. (160) These identifiable elements in the print are entered on figure 114. In the Kip view the landscape is seen from what is now the back of the house, but in 1712 the main entrance was down the avenue by the church, which was planted 1699 and fenced against stock. The entrance to the stable court, formerly the main entrance to the Tudor house, was from the south by the pigeon house. This new avenue, at the church, had yew hedging and there was a niche with basins in the wall of the avenue, a detail, which the Kip does not show.

Immediately to the left of this avenue is the dwarf pear tree garden, where digging began, as it did in most of the rest of the garden in 1698/9. It is not obvious from the drawing of the trees that they are pears but this is confirmed by an entry, which mentions a wall that “parts the pear tree garden from the churchyard.” There

are mentions of the steps at both ends of this garden and the long fountain in it. Above this garden is the lower terrace identified because there is a basin, (a fountain basin) on it and in the supporting wall behind the fountain, a niche. The arbour terrace, where indeed there is an arbour in the print, can be pinpointed, as being north of and above the church, by a mention of its spatial relationship to old the banqueting house. Its position, in turn, is fixed by a link to steps in the corner of the lower terrace, as the little building lying north east of the church in the print. The "Little sweet garden " is mentioned as being by the banqueting house and below it is the "Slope Garden " concerning which George London was to be consulted. Below the arbour terrace is the "Avenue at the arbour terras" a single line of trees just above the church.

Above all these terraces and gardens is the "long terras", which links all of these elements together. There are several entries concerning the details of this terrace, the wall at the end of it, the piers of the gate leading into the wilderness, the balusters of the wall (called pilasters), the fountains on this terrace and for painting the fences round the fir trees, which Kip has differentiated carefully from deciduous trees. There are elements of part of the landscape, mentioned in the papers, which are not in Kip, such as "Ye slope kitchen garden" with its fountain, because it lay out of view alongside the pear tree garden but further west. Likewise the "great pond" which fed the cataract, is out of view behind the cataract hill.

The west front of the house is the elevation designed by Hauderoy 1684 and the gardens in front of it are probably the " House Parterre," which was laid out in 1702, whose greens planted by George London. Hurnell was ordered to thin this planting in October 1703, " and not let those that remain grow too thick. Mr. London is used to overstock his grounds of."(sic) (161) The Parterres on the other side of the house are not those mentioned because they are of grass cutwork and could not, therefore, be overstocked with evergreens.

The "Mill pond garden" about which no details appear in the papers, must lie next the house parterre. It includes a standing out ground for pots of exotic plants and it may be for this garden that Hurnell is recorded as wanting to buy pots, which were thought by Mr. Blathway to be too expensive. Alongside this are the mill and horse ponds, which belong to the Tudor landscape and whose conversion into large and small oblong ponds linked by cascades is frequently referred to. The print includes ducks and ornamental duck houses which agrees with a bills for "duck holes" and for digging out "ye square by ye millpond for ye fowl." The orchard next to the ponds is

Nicholls Orchard, also on the 1689 map, (Figure 112) often called only “the orchard” in the papers.

By knowing that the orchard marches with the ponds, “the banqueting house in ye orchard” mentioned in 1701 and the “wall from the banqueting house round ye orchard to the wall which parts ye orchard and ponds” can be picked out in the print. In 1703 the pigeon house is mentioned as being joined by a wall to the greenhouse and is the twin to the new banqueting house lying on the south side of the house in the Kip. The evergreens that Kip has drawn along the walk by the mill and horse ponds are very likely the hollies, which Hurnell had planted around February 1703, as he informed William Blathwayt in a letter dated 9th February.

The gardens on the west look from the 1689 map as if they are on the site of the Tudor gardens. (Figure 110) Those on the east side, which were begun before those on the west side of the house, cover a larger area than that of the 1689 garden, and form the most splendid and ambitious part of the landscape, containing the cataract and the canal. Work on the canal was begun in 1697 and work was still being done on the cataract, by the mason Phillip West, on the top of the cataract hill in 1700, and also, when he built steps up each side of the cataract in 1703. (Visible in Kip’s print) He was also working on the cascade, which joined the cataract to the canal, in 1703. The details of this elaborate garden are very small in the print, but even something as little as the statue of Neptune by John Harvey, which replaced the fountain at the summit of the cataract in 1710, or the “Great Niche” at the head of the canal, built in 1698, and the associated “Compass steps” built 1698/9, and the first and second parterre gardens, also 1699, can be made out. Besides references in the accounts, there is a plan for the water works serving the fountains at the head of the canal, which confirms the configuration of these elements in Kip’s view. (Figure 113)

Kip’s view of the canal garden and cataract shows them as two separate gardens, the canal garden gated off and divided from the cataract by a bare piece of ground with a track on it and not as an integrated design. It looks awkward, but so it must have been, for there is a mention of an “Iron gate to ye fountains at ye bottom of ye cataract” and another which mentions planting “Near ye cataract upon ye side of ye hill and ye bottom of it near ye iron gates.” It is this item particularly that suggests that the design of the gardens was not made by a professional.

On the north of this garden, just as on the west front there are terraces. These are referred to as the “Short terras” and the second and third short “terraces”. All of

them have niches cut out of the retaining walls, which Kip, does not show possibly because of the small scale. These terraces were all edged with pilasters and coping, and these and the niches were whitewashed. (As was the great niche in the canal garden) These terraces survived for a long time, well after fragile features like the cataract had disappeared and are to be seen on the Chedworth map of circa 1776, (Figure 112) along with a distinctive set of steps at the top of the flights of stairs leading up them.

The last major component of the engraving is the wilderness, begun in 1699. Kip may have adjusted the position of the wilderness slightly to enable it to be included in the print. (See the 1776 map, figure 114) Although Kip has drawn the (Silver) fir in the centre, which replaced an earlier lead statue, and the fountain and stairs leading to it, his wilderness has six not eight quarters in the middle, planted apparently with flowers, and he has put in far more arbours than the “four answering each other crosswise” that are mentioned in the accounts. The wilderness was divided into quarters or sections, which is how Kip has drawn it and as a design it has parallels with contemporary landscapes like Boughton (Northamptonshire) and Combe Abbey. (Warwickshire, Plate 47, volume I) Since no plan remains, though one was made in March 1703, it cannot be confidently asserted that Kip’s drawing of this particular area is definitive.

The results of this lengthy comparison between the Dyrham archive and the print are condensed in figure 114. The comparison is worth doing so exhaustively because this print is unique amongst the prints in both volumes of Britannia Illustrata, in having an archive so detailed and voluminous, that information concerning small details in Kip’s print can be extracted from it. For most of the other sites discussed in this chapter, only the most general information about the broad divisions of the garden is ascertainable with the occasional details such as the yew trees at Cassey Compton. From looking at the prints of Sherbourne, Cassey Compton, Leckhampton, Coberley, Dumbleton, Hailes Abbey, Fairford and even Westbury-on-Severn, it seems very likely that the gardens in Kip’s prints looked like them in reality. There are several other sites, which have been visited but are not examined here in detail, where bits and pieces of evidence exist. Some such sites are Nibley, Tortworth, Toddington and Syston, but like the sites at Cassey Compton, Leckhampton, Coberley and Dumbleton, the evidence is not particularly strong for any of them. Without the evidence of Dyrham, it would be difficult to be convinced.

However, it must be remembered that although Kip included as much detail as possible, he is making a drawing and not mapping the sites. His clients would have wanted him to include as much of their house garden and estate in his print as possible. To do this he sometimes needed to distort the perspective of the wider landscape to include these more far-flung elements, as he seems to have done with the wilderness at Dyrham. He seems to have taken liberties, not so much with the features near to the viewer, but with the backgrounds of his prints. If the map of Fairford (Figure 90) is compared to the print of Fairford, to be found in the appendix of photographs of the prints, or to the sketch of the landscape, (Figure 89) it can be seen that Kip has made the avenues receding into the distance look longer than they are on the map. He has, also, minimized the impact of two houses and their gardens, which prevent the furthest boundary being quite straight. Notwithstanding this drawback, if a Kip landscape, where there are substantial remains, even if they are largely composed of mounds and ditches, is walked over, it is clear to the walker at once where they are, with regard to elements in the print.

It is possibly expecting too much to try and use a Kip, as the map for the recreation of a garden, when it comes to dimensions. There has been an attempt to reconcile Kip's print of Dyrham with the Ordnance Map and this shows that Kip has made the garden larger than life, not surprising, given the amount of detail he had to get onto the plate. (162) This investigation included looking for exact archaeological confirmation of his view. Resistivity tests and a trench dug on the east lawn have shown, not surprisingly, that there are features underground which Kip did not draw, because this garden continued to change and develop, long after his view was made.

The consequent, negative, view of Kip by the author of the article is not common amongst all archaeologists, amongst whom there seems to be several, varying, opinions as to the worth of these prints. Paul Pattison worked on Richmond Park, a place Knyff drew, and despite many subsequent changes to the landscape was much more optimistic about the contents of Knyff's print and the archaeology of the site. (163) Yet it is possible to plot most of Kip's Dyrham garden by eye, by looking at the unchanging scenery, the lie of the land, the hill where the cataract was, the slopes where the terraces lay and the flat areas before and behind the house and know that Kips' garden could easily have existed there. It is perfectly plausible that Kip's landscape fitted into this space, more or less as he drew it, even though it is still not possible to make an exact map from the print of the whole landscape.

Perhaps a better match could be accomplished by attempting such an investigation on a landscape like Cassey Compton, where no major landscape activity has been carried out for two centuries and where the divisions of Kip's landscape can be seen under the grassland. Even if these Kip prints are not completely accurate as to dimensions, and there are the distortions of perspective to be taken into account, the intention of the artist seems to have been to present each landscape to the viewer as fully as possible and with as much accurate detail as can be crammed into a space 16 inches wide by 13 inches high, even if this means easing proportions a little. This drawback does not mean that as a source for examining and understanding gardens of the period, the prints are of no value. They are of exceptional interest and value but it is necessary to remember what their background is, when referring to them and to remember that they are not maps, but map-like drawings.

In the following chapter, using the information, derived from investigating the landscapes, described in both chapter 4 and chapter 5, it is proposed to follow trends in design and taste in the process of garden making as they can be discerned in the prints. Thereafter it is proposed to turn to the more practical matter of using the prints to assist the conservation and restoration of Caroline and Williamite gardens.

NOTES

- (1) Nicolas Kingsley, Kip's Conundrum, Country Life, November 16th 1990, pp.60-61.
- (2) A Guide to English County Histories edited by C. R. J. Currie and C. P. Lewis, Sutton 1994, p.16.
- (3) The Ancient and Present History of Gloucestershire, Sir Robert Atkyns, 2nd edition, London, 1768, pp.338-339.
- (4) Sir Robert became Chief Baron of the Court of the Exchequer, his father had been a Baron of the same court, and the family had been in the law since c.1401, as above, p.335.
- (5) Atkyns, p.449.
- (6) Ingestre Hall, Plate 26 in the 1686 edition is the only overhead view in Dr. Plot's Natural History of Staffordshire
- (7) The starting date is conjectural the finishing date is governed by the publication date of Atkyns, which was in 1712.
- (8) The prints in the separate volume attached to the thesis, are listed in the same order as a 1724 edition of Volume II of Britannia Illustrata, which like Atkyns is alphabetical. In the Atkyns Bradley court came under Wotton, Sneed Park and Stoke Bishop came under Westbury on Trin, their nearest towns, and Sevenhampton was added as an afterthought. These as repositioned in the running order according to their initial letters and not placed under the heading of the nearest town.
- (9) Ralph Bigland, Historical Monumental and Genealogical Collections Relative to the County of Gloucester, edited by B. Firth, published by the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society in the Gloucester Record Series, Vols. 2,3 5 and 8. See Part I (Vol.2) p.50.
- (10) Sir Robert Atkyns, The Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire, 1768, p193. "Newly built", which is the term Atkyns uses, does not mean completely newly built, the back of this house is much older and some of the outbuildings are cottages, which predate the house. The Casseys who owned Little or Cassey Compton, before the Hows, had a Tudor house. There is also a deserted village site at Little Compton.
- (11) The 1997 facsimile reprint by Sutton of the original edition of 1779 is the only modern reprint of Rudder's A New History of Gloucestershire, which is an edition of

250 copies, is the edition quoted. The pagination in the 1997 edition is the same as that of the 1779. The places discussed are listed alphabetically in the same way as they are listed in Atkyns. The heading is Didmarton, pp.407-408.

(12) Atkyns, p.218. Ralph Bigland gives this house the date of 1571, *ibid*, part 2, p. 556.

(13) Rudder under the heading Eastington pp.430-432.

(14) Ralph Bigland, Part 3 p.556.

(15) Rudder under Kempsford pp.509-512 and Bigland, Part 2, p.769.

(16) Rudder under Hatherop pp.480-482

(17) Ralph Bigland, Part 2 p.690.

(18) *The Buildings of England*, edited N. Pevsner, Gloucestershire; The Cotswolds by D. Verey, p.272 N. Kingsley, the Country Houses Of Gloucestershire 1830-2000, Volume 3 pp155-156

(19) Rudder under Saperton, pp.641-643.

(20) Lands Called Dumbleton, J.C.L. Ellis-Mitchell, revised P. Edwards, Broadway, Worcestershire, 1986 p.6 The finishing date of the house is given in The Parliamentary Diaries of Sir Richard Cocks, Ed. D.W. Hayton, 1996, p. xxxiv.

(21) Rudder under Dumbleton pp.420-422.

(22) N. Pevsner Ed: The Buildings of England: Gloucestershire and the Forest of Dean, ed. D. Verey, 1998, p.174.

(23) Rudder under Hardwicke, pp.471-472 and Ralph Bigland, part 1, p.420.

(24) Discussed in chapter three.

(25) The Pyramid and the Urn, Iona Sinclair, Sutton, Stroud 1994, p.138.

(26) Ralph Bigland Part 3, p.592.

(27) Atkyns, 1768, the text of Sir Robert's tombstone printed in the front of the book with no page number and pp. 335 and 371.

(28) Atkyns p.340, Ralph Bigland, Part 3, p.1071.

(29) John Kenworthy-Browne, Dyrham Park, The National Trust, 1998, pp.37-38.

(30) John Kenworthy-Browne, *Country Life*, November 1964, Plight Of A Historic Garden, Westbury Court, Gloucestershire, p.1280.

(31) A Guide to English County Histories, *ibid*. pp. 155 and 157.

(32) See the preface by N. M. Herbert to the 1977 limited edition published by Sutton, Dursley, Gloucestershire. So many of these local histories took an inordinate time to get into print. John Bridges History of Northamptonshire, which was underway

between 1719-1720, was published posthumously in 1791. Not everyone was as quick as Dr. John Harris, whose History of Kent, London 1719, he writes in its preface, took only eight years. Travelling from place to place was laborious and since most of the authors had other careers, often in London, they relied on field workers, mainly clergymen or schoolmasters or on questionnaires.

(33) Ibid N. M. Herbert's preface to Rudder.

(34) Nonetheless, most of the prints in the copy of Rudder owned by Richard Gough (1735-1809) the antiquary and now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, are by Kip alongside the handful of Bonners. The temptation when looking at this copy is to surmise that Rudder changed his mind and accepted Herbert's offer, but books were bound to suit their owner's wishes at the time. A note in the back of this copy suggests that Richard Gough bought the Kip prints separately, which is why they are not a full set. The insertion of two plates of carvings from Berkley Church and Gloucester Cathedral, which have notes attached to them showing that they had been sent to Gough through the post and bound into his copy, confirm that the addition of the Kip prints was a personal decision. In this copy a few places like Sandywell and Nibley have a 1770 Bonner plate side by side with a 1711 Kip view.

(35) R. Bigland, Historical, Monumental and Genealogical Collections Relative To The County Of Gloucester; Vol. 1, 1791; Vol. II, 1792; and thereafter in parts, Volume III beginning with Nibley between 1819 and 1838 and Volume IV between 1870 and 1889. Republished by the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society as Vols.2, 3, 5 and 8 of the Gloucester Record Series. The first two volumes are much more detailed than the last two.

(36) Introduction to volume I as above by Brian Frith.

(37) According to David Verey p.260 in The Buildings of England: Gloucestershire and the Cotswolds, (edited by Nikolaus Pevsner). The standard work on Kent by John Dixon Hunt, William Kent, Landscape Garden Designer, Zwemmer, London 1987, makes no mention of Kent being associated with Barrington Park and so the attribution, for which there is no evidence may be a hopeful one, as are so many of the buildings given to Inigo Jones.

(38) R. Bigland, Historical Monumental and Genealogical Collections Relative to the County of Gloucester; Printed From The Original Papers Of The Late Ralph Bigland, volume I printed in the Gloucestershire Record Series, 1989, p.134.

- (39) Atkyns, 1768 edition, p.257 and Longleat, by the Marchioness of Bath, 1951, p.31.
- (40) Bigland as above, Volume II p.769. The Country Houses Of Gloucestershire, 1500-1660, volume 1, by Nicolas Kingsley, 2001, p.123.
- (41) Buscot Park was begun in 1779 stones lead and slates from Kempsford were used to build it, The Faringdon Collection, The National Trust, 1998, p.11.
- (42) R. Bigland, volume II, p.769.
- (43). R. Bigland, Volume II, p.709.
- (44) R. Bigland, Volume I, p.119.
- (45) Britannia Illustrata, London 1708, Volume I Plates 9,10,11,
- (46) Kent worked at Badminton c. 1745 and altered the North lawn significantly, but the formal gardens lay more to the east of the house A very faint bird's-eye/plan for Badminton suggests these gardens were removed in Kent's design-suggestions for the site. John Dixon Hunt. Op. cit. p. 96-97, plates 1-5.
- (47) R. Bigland, Volume II, p.552.
- (48) Dyrham Park, The National Trust, 1998, pp.40-41.
- (49) R. Bigland, Volume IV, p.1420.
- (50) R. Bigland, Volume I, p.119, Volume II. p. 552.
- (51) R. Bigland, Volume II, p.606: "The frequent Windings of the River in the Fore-ground appear like so many Lakes in Succession, and give a highly picturesque Effect to this singularly pleasing Landscape"
- (52) R. Bigland, Volume II, p.592.
- (53) The Torrington Diaries, edited C. B. Andrews, London 1934, volume I, p. 256.
- (54) William Eames was working for Lancelot Brown in 1781, two years before Brown died. D. Stroud, Capability Brown. Faber and Faber, London 1975, p.92
- (55) Bigland's entry for Dyrham includes the information that he has looked at Colen Campbell's elevation in Vitruvius Britannicus. R. Bigland, Volume II, p.552
- (56) The 1977 Sutton facsimile edition of Rudder is the one consulted. See note 11.
- (57) As above, under the heading Sherbourne pp.648-652.
- (58) The Buildings of England. Gloucestershire; The Cotswolds, D. Verey, 1991, p.396.
- (59) Gloucester Record Office, Dutton papers in the Sherbourne Muniment, D678, 305-328.

(60) The schools in Oxford are those in the Bodley quadrangle and this is the building with which Sherbourne is being compared. See note 37.

(61) A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840, H. Colvin, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1995, p.934.

(62) As in note 37.

(63) Accounts for Sir John Duttons work in the gardens are to be found in G.R.O. D678: fam.59b, Fam148 and Accounts 1790.

(64) GRO, Sherbourne Muniment, Accounts 1790, f.8 with a large bill from October, 1723 to September 1724 for planting and gardening, which came to over £259. 15th February 1724 entries for building and coping terrace wall in the garden f22, 1725 for steps paving and terrace walls, 11 Sept 1727 plastering and glazing at the greenhouse f.31 1729 making new kitchen gardens as well as entries for large numbers of plants and trees, 7000 elms from Hammersmith, garden seeds, cabbage plants and tulip roots in 1724 800 ashes, 2000 ash setts, 85 elms, 700 witch elms, 100 honey suckles, 100 sweet briars, 50 lauristinus all bought in 1725 ibid f.8 to f.22.

(65) Accounts 1790 as above, f.8. f15-31.

(66) Gloucester Record Office D678, fam. 148, f.6, 12, 28, 38.

(67) See the plates of St James in Volume I of Britannia Illustrata, plates 2 and 3, and paintings of Versailles in the 1680s such as The Promenade Of Louis XIV Seen From The Parterre Du Nord of the Gardens of Versailles c.1688 by Etienne Allegrain published in The Gardens of Versailles, Lablaude, Zwemmer, London, 1995, pp.64 and 65.

(68) Rudder under Sherbourne as in note 37.

(69) Pevsner ed. Gloucestershire: the Cotswolds p.395 and a letter from Dr. M. Girouard, Country Life, 1956, p.954.

(70) R. Clutterbuck, History and Antiquities of the County of Hertford, London 1815, vol. III, p.167.

(71) Sherbourne House Muniment, Gloucester Record Office, D678, 305-328, is a bundle of letters relating to the work done on the house in 1831-1832, there are also letters from and to Gilpin about his visits in 1820-1 to consult about the changes proposed to the gardens. Clive Aslet's article Country Life, 20th March 1986, Sherbourne House Gloucestershire also contains the details of Lewis Wyatt's experiences at Sherbourne.

(72) Gloucester Record Office, Dutton of Sherbourne, D678 305-328

(73) Gloucester Record Office, Map D1388. This is a huge map, of the whole estate and village of Sherbourne undated but estimated to be c.1820. Only a small portion of the house and park has been traced, including the princely stables, recently built when Rudder wrote but not yet built in Kip's print

(74) Dr. Marc Girouard, letter in *Country Life* 1956, p954. It was not possible to photocopy the photograph in *Country Life* because the article was bound into too large a volume containing the whole year, and so I traced it and made a small line drawing. The photograph is reproduced again and larger in C. Aslet, Sherbourne Park in *Country Life*, March 20th 1986. Dr. Girouard did not know where the original was but C. Aslet has a better photograph and so presumably saw the original, but he does not say where it is to be found.

(75) The Aslet article about Lodge Park, *Country Life* March 13th 1956, discusses the likelihood of Inigo Jones having been the creator of the lodge, which is a reflection of Rudder's view, as is also the doubt cast on Kip's view of Sherbourne in figure 4 of the article on Sherbourne House in *Country Life* for 20th March, 1986.

(76) Kip seems to have confused Little Compton, near Stow on the Wold where the manor belonged to Sir William Juxon, which he did not draw, with Sir Richard Howe's House in present day Cassey Compton near Compton Abdale, by Northleach, which he did. Little Compton is on the map of the county dated 1712, in the front of Atkyns' book, (no page number) as Compton Parva, a small enclave of Gloucestershire protruding into Worcestershire. Nowadays Little Compton is in Warwickshire. Archbishop Juxon remodelled the manor house in 1620, N. Pevsner and A. Wedgwood, The Buildings Of England: Warwickshire, Penguin 1996, pp. 340-341. This confusion suggests that this print was finished too close to the publication of Atkyns for the mistake to be corrected.

(77) Atkyns p.191

(78) Some Cotswold Country Houses, James Lees Milne, Dovecote Press, Dorset, 1987, p.69-70." The far side of the meadow was bounded by a low stone wall flanked by graceful stone piers with moulded caps bearing richly carved vases. An avenue of ancient yews and vestiges of terraces and lawns remained to indicate once stately gardens: while beyond was a house of the gracious but unpretentious refinement that characterizes the architecture of the time of Charles II. One wing had evidently been pulled down at some time and the rest of the house was in a neglected state, badly in need of repair, but even so the perfect proportions of the house, with its regularly

spaced stone-mullioned windows and stone-tiled roof, the mellow stone of its walls contrasting with the dark yews, combined to form an impression of such haunting beauty that it remains with me still. I was entranced with the place and wanted to spend several days making careful drawings of the house and gardens,..." which is quoted by J. Lees-Milner from By Chance I Did Rove, published in 1952. (No page given but p. 4 in the 1973 privately published reprint.)

(79) A Mitchell, Trees of Britain, Harper Collins, London 1996, p.8.

(80) Landranger Map, no. 163, scale 1:50,000, Second Series, Grid Reference, SP 055 145.

(81) Atkyns, p.212. Before the Dissolution the manor and advovson had belonged to the manor of Abendon (sic) according to Atkyns. Could this be the Abbey of Abingdon?

(82) Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms Eng. hist. b.209, f.104v.

(83) S. Rudder under Dumbleton pp. 420-422.

(84) Gloucester Record Office, Map 1264 (D1156) and SL 163 for the 1822 sale of Dumbleton Estate.

(85) Nikolaus Pevsner ed: The Buildings of England: Herefordshire, by N. Pevsner, 1995, p.123 and H. Colvin, A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects 1600-1840, Yale, 1995, p. 880.

(86) Gloucester Record Office SL 164 is the prospectus for the 1875 sale.

(87) Pevsner, Gloucestershire and the Forest of Dean p.175.

(88) I have used feet and inches since the maps used for this work are not metric.

(89) Atkyns, p.278.

(90) Ralph Bigland. Part 2, p. 798: "In the Beginning of this Century a spacious Addition was made by the Rev. Thomas Norwood, in the modern Style."

(91) N. Pevsner, Gloucestershire and the Forest of Dean, pp.285-6 puts the fire, which burnt down this wing as occurring in 1732, and the new wing was rebuilt in the Georgian Style. This dates seems a little late for Bigland's the beginning of the century. The present building is late 19th century by H.A. Prothero. He also designed the library, which lies behind the great hall. These repairs and enlargements were done after 1894, when the 1887 O.S. Map shows a gap between the two buildings, which make up this wing. Maybe the 1732 fire destroyed the building built by the Rev. Norwood and Prothero then rebuilt this after 1887. His library behind the hall is shown.

(92) John James, The Theory and Practise of Gardening, London 1712, styles as a translation of Alexandre Le Blond's work but more probably a translation of A.J. Dézallier D'Argenville's, La Théorie Et La Pratique du Jardinage, Paris 1708, which contains a synthesis of French gardening practise from the time of Le Nostre. This book contains a section on the making of fountains and canals in which the use of clay is discussed, p.202 and following.

(93) Atkyns p.197.

(94) His wife, Mary, seems to have been the daughter of the Keeper of the Devil's Tavern, Fleet Street. This in turn suggests that Paul Castelman had a commercial London background. Diana Alexander, The Story of Coberley, privately printed Cheltenham, 1980 p.18, provides this information but where she got it from she does not say. Atkyns mentions neither Paul nor the Devil's Tavern, Fleet Street, but simply writes that Jonathan Castelman owned Coberley in 1712. Atkyns is usually an avid provider of pedigrees where they are distinguished and his silence is suggestive.

(95) Atkyns p.197.

(96) Rudder under Cubberley or Coberley pp.398-399 and D. Alexander, The Story of Coberley, pp.18-19.

(97) Ralph Bigland, Part II p.420: "The Manor House is now in a State of Dilapidation, and about to be re-built as a Farm. It was a large, low Building, with many spacious Rooms, Bay windows. Embattled on the outside, and a Quadrangle of Offices. Leland in his Time called it "a fayre House". There is a disagreement between Rudder and Bigland over what exactly happened here. Bigland writes that the house still belonged to the Howes of Stowell in 1791 whereas as Rudder seems to think it was sold of in c.1742 to Mr. Phelps.

(98) D. Alexander, pp 22&25. Pevsner, Gloucestershire and the Cotswolds, p.190, by John Middleton, 1889-72.

(99) Landranger map 163, Scale 1:50,000: grid reference SP966 154.

(100) Atkyns, p.226.

(101) Atkyns, p.226 and Victoria County History for Gloucestershire, volume VII p.75. Andrew Barker seems to have owned Alderly, another house drawn by Kip, which he inherited from his mother and which he sold to Mathew Hale in 1657. GRO D1086 E179.

(102) N. Kingsley, The Country Houses of Gloucester, 1992, volume II, pp. 138-139.

- (103) André Mollet was King Charles' gardener at St. James Palace from 1661 until his death in 1665/6, Calendar of State Papers vol. CXLVIII p. 261 February 21st 1666. Could he be connected with the design of this garden in a more direct way?
- (104) Atkyns, p.226. Victoria County History of Gloucestershire, Volume VII, p.75.
- (105) Nicholas Kingsley as above, p.138-139 quoting the Travels Through England of Dr. Richard Pococke, Camden Society, 1888, ii, pp.252-53, in which he describes Faringdon as being "a very good house with a fine lawn before it, in which the trees indeed are planted as three avenues: behind this the gardens are laid out in the wilderness way, and there is a small park beautifully adorned with trees. But what is very fine is a terrace on an eminence over the river, which is form'd into a very fine serpentine for near a mile in length: towards the north end is a round basin, from which a cascade opens to a walk of great beauty; this at some distance is encompassed as with a square form'd by canals that spoils the beauty of the thing, which, if the angles were broke, would form a beautiful island, as made by the division of the waters"
- (106) Nicholas Kingsley, Volume II, instancing Gloucester Record Office Pc 64f and S. Rudder, A History of Fairford Church, Cirencester 1763, p.16: " Opposite the north front of the villa stand four images, representing the four seasons of the year; beyond which is a vista terminated by an obelisk, nearly a mile distant between two woods. The wilderness consists of serpentine walks, adorn'd with images, urns, grottos etc. included chiefly between two vistas. From the upper end of the middle one is a most pleasant and delightful view of the canal (answering thereto) proceeding from the river Coln, which glides its silver streams along the bottom of the wilderness. The whole of the garden and the wilderness is in a modern and elegant taste, well stock'd with fruit-trees, shrubs, flowers etc."
- (107) Gloucester Record Office Q/ SRh 1785/D. This plan is thought to be by William Eames and includes the obelisk mentioned by Rudder.
- (108) Samuel Rudder under Fairford pp.442-447.
- (109) The Torrington Diaries, 4 volumes edited by C. Bruyn Andrews, London 1935, Volume 1, p.256, June 1787: " The old lady is blind, (Mrs Lamb) but her nephew Mr. Raymond is carrying out many alterations and improvements, with the assistance of Mr. Eames, a poor imitator of Mr. Brown's capabilities; but no gentleman will make any figure in this or in any other such attempt, without a natural good taste. The water and walls are certainly very pretty but they are not done or doing to advantage. Mr R.

has lately built anew kitchen garden but where (I fear he will find) he should build a new house, when he should pull down the old one. As for the water, it is wide and clear, but it shou'd run close under the wood, and not thro' the flat, at a distance."

(110) Dorothy Stroud, Capability Brown, Faber and Faber, London 1975, p.154.

(111) Gloucester Record Office, D674 b53.

(112) Gloucester Record Office, D303/ P1.

(113) Gloucester Record Office, D340 A/P3. The Badeslade map of Erddig signed and dated 1740, hangs in the house, which is owned by the National Trust and is open to the public.

(114) Page xx of the introduction, "Thus do we see these & other umbrageous trees, fell'd to humour the regular and delusive schemes of some Paper engineers;"

(115) Atkyns, p.413, thought that this tree was planted in the reign of King John. Ralph Bigland concurred, but is clearly quoting Atkyns measurements, part 3 p. 1340. He estimated its girth at 19 yards or 61 feet 9 inches. Peter Collinson in a letter to John Blaye at Stoke Meon, December 5th 1765, Bristol (Gloucester Record Office, D5090/18.) thought that it was a large tree in the reign of King Stephen and estimated its age in 1765 as 965 years. Alan Mitchell (The Trees Of Britain Harper Collins 1996, p210) mentions that Strutt measured the tree in 1776 at 50ft. around 5ft above the ground, but Mitchell measured it at 33.5 feet and is not convinced that the tree is around 1000 years old.

(116) Letter 5th December 1765 as above.

(117) The pamphlet Hailes Abbey, written for English Heritage by J. G. Coad in 1970 p.22 suggests that the Tracy family lived at Hailes whilst they rebuilt their principal seat at Toddington. Atkyns, p.409 and 246, is definite that the Tracy's owned Toddington and lived there in the reign of Edward I whereas Hailes was acquired from the heirs of William Hobby by 1608. The new house at Toddington in Kip's print looks as if it may have been built about then.

(118) Atkyns, p.246.

(119) Coad, Hailes Abbey p.22.

(120) Rudder under Hayles, pp.485-489.

(121) Ralph Bigland, Part 2 p. 709: " Some of the Offices are now inhabited as Cottages and are only distinguishable by Arches, and other members of Gothic Architecture, which frequently discerned by the eye of the Antiquary. The Conventual

Barn is still intire; but the greater part of the Buildings as described by Kip and Buck became totally a Ruin in 1760.”

(122) Atkyns p.246: “ The Lord Tracy of Toddington, is the present Lord thereof, who has a very large house in the place, which was heretofore the habitation of the Abbot, as appears by many religious figures and inscriptions in the rooms of the house.”

(123) Celia Feinnes, The Journeys of Celia Feinnes, edited by C. Morris, London 1947, pp.30-31.

(124) This is in the collection of Robins’ work in the Courtauld Institute, the University of London.

(125) The notes for Hailes provided by English Heritage interpret this as the remains of a mill leet for the vanished abbey mill. This would have made an appropriate place to make a boundary for a later orchard.

(126) Atkyns 246, Ralph Bigland, part 3 p. 710.

(127) Landranger Map 150; scale 1; 50,000, SP 056 301. The avenues at Fairford if the print is compared to the plan also seem to have been made to run more strictly north south than they actually did.

(128) Maynard Colchester’s account book, Gloucester Record Office D36 A4, contains entries from his father’s death in 1664 to 1715, when Maynard died. Most of the relevant entries are published in the National Trust Handbook for Westbury Court Garden 1997. The entries regarding the gardens peter out in 1706. Not all of them are printed in the handbook. Some entries concerning the orchard on the hill have been omitted. These accounts are very laconic, written very small indeed and it is quite easy to miss a relevant entry.

(129) Possibly built by Sir Alexander Baynham, High Sheriff of Gloucester who died in 1524, Westbury Court Garden 1997 p.31.

(130) Westbury Court, Country Life, 1908, pp. 874-884. Country Life 1964: Plight Of A Historic Garden, J. Kenworthy-Browne p. 1280.

(131) Civil War, Interregnum and Restoration in Gloucestershire, 1640-1672: Studies In History, 1977, by A. R. Warmington, pp.82-83 and 94.

(132) Westbury Court Garden The National Trust, p.31.

(133) Not enough is known about Maynard Colchester to explain the Dutch connection or how, or where, he got the inspiration for the arrangement of the exceedingly long and narrow canal and the tall thin building.

- (134) Westbury Court Garden p.35. Plight of a Historic Garden, Country Life, 1964, p.1280: Information from an account book belonging to Maynard II belonging to the late Sir Francis Colchester-Wemyss.
- (135) Country Life, 1964 p.1283.
- (136) See Gervase Jackson-Stops, A Formal Garden Refound, Country Life 1973, part 27.
- (137) The accounts are in the Gloucester Record Office, D36 A4 1694-1715. The bulk of the expenses for the gardens come under Work and Materials in this book and some come under expenses. There are no folio numbers.
- (138) Ibid: 2nd December 1699: Pd Thomas Hall in full for bringing the water.
- (139) Ibid: 19th April 1704: Pd. Fox 25ft coping lower end canal. 7th July & 23rd October 1704, James Fox paid for coping the fountain. 5th October 1704 Smart for pineapples & pillers
- (140) Ibid: April 1702 A Mr. Pyke was paid for “ a patterne for the summerhouse. 18th Jan 1703 Pd. Tyling the somerhouse. 12th May 1703: Pd. Mr. Randall for arms etc. at the somerhouse. 22nd July 1704: Pd Woodhouse upon acct. of the wainscoting the somerhouse. 5th July 1705: Pd Mr. Lovejoy painting below the Canal chimneypiece.
- (141) Ibid: November 8th 1701: Pd. William Bellamy 6doz Pear tree stocks. 13th October 1702: Pd. Mr.? for 7 ½ doz. Cherry stocks at the hill. 27th November 1703: Pd. Mr. Wells to Joseph Butler in full for 145 standard cherries, 123 scotch firs, 15 sweet briars, 4 woodbines, 35 wall cherys, 25 plumbs, 45 apricocks, 2wt. & 1 red sweet grape, 6 peaches.
- (142) See last entry above.
- (143) Ibid: 21st March 1699, 20th April 1702, 7th November 1702, 13th May 1704 (Under Expenses and Work & Materials)
- (144) Ibid: Expenses, 7th November 1702.
- (145) Westbury Court Garden, pp.35-36 quoting, A Topographical Account of the Parish of Westbury, 1708, Maynard Colchester “has Beautified his faire Seate with a lovely Conel containeing in length about 150 yards, and in breadth about six yards whose bottom is paved with plaine stone haveing near the centre thereof an Islet in forme of an oval upon which is placed a figure in Lead, representing a Boy, which by turning of some watercocks, will throw out of his Right forefinger a great way. At the lower end of the Conel Stands a very pleasant summer-House, etc.” The portion in

this description concerning the island does not agree with the view in 1712. Also a legal document of 1725 describing a meadow across the road as being as “ Having ye canal and garden on the south side”, neither of these documents has been found and examined, but the second document seems to be unsatisfactory as evidence and hardly proves, as stated, that the second “canal” was not yet constructed in 1712 and was the work of Maynard II.

(146) Warwick Record Office: Newnham Paddox Accounts: Building Account Book 1743, Microfilm 416.

(147) Atkyns: p.216. Dyrham Park, John Kenworthy-Browne, The National Trust 1998, p.48.

(148) As above: Dyrham Park, pp.48-49.

(149) The Gardens Of Epicurus, Sir William Temple, 1685, 1908 edition p.36.

(150) Ibid: p.55 and Gloucester Record Office, D1799, E245 letter 5 and 243 19th October 1703.

(151) Gloucester Record Office, D1799, A109 the Great Hall and associated rooms seems to have been rebuilt by 1698. New stables were also started in 1698 and are mentioned in the same set of accounts.

(152) Gloucester Record Office D1799, A109, in a bill from William Broad.

(153) Gloucester Record Office D1799, E244, letters written by W, Blathway to his steward Coz. Watkins on 12th and 19th October 1703.

(153) These remarks and other mentions of Dyrham are printed in Dyrham Park pp.56-60.

(154) No Ordinary Gardener, Thomas Knowlton 1691-1781, Blanche Henry, British Museum, London, 1686, pp. 27 and 135.

(155) Rudder writes, ” that the curious waterworks, which were made at great expence, are much neglected and going to decay”. P.427. Ralph Bigland, Part 2 p.552 records the change in style of the gardens, which are “reconciled to modern Taste.”

(156) Bigland as above.

(157) Gloucester Record Office D1799 E245, February 10th ?

(158) Gloucester Record Office D1799 E240 reprinted in full in Dyrham Park, pp.57-58.

(159) Dyrham Park, p. 58-59.

(160) The sources in the Gloucester Record Office used for this comparison are all mentioned in this note rather than after the name of each feature of the garden found

mentioned in them lest the number of footnotes become too enormous. They are G.R.O. D1799: A107, A108, A109, A24, A25, E235, E243, E244 and E245.

(161) Gloucester Record Office D1799 E243: Letter to Coz. Watkins from William Blathwayt October 19th 1703.

(162) The Lie of the Land, edited by Robert Wilson-North, Archaeological Recording on Historic Gardens By the National Trust by Martin Papworth, p.16, published by the Mint Press 2003. Unfortunately not enough information about mapping and resistivity tests carried out at Dyrham is forthcoming in this article.

(163) There By Design Ed. Paul Pattison: Fieldwork in London's Royal Parks by Paul Pattison, pp.45-46: R.C.H.M.E. 1998.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Having reached the conclusion that in general, if not quite in every case, the prints of Kip and Knyff give the viewer a very good and reliable idea of how huge gardens, like the vast landscape of Badminton or the smaller gardens surrounding the manor houses of Gloucestershire, looked in the late 17th century and early 18th century, this chapter will look at the value of the prints as a tool for those interested in these largely vanished landscapes; The question is what sort of a tool are these prints? Their first major contribution is simply as a largely reliable pictorial record of these late 17th century and early 18th century landscapes. Beyond this, when they are used alongside other material, such as accounts and garden manuals, the prints are full of information about the construction of gardens, and also, about trends in landscape design in the period covered by Kip and Knyff's views. This is the aspect, which will be discussed first. The value of the prints as a more practical tool in the field of restoration will be explored subsequently. Consequently this chapter will be divided into two major sections, one on trends and design and one on the application of the information derived from the prints to practical reconstruction.

SECTION 1: THE PRINTS AS EXEMPLARS OF TRENDS IN TASTE AND DESIGN

This section deals with

Subsection 1: The fashions in gardening at the time the prints were made, then with various types of design as they can be traced in the prints.

Subsection 2: The garden of William III at Hampton Court and the designer Daniel Marot.

Subsection 3: The earlier Royal Gardens established under Charles II at St. James' Palace and their longer lasting influence on the design of gardens in the period under discussion.

Subsection 4: Evidence of the work of George London amongst the Kip and Knyff gardens.

Subsection 5: Owners whose ideas inspired the design of their gardens.

Section I Subsection 1: Trends in Post Restoration Gardening: The background to the Gardens in the prints:

There was a contemporary perception that there had been a hiatus in the practise of gardening during the Commonwealth, which was changed by the accession of Charles II and that after the Restoration gardening reached higher levels of skill than it had done previously. Certainly John Aubrey (1626-1697), who knew everybody, thought in his History of Wiltshire (1) that gardening was much improved from the reign of Charles II, and that, by 1691, towards the end of his life, there was ten times as much gardening around London as there had been in 1660. Stephen Switzer was even more certain that there had been a new beginning and a new style since the Restoration and although his book was not published until 1715, he had been working for the foremost nurserymen of the time, London and Wise of Brompton Park Nursery (2) in the last decades of the previous century and was a passionate admirer of the work of George London. (3) They both thought that the “new” gardening was inspired by trends in France as opposed to the pre Restoration Italian influence.

What the prints contain is a wide selection of landscapes. Some of which, like Rycote, are Italianate in concept and were begun before the Civil War. Others, like St James Palace garden were begun shortly after the Restoration. Some gardens are older than others. For instance, the landscapes at Cassiobury Park and Eaton Hall date to the 1670s and 80s, twenty years before Knyff drew them, and do not necessarily reflect the most recent thinking on design whereas a garden like the Fountain Garden at Hampton Court Palace is made in the height of fashion for 1700.

At the time when Kip and Knyff where travelling to the various gardens and converting the drawings they made on site into plates, the most important gardeners in the country were George London (died 1713) and his partner Henry Wise (1653-1738). George London was Keeper of the Royal Gardens in St. James for King William III and Queen Mary and deputy to the Superintendent of the Royal Gardens, the Earl of Portland (4) from at least 1690. He had been trained by a predecessor at St. James, John Rose, Royal Gardener from 1665 to 1677, and somewhere between these dates had been sent to France at the time when André Le Nostre had begun the great work at Versailles and completed his seminal work at Vaux-le-Vicomte (5) He also visited Holland in 1691 and France with the embassy of the Earl of Portland in 1697. (6) His partner, Frank Wise, followed him in this position when Queen Anne succeeded (7) her brother- in- law. These two men were associated with the French

school of gardens and landscape both because of George London's training and because they jointly translated several French gardening books. (8) Both Switzer and Evelyn agree that most of the major landscapes of the time were the work of George London (9) though it is actually quite difficult to associate him definitely with many gardens within the corpus. There is evidence for his participation in the design and maintenance of Longleat, Chatsworth, Hampton Court Palace, Dyrham, Cassiobury Park and Althorp and he can be associated with Badminton, Williamstrip, Hampton Court Herefordshire, Newby Hall, Staunton Harald and Bretby, (10) that is in fifteen of the approximately 120 landscapes drawn by Kip and Knyff. All but two of these, Dyrham and Williamstrip, belong to the selection of larger houses drawn by Knyff and of the two Kip landscapes, Dyrham is the creation of an immensely wealthy court official. The scope of George London's practise and influence are not quite so obviously pre-eminent to later enquirers as Switzer and Evelyn claim, though firmly associated with the upper echelons of society.

Nor is it quite true that the French influence occurs only after the Restoration and that Pre-Restoration gardens were almost entirely Italianate, which was what John Aubrey suggested. There does not appear to have been a continuous progression from the state of gardening before the Civil War, regarded by contemporaries as being rather primitive, to a time of universal horticultural sophistication in the last decades of the 17th century and the first of the 18th. (11) A garden like that at Wilton, Italianate in its use of terraces and relative enclosure, designed and made in 1632 /4, (12) contained features which were regarded as being highly sophisticated in 1700, particularly the *Parterres de Broderie* (Figure 116). These are a notable feature of the Fountain Garden at Hampton Court, planted by William III in the 1690s, sixty years after Wilton's parterres. (Plate 6, Volume I *Britannia Illustrata*). By this time the parterres at Wilton may not have been still in place and they are not present in the plate made in 1725 for *Vitruvius Britannicus* (Figure 116).

Switzer's term for this new Post Restoration style was "the extensive way of Gardening" or "le Grand Manier" and this type of garden is not to be found universally amongst the gardens and landscapes in the prints. (13) The style was not easily achieved and as Roger North wrote that in his opinion, "The grand manier, non can reach, but such as have seen many men and cities."(14), meaning that foreign travel was an essential grounding for the understanding of the style. The arrangement of the smaller landscapes surrounding the houses of country gentlemen in Volume II

was often very conservative. Many of the landscapes amongst these houses portray no unity of design but are composed of a collection of walled gardens and yards, just as they would have been in the mid 17th century. Only, generally, in the Best or Great Garden, amongst these houses, are there some modern elements to be seen in the design of the parterres and in the lines of trees, which have occasionally been planted to link the gardens with the wider landscape, in the spirit of “Le Grand Manier”. Stanway and Broadwell in Gloucestershire are examples of this simple landscape (Figure 131) and Coberley and Leckhampton, which were examined in chapter 5, have elements of improvement in their landscapes without having undergone a complete alteration.

The sophistication of landscapes like that created at Fairford is a warning against assuming all smaller houses are old fashioned and, conversely, Temple Newsam’s landscape shows that not all large houses resemble Versailles. Temple Newsam (Volume I, plate 42) owned by Arthur Ingram, third Viscount Irwin is in 1700, fundamentally, the house and landscape created by his grandfather. Sir Arthur Ingram had bought a neglected mediaeval house in 1622, and “modernized” it. He died in 1642 almost 30 years before the print was commissioned but the gardens surrounding the house, in 1700, are essentially Jacobean in concept. Though, the parterres in the Great Garden have been changed to agree with more recent fashions and the avenues have been added to the outer landscape, without achieving the essential integration of the immediate area round the house with the wider landscape, much as at the smaller Gloucestershire manors of Coberley and Leckhampton.

There may be many reasons for this conservatism such as the length of time it took for ideas to percolate out from the centre to the provinces and a reluctance to initiate radical and expensive change. The creation of wide landscapes composed of a web of axes radiating out from the house was not always easy to marry with the tendency to try and adapt an old house, often built on a difficult site, to the fashions of the day. Many old houses lay in valley bottoms close to a source of water, as old Toddington did (Figures 96 and 97) and were too enclosed to become the centre of a “Versailles” type garden. Rather than move the site and rebuild, many old houses were enlarged or re-cased as Cassiobury was, or taken down and rebuilt wing by wing as happened at Chatsworth (15) and new ideas about the landscape made to suit.

At Chatsworth, the first Duke of Devonshire began the rebuilding with the Elizabethan south wing, proceeded to the east wing, the south is the direction from

which Knyff made his view in 1700 (16) and then the west and north sides. This lasted from 1680 to the Duke's death in 1708 with a gap of seven years between the first and second phases. (17) Between the two building stages, the façade that Knyff drew, designed by Talman, ceased to be the main façade and the west side where the stables had been, but which faced the River Derwent, was chosen instead. Planning the landscape followed behind the rebuilding and was therefore piecemeal although the result was magnificent.

This type of rebuilding was often unexpectedly expensive and left the “new “ building on a site, which was often unsuitable for “extensive gardening”. In adding a new landscape to the building, compromises had to be made of the sort seen at Longleat, where the alignment of the principal front with the new gardens was not possible. Some of these restyled landscapes were more adaptable to this gardening style such as Badminton (Volume I f.9) Wimpole (Volume I f.31) and Wrest Park. (Volume I f.19)

There are some houses within the corpus of prints, which were newly built in the 1680s, in the double pile manner, and where it appears that the landscape and house were designed as one, the house lying at the centre of the surrounding landscape such as Fairford (Gloucestershire), Melton Constable (Norfolk) Lowther (Westmoreland) Ragley Hall (Warwickshire) and Eaton Hall (Cheshire). Unfortunately the evidence that these houses and gardens were designed and built as an integral whole is not copious. From the remarks of Sir Roger North, it seems that Melton Constable and its gardens were built as unit. (18) Eaton Hall's building accounts also show that house, green house, banqueting houses, garden house and canal were created at the same time as the new Hall was going up. (19)

The landscapes in the plates are the result of a number of different considerations and are by no means unified in their date or design.

Subsection 2. Hampton Court Palace and Daniel Marot: The influence of William III and Dutch experience on Garden making.

Perhaps only Hampton Court Palace, (Volume I plate 6) within the group of prints, approaches the princely Mollet-le Nostre style of France (20) and particularly Versailles, at the time the most admired garden in Europe not so much in size, for Badminton was larger than Hampton Court, with its five mile avenues, but in detail. (21) The landscape at Hampton Court is partly the work of Charles II, who planted the

lime avenues and made the canal and the semi circle before the Palace, according to the recollections of John Evelyn and Stephen Switzer. (22) Britannia Illustrata includes a print of the Fountain Parterre, the Privy Garden and Charles II's avenues of lime trees. The fountain parterre was the latest addition to a magnificent landscape embellished by William III and Queen Mary, who made Hampton Court Palace, rather than St. James Palace or Windsor, their residence. Another view by Knyff, an oil painting probably commissioned by William III about 1701/2, in the Royal Collection, includes more of the landscape surrounding the Palace. (Figure 117)

The new garden illustrated in the plate is not the work of English designers. These would have been the heirs to the first wave of French influence, which came with the First Royal Gardener that Charles II employed, André Mollet and his brother, Gabriel and passed down and refined although by their successors. George London and Henry Wise, direct successors in the Royal gardens to the Mollets, also worked at Hampton Court (23) but were not responsible for the design of this part of the palace garden. The influence of Mollet's work at St. James Palace and of the plates in André Mollet's book Le Jardin de Plaisir are to be seen in several prints by Kip and Knyff and the style is quite different from that of the fountain garden, though emanating from the same tradition.

Before they came to England, William III and Queen Mary were already deeply interested in gardening and in the Queen's case, in exotic plants, and they brought with them Dutch gardeners. (24) Before their arrival, at the end of 1688, they had started the building of the palace and garden at Het Loo in Guelderland, a project, which continued up to the peace of Ryswick in 1697. (25) The Hampton Court Palace gardens closely resemble the Het Loo gardens, which in turn are in a grand French manner (Figures 118 and 119), massive in scale with elaborate broderies of branch and flourish work in the parterres, a style not really seen in any other of the plates in either of the two volumes of Britannia Illustrata being discussed here and not native to Holland.

Although Charles II laid out the avenues and the canal, William III completed a half finished landscape. These Het Loo type gardens at Hampton Court were the work of a Huguenot refugee, Daniel Marot, who fled to Holland after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. This attribution is owed to William III's Physician Dr Walter Harris, who visited the palace at Het Loo in 1697 and minutely described its external aspect. In describing the Fishponds, he wrote "These Viviers are supplied for

the supplying of different sorts of Fish; and are now finished after the model of Monsieur Marot, a very ingenious Mathematician, who is the same person that first designed all these Gardens and Fountains; but the Orders relating to them were from time to time given by the Earl of Portland.”(26) What Dr Harris intends by the term “mathematician” may be related to the geometrical and surveying skills needed in the creation of the form of a garden like Het Loo.

Daniel Marot described himself in 1694 as an architect and draughtsman, (27) and as such his background was not that of other gardeners who created the landscapes of the time. The Mollets who served Charles II belonged to a dynasty of gardeners, and so did the great le Nostre, and they, like George London, were primarily gardeners, albeit with ancillary skills such as surveying and geometry, which allowed them to set out gardens. (28) Marot’s family were draughtsmen, architects and furniture designers, (29) and he himself firmly declared on the title page, when he published his Oeuvres (1705) that he was “Architecte de Roi du Grand Bretagne.”(30) Oeuvres contained engravings of designs for clocks, models for landscape painters to apply to the walls of rooms, chimney pieces in the Dutch and French style, furniture, tombs including designs for those of William III and the Earl of Portland, vases for tulips, mirror surrounds and a state coach, the last three items with the arms of William III on them.

Amongst these plates are designs for gardens, four of parterres, six of fountains, four of berceaux and cabinets and a few stone vases. (31) One of these is a plate labelled “Parterre d’Amton Court inventé par D. Marot, which is essentially the same as the design of the parterres in Knyff’s print (Figures 119 and 120). It is also reminiscent of the design of the Parterre du Nord at Versailles laid out in 1666 and painted by Pierre Patel in 1668. (Figure 121) Another of the six plates is very like Perelle’s print of St. Germain-en-Laye. (Figure 122) Significantly the word “inventé” is used in the print’s title, which means that he made the design but was not necessarily involved in carrying it out and this explains why his name does not occur in the accounts of the Earl of Portland’s paymaster, Caspar Henning for Hampton Court. Although no one else’s name appears as a likely originator of the design either. This omission makes it difficult to substantiate Marot’s authorship.

However there are a few traces of Marot in England between 1694, when he arrived at the request of Queen Mary, and 1700. He was in Amsterdam in 1697 where his third child was baptized, but back in England and is listed as receiving payments

of a pension of £75 pounds a year as one of the late Queens' servants between Christmas 1699 and March 1701/2. (32) This information does, however, not attach Marot to the making of Hampton Court's new Fountain Garden. He could have been in England working on the interior of the palace itself, but there is a document in Holland in the records of the Council of Nassau Demesne, which mentions a letter from Secretary Henning on 21st March 1698, which asks the Council on His Majesty's behalf to pay Daniel Marot £236 11s 11d. sterling. (33) Secretary Henning was the accountant for the monies paid to William Bentinck in his office as Superintendent of the Royal Gardens and had been since 1690/1. He oversaw the payments for the Hampton Court gardens made in the years 1689-1696, amongst which the Fountain Garden is mentioned. (34) This places Marot securely in the area of gardens and the sum requested is a significant one, comparable to that of £200, which was George London's annual salary as William Bentinck's deputy and implies a task of some size. This payment taken with the plate from Oeuvres is persuasive.

Another link between Hampton Court's design are the Dutch Gardeners who worked there, Henrick Quellenberg, Van Staten and Van Uliet, who was in charge of Gravel and grass, accompanied by twenty-four servants (24), also presumably gardeners and their presence raises a question about these gardens. Why were Dutch gardeners preferred to perfectly competent English ones who had been familiar with the minutiae of the French gardening style since the 1660s? They may have possessed expertise in regard to the making and keeping of the Fountain garden that the English gardeners did not have and this was likely to have been in the creation and management of complicated box parterres, which may have been beyond local competence.

From the plate that Marot made for Oeuvres of this garden it can be seen that these parterres are made of branch and flourish work of box and coloured sands interlaced with bands of flowers. (Figure 120) Some idea of the time and skill needed to look after this type of planting can be gleaned from the career of the great André Le Nostre, whose first employment was to follow his father, Jean le Nostre, as the prestigious and well paid "Jardinier des deux grands parterres à face du grand pavilion des Tuilleries" in 1637, (35) although latterly he is reputed to have despised flower beds of any sort. (36). These were "parterres de broderie", whose design dated back to the time when Jaques Boyceau was superintendent of the Royal Gardens in the 1630s. (37) Switzer's remarks on William III and Hampton Court also support the

suggestion that Hampton Court was made in a style, which was different to that practised in England at the time, when he wrote “ The only fault was, the Pleasure gardens being stuff'd too thick with box, a fashion bought over out of Holland by the Dutch Gardeners who used it to a fault especially in England, where we abound in so Good Grass and Gravel” (38)

The plant, box, does not seem to have been extensively used in England at the period indeed it seems to have been disliked. Parkinson who commended it in 1629 as an edging mentioned its noxious scent (39) At this period, 60-70 years later, even in highly important gardens like Chatsworth, the list of plants supplied by the Brompton Nursery included thousands of lavender plants for edging the new garden. (40) Likewise in the Duchess of Beaufort's garden at Chelsea other plants were used as edgings and there is no box mentioned at all, (41) and when she makes an undated marginal note later in the same manuscript of the list “ In Mr. London's Booke his edgings” it contains “Sage of severall sorts, Two of marjoram, Thyme, Lavender, Hyssop, Wormwoode of smalle sort,” but no box. (42)

The Fountain Garden, despite its Royal provenance, is virtually unique amongst the Kip and Knyff prints and does not seem to have inspired a series of similar gardens. Indeed “parterres de broderie” have little impact on English Taste and there are hardly any are to be found amongst the prints. Tortworth in Gloucestershire seems to have a small garden of such parterres and also the Earl of Chesterfield's house in Derbyshire, Bretby. Queen Anne soon reigned in the spending on gardens (43) and these parterres in the Fountain Garden had been grassed over by 1707. (44)

Subsection 3: The Royal Gardens at St. James and André Mollet

The style, which did, however, influence many of the gardens portrayed by Kip and Knyff, is that of the Mollets, uncle and nephew, who worked at St. James for Charles II in the early 1660s. André's designs were encapsulated in Le Jardin Du Plaisir, printed in 1551 in Sweden and 1670 in England. While the work of Marot is associated with the artistic circle of Louis XIV, for whom both he and his father worked, André and Gabriel Mollet were the descendants of a royal gardener to Henri IV and Louis XIII, Claude Mollet, who died in 1648. Charles II may have compromised in hiring these men. He would certainly have been aware of the work at Versailles, which he had seen for himself whilst in exile and where his mother, the dowager Queen lived and which his sister, Henrietta –Anne, married to Louis XIV's

brother, frequented. In 1662 the King attempted to borrow Le Nostre from Louis XIV with, it seems, no success. (45) Instead Le Nostre provided a plan for the garden being made for the Dowager Queen, Henrietta-Maria, (Figure 123) at Greenwich. (46)

The Mollet's background is in the French tradition also, but before the dominance of André Le Nostre, and their careers included long absences from France working for, amongst others, the Queen of Sweden and Charles I. (47) Their successor as Keeper of the Royal Garden at St. James in the period covered by the prints, was George London, who had been trained by the immediate successor to the Mollets, John Rose. (48) George London had been sent to France by John Rose and is known to have attended The Earl of Portland in his embassy to Paris at the time of the Peace of Ryswick, (49) but was possibly not at his best as a designer. (50) His skill was firstly with fruit. (51) Therefore it is not surprising that he seems to have maintained the design that the two Mollets produced and carried out at St. James, during his tenure as Keeper of the gardens there. (1689-1701) Though it is also possible that the gardens here, as planned by André Mollet, were left uncompleted on his death in 1665/6 and were finished over the next 20 years. (52)

The gardens of St James are portrayed in plates 2 and 3 of Britannia Illustrata, Volume I and in André Mollet's plan of St James reproduced as folio 25, "a Royal Garden" in the posthumous 1670 English Version of Le Jardin De Plaisir, on the front page of which Mollet calls himself "Master of His Majesty of England's Gardens in St. James" and which is dedicated to Charles II. The comparison of the two plates shows how similar the 1665 and the post 1688 version of the gardens are (Figure 124) except some simplification of detail is discernable in the later plate, understandable when it is remembered that Hampton Court Place was preferred to St. James in William and Mary's reign. (53)

This garden has many echoes amongst the landscapes included in the Kip and Knyff prints and therefore a little more needs to be said about it. The first thing that strikes the viewer, apart from the axial plan ending in a semi circle typical of Mollet's work, (Figures 124 and 125) is the simplicity of the make-up of the various divisions lying on either side of the central path. There is no embroidery and no cutwork, though Mollet was familiar with that sort of design, (54) (Figure 126) and St. James is much plainer garden than Wilton was decades earlier in 1662-3. Though significantly, in relation to St. James, it has been suggested that André Mollet designed Wilton

garden also, during the time, when he is thought to have worked for Charles I and for Henrietta-Maria, from 1629 to 1633. (55)

Mollet wrote about his plate of St. James that in the case of “ This Royal Garden”, because, there is no place near it from which it may be view’d from on high, we have therein omitted all Embroidered ground-works, and Knots of grass, and have contrived it into severall parallelograms, according to its length; and in regard it falls out, that at one end there happens to be a wild Wood, we have contrived another of green trees over against it...”(56) Knyff’s plan and View of St James (Figures 124 and 127 top) show that the site was a constrained one , divided by a public way and with the main garden lying to one side of the palace , on the other side of this track. In front of the Palace is a smaller garden divided into two sections and filled by two rectangles with borders round them in much the same way as the main garden.

These simple rectangular divisions with the borders or “lists” to use André’s term, are filled with “ dwarf-fruit-Trees, Rose-trees and several sorts of flowers and the circumference is planted with Cyprus-Trees and other green Plants to make Pallisades about five feet high” are nothing like the designs published by English gardeners like Leonard Meager, The English Gardener, 1670 or John Rea in Flora Ceres and Pomona, 1665 and 1676. (Figures 128 and 129), both of which are nearly contemporary with the English edition of Le Jardin de Plaisir. The St. James design seems to have had enormous influence over the way gardens looked right up to the end of the century, and not only in places where the principal rooms did not overlook the main parterre, but in all sorts of gardens, these plain rectangular plots surrounded by borders, often with small round headed and pyramid trees in them, appear again and again. They may have appealed to English taste because adding such a border allowed a simple arrangement of grass squares or oblongs, which was common in gardens of the 1630s, to be given a fashionable look without much upheaval or expense. Such arrangements can be seen at Temple Newsam, Folkington, Williamstrip, two gardens at Henbury near Bristol, Alveston, Southam, Hardwicke, Flaxley, Swell, Hampstead Marshall and Combe Abbey, houses from both Volumes I and II of Britannia Illustrata. Some of which are illustrated in the pullout in Figure 127. The first parterre laid out in the east garden at Longleat seems also to have been of this type (Figure 59) before George London replaced it with grass cutwork in the manner of the parterre de Latone at Versailles (Figure 130)

The plan of the St. James garden itself and other plans in Mollet's book also had a long period of influence, particularly variations of the plan reproduced in figure 125, consisting of an axis passing through the house and out into a symmetrical parterre, punctuated by matching fountains and terminating in a semicircle with a *clairvoyée*, leading to a goosefoot arrangement of avenues. The gardens at Fairford (Gloucestershire), Cassiobury (Hertfordshire), Stanstead (Sussex) and Ragley (Warwickshire) are all versions of this plan.

How Mollet's designs were disseminated is another question since the 1670 English version of Mollet's work seems to have been published in limited numbers and is now very rare. (57) Presumably earlier versions printed abroad were consulted. Certainly Moses Cook, who wrote in 1667 and included the Mollet type plan of the new garden at Cassiobury, could only have seen an earlier foreign edition of Le Jardin De Plaisir. The partnership of London and Wise may have owned plans drawn by Mollet, which had descended to George London through his predecessors as Royal gardeners at St. James and which they would have used and reused in the numerous schemes though out England with which they were engaged. (58) And, of course, the gardens of St. James were easily accessible to all who had business at the Court and also visible from the houses, which crowded the boundary, whose owners put up their own mounts to enjoy the Royal Garden vicariously. (59) The gardens at St. James were the chief royal gardens from 1660 until the end of the 17th century and the completion of William III's work at Hampton Court Palace. (60) Echoes of this most pre-eminent royal garden are found in many of the gardens Kip and Knyff drew.

The garden at St. James set another enduring fashion. This is mentioned last in this section concerning the influence of the design of St. James on other gardens among the prints because it was a fashion, which was, possibly, not inspired by Mollet. This is the enthusiasm for planting orchards of dwarf fruit trees, specifically pears. Though the cultivation of all types of fruit trees generally was very fashionable at the time, witness the two translations of De La Quintinye's book into English, a folio edition in 1693, by Evelyn and another in 1699 by London and Wise, as well De La Quintinye's two visits to England at the invitation of William III. (61) From the references made to the Dwarf Pear Orchard at St. James, both by Stephen Switzer and by London and Wise themselves, (62) this orchard seems to have been planted in George London's time at St. James, as an apprentice gardener in the reign of Charles II. It was, therefore, probably planted in the time of André Mollet's successor, John

Rose, who was London's master. (63) Orchards are quite easy to spot in the landscapes in *Britannia Illustrata*, where they are drawn as regular plantations of trees in lines or in quincunx. Even here assumptions are sometimes perilous as Celia Feinnes description of what looks like an orchard at Newby shows. (64) It is not possible to say, without extra information, if what looks like an orchard in a print is an orchard of dwarf trees or simply a newly planted orchard of standard trees. The only certainly identifiable ones, because of documentary information, are the one at Dyrham, laid out in 1699, close to the church and one at Badminton, where 54 dwarf pear trees were established close to the "Citchen" garden by 1691. (65)

Subsection 5: Evidence of George London's work amongst the Kip and Knyff gardens

The work of George London, (d.1714) Deputy Keeper of the Royal Gardens, founder and co-proprietor of the Brompton Nursery, forms another strand of French influenced design which can be traced amongst the prints, though having been trained at St. James and himself worked as Keeper of St. James, his ideas must be closely linked with those of his predecessors there. (66) His own journeys to France, the first sometime between 1666 and 1670, where he stayed for four to five years as a young man, and the second as an established figure in 1697, in the train of the Earl of Portland, would have informed him of more recent trends. By 1690 he was regarded as an expert and as such called in to assess the value of the "Plants roots and Flowers etc. Planted and left" by the departing Keeper of St. James, the painter Verrio, whom he supplanted. (67) Both Switzer and Evelyn convey the idea that his was a prevalent influence the making of gardens though out the period covered by the prints (68) and he appears to have forged very close relations with his clients, socializing with them as well as working for them, rather as Capability Brown did. (69)

Amongst the gardens in the prints, George London supplied the plans for and supervised the making of the all the new gardens at Longleat from 1683 to 1714. (70) He also supplied plans for and planted two parterres at Chatsworth, in 1688 and 1694, (71) a lesser but none the less an important undertaking and may have visited the estate annually (72) on one of the circuits he made to visit and advise clients, which Switzer describes (73). He can be associated with Hampton Court Palace, Dyrham, Cassiobury, Althorp, Badminton, Newby, Bretby, Staunton Harald, Hampton Court, Herefordshire and possibly, Stanstead in Sussex. (74)

His continuous direction at Longleat may be a special case in his work pattern and Dyrham, where his intervention was more sporadic, may represent his usual

method of working, giving a hint of a less involvement in the overall process of garden building, than has previously been thought. At Dyrham the accounts and letters describe a garden, which is the result of the ideas of William Blathwayt, carried out by his steward, Coz. Watkins and his gardener, Thomas Hurnall. Plans are sent from Dyrham to Whitehall and back with changes and annotations on them or Thomas Hurnall writes to his employer with his suggestions for the construction of part of the garden and William Blathwayt responds with his final opinion and instructions. (74)

George London appears occasionally in the accounts and letters for Dyrham. The first reference to him occurs in March 1693, when Hurnall is paid expenses to go to Longleat to meet Mr. London. (75) This meeting took place near the time when the gardens at Dyrham were started and could have been about collecting a plan. The next occasion was three years later in May 1696 when Hurnall goes to meet George London at Col. Ireton's. (76) A letter and a Package are sent to Hurnall at Dyrham by George London in 1698/9. (77) On the 3rd of October 1700, William Blathwayt writes from Whitehall about returning "A draught of ye plan of the ground at the end of the long terrace," after consulting London about it. (78) On the 19th of October 1703 another letter instructs Coz. Watkins to speak to Hurnall, "and you must remind him to thin the House parterre of greens and not lett those that remain grow too thick. Mr. London is used to overstock the ground of."(Sic) (79) Lastly there is an undated injunction, probably about 1700, to do nothing to "ye little slope garden" until Mr. London had been consulted. (80)

The result of this piecemeal approach to design of the Dyrham gardens is a lack of unity layout, specifically in the curious break between the cascade garden and the cataract, which is readily observable in the print of Dyrham and becomes more obvious if Dyrham is compared to a garden like Fairford. (Compare figure 111 to figure 131). It is a garden in which the ideas of the owner have prevailed over the homogeneity of design, that London gave to a garden where his input was continuous, like Longleat's new eastern garden. Longleat was also, like Dyrham, a difficult site on which to make a regular or symmetrical garden but is not disjointed. At Longleat George London did more than occasionally advise, or plant a small area like the "house parterre," or supply trees, shrubs and bulbs from the vast stock at Brompton.

However, it is unwise to assume that, if George London's name can be attached to a garden, then he was responsible for all of it. George London had some

connection with Bretby, but from what little is known about its creation, for which the only information is to be found at the back of the Letterbook of Phillip 2nd Earl of Chesterfield (1657-1713), the Earl, who had travelled extensively, had his own ideas about what his gardens should look like. (81) The landscape at Bretby like that at Dyrham lacks unity and symmetry in the design, which, notwithstanding, that both are imposed on difficult sites, may be the result of the work of a cultivated amateur rather than a professional utilizing a familiar set of design principles.

George London, Henry Wise and the Parterres at Chatsworth.

It is worth considering a garden, where the contribution of George London is definitely known in order to be able to estimate what other gardens may be attributable to him, wholly or partly, amongst the prints. Chatsworth for this purpose is better than Longleat, because here George London's part is quantifiable. At Chatsworth, George London and his partner, Henry Wise made two parterres, the west for which the bargain was made in 1688 and the southern one in 1694. (Figure 132) Knyff's print was made c.1700, when he was paid for making a prospect of Chatsworth (82) and it shows that the earlier western parterre as a separate enclosed garden which was not aligned on the west front at all. The old Tudor building was still in place on the western elevation and on this side was also the entrance to the house in front of which a turning circle (1687) and a terrace (1696-7) had been added (83). This façade is also very close to the River Derwent. The new parterre has been added to a part of the landscape where there were already too many settled features to allow it to be properly aligned. It was also not a reworking of part of the existing garden but a new addition, made where there had not been a previous garden.

The text of the agreement between London and Wise and the Earl of Devonshire describes the site as "Wch peece of ground is situated on ye west side of the great parterre:" the great parterre being the predecessor to the second London parterre of 1694-5, for the gardens originally lay to the south and east of the house as the survey by William Senior taken in 1617 shows. (Figure 133) The larger 1694-5 parterre was built, on the other hand, to link up with the Talman South front, begun c.1687, the first stage in the rebuilding of Elizabethan Chatsworth. (84)

A great deal can be learnt about the scope of George London's work in examining the process of making this new western parterre. The bargain was for a garden 245 feet long by 187 wide "or near to it" and is to follow a design, which has already been presented and agreed to. The task to be completed is three fold: the

rough levelling first, then the garden is to be finished fit for “Turfin, planting and gravelling” and lastly all the turf, sand and gravel it to be provided all at a cost of £120. A note attached to the final settlement for this garden implies that the levelling included putting in drainage and must have included, though nothing is precisely specified, the digging of the fountain basin. (85) George London did not supply the fountains or the statues. (86) The client chose them and they were the work of other specialists, in the case of Chatsworth, the plumber who made the fountain basin was Robert Pidmarsh and the statuaries were Cibber and Van Nost, from London. (87) This is in contrast to places such as Dyrham and Longleat where a more local Bristol sculptor, Francis West, was employed. This method of splitting up a job is much the same as that employed at Versailles and the work of le Nostre who cooperated with Le Brun and Giradon who worked out an iconographical programme and ordered the appropriate fountains and statues, though there is no hint of a theme being present at Chatsworth.

Plants were not included in this agreement but it seems from the details of a bill for August and September 1690, presumably to plant the western garden of 1688, that George London’s firm supplied these separately. (88) Amongst the plants supplied are over 15,000 “slips” of spike, white, green and common lavender, which would have been used to edge the divisions of the parterre. There seems to be no box used as edging plants at all. (89) There were also plants such as 10 striped (Variegated) hollies, 4 striped laurels, 6 striped phillereas, 6 striped box (Used singly as an ornamental plant), 10 standard scorpion senna and 10 bush senna, 40 standard green lavenders, 40 standard white lavenders and 20 standard Roman lavenders, which would be planted in the in the thin beds or lists or plates bandes surrounding the central design in each quarter of the parterre. The rest of the design was grass cutwork, called a Parterre á L’ Anglaise and as such particularly suited to the English genius for grass but nonetheless French in conception. (90)

London’s firm worked on this parterre from 1688 until October 1690, (91) but the statues, fountain and grill- work were not paid for and presumably not put in place until three years later. (92) There was some dissatisfaction with this garden, a note added to the plant bill reads: “the gardener says the rates is great” and also that plants having been planted by Mr. London’s own man: “ A Great Part is dead,” as well as: “Some of the work was ill done and the sinks are to little purpose, and must be new made.” George London and Henry Wise were, notwithstanding, commissioned again

on June 16th 1694. This time the bargain was for the much larger parterre on the south front, 447 feet long and 227 feet wide for which a draught had already been supplied and agreed. (93) The new agreement is more detailed than the first one and includes clauses to cope with difficulties and delays, including a penalty clause that insists that the work be finished by March 25th 1695, as well as measurements for the quarters, paths and the narrow encircling flower beds round each quarter. (94) The result is a garden in which the two nearest quarters are longer than the two furthest and each half is a different design of grass cutwork surrounded by a 5foot wide plat bande, planted with flowering trees and shrubs as well as flowers. (95) Round the borders is a four-foot wide band of "Sparr," which is a coloured crystalline gravel to contrast with the colour of the earth and gravel on the walks, and to prevent earth from contaminating the gravel. In the centre of the cross walks is a fountain with figures 56 foot in diameter. This garden, as described in the contract, matches the garden in the print quite well, although without the draught, which was once attached to the contract and is now missing, there is no description of the exact details of the cutwork that Knyff has drawn.

This highly sophisticated design of curvilinear cutwork, with a strong axial link to the house coupled to the designs at Longleat, discussed at the end of chapter 4, give a hint as how to identify London's work within the rest of the prints and encourages the conclusion that London designed parts at least of (Figure 134) Cassiobury, which he reworked, Hampton Court (Herefordshire), Wimpole and Stanstead. At Newby, Haigh and Sprotburgh the parterres are less curvilinear but bear a strong likeness to some of the designs produced for Longleat in the early 1680s by George London. (Figure 61)

The two Chatsworth parterres show an awareness of trends in France, as does the main parterre at Longleat. George London was sent to France by his master, John Rose at St. James, somewhere between 1665-1667, for a stay of several years and went again in the party attending the Earl of Portland as Extraordinary Ambassador to Louis XIV in 1697. He could not have been using ideas in the Chatsworth parterres, which were laid out between the two journeys, derived only from his first stay abroad, twenty years previously, but had somehow kept abreast of trends in France. Evelyn's advertisement for the Brompton Nursery (96) includes a passage in which he mentions that the partnership had "a numerous collection of the best designs, and I perceive are able themselves to Draw, and contrive others applicable to the places,

when busie works, and Patterns of Inbroidery for the Coronary and Flower Garden are proper or desired, and where Fountains, Statues, Vasas, Dials, and other decorations of magnificence are to be plac'd with most advantage." George London in a letter to Viscount Weymouth for whom he was working, dated May 11th 1686, (97) writes about bringing with him to Longleat " four or five designs which are making at the time" as well as " Draughts of the best houses I have seen". This remark suggests that George London collected useful designs but there is little information about where he might have obtained them. Were these plans derived from prints like those of Israel Sylvestre or from a correspondence carried on with gardeners abroad like le Nostre or one of his pupils or from sketches brought back by travellers? Or even from other excursions abroad, with the Earl of Portland to Holland that we know nothing about.

An entry in the accounts of Anthony Grey, 11th Earl of Kent, made when he was remaking the gardens at Wrest Park in the period 1686-1702, includes an entry for 1693, in which his steward on a journey to London to treat with a smith about making a set of iron gates for Wrest Park, also collected "A draft for ye Ewe Wildemess drawn at London." (98) This entry suggests the possibility of dealers in such plans having been in existence but without further information the question of where people like London and Wise got the plans they collected cannot be investigated. Finding such a collection and applying its details to the Knyff and Kip prints would help greatly in tracking the movement of ideas in design.

The Brompton partnership supplied fruit trees and George London was especially expert in this area, (99) as well as the fashionable "greens" such as bay trees laurestinus and myrtles, of which last the Duchess of Beaufort could list 11 different varieties at Badminton in 1693 plant list. (100) It is possible to associate George London with two gardens, which have enormous fruit gardens, Althorp and Williamstrip. (101) Althorp especially does not have a "modern" garden in terms of gardens represented in Britannia Illustrata. But it must have been famous for its fruit and vegetable gardens about the time when Knyff drew the landscape or John Macky's remark that " Monsieur La Quinteney took the plan for some of his works at Versailles" is senseless. (102) Althorp's gardens had been notable for fruit since John Evelyn saw them in 1675, (103) but whether George London had set them up or simply maintained and supplied them is impossible to say. However in the case of Williamstrip where the fruit gardens appear to be a direct copy of a plate in John Evelyn's 1693 folio translation of De La Quintinye's book and presumably taken

from the original book, it seems more likely that they are the work of the Brompton Nursery. George London was certainly at Williamstrip in 1696. (104) The fruit gardens at Sandywell (Gloucestershire) and Wollaton Hall (Nottingham) are of the same type as Williamstrip and Bryanstone (Dorset), Up Parke (Sussex), Newby (Yorkshire) Temple-Newsam (Yorkshire), Lowther (Westmoreland), Wimpole (Cambridgeshire) and Londesborough (Yorkshire) in Volume I of Britannia Illustrata and Ampney Crucis, Fairford, Hatherop, Miserden, Clower Wall, Weston-on-Severn (all in Gloucestershire) in Volume II all possess elaborate fruit gardens and all of them may possibly be connected to the work of George London and the Brompton Nursery.

This is as far as it has been possible to go in associating George London, Henry Wise and their Nursery with specific gardens within the admittedly random selection of landscapes in Britannia Illustrata, which must compose a very small selection of gardens in England, belonging to the noblemen, gentry and other people of substance. Although what percentage of the total number of important landscapes the prints represent is impossible to calculate. As an indication, out of the 30 landscapes by Thomas Badeslade found in Dr Harris's The History of Kent 1719, only two, Fairlawn and Knowle are also drawn for Britannia Illustrata. It has not been possible to flesh out any further the assertions of Evelyn and Switzer as to the ubiquity of the involvement of George London and his Nursery. Although the London and Wise nursery was the largest, it was by no means the only one. (105) At Wrest Park (Bedfordshire), for example, where Henry Wise's opinion was sought, the main supplier of fruit Trees was Grigson, a nursery man from Twickenham. (106) There was also a flourishing trade between estates. Siston (Gloucestershire) supplied neighbouring Dyrham (107) with crab tree "setts" in 1693. At Sherbourne (Gloucestershire) as part of the reordering of the gardens, which began in 1710, enough fruit trees to form a substantial garden were bought from Sir Thomas Read in February 1723 and October 1724 and fig seed from the gardener of Sir Thomas Webb of Hatherop in January 1723. (108)

Nor were London and Wise the only designers in the field of gardening despite their royal connections. Architects often provided plans for the exterior as well as the interior of buildings. There is a possibility that Talman was involved with the Dyrham garden. (109) The architect Captain William Winde, who thought Mr. London to be "ye best gardener in England and I know few such anywhere

else,"(110) seems to have been the designer of the gardens at Combe Abbey, (111) which are exceedingly like those at Broome Hall (Sussex), (Figure 135) but there is no information to suggest that Captain Winde worked there. Sir Christopher Wren also produced plans for William III and Queen Anne for the layout of Windsor Castle and for the rebuilding of Whitehall palace after the 1696 fire, which do not seem to have been used and his work for Hampton Court Palace included the general disposition of the landscape and the avenues in Bushey Park. (112)

Subsection 5: Owners whose ideas inspired the design of their own gardens.

This leads to another type of garden, where it appears from the documentation, that the ideas, which govern the creation of the landscape, are the owner's, rather than those of architect or designer and that his ideas have dominated the garden's construction and ultimate shape. A cultivated gentleman would have thought himself fully able to perform such a task. Gentlemen like Hugh May (1621-1684) and Sir Roger Pratt (1620-1685) were practising architects and Sir Roger North (? 1653-1734), who designed Temple Bar, also drew plans for his brother's grounds at Wroxton. (113) Some of these gardens, such as Dyrham and Bretby in whose construction their owners were continuously, concerned do not appear to have been made following a single overall plan of the sort produced for Longleat, with the result that they lack strong axial lines, balance and symmetry. Other gardens such as those of the Earl of Conway at Ragley, the Earl of Radnor at Wimpole and Sir Jacob Astley's Melton Constable are in the grand manner, regular, symmetrical and extensive (i.e. extending into the outer landscape) but in design strikingly different from gardens where the main influence is that of the then, current, English mainstream tradition based on the French training of Caroline royal gardeners and their pupils.

These gardens raise intriguing questions about where their creators got their ideas. The sources could have been printed books, prints acquired whilst abroad, (114) bought from print sellers in this country, or ideas derived from their own observations. Books are the easiest of these sources to trace. One regularly used source of inspiration may have been Leonard Meager's book, (115) The English Gardener published in 1670. This was exceedingly popular and there were at least nine editions published by 1699. It contained patterns for parterres (Figure 128) and there are echoes of these in several of the prints amongst which is the Great Garden at Dumbleton (Gloucestershire), which was completed in October 1699. (Figure 135)

One of the wildernesses at Wrest Park also seems to be a copy of one in Meager and the father of the Earl Grey, who commissioned Knyff, owned a copy of this book. (116) The convex/concave flight of steps in the great garden at Staunton Harold is copied from f.69 of Sebastiano Serlio's Five Books of Architecture, printed in England in 1611, and often used as a source of architectural ideas.

The influence of travel on an owner's ideas is much more difficult to research since it is not often that an itinerary like that his own travels, given by Phillip Stanhope, second Earl of Chesterfield, in the autobiography in his letterbook, is available. (117) From this we learn that he spent his childhood at the Court of the Prince of Orange and his youth in France and Italy, returning at the Restoration in the same ship as Charles II. He rebuilt Bretby (Derbyshire) and created a magnificent baroque house and a sumptuous garden between 1680 and 1704/5. In 1704-5 he was still working on the waterworks in his gardens and these greatly impressed Monsieur Tallard, a Marshal of France, captured by the Duke of Marlborough at the battle of Blenheim in 1704, when he visited Bretby in that year. (118) But Phillip Stanhope tells the reader nothing about the principles on which he designed his garden. These may well have been thematic, if the meaning behind the fountain that he sent to his old flame, Barbara Villiers, in 1670, is an indication of his cast of mind. (119)

Occasionally there is a feature in a garden of a much-travelled owner, which can be associated with one of the important European gardens, such as the labyrinth (Figure 136) at Kingsweston, which is, undoubtedly, a close copy of one of the bosquets at Versailles. This garden in Gloucestershire was made for Sir Robert Southwell (1635-1702), a noted plant lover and secretary of the Royal Society, who bought Kingsweston in 1679. He made a tour abroad between 1659 and 1662, which is a little too early to have seen Versailles in all its glory. So the inspiration for this labyrinth must have come to him through some other channels. (120)

The travels of lesser figures are next to impossible to follow and such information as there is about them is even more tantalizing. For example John Evelyn, whose garden at Deptford is not, unfortunately, amongst the prints in view of his own copious notes about his travels, in a diary entry, dated 18th March 1644, whilst he himself was in France, mentions meeting and accompanying Sir John Cotton of Maddingly in Cambridgeshire, on what seems to have been a journey lasting some days into Normandy. The implication of the entry is that Sir John, like Evelyn himself had been in France for some time but doing what or travelling where one does not

know. His house and garden at Maddingly is the subject of a print by Knyff but there are few signs in it of the consequences of his travels. The house was still Tudor at the time Knyff saw it and was not altered significantly until the 19th century. The gardens as shown in the print are the usual aggregation of yards, farmyards and walled enclosures with one vista cut through the woods to the principal façade on the north side. (121)

Wrest Park (Bedfordshire) (Volume I Plates 18 and 19) The history of the landscape at Wrest House (Bedfordshire), prints 18 and 19 in Volume I of Britannia Illustrata, as Knyff has drawn it, (122) is a good illustration of how difficult it is to find the sources that inspired its creators. As it is seen in the print, the landscape at Wrest is the result of the work of two men, Anthony and Henry Grey, the 11th and 12th Earls of Kent, between 1686 and 1705. (123) Anthony Grey, between 1686 and his death in April 1702, refaced the old house and, after four seasons spent levelling the site, built the terrace behind the house and the great garden with two wildernesses beyond it, one of yew and one of blackthorn. This part of the garden, enclosed by a wall, ended with a vista through gates, the piers of which were topped with the family crest of a wyvern, carved by the Cambridge mason, Grumbold, who also made the two fountain basins. (Figure 137)

Henry Grey carried on the work in Old Park and the chapel garden, building both the canals and planting avenues of lime, elm and fir there and at Cano Hill and the Mid Ground. (Figure 137) Henry continued to carry out work on these gardens until his death in 1740, employing latterly Thomas Archer (c.1710) to build the pavilion at the end of the long canal, and also Batty Langley. (124) A map made of the park in 1718 shows how much further the landscape was developed after Knyff's 1705 view was made. (Figure 138)

Anthony Grey was very interested in fruit and patronized several nurseries near London. (125) He had all the walls of the Great Garden and the exterior of the west wall planted with fruit trees, for which planting lists remain for the years 1693/4 and 1696 as well as instructions to the gardener about budding trees onto crab, quince and fig stocks. (126) There was a 1699 copy of Monsieur De La Quintinye's The Complete Gardn'r at Wrest, the London and Wise translation probably, which was his, as well as a 1688 copy of Meager's The English Gardener, which seems to have provided the model for one of the Wildernesses. (The left hand one in the print, which was the blackthorn wilderness) (127) Meager's designs in this book, which he calls

significantly by the old word “Knots” are old fashioned compared to the parterres provided by London and Wise at Chatsworth. Some of his plans show gardens in which each square contains a different pattern rather than the whole parterre being part of one overall design. This arrangement goes back to 15th century Italy and 16th century France, though there are still gardens using this sort of arrangement among the prints. (Figures 128,135 and 137) Anthony Grey also sent to London for a plan for the second Wilderness, which is on the right and was composed of Yew. (128) It is fairly certain that he hired no contractors to lay the gardens out but had the work done by his own staff. (129)

Whilst Anthony Grey’s gardens at Wrest were, it seems, limited to the walled enclosure on the south side of the house, the work of his son extended the sight lines from this garden and the house in every direction. Henry Grey was an enthusiastic purchaser of contemporary gardening books and owned copies of John James’s book The Theory and Practise of Gardening 1712 and the translations of Louis Liger’s book The Solitary Gardener 1706 and the Retired Gardener 1717 by London and Wise, but all of these are too late to have influenced the work at Wrest, as it is represented in the print. (130) From 1690-92 Henry Grey made a continental tour travelling to Rotterdam, The Hague, Geneva, Milan, Venice and Rome and then back home by way of Geneva, Amsterdam and The Hague, apparently bypassing France completely. (131) His letters show no interest whatsoever in the gardens of Italy or Holland, but later in his life he commissioned a plan for a new house at Wrest from the Venetian architect Leoni, who came to England c.1714, (132) and on this journey he assembled a collection of prints, as such foreign travellers often did, which he sent home to Wrest. (133)

His extensions to the gardens however seem to be less influenced by Dutch or Italian experiences than by the “extensive” French” gardens of the period especially the use of a canal to extend the perspective on the south front. These improvements have earned the gardens the title of a “Little Versailles “ a name given to it by early 20th century writers and, which has been given frequently to other especially magnificent late 17th Century and early 18th century gardens like Boughton in Northamptonshire. (134)

At the same time the gardens have been described as “Dutch”(135), presumably because of the canals. Canals had been used in this way since Charles II had one made before the main façade at Hampton Court Palace. By the 1690s, where

there were already fishponds or a watercourse in existence to convert, canals were often added to landscapes, which were then being refurbished. At Staunton Harold and Chatsworth, duck decoys and fishponds had been enlarged, at Dyrham the horse pond was made into a large square with a cascade as well as making of the canal. As it appears from the accounts at Wrest up to 1706, that the Grey's employed no outside designer, the ideas for making the canal and the extensive landscape of avenues round the house, could have been borrowed from other English houses or palaces, which they visited.

The foreign experiences of the 12th Earl of Kent do not seem to have had an easily quantifiable effect on his new gardens, whereas the garden at Ragley resembles closely Heemstede near Utrecht, (136) made for Diderick Van Velthuysen in 1680, of which there is a print by Daniel Stoopendaal dated 1690. (Figure 139) The Heemstede gardens have been attributed to Daniel Marot. (137) Knyff 's view taken between 1697-1699 (138) is of a very unusual garden, although the apsidal shape of the central portion is reminiscent of Mollet, the way the whole garden is bordered by a fruit and vegetable gardens is unique in the Kip/Knyff series.

These gardens were the creation of Edward Conway, first Earl, about whose early life nothing seems to be known (139) and who died in 1683 leaving his third wife a life interest in Ragley and the reversion to Popham Conway. At Earl Conway's death the house and gardens were unfinished but money was left in trust to complete them. (140) When and how or if this happened we do not know but it seems unlikely that Popham Conway in the two years he owned Ragley, where he did not live, could have made the gardens at Ragley, as Knyff portrayed them in the print. There is no satisfactory explanation for the similarity between Heemstede and Ragley, but this part of the gardens must have been carried out in the lifetime of the Earl. Here at Ragley in contrast to Wrest, there is a very definite similarity to a foreign landscape but nothing to tell us how the link was made. To confuse matters further, it is possible, that the central parterre, which looks like the work of London and Wise, might have been recast in the two years that Popham owned the estate. There would have been time, judging by the time needed to construct the south parterre at Chatsworth in 1694/5.

Wimpole (Cambridgeshire) (Volume I Plate 32) Just as perplexing is the garden at Wimpole, made by Charles Bodville, Lord Robartes, between 1693, when he married the heiress of Sir John Cutler, Wimpole's last owner, and 1701, by which

time the garden was sufficiently complete to be “worth riding twenty miles out of the way to see.”(141) By 1710 Charles Bodville had to sell Wimpole to John Holles, Duke of Newcastle, because of his debts. (142) The unusual features of Wimpole are the island garden for standing out greens in the summer in the front left of the print, the bowling green placed halfway down a walk composed of six files of trees and the garden behind the house in which twin arbours of trellis work stand at the centre of pole hedges made with curious quadrafoil enclosures on each face of the arbour. Structures made of trelliswork are not common in the prints. There are similar buildings in the prints of Dawley, Dyrham and the North Hamlets of Gloucester, but not in association with Pole hedges like these. This part of the garden is similar to designs by Marot (Figure 140) especially those published in *Oeuvres* of which there was a copy published at least early as 1698, when one appears in an inventory of books at Dyrham Park. (143) This likeness is a modest indication that the source of ideas for Wimpole was Dutch or rather Franco-Dutch like that for Ragley.

Dyrham (Gloucestershire) (Volume II Plate 18) William Blathwayt, (1649? - 1717) who owned the copy of Marot’s *Oeuvres*, already referred to, has traceable Dutch connections, having spent three years in The Hague with Sir William Temple’s embassy and thereafter spent every year campaigning, from 1692 to 1702 with William III in Flanders in his capacity as Secretary at War. He had also travelled through Italy and Germany in 1672-3 and been sent on a mission to Paris in 1678. (144) There were consultations with George London, who produced at least one plan for Dyrham, and possibly two, and planted the house parterre. There was also possibly a plan produced by Talman as well for the architecture of the gardens. (145) Despite the assistance of these well known names, there is little doubt that the gardens were mainly the result of plans made in discussion between William Blathwayt in Whitehall and his steward, Coz Watkins, and his gardener, Thomas Hurnall, at Dyrham. (146) Hurnall did the surveying and drew the plans on which decisions were made (147) and also seems to have suggested his own amendments and changes. (148)

Because William Blathwayt was not actually at Dyrham most of the year to oversee the works himself he seems occasionally sent a print back to show what sort of effect he wanted. He sent one to illustrate the sort of rustic stonework he wanted to be used on the Cataract, but gave no idea in his note to what the subject of the print was. (149) Only one of these many plans (and the letter that accompanied it to

London) (150) remains in the Dyrham Papers to illustrate this exchange of working drawings between the master and his servants. This is a sketch of the feed to the fountains at the head of the canal on the east front, made on vellum (Figure 113) so that it was robust enough to be used on site. This plan was sent in response to William Blathwayt as a response to a surviving letter asking for a plan of the pipes from the top of the cataract, intended to feed the canal and the fountains at the head of it, so that these could be put in place before any stone work was laid.

Dyrham is a garden of fountains and terraces essentially Italianate in feel, (Figure 141) but its shape is probably more the consequence of its geography, which precluded the long vista and other influences are discernable. Its one axis, which is formed by the canal on the east front, the Cataract hill behind it, continued by way of the great drain, underneath the stables and into two ponds connected by a cascade, lies off centre. There is a compensating axis lying parallel to this, composed of the walks though the east parterre and the house parterre, which passes though the centre of the house. The Cataract was built with 224 water steps, (151) with the water rising at its Neptune fountain, which was carved by the Bristol stonemason, John Harvey. (Figure 142)

This cataract is the special feature of the landscape and is more precipitous than the one at Chatsworth built a little before it in 1695/6 (152) and extended in 1702. The use of the cataract and canal to form a perspective is not copied from Italy, but the cataract itself is reminiscent of the hillside water gardens round Florence and Rome. The Neptune Fountain, as it is drawn in the print, has a Renaissance feel to it rather like the Venus fountain (153) made in the 1620s for the Garden of Love at Bolsover Castle. (Figure 141) Perhaps William Blathwayt on his Italian journey in 1672-3 visited gardens with cascades such as the Villa Lante, Caprarola, and Villa D'Este at Tivoli or the Villa Aldobrandini. The fountain at Dyrham at the head of the canal is very similar to the great Fountain in the Giardino Secreto at Caprarola (Figure 144). Remembering the print that was sent down to show what the rustic stonework at the cataract should look like it might be that William Blathwayt had a set of prints of Italian gardens to refer to such as G. B. Falda's set of Le Fontane di Roma or that of Le Fontane delle Ville di Frascati.

The composition of the parterres by the canal and cascade fountains, which are made of grass cutwork, (154) are more contemporary and are of the same type as London and Wise's parterres of cutwork at both Chatsworth and Longleat designed on

French models. "The House Parterre," (Figure 145) was being worked on in 1702 and required thinning of its greens by 1703 is of a completely different type. (155) This part of the garden, uncharacteristic as it is of other work identified as his, seems to have been definitely planted by George London and is composed of four long thin beds edged with box, containing topiary. (156)

These shaped trees are not the usual umbrella and pyramid shapes, which are common feature of parterres and border edgings though out the prints but have been cut into elaborate shapes. Topiary was extensively used in France both at Versailles and the Tuilleries (Figure 146) in the late 17th and early 18th centuries and yet this arrangement does not look French. Very few other gardens within the series are planted with Topiary. There is some in the Gloucestershire gardens of Fairford and Battsford but most notably at Staunton Harold. These parterres are box edged and box is thought to have become more fashionable when William III became King and was described as being a distinctly Dutch taste, despite its ubiquity in the French parterre de broderie. (157) The late date at which this garden seems to have been planted, suggests that it owes its inspiration to the tastes associated with the Dutch. William Blathwayt's gardens do not seem to owe their form to one source or one designer but appear to be European, drawing inspiration from the cosmopolitan background of their owner. If more were known about the gardens like Wrest, Bretby and Kingsweston, they too may be found to have a similar spectrum of influences, directly related to the lives of their owner-creators.

Up to this point the chapter has been dealing with what the prints tell the viewer about the trends in landscape fashion, with tracing the work of particular people in the gardens the prints contain and in trying to decide what inspired and influenced those gentlemen who were the masterminds of their own landscapes. The conclusion is that there were several interrelated and discernable trends amongst those gardens in the prints, which had moved forward from less expansive and elaborate styles, almost all of them versions of the prevailing French influence. This influence is seen in the style, which followed William III to England, and which complemented rather than usurped the style derived from the work of the Mollets when they came to England after the Restoration, and as it was refreshed by the work of the Brompton Partnership and lastly as it was distilled by the foreign experiences and personal tastes of highly literate and cultivated amateur gentlemen.

SECTION 2: THE PRINTS AS A PRACTICAL AID TO THE RESTORATION OF GARDENS AND LANDSCAPES.

Now the next question is what can the prints offer as a tool to those interested in conserving and restoring such landscapes? Their use must be quite limited in this direction for several reasons, the greatest of which is that 17th century and early 18th century gardens do not survive intact to be conserved. If they were great gardens like those at Badminton, Longleat or Chatsworth they will have been overlaid by later fashions. This may mean that they have been changed quite drastically by the earth moving involved in changing gardens to accord with the landscape movement of the mid and late 18th century. They therefore could not easily be returned to the period of the Kip and Knyff view. If this was attempted it would mean removing the work of later landscape designers and that work might be considered as important or even more important than that of the 17th century.

It is rare to find a site where such a restoration might be possible. Both the house and the surrounding landscape would have had to have remained fundamentally unaltered and not to have been overlaid by other gardens, whose own importance would raise issues about removing them in favour of the earlier landscape. There are three possibilities amongst the prints. Cassey Compton in Gloucestershire is just such a rare site. Half Kip's house is still standing and the form of landscape remains visible underground and appears to answer the print accurately. Whixley (West Yorkshire) (Figure 147) is another small manor house lying relatively unaltered within the shell of the gardens that Knyff drew. It would be possible to fit into this shell the pattern of the gardens, which appear in the prints. Dumbleton is the third possibility, where no house is left standing, but the shape of the gardens under the field can be seen plainly.

At Hampstead Marshall, the house was largely destroyed in the fire of 1718 but the architectural bones of the garden remain. This would be another possibility, if houses had not been built within the walls of the Earl of Craven's gardens. For all these examples the print is the only record of the gardens and landscape for 1680-1712 and all the information needed to provide the details of the gardens would have to come from it. To see if this is possible, the contents of the prints and what information they contain will be considered in the following sections. The first subsection will discuss what the prints offer in the way of information about building materials and planting.

Section 2, Subsection I: Eaton Hall (Cheshire) (Volume I Plate 62) and Cassey Compton (Gloucestershire) (Volume II Plate 35) Examined For Information on Materials

If the restoration of gardens, such as Cassey Compton, Dumbleton or Whixley, mentioned above were a possibility, do the prints give enough information to embark upon it in the absence of other documentation? To get an idea of what it is possible to glean about the composition of a garden and landscape simply by looking at the detail of a print, Eaton Hall (Cheshire) and Cassey Compton (Gloucestershire), both new houses in terms of the prints dating from the 1670s and 1680s, (Figures 148 and 149) have been chosen as examples. One print has been chosen from each book of Britannia Illustrata.

It is not always possible to tell from a print what the house is built of. Both of these are stone, Eaton Hall was built of recycled stone from nearby Holt Castle and Cassey Compton of Cotswold ashlar, but both look no different in texture to Dunham Massey, which is brick. Garden walls are treated in the same manner. The materials out of which the gardens and landscapes are formed are, however, more precisely delineated and, although the prints are in black and white, an audience, who easily read the colours of a coat of arms conveyed to it by means of lines and hatching, could probably also easily read the colours conveyed by Kip and Knyff's conventions. There are some areas of colour, which cannot be conveyed by such conventions. Amongst these are paint treatments. Railings, for example, were often gilded and painted. At Chatsworth they were blue with gold finials and at Dyrham the walls copings and steps were whitewashed. (158)

In both of these examples, obviously contrasting items like water, indicated by narrow parallel lines, little waves or drops from a fountain, squared paving or tiled roofs, are easily distinguished as much by context as by texture. But more subtle differences in treatment allow mown grass to be distinguished from rough grass. Both of these are quite differently drawn to gravel, which is usually in the Knyff prints an un-textured blank and is sometimes lightly stippled in Kip's. In the print of Eaton Hall the great parterre behind the house is mown grass and so is the forecourt. There is grass surrounding the fretwork "Meager" style parterres for flowers on the left and right of the house. This grass is lawn standard and so too is the grass in the enclosures on either side of the gates before the house and in the hedged walks horizontal to these gates, outside these areas it is drawn as being rough and un-mown. In the

Cassey Compton print the convention allows the viewer to see that not only is the main vista before the house divided into six grass shapes but that the parterre on one side of it is of grass cutwork. This drawing convention can be checked against Celia Feinnes description of Newby Hall in 1697. (159)

However the treatment of earth is less clear, as can be seen in the flowerbeds of the "Meager" parterres at Eaton, in which it is depicted very much the same as to grass. The "lists" round the Chatsworth parterres are drawn with the same texture as the grass cutwork but their nature is marked out by the little trees planted in them. Although parterres are always drawn with the greatest precision that the scale allows, and grass cutwork, beds of flowers, parterres de broderie are always distinguishable, the viewer, more often than not, needs extra knowledge to interpret the marks on the print.

Section 2 Subsection 2: Distinguishing The Varieties of Coniferous and Evergreen Trees Found in the Kip and Knyff Prints

Besides giving details of the basic composition of the gardens something can also be learnt about the green contents, particularly trees from the little shaped trees on the terraces and in the beds to the forest trees and avenues. Conifers are drawn to be easily distinguishable from broad leaves. For example the conifers in the terraced garden behind the house in the Cassey Compton print are drawn pencil thin and are very probably *Cupressus sempervirens*, pencil thin Italian cypress, not reliably hardy in northern Europe. This was originally the preferred garden evergreen, its use copied from the Renaissance gardens of Italy, but it could be killed by hard winters as both Claude Mollet in 1608 and John Evelyn in the hard winter of 1684 found out when their cypress hedges and pyramids were ruined. (160) Although the cypress had been planted in England since 1584, (161) its place was not taken until the late 17th century by yew, which was resistant to bad winters. (162) Although this was a native tree and much more suitable it probably had not been previously used, not only because of a wish to be faithful to the plants of Italy, but also because it was thought to exude poisonous fumes. (163) It is also exceedingly poisonous to animals.

However, all dark trees in the prints are not necessarily yews. There is no difference in treatment in the print of Wrest Park in the way the yew and blackthorn wildernesses are drawn, one evergreen, one deciduous. The wildernesses at Chatsworth, Kingsweston and Badminton (Figure 150) are all drawn uniformly dark and yet probably not planted uniformly with yew as a hedging plant. Cassandra

Willoughby of Wollaton Hall (Nottingham), visited Badminton in 1697 and after remarking on how thick and high the wilderness hedges were, described it as being planted with ash and elm with the bottoms thickened with shrubs and the earth covered with primroses, periwinkles and “barberries”. (164) This description raises the question as to whether it was possible that the Badminton wilderness planted c.1670 could have been clipped as sharply as Knyff has drawn it, if it was planted with elm and, especially, ash. There is a plan of Badminton in the Badminton archives, dated at c.1687 and certainly drawn before Knyff’s print in 1701/2, which shows the wilderness as being made of several different types of tree, which agrees with Cassandra Willoughby’s description, (Figure 151) but the scale of this engraved plan is much larger and allows more differentiation of detail than Knyff’s print does. However it is practically certain that every small pyramid shaped tree in any parterre in the prints would have been a yew.

Another easily identified evergreen, because it is drawn with a spiky shape is the fir tree, usually the native fir, the Scots Pine. This is the tree, which probably formed the avenue, leading to the main façade of Hutton-in-the-Forest. But there are indications in lists and descriptions that other conifers were planted. Most obviously the isolated conifer shape to the right of the house in the print of Bretby must be the famous Bretby Cedar of Lebanon, referred to by Celia Feinnes in 1697 (165), planted in 1676 or 1682. (166) No one would guess it was a cedar from the way in which it has been drawn.

At Longleat there were 55 silver fir and 40 spruce firs supplied and planted in 1685 (167), which are probably the European Silver Fir known in England since 1603 and the Norway Spruce, planted since 1584. (168) There has been an attempt to draw both plantations of firs, which lie to the back and right of the grass parterre, in a slightly different manner. (Print 40 Vol. I) The numbers of firs in the bill and on the print do not match, it is, therefore, not possible to decide which is which.

Section 2 Subsection 3: Deciduous Trees in the Kip and Knyff Prints.

The manner of portraying deciduous trees also gives the viewer some information without giving quite enough to be really useful. Wild trees are drawn quite differently to cultivated ones, having an ebullient and undisciplined shape, whereas cultivated trees have straight boles and restricted crowns as a consequence of having been plashed and pruned for shape. Good examples of the difference between one sort of tree and the other are to be found in the prints of Longleat and New Parke.

(Plates 40 and 33) In both prints rides cutting through woodland are lined with avenue trees drawn rather like a lollipop in contrast to the woodland trees and from the size of the lollipops these trees are young, and this agrees with the records for Longleat and what little is known about the planting at New Park. In other prints care has been taken to show the age of planted trees, those at Dunham Massey are so young that they need tree guards whereas in other prints, like that of Wimpole, the avenue trees are definitely mature. Identifying the species of tree whether they are white poplars, plane trees, oaks, walnuts, limes or elms is just not possible without turning to a plant list.

Some trees in the prints cannot be categorised either as evergreen or deciduous, but nonetheless have been drawn in a curious, but precise, manner. The umbrella shaped trees at Syston Court home of Samuel Trotman in Gloucestershire are such a case. This is an Elizabethan house, still standing, about whose landscape very little is known beyond its gardener sending of Crab stocks to Dyrham. (107) These umbrella shaped trees are like no others in the prints. They might be Stone Pines, *pinus pinea*, introduced into England c.1500 (169) and not deciduous trees at all? But, without other information, the rendering of these trees is not readable.

Orchards seem to be a common feature, if every regularly planted area of trees is interpreted as an orchard, which, with the example of Newby in mind, it may not be. Nor is it possible to decide if such trees are newly planted or dwarf trees, this too needs extra information. It is far easier to spot wall fruit like that in the garden behind the house at Cassey Compton (Figure 147), where every wall is covered with espaliered plants. This is the sort of planting that contemporary gardening practise leads the viewer to expect. Wrest Park provides a documented example, with a planting list in the archive, and grapes interspersed with wall fruit can be discerned, as a consequence, on the south side of the north wall of the Great Garden in the print. (170) Documents are needed to discern what sort of wall fruit is actually on the walls.

Section 2 Subsection 4: Parterres As They Are Drawn In The Prints

Both artists pay great attention to the way they draw parterres, one of the most visible and important parts of the landscape. It has been possible to compare the parterres in the print of Hampton Court with Marot's print and the parterre at Longleat with plans still in the archives there with positive results. However a comparison of Kip's print of Badminton, which is slightly later than Knyff's and different in some details, with plans which are in the archives at Badminton House, (171) gives a better

idea of what care was lavished on these tiny details where they were large enough to draw. The plans at Badminton concern alterations to the great garden and for new designs for new gardens in the centre of the two quarters of the Wilderness at the end of the great garden. The date of these plans is between Knyff's drawing Badminton c. 1701 and the publication of Atkyns and Kip's print in 1712. By looking closely at Kip's print of Badminton, and this almost needs a magnifying glass, it can be seen that the plan of the great garden (Figure 153) and two other plans for the centres of sections of the wilderness (Figure 152) have been put in place. The print is the only evidence that these three plans were used and conversely the existence of the plans is a measure of the meticulous observation of the printmaker. Even with such accuracy, the detail of garden with the wavy ribbon beds in it is so small, that it needs the clarification of the plan to be understandable.

In all these Badminton plans the beds are shown as being planted with little trees, generally a pyramid alternating with a standard without any flowers shown between them. Both Kip and Knyff tend not to show flowers in most types of parterre. Again there is a problem of scale in inserting these elements of the garden. There is the possibility of putting so much detail into a drawing that it becomes unclear. There were flowers in these and they must have been grown somewhere.

Gardening books of the period and what could be a more appropriate example than London and Wise's translation of Louis Liger's The Retir'd Gardener in 1706, which included remarks concerning their own gardening experience. These texts often separate the flower garden from the rest of the garden, placing it ideally on a slope. The directions for the placing of the flower garden in Liger read "All gardens design'd for flowers are not proper for Compartments traced out with Box; Sometimes we are fain to be contented with single plots, divided from each other by narrow paths drawn neatly by a line." (172)

Sir William Temple, in his 1685 essay On the Gardens of Epicurus, seems to suggest that the older fashion was for a parterre of flowers near the house or grass plots bordered with flowers and that the newer fashion was for "Grass-plots and Gravel Walks" (173) And so, in Celia Feinnes' description of Newby (174), the flower garden is found behind the house and the Great Garden, which the viewer can see to the right of the house, (Figures 53 and 54) contains four grass plots embellished only with statues and the principal parterre in the figure of Cassey Compton is of plain

grass only. Generally none of these views and instructions finds any confirmation in the way the plates are drawn.

Section 2 Subsection 5 Flowers and Plants At Chelsea. (Volume I Plate 13)

In the case of Chelsea, there are a series of plant lists and instructions for planting up the gardens for 1691-1693, (175) which include directions as to where the plants are to be planted, which can be compared to the Knyff print of Chelsea. (Plate 13, Volume I) This was the house of the Duke and Duchess of Beaufort, which the Duke had bought in 1681 to enable him to live closer to London (176) These lists were put together only a few years before Knyff made the print of Chelsea, (Figure 154) which he made "on his own account" (177) and not as part of the Duchess's commission of plates of Badminton.

The garden to the right of the house in Knyff's print was the Parlour Garden and in the 1691 list for July 21st 1691 is written that "on 3 Borderes round the Great Platts is Auriculas round the fourth quarter is Narcissus" and the list for March 8th 1691/2 "All Ye Borders round ye grass plats is Tulips Narcissus Jonquils." And the instruction is added that "And at every point all round ye four grass (Plats) planted with then yous (Yews) that stand in ye Kitchen garden." Neither Kip nor Knyff ever add plants to the plat bandes or borders, which in reality would have been planted in a 4" square grid on either side of a foot wide spine within a border only three foot wide. (178) They only ever draw the yew trees or other shaped shrubs.

However, Flower gardens do appear in the prints and are easy to spot, but capable of being confused with Kitchen, gardens since both are planted in rows with little standard trees planted round the borders. It is their position within the landscape, which makes the identity of each obvious. In the Chelsea garden (Figure 154) the two gardens directly behind the house are flower gardens; The Kitchen garden is in the top left hand corner and is planted with beds of rue, sage, rosemary, Roman wormwood and strawberries as well as anemones and tulips being grown on for planting out in future years. In the two flower gardens everything is also planted in rows as it is in the kitchen garden. The planting of the Fountain garden in March 1691 was "Ye first quarter within ye pole hedge is one bed of Crown Imperials (A bed seems to be a row), a bed of Anemones, a bed of Jonquils, a bed of Tulips and all ye other beds Popy Anemones. In ye second Quarter within ye pole hedge is a bed of Polianthus and all ye other beds is Carnations. In ye third quarter within ye pole hedge is 2 beds of Stoke Gillyflowers, one bed of Carnations 2 beds of Stok Gillyfloweres, 2 beds

narcissus 2beds pionies and one bed of white lillys on ye fourth bottom the same” This is not a permanent planting. Ther are new plantings in July 1691 when the beds are stocked in the same manner except that the third and fourth quarters are all stock gillyflowers and in December 1693 two quarters are planted with stocks, paeonies, columbines and polyanthus, one with gillyflowers and polyanthus and the fourth with jonquils, hyacinths, tulips and three beds of anemones.

The second flower garden is identified in the lists by the mention of the great grass walk which bisects it and which appears to be a bowling green. This is planted with rows of flowers, primroses, polyanthus, carnations, sea valerian and periwinkle and with rows of trees and shrubs, spruce firs, silver firs, laburnams, Spanish broom, Guelder roses, lilacs and syringa. The whole is surrounded with an edging of double pinks. (179) This planting unlike the one above does not change from one part of the year to the next but even where replanting does take place, the gardens would not have looked good in July when so many of the spring flowers like anemones and jonquils and tulips would no longer be flowering.

Using the information gained from the print of Chelsea and the lists in the British Library, it is possible to identify, with some certainty, other flower gardens in the prints. The garden behind the house at Cassey Compton is one, where as the garden lying further up the hill beyond a terrace is the Kitchen garden. (Figure149) In the print of Dumbleton (Figure 70) the flower garden lies beyond the grass parterres and the water at the end of the Great garden whereas the Kitchen garden lies on the far side of the terrace, which encircles the Great Garden. There are two flower gardens at Wimpole. (Plate 32 Vol. I) These are situated on the left and right of the great parterre behind the house. There is a Flower garden at one side of the entrance court at Newnham Paddox. (Plate 25 Vol. I) Amongst the Gloucestershire gardens there are flower gardens at, amongst other places, Hardwick, Tortworth and Cirencester. Flower gardens are always separated from the most visible and formal parts of the garden because they were not always looking good, given the range of plants that seems to have been used to fill them. Again, the prints have to be set beside other sources of information to be readable and even then they give only general indications.

In large numbers of both sets of prints there are pots, (Figure155) which are placed on terraces, (Toddington, Hill, Longleat Chelsea etc;) round fountain basins, (Longleat) edging a walk, (Didmarton) on parapets and in the corners of parterres, as

well as housing the collection of exotic greens when they were stood outside for the summer. (Wimpole, Dyrham) (180) Many of these were stone like the ones which are still to be found on the terrace at Hill (Gloucestershire) (Figure 156) or like the 82 pots with coats of arms carved on them, made for Longleat by the stonemason, John Harvey. (181) Others were even more magnificent, such as those made for William and Mary's plants. (Figure 157) Containers made of stone and those made of bronze or porcelain are indistinguishable in the prints.

There were 616 pots at Chelsea in December 1693, (182) which were to be found between the Great grass walk and the Kitchen garden (Figure 152) and these are just visible in the print lining the path. From this list it is possible to gain an idea of the variety of plants with which ornamental containers were stocked, excluding exotic plants and tender evergreens, which would, by late autumn, have been in the green house. The list of plants in the Chelsea pots included 10 pots of cotton lavender, 15 of *Campanula pyramidalis*, 16 of scarlet lychnis, 10 pots of *Dictamnus fraxinella*, 10 pots of white lilies, 10 pots of flos cardinalis, 26 pots of cedars, 2 pots of hellebores, 2 pots of ordinary honeysuckle, 12 pots of various sorts of honey suckle, 2 pots of laurastinus, 1 pot of Persian jasmine, 6 pots of nasturtium arborescens, 4 pots of striped phillyreas, 4 pots of juniper, 10 pots of Abrotanum (Artemisia), 2 pots of yellow stoechas (Phlomis?) 12 pots of double stock gillyflowere, 6 pots of southernwood, 1 myrtle, 3 pots of Syrian marjoram, 3 pots of double sweet williams, 4 pots of gentianella, 3 pots of striped thyme and 1 yucca and 100 pots each of auriculas and gillyflowers. Representing these various plants is graphically impossible, given the scale of the prints.

Section 2 Subsection 6: Conclusions.

These examples of how various elements in the prints are drawn show that, when examined carefully, Kip and Knyff's graphic conventions give the viewer a good understanding of the physical composition of both the bones and the details of the landscapes they contain. This detail, when it can be tested against other material, seems to be entirely trustworthy and remarkably accurate. However, what information the prints contain is not self-explanatory. Help is needed to interpret the details from other contemporary sources. If an attempt was made to set out one of these landscapes, using a print as the prime source of information, many assumptions would have to be made, particularly about what plants were used, about the final finish of the garden, about what the statues were made of, about the colour of paintwork and what

stonework was whitewashed and about the colour and use of ornamental gravels, spars and sands in the parterres. Rather like using the prints to understand how these landscapes were composed and what the artistic influences that made them were, there is an absolute necessity to use other sources of information when attempting to give them physical substance.

Nor are the prints capable of being used as an exact plan of these landscapes. Whereas by looking at a print, an idea of the relative dimensions of the landscape can be arrived at, it is another and more hazardous task to try and use a print as a blueprint to map a garden. Although the prints do seem to have some element of measurement built into them, they are nevertheless perspective drawings and therefore include an inbuilt distortion. This can be readily perceived by looking at the map and bird's-eye of Erddig, both hanging up in the house, made by Thomas Badeslade in 1740.

Occasionally it looks as if there has been more of a distortion than the rules of perspective allow. The proportions of the grass cutwork parterre at Longleat (Plates 40 and 41 Vol. I), viewed from the south or side on in plate 40 and from the east in plate 41, do not match up and can not be made to match up. Furthermore in some cases, (Fairford is one case) the boundaries of the park have been made more regular than they were and an avenue drawn more perpendicular to the house than it is on a contemporary plan. At Eaton Hall the alignment of the garden and avenue with Beeston Castle has been slightly improved, which can be discovered by comparing Knyff's print to Badeslade's map, included in his print of Eaton Hall, made c. 1740. This has also been done in the case of the avenue in the Hailes print.

There is also a suggestion by an archaeologist that the garden landscape at Dyrham has been drawn slightly larger in relation to the house than it actually was in order, and could not be made to fit into the same space on a scaled map of the estate. This was very probably done deliberately to get in all the details of a very elaborate landscape. (183) Yet field archaeologists working in Richmond Park, on the site of the Earl of Rochester's New Park have been able to find enough features of the Knyff landscape whilst surveying the greatly altered terrain of the park to be able to praise Knyff for his accuracy. (184) These two opposite opinions are talking of different expectations as to accuracy. Knyff and Kip's accuracy concerning a landscape is of a slightly different nature to that required for marking out precisely the divisions of a landscape. It is about the inclusion of all the elements of the landscape clearly and in

their correct relationship to each other, completely recognisable but not precisely measured.

FURTHER RESEARCH

There are two courses to take in order to explore this matter further, which could profitably be followed, beyond the simple one, used in this study, of trying to match visible remains above and below ground to features in the prints. The first is to carry out a proper archaeological investigation of a Kip or Knyff garden, preferably one, which has not been repeatedly overlaid by later gardens or radically altered in some other way. With this proviso there are not many possible sites worth considering. A landscape such as Cassey Compton would be ideal since it seems to have been covered over and left sometime about the early decades of the 18th century. The other is to reconcile the prints with ordnance maps, possibly the first series, by mean of the computer, in order to see how distorted the proportions of the landscapes are. Neither of these two processes would detract from what seems to be the high accuracy of the content of the prints, but would provide a basis for recreating the site plans of vanished landscapes and an insight into the drafting techniques of both artists. It would also make the prints more useful in a study of the whole history of a landscape, by allowing the overlay and comparison of maps of various stages of the landscape's history.

There is much more work still to be done on the on the contents of the individual landscapes in the series. Although this study may be exhausting it is not exhaustive and there are many possibilities. Although some landscapes, which have not been studied here, may have good records, Grimsthorpe (Lincolnshire) is promising, there is on the whole a serious dearth of records for many houses as Howard Colvin remarked in 1951. (185) The people, who caused the great gardens in the prints to be built, seldom left any writings about their intentions or philosophy. Although such vast sums were spent on these landscapes, making them or causing them to be made, seems to have been a minor activity in their lives. However more could be learnt from the Treasury Records in the Public Record Office, about the construction of Royal gardens, from the Duchess of Beaufort's papers in the British Library and possibly from an even more exhaustive analysis of the records concerning Dyrham, about the process of making these gardens.

There are also a great deal more questions to be asked concerning the influences and interchange of ideas on design as they affected the making of these

landscapes, but this is a particularly difficult subject about which to find information and such information that can be assembled, is created out of tiny snippets found here and there, the record of a print collection in the hands of an enthusiastic garden owner, the itinerary of a foreign tour, a list of books in a library, the occasional letter. Perhaps a fruitful line would be the comparison of the contents of Britannia Illustrata with other slightly earlier collections of prints such as Veues des plus Beaux Lieux de France et d'Italie by Adam Perelle from the 1680s or the prints of Daniel Stoopendael in the British Library, (186) to try and find echoes of other landscapes in the gardens of Kip and Knyff.

At the end of this study the author feels that the work on these prints has only just begun and that so much still waits in county and private archives to be discovered. Although the prints of Kip and Knyff are individually familiar, as a collection their potential has not yet been completely realized. What has emerged so far, has justified the view, that far from being merely decorative and largely imaginary, these prints are a wonderful record of long vanished landscapes. Despite some anomalies in their contents, they are reliable enough to form the basis of any discussion concerning the formation and contents of landscapes they include, either as the basis for a general discussion of landscape, gardening trends, fashions and influences or for the assessment of the constituents of an individual landscape.

They are much less useful in the fields of restoration and conservation. Here they need to be propped up with quantities of other data since what the prints contain is neither sufficiently meticulously mapped out to be reproduced on the ground, nor are all the small details capable of being delineated clearly enough to be accurately identified. Whereas the prints were drawn to provide a recognisable visual description of houses in their landscapes, they were not drawn, despite their inclusion of measurement, their map like quality and associations with map drawing, as maps.

NOTES

(1) John Aubrey: The Natural History of Wiltshire, written by him between 1656 and 1691, but never published in his lifetime, having been refused by both the Royal Society and Dr. Robert Plot. Originally published for the first time by the Wiltshire Topographical Society 1847: re-published on the Web by Project Gutenberg as an Ebook 2004, which is the version quoted here. See p.5 for the publication dates and p.102 for Wilton, "Wilton Garden was the third Garden after these two of the Italian mode; but in the time of King Charles the Second gardening was much improved and became common. I doe believe I may modestly affirme that there is now, 1691, ten times as much gardening about London as there was Anno 1660; and wee have been, since that time, much improved in foreign plants, especially since about 1683 etc."

(2) Stephen Switzer, The Nobleman, Gentleman and Gardener's Recreation or Ichnographia Rustica, London, 1718 p.78, writes about the size and worth of this nursery, which he would have worked in. Stephen Switzer seems to have worked originally for William Lord Russel on his Hampshire estate near Winchester. This Lord Russel was executed in 1683 for his involvement in the Rye House Plot. The Head gardener to his father at Woburn, John Field was one of the four founders of the Brompton Nursery partnership. Switzer had no personal experience of French gardens as he admitted in the Noblemen's Gentleman and Gardener's Recreation, London 1715 edition pp.30/31, where he writes that he knows Fontainbleu, Marli and Versailles only from " draughts". In the book he wrote on An Introduction to a General System of Hydrstaticks and Hydraulicks, London 1729 he also makes it plain that this is true for Italian Gardens as well.

John Evelyn, in an advertisement attached to his own translation of J De La Quintinye's The Complete Garden'r, London 1693, described Brompton Park as being exceptional both in England and elsewhere.

(3) Stephen Switzer: The Nobleman, Gentleman, and Gardener's Recreation 1715, pp.59-60 and p. 52: " Upon the Restitution of the Royal family; anno 1660, Planting began to raise its dejected head; and in this Reyn it was that those preliminary Foundations of gardening were laid that have since been rais'd to such a stupendous Height."

- (4) Calendar Of Treasury Books, H.M.S.O.1904-1957, Vol.IX, p.1231/2, July 16th 1690 and the Accounts for Hampton Court, Hampton Court Palace, The Wren Society, Vol. IV, Oxford University Press 1927, p.35.
- (5) S. Switzer: Ichnographia Rustica the 1718 edition of the Nobleman, Gentleman and Gardener's Recreation. p.80. Where George London went in France is not known. The year 1661 is the start of the vast gardens of Versailles with the transference of Le Nostre's service from Vaux-le-Vicomte to Louis XVI, The Gardens of Versailles Pierre-André Lablaude, Zwemmer, London 1995, pp.21-26.
- (6) An entry in Mr. Hennings Book (Worcester Record Office 705.366. f.12) for September 12th 1693 records the repayment by George London of £82 5s 6d lent him in Holland on March 15th 1691. Caspar Henning was paymaster to the Earl of Portland in his capacity as Superintendent of the Royal Gardens. The 1697 visit to Paris is recorded by Dr. Martin Lister A Voyage to Paris, London 1698 p.233.
- (7) Calendar of Treasury Books, Vol. XVII, p.64/66 July 28th 1702.
- (8) The Complete Gard'ner of Jean De La Quintinye, Paris, 1699, the Retir'd Gardener by Louis Liger, Paris, 1706 and The Solitary or Carthusian Gardener by Francois Le Gentil, Paris. 1706.
- (9) Stephen Switzer; Ichnographia Rustica, 1781, Ibid. p. 81: " It will perhaps be hardly believed in Times to come that this one Person actually saw and gave Directions twice a Year, in most of the Noblemen's and Gentleman's Gardens in England: And since it was common for him to ride 50 or 60 Miles in a Day, he made his Northern Circuit in five or six Weeks, and sometimes less: and his Western in as little Time: As for the South and East, they were but three or four days work for him: most Times twice a Year visiting all the Country-Seats, conversing with Gentlemen and forwarding his Business of Gardening in such a degree as is almost impossible to describe." John Evelyn's advertisement for Brompton Park preceding his translation of De La Quintinye includes this "Lastly, I might super-add, the great number of GROUNDS and GARDENS of Noble-men and persons of Quality, which they have made planted ab Origine, and are still under their Care and inspection (though at Considerable Distances) etc."
- (10) London's name occurs in Caspar Henning's accounts, Hampton Court Palace ,The Wren Society Vol. IV., pp.28-38. Longleat was discussed in the last chapter. For Chatsworth see the Chatsworth Archive 70.0: 70.1:70.12, which include bills for plants and articles of agreement. Newby: A letter printed by D. Green in Gardener to

Queen Anne Oxford, 1956, p.44 in 1701, lets Thomas Coke know that London can be contacted on his visit to Newby amongst several other houses, which seem to be part of his annual northern tour. Althorp: in the Thynne Papers Vol. XXVI f.164, 9 (Available on microfilm in the Manuscripts Room of the British Library) George London proposes to Lord Weymouth to send him a gardener that he had already placed at Althorp. Badminton: Sloane Ms 3343 in the British Library includes many entries where George London supplies exotic seeds but in the Pettifer Papers, Sloane 3336, f.65, James Pettifer writes about a forthcoming visit by London to Badminton. Dyrham: The Dyrham Papers, Gloucester Record Office, D1799 contain several references to G London, one about pruning greens he has already planted, 26th June 1703, which suggests several and possibly regular visits to Dyrham D1799 E343, concerns his advice being sought over the design of the garden at the end of the long terrace, Feb 1699/1700, D1799 E245. The reference to Williamstrip comes when Thomas Hurnall is sent to Mr. London at Mr. Ireton's, Accounts March 9th 1696 D1799 A106. Cassiobury: George London had a yearly contract to look after Cassiobury, Thynne Papers Vol. XXV ff. 124-5, May 9th 1704. Stanstead: H. Colvin, Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840 p.951, suggests George London is involved with Stanstead because the house is by Talman, who as Comptroller of Works for William III, would have been a colleague to London as Deputy Superintendent of the Royal Gardens. This is rather thin but the design looks like London's. Hampton Court, Herefordshire: Talman is also thought to have worked on this house and a letter written in 1692 by the guardian of the then Baron Coningsbury, heir to Hampton Court and referred to by John Cornforth in Hampton Court Herefordshire, Country Life March 1st 1973 p.519, apparently mentions "sending for Mr. London's man." Lastly Staunton Harold and Bretby are mentioned as destinations in an undated letter published in Historic Manuscripts Commission Vol. XXIII appendix II p.179 but he may not have worked in these places, just travelled to see them with Bishop Compton.

(11) J. Aubrey: ibid. The Natural History of Wiltshire p102 and S. Switzer: Ichnographia Rustica 1718 p.52, "Upon the Happy Restoration of the Royal Family anno1660 Planting began again to raise its dejected Head; and in this Reign, it was that those preliminary Foundations of Gardening were laid, that have since been rais'd to such a Stupendous Height."

- (12) John Aubrey: *ibid.* The Natural History of Wiltshire pp.92-96, p102 and 133: Sir Roy Strong's chapter on Wilton in The Renaissance Garden in England Thames and Hudson 1998
- (13) Preface to the 1715 edition of The Nobleman, Gentleman and Gardener's Recreation p xii.
- (14) Of Building, Sir Roger North's Writings on Architecture Ed. H. Colvin and J. Newman, Oxford 1981, p.9.
- (15) John Evelyn's Diary April 18th 1680, Bohn London 1859, volume II p.148: "It is a pity the old house were not situated to more advantage: but it seems it was built just where the old one was, which I believe he only mean to repair: this leads men into irremediable errors, and saves but a little." See also A History of Chatsworth by Francis Thompson, Country Life, London, 1949.
- (16) Chatsworth, Accounts, volume VI, f.8 A payment to Knyff " On account of taking ye prospect of Chatsworth" of £2.
- (17) In the funeral oration to the Duke Dr Kennet said that in building the south and east wings the Duke thought that "that he had gone far enough and would leave the rest for his Heir. In this Resolution he stopp'd about seven years, then resumed Courage, and began to lay the foundations of the other two sides to complete the noble square": White Kennet D.D. The Duke of Devonshire's Funeral Sermon: With Some Memoirs of the Cavendish Family, London 1708 p.140.
- (18) *Ibid.* Roger North: Of Building, H. Colvin J. Newman, p 9: "A knight of the Shire having had some 30 years since 10,000 for the purpose of building a house sett his heart upon doing it in the best manner, and to the best advantage: and for that end, travelled with his bricklayer, who he used also as a surveyor, to most eminent house in England, to take patternes and observe the modes of Great Houses."
- (19) Eaton Hall EV.438. Building Accounts 1675-1684
- (21) Le Nostre as the gardener to Louis XIV visited Italy only once in 1679 and was given an audience by Pope Innocent XI to whom he showed plans of Versailles, which astonished His Holiness by their magnificence. Le Nostre was not himself as astonished by Italian gardens and he is reported to have remarked that " Les Italiens n'ont point de jardins qui approchent les notres. L'art de les faire est un art qu'ils ignorant absolument." E. De Ganay: André Le Nostre 1613-1700 Paris 1962.
- (20) A letter written to William Blathwayt from Rome May 14th 1707 by the governor, Mons. De Blainville, accompanying his two sons to Rome epitomizes this

view “ But on the other hand, neither the villas, nor the Waters of Frascati or Tivoli are of much consequence, and they appeared lamentable to those who had seen those of Versailles, of Marli, and other Palaces in France.” P de Blainville: Letters and Accounts Relating to the Travels in Europe of the Brothers William and John Blathwayt, of Dyrham Park 1705-1708 ed. N. Hardwick, Bristol 1985, letter no.39.

(21) Ibid. John Evelyn's Diary Volume I, 9th June 1662: “ The park, formerly a flat and naked piece of ground, now planted with sweet rows of lime trees: and the canal for water now near perfected;....All these gardens might be exceedingly improved as being too narrow for such a palace.” Also S. Switzer: Ichnographia Rustica, 1718, pp. 52-53, “Tis certain that prince.... did plan the large semi-circle before the Palace at Hampton-Court, etc. in pursuance of some great Design he had form'd in Gard'ning

(22) There is some slight evidence that the Mollet brothers, Gabriel and André, were in England in the reign of Charles I and may have remained during the Commonwealth. Calendar of State Papers; Domestic for 1558/9 p.577, André Mollet Royal Gardener At St. James 1661-1665 may have had an English wife Elizabeth, who appears complaining of William Bennet the late King's wood monger, Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Volume V 1660, p.71 June 30th 1660. There seem to have been a J. Mollet working in England in 1697 when he wrote to Lord Weymouth about a design he had made for Longleat, British Library, Manuscript Room, Microfilms of the Thynne Papers Vol. XXIII f.123 and Vol. XXIV Sept. 1st 1688. A Mr Mollet, a surveyor was paid for making draughts of Hampton Court and Kensington, Accounts for 1689-94 presented by Caspar Herring, Paymaster to the Earl of Portland, Hampton Court Palace, Wren Society, Vol. IV, 1927, p. 34.

(23) Hampton Court Palace, The Wren Society Vol. IV, Accounts for Hampton Court Gardens, pp.29-38 and 67-68

(24) William III's Dutch gardeners are listed in the Calendar of Treasury Books, Vol. IX, pp. 599, 1109, 1231-2. From 1689 to 1691 there are gardens called Quellenborg and Van Stat at Hampton Court as well as a Van Uliet, whose job is maintaining the gravel and grass. Another Dutchman, Henrick Hunnerman or Tunnerman in the accounts published by the Wren Society, worked at Kensington Palace, another favourite residence. Quellenborg is paid for himself and 11 servants and all bills at a rate of £309 15s. per annum: Van Staten gets £309 15s with 10 servants and all bills. It is difficult to follow these men in the Calendars of Treasury after 1693 when

George London became Deputy Keeper of their Majesties Gardens by a Royal warrant of 31st May 1693, Calendar of State Papers; Domestic, Vol. X__ p.223, because he seem to have assumed responsibility for paying all the Royal gardeners and they are seldom thereafter mentioned by name in the calendars. The accounts of Caspar Henning, on behalf of the Earl of Portland for Hampton Court, The Wren Society Vol. IV p.53 show them all in the same jobs in 1695/6

(25) Dr Walter Harris, A Description of the King's Royal Gardens at Het Loo, London, 1699 p.24. The gardens at Het Loo seem to have stated to decay quite soon after King William's death in March 1702. Letter no.70 in the P. Blainville letters, *ibid.* edited by N Hardwick, dated October 1708, concerns a visit to the palaces of Loo and Soestdyk and reads: " We halted on the way to see these two Houses of King William of Glorious Memory, and we found them again in almost the same condition as they were in the lifetime of this Prince, with the reservation of the great fountain at Loo which is destroyed..."

(26) *Ibid.* f. 25.

(27) This is how Marot described himself in the Register of his wedding at the Leicester Square French Church in 1694. The full entry is printed in Jan Woudstra, British Gardens by D. Marot, Hugenot Society of London Proceedings, Vol.26 p. 555.

(28) A payment of £10 to Nicolas Hawksmoor for taking plans of the gardens and outparts of Hampton Court for Mr. London, Hampton Court Palace, The Wren Society Vol. IV, p.35, and also the fact that the plans at Longleat do not seem to be in his hand suggest that George London may not have been able to survey. However there are preparatory surveys for the gardens at Hanbury Hall, Worcester, covered with measurements and names, which appear to be in George London's quite distinctive writing, Worcester Record Office BA8041/1. This may have been a task, which his busy life caused him to depute, especially in his role as Deputy Keeper of the Royal Gardens. Moses Cook at Cassiobury Park could survey and so to could Stephen Switzer. The gardener at Dyrham, Thomas Hurnall took plans to William Blathwayt in London and the gardener at Badminton took a draught from the country to the Duke in Town. Surveying was part of a gardener's trade.

(29) Hugenot Gardeners, C. Thacker, The Hugenot Society of London Proceedings, Vol.24, p.63.

(30) Published in The Hague, 1705.

(31) P. Jessen *Das Ornamentwerk des Daniel Marot*, 1892 (referred to in *The Dutch Garden in the 17th Century*, Ed. J. Dixon Hunt, *Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on Landscape Architecture XII*, Washington D.C, 1990, p.132, note 3) includes 264 plates of ornament architecture and garden designs demonstrating Marot's range and prolixity

(32) A. Lane: Daniel Marot in *The Connoisseur*, 1949 pp.19-24 gives the dates 1694 for a letter from Queen Mary, 1695 and 1696 for the baptism of two of his children and 1697 as his return to Holland. The Calendars of Treasury Books record three payments to a Daniel Marot in the years 1699-1701. Vol. XV, June 8th 1700, p.373, a warrant to pay servants of the late Queen includes a list of "Persons provided for" which records a payment to Daniell Marot of £37 10s.od: Vol. XVI p.402 November 28th 1701. A schedule of the late Queens Servants for ½ a year to Christmas 1699 contains a payment to Daniel Marot of £37 10s.Vol.XVII p.1050 8th March 1701/2 Daniel Marot is on the Civil List at the time of William III's death and was due arrears of pension of £75 p.a. from Xmas 1699.

(33) A. Lane: as above pp. 23-24.

(34) Calendar Of Treasury Books Vol. IX pp.1095-6 and *The Wren Society* Vol. IV pp29-38.

(35) E. De Ganay: André Le Nostre p.12

(36) Saint Simon at Versailles: Ed. L. Norton, Hamish Hamilton 1958, p.59.

(37) Jaques Boyceau: Traité du Jardinage, published posthumously in 1638, Paris. Amongst the plates at the end of the book is one of the broderie in Grande Parterre at the Tuilleries.

(38) S. Switzer, Ichnographia Rustica p.57.

(39) J Parkinson: Paradisi in Sole, Facsimile of 1629 edition, Johnson, Amsterdam 1975, p.6.

(40) Chatsworth Archive 70.1 which is bill dated August 23rd 1690 included 14000 slips of various lavenders.

(41) There are lists of plants for the gardens at Chelsea for 1691/2/3 in the British Library, Sloane Ms 4071 ff.90-95 and includes such items as " A egen of gilded marjam."

(42) *Ibid.* f.159.

- (43) Calendar of Treasury Books, Vol. XVII p.57, July 8th 1702, a petition from George London concerning payment for the gardeners at Hampton Court and Kensington is annotated "The Queen intends to restrain the expense of the gardens".
- (44) In The Privy Garden, Ed. S. Thurley, Apollo 1995, see D. Jaques, The History of the Privy Garden, p33.
- (45) E De Ganay (op.cit.) discusses the likelihood of Le Nostre making an English journey pp. 104-113: 137-138.
- (46) Ibid p.109 In a letter to Madame, his sister, Henrietta, Charles II wrote, " Je vous prie, de laisser Le Nostre continuer son modèle, et lui dites seulement d'y ajouter que je puis amener de l'eau au haut de la colline, et que ainsi il pourra ajouter beaucoup de la beauté de la descente par une cascade d'eau. Ainsi nous pourrions avoir une cascade directement du flanc du coteau en bas, comme à Saint-Cloud." Nicolas Hawkesmoor writing in 1728, in Remarks on the Founding and Carrying Out of the Buildings of the Royal Hospital Greenwich, The Wren Society, Vol. VI, p.20, about the building of a new wing at Greenwich Palace to match that built by Charles II, mentions Le Nostre's plan as having been put in place: " and also that it (the new wing) was placed to answer the regular Designs of that most admirable Person Monsieur le Nostre, in the Esplanades, Walks, Vistas, Plantations and Lines of that beautiful Park."
- (47) Sten Kerling: André Mollet and His Family in Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on Landscape History III, 1974, pp.3-25.
- (48) Calendar of State Papers Vol. XXXVIII June 1661 warrant to pay Andrew and Gabriel Mollet £240 yearly as Kings gardeners and for them to have the lodgings in St. James belonging to the gardeners. Ditto Vol. CXLVII, John Rose appointed Feb.8th 1666 Keeper of St. James' Garden in place of Andrew and Gabriel Mollet deceased. Appointment of Leonard Gurle to St. James for life, Calendar of Treasury Books Vol. V pp. 829-9. He died in his post in 1685, and was replaced by the painter Anthony Verrio, Calendar of Treasury Books Vol. VIII p.296, who was ousted at the Revolution in favour of George London. Although Verrio was not a gardener by profession his own garden at Windsor was worth John Evelyn's visiting in July 1680 Diaries ibid. Vol. II p.150.
- (49) S. Switzer, op.cit. 1718, pp. 37, 80-81 and Dr. Martin Lister A Voyage to Paris 1698, p.223, who in 1697 procured 50 vines in Languedoc and sent them to George London " the King's gardener for My Lord Ambassador."

(50) S Switzer, op. cit. 1718 p.82 “ And tho’ he might not come up to the highest Pitch of Design, yet that might generally be attributed to the haste he was generally in.”

(51). This can be gathered from Switzer, (Ibid.) from John Evelyn’s advertisement to the Brompton Nursery in the preface to his own translation of De LA Quintinye’s The Complete Gard’ner, London, 1693, and from the fact that George London and Henry Wise produced their own translation of this book, annotated with the results of their gardening experience in 1699.

(52) Calendar of Treasury Books Vol.1, 1660-67, p.294: Oct.14th 1667, a money warrant describes John Rose as “ Keeper and Gardener of the Garden plotted and laid out and to be found and made in St. James’s Park and the garden House and Green house therein to be erected and of all the orange trees and other greens therein to be planted to be planted.” This description suggests that the garden was not finished in 1667 and still had much to be done

(53) St. James Palace garden must have been begun afresh after the civil war because, during the Commonwealth, the palace was used as a prison, barracks and lodgings, all of which uses can be traced in the Calendars of State Papers for the time.

(54) In Le Jardin De Plaisir, Mollet includes important gardens in his career. On f.23 is a plate of which he wrote “This design differs from the others, by reason there is neither straight line nor compass strokes in it: We made it in one of the Castles belonging to the late prince of Orange, called Honselardeck.” See L. Pattacini: André Mollet, Royal Gardener in St. James’ Park in Garden History Vol. 26, part 1, who attributes this design to c.1640.

(55) Sten Kerling in André Mollet and his Family, p.18, suggests this link but such evidence as there is, is for the authorship of Isaac De Caus. See R. Strong: The Renaissance Garden in England p.148. Nor is there a Garden like Wilton amongst the plates of Le Jardin de Plaisir 1670. John Aubrey attributes Wilton to Solomon De Caus in A Natural History Of Wiltshire, Gutenberg Ebook p133.

(56) Op.cit Garden History vol. 26. L. Pattacini, p.10.

(57) Elenour Sinclair Rhode; The Old English Gardening Books, The New Aldine Library 1924, p.134 only knew of one copy. The only copy I could find, in libraries available to the public, is in the Lindley Library.

(58) A Catalogue of ye Books belonging to Mr. Wise of Brompton Park, Feb 1710/11 includes amongst the folios “ Sevl Draughts of gardens p. And. Mollet.” D. Green:

Gardener to Queen Anne, Oxford 1956, Appendix III, p. 211. If this had been The Garden of Pleasure then the title would have been noted down in the list. It is more likely that these are bound manuscript plans rather than plates.

(59) Calendar of Treasury Books Vol. VIII p.589 includes a petition to prevent the new keeper of St. James, "Signior Verrio" from designing a building, which will block the petitioner's view into the King's garden from the flat roof of her greenhouse, which the late King allowed her to erect. She also has a mount. Ibid. p.636 another entry for March 1685-6, suggests that this was not the only mount built against the wall of the king's garden.

(60) Neither Windsor, nor Greenwich nor Hampton Court reached a finished state in Charles II's reign. The gardens at the Palace of Whitehall were too constricted for elaborate garden schemes and the Palace was destroyed by fire in 1696.

(61) C. Perrault: Hommes Illustrés, Paris 1704-5, Vol. II, p.181.

(62) S Switzer, op. cit. 1718: p.53, when discussing gardening under Charles II, he writes "The Royal garden at St James was of the King's planting; which were in the remembrance of most People, the finest Lines of Dwarfs, perhaps in the Universe. Mr London of whom I shall say more at the latter end of my History. Presuming before Mr. De La Quintinye, the Famous French Gardener (whose works he both translated and abridged) to challenge all France: and if France why not the whole World?"

L. Pattacini, op. cit. p.12 citing The Complete Gard'ner 1706, p.46, translated and annotated by G. London and H. Wise, includes this passage about dwarf pear trees: "Whoever would satisfy their Curiosity, may further inform themselves, by viewing those at the Royal Garden in St. James Park, which were planted in the reign of King Charles II, and are now in the greatest perfection of any Plantation of Dwarfs we have in England;"

(63) John Rose, royal gardener at St. James from 1665-1677, was an expert in fruit especially vines and published The English Vineyard Vindicated London 1666. He sent George London to France (Switzer op. cit. p.80) about 1670 whose greatest expertise latterly was accepted as being in fruit.

(64) The Journeys of Celia Feinnes Ed. C. Morris, Cresset Press, London, 1947 p.84, "on the other side of the house is just such a Garden, only the walks are all grass, rowl'd, and the Squares are full of dwarfe trees both fruites and green, set cross ways which looks very finely etc."

(65) Gloucester Record Office, D1799 A24 and The British Library, Sloane Ms 4071 f.100.

(66) Most of what is known about George London's early life comes from S. Switzer's book, The Nobleman, Gentleman and Gardener's Recreation first published London 1715. It is he who tells of the apprenticeship to John Rose, the sojourn in France, the foundation of the Brompton partnership, generally supposed to be about 1681, and George London working for Henry Compton Bishop of London (1675-1713) at Fulham. From the publication date of Switzer's book it is assumed that George London died "towards Christmas" but his will has not been found to confirm this. It is not known when or where he was born, though it has been proposed that he was illegitimate because of his surname, (Gentlemen and Players, Timothy Mowl, Sutton 2000, p.50. The first documentary reference, which gives a definite date for his working on a garden within the Kip and Knyff prints is found in the Thynne Papers and is 1684. (Thynne Papers, Volume XXII, f.121) After this date he appears in the Calendars of State Papers and Calendars of Treasury Books, in the Blathwayt papers, Sloane Ms in the British Library and the Chatsworth Archives.

(67) Calendar of Treasury Books, Vol. IX p.1508; Vol. X pp.223 & 817. In these entries George London's career in Royal service can be followed from 1690 to 1694 when he is "His Majesties Chief Gardener."

(68) See note 2.

(69) George London's close relationship with Bishop Compton, Switzer, op. cit 1718, p.70, may explain his later easy relationship to his clients of which the following are examples. A letter to Lord Weymouth dated Aug.23 1711 mentions giving the Lord Bishop a visit and going to dine with him at the house of a Mr. Harvey at Stigworth. (Thynne Papers Vol. XXVI f.164.) Another letter, undated, from George London to Thomas Coke at Melbourne to arrange an appointment to go to Melbourne, (Historic Manuscripts Commission, Vol. XXIII, Appendix II p.179.) includes the information that George London intends to rendezvous first at Althorp with the Bishop of London and the Earl of Northampton, and then accompanied by them, to visit various estates close to Melbourne. He writes:" It is a journey to see gardens and plantations, as my Lord Chesterfield's, Lord Ferrars, Duke of Devonshire's etc." The proposed journey looks like sightseeing but these are all London clients and doubtless his advice was sought at each place.

(70) See chapter 4, pp.91-101.

- (71) Chatsworth archives 70.0: 70.1: 70.12.
- (72) This depends on how the letter to Thomas Coke mentioned in note 69 is interpreted.
- (73) Switzer, op. cit. 1718, p.81.
- (74) See note 10 for details.
- (75) Gloucester Record Office D1799 E243 7th March 1701: in which a plan of the Wilderness is returned by William Blathwayt to Hurnall. Ibid. 21st October 1703: Coz. Watkins writes to his employer that “we are busy upon ye draught of ye cascade. D1799 E245: An undated letter in which William Blathwayt informs his staff that he has changed “My design” for the Long Terrace. These are just three out of several more examples.
- (76) Gloucester Record Office D1799 A103: Accounts Feb-March 1693.
- (77) As above D1799 A103: Accounts March-May 1696.
- (78) As Above E239 5th July 1698/9.
- (79) As above E245 3rd February 1699/70.
- (80) Dyrham Park The National Trust 1998 p.55. No source is given for this but the trust retains some documents at Dyrham and these presumably contain this reference. There is an account for 10th August 1700 for moving earth between the avenue and the slope garden. D1799 A109.
- (81) Letter Book of the Earl of Chesterfield: British Library Add Ms 19253 autobiography and details of Bretby inserted after the letters.
- (82) Chatsworth Archives, Accounts Vol. VI f.8.
- (83) Francis Thompson: A History Of Chatsworth, Country Life 1947 p.52
- (84) Ibid. p. 39.
- (85) Chatsworth Archives 70.1.
- (86) No plants are mentioned in the agreement and the second agreement specifically excludes them, Chatsworth Archives 70.12.
- (87) Chatsworth Archive Accounts for James Whildon 1685-99; Entries for 16th August 1690, 5th March 1690 and 10th November 1693.
- (88) Chatsworth Archives 70.1
- (89) An estate often supplied box for larger specimen plants but not dwarf or French box for edging, which was nursery grown. The plant bills fro Longleat from London and Wise do not include box and it may be that as an edging plant it was not popular

until later in the century after the completion of the Fountain Parterre at Hampton Court Palace.

(90) The central grass cutwork in the Chatsworth parterre is similar to that in the Grass Parterre at the Tuileries, which include at its centre a “bouligrin” rather than a fountain basin, E De Ganay; André Le Nostre, plates IV and V, designed by Le Nostre. It is also not unlike plates published by London and Wise in their translation of The Retir'd Gardn'r 1706. This parterre is French in conception and emphasizes George London's education in that country, see Figure 159.

(91) Chatsworth Archive, James Whildon Accounts 1685-1699 f.53.

(92) Ibid, ff.90-94.

(93) Chatsworth Archive 70.12.

(94) There is an agreement to pay for the work by stage payments, £175 before work starts, £87 10s halfway through and the same at the end of the work, a total of £350. If the payments are not made on time then the contract is broken and work stops at once. Also if the work on the fountain, which is to be removed from its present position by the Duke's workmen and re-sited, is not completed within six weeks and this causes “hindrance to George London, Henry Wise or their servants for want of statues or fountain to be set up then they can call a halt to the works till satisfaction be given for their hindrance. “ These conditions may have been imposed ensure work progressed quickly when the partnership was certainly simultaneously engaged elsewhere at Longleat and Hampton Court Palace but also to protect the partnership against the Duke's notorious changes of direction.

(95) The planting was to be chosen by the Duke after the parterres were laid out and paid for separately.

(96) The Complete Gard'ner translated by G. London and H. Wise, 1710 edition p. xv.

(97) Thynne Papers, Vol. XXII f.346.

(98) Bedford Record Office, Lucas Papers, L31/288 f.21v September 30th to March 17th 1693/4. There is nothing to suggest that this plan came from the Brompton Nursery Partnership, who do not seem to have done any work at Wrest Park beyond selling the earl some fruit trees and advising over what varieties to plant in 1696 and 1697/8 (As above L31/397 1696 and L31/298 1697/8)

(99) Switzer, 1718 p.82, describes fruit as George London's “ Masterpiece “ “As for other parts, as Greens, Trees, Flowers Exoticks, and the like, he certainly had as much

Knowledge as any man living.” Evelyn’s advertisement (note 96) also agrees with Switzer’s views.

(100) British Library, Sloane Ms 4070 f.45.

(101) See note 10.

(102) J. Macky: A Journey through England, London 1722, Vol. II p.172.

(103) J. Evelyn: Diaries, Bohn 1859 Vol. II p.107, July 1675.

(104) See note 10.

(105) See John Harvey: Early Nurserymen, Phillimore, Chichester, 1974, especially the chapter on the London Nursery Trade before 1700.

(106) Bedford Record Office, Lucas Papers L31/295 and 296.

(107) Gloucester Record Office D1799 A103; Accounts for February 10th to March 17th 1693.

(108) Gloucester Record Office, Sherbourne Muniment D678 59b and D678 Acc 1790 f.8.

(109) Gloucester Record Office, D1799 E235 no.23.

(110) Stafford Record Office, Bradford Papers, D1287/18/4 February 26th 1699/1700.

(111) Captain Winde certainly supplied 3 drafts of ground plans for gardens at Castle Bromwich Hall, Stafford Record Office, Bradford Papers D1287/18/4 letters dated, London 29th July 1690 and London ye 29th 1691 and of the Wilderness, London 16th January 1698/9 but at the same time he discusses drafts sent by Mr. London for the gardens, February 36th 1699/1700.

(112) The Wren Society, Vol. IV Plates IV, VI, VII and Vol. XXXI Plates III, XII, XVI.

(113) Roger North’s Lives op. cit, London 1829 Vol. II p.137-8.

(114) The Correspondence of Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn 1665-9 p.36, Etext of Guy De La Bédoyère’s edition of the Pepys Evelyn Correspondence: Published on the web by G. De La B. Letter to Pepys 21st August 1669, in which John Evelyn advises his friend, “ Pray forget not to visit the Taille-Douce shops, and make a Collection of what they have excellent, especially the Draughts of their Palaces, Churches, and Gardens and the particulars you would have seen; they will greatly refresh you in your Study, and by the fire-side, when you are many years returned. Israel Sylvestre, Morin, Chaveau, are great masters both for things of the kind extant, and Inventions extreamly pleasant.” Israel Sylvestre produced prints of the palace of Versailles and its gardens.

- (115) Leonard Meager's preface shows that he was gardener to Phillip Holman at Warkworth Castle, Northamptonshire at the time when this book was published.
- (116) Bedford Record Office, Lucas Papers L31/184/2. Library List for 1740 includes a 1688 copy of Meager's book.
- (117) Letter Book of the Earl of Chesterfield, British library Add Ms 19253, autobiographical details inserted at the end after the letters. Louis XIV Ian Dunlop Pimlico 2001 p. 384.
- (118) I. Dunlop: Louis XIV Pimlico, London, 2001 p.384.
- (119) The Letterbook of Phillip Earl of Chesterfield etc. by Phillip Stanhope Earl of Chesterfield London 1829 p.159 1670. Madam, as soon as I came to town, I bespoke a figure for your Ladyship's fountain, which is Cupid kneeling on a rock and shooting from his bow a stream of water up towards heaven. This may be interpreted by some, that tears are the best arrows with which that place is to be assaulted: but my meaning it is, that your Ladyship, not being content with the conquest of one world, doth now by your devotion attack the other. "
- (120) British Library Ms Egerton 1628 press 541B, The Diary of the Hon. Edward Southwell 1658-1699, f.8v and Ms. Egerton 1634 press 541D, Memoirs of My Father's Life by Helena Southwell
- (121) The Victoria County History for Cambridge Vol.9 p.169-170.
- (122) It is possible to get some idea of when this print was made. It is dedicated to Henry Earl of Kent who inherited the title in 1702 and became Marquis of Kent in 1706 according to L. Cabe Halpern in The Duke of Kent's Garden at Wrest Park, Journal of Garden History 1995 p.152. The two Canals in the print seem to have been built in 1705 according to accounts in the Lucas Papers, Bedford Record Office L31/289 and the fir trees lining the larger canal were planted in march 1705 f.431. Summer 1705 seems to be the date when the drawing for the print was made.
- (123) Bedford Record Office Lucas Papers L31/288, Accounts 1686-1702, (f.21v and f.25 for the yew and blackthorn wilderness) and L31/289 1702 to April 1706 for entries concerning work in the gardens.
- (124) To show how views on the Archer pavilion have changed here is Horace Walpole's opinion of Wrest and the pavilion in 1769: Wrest was "A wretched low house " and the gardens were " very ugly in the old fashioned manner with high hedges and canals, and at the end of the principal one is a frightful Temple designed by Mr. Archer." H. Walpole Visits to Country Seats Walpole Society Vol. XVI. Batty

Langley designed a new bowling-green c. 1735: Bedford Record Office Lucas papers L30/8/28/56.

(125) Bedford Record Office Lucas Papers L31/295, 296, 297 and 298. Pears and nectarines came from Marshfield's Nursery at "ye Worlds End beyond Knightsbridge, Vines from Grigson Nurseryman at Twickenham in 1693/4 and plums and pears from, Mr. Wise at Brompton Park in 1696 and 1697/8.

(126) As above

(127) Bedford Record Office, Lucas Papers L31/184/2 f.154. Library list for Henry Duke of Kent 1740. Meager's design is also close to one sketched in the plans at Longleat fig. 64

(128) Bedford Record Office Lucas Papers L31/288 f.21v.

(129) As above f.27v May 6th 1699 "For a lb. of packthred to lay out the Ground."

(130) As in note 127.

(131) His letters home are contained in Bedford Record Office Lucas Papers L30/2/1-17.

(132) James Leoni by R. Hewlings in The Architectural Outsiders, Ed. R Brown, Waterstone, London, 1985 p.24.

(133) Bedford Record Office Lucas Papers L30/8/6.

(134) There is a book devoted to Boughton whose title is Boughton House, the English Versailles Ed. Tessa Murdoch, Faber and Faber London, 1992.

(135) M.R. Gloag, Christopher Hussey and John Dixon Hunt, see The Duke of Kent's Gardens at Wrest Park, L. Cabe Halpern Journal of Garden History 1995 p149 and notes 3 and 4. M. R. Gloag suggested that Le Nostre designed the gardens.

(136) The Gardens of William and Mary, D. Jaques and A. Van Der Horst, Christopher Helm, London 1988, pp.51-54.

(137) Ibid. p.51. There is no reference for this suggestion cited by Jaques and Van der Horst.

138. The print is dedicated to Popham Conway, who inherited the property in 1697, after the death of earl Conway's third wife and was killed in a duel in London in 1699, Ragley Hall by Avray Tipping, Country Life 1924 part 11 pp. 476-482. Popham was the eldest son of the earl's cousin, Laetitia Popham wife of Edward Seymour.

(139) Historic Manuscripts Commission 14th Report part ii p.357, November 2nd 1677 and p.374, May 8th 1683.

(140) As above Part I p.443.

- (141) Historical Manuscripts Commission, Egremont Mss Vol. ii p.206 and Wimpole Hall by P. Soudern for the National Trust chapter I.
- (142) A Tour Trough the Whole Island of Great Britain by Daniel Defoe Penguin Classics, London 1986, pp.108-9.
- (143) Gloucester Record Office Dyrham Papers D1799 E269 an Inventory of Books at Dyrham includes "Oeuvres de Marot".
- (144) G. A. Jacobsen: William Blathwayt, 1649/-1717, A Late Seventeenth Century Administrator, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1932, details of W.B 's life from the summary of his career at the beginning of this book.
- (145) Gloucester Record Office, Dyrham Papers D1799 E235 letter no.5 and E243 13th April 1703. In the last letter W. B. he writes of a "we" being busy on the plan for the cascade, which suggests he has involved someone else in the design. For Talman see D1799 E235 no.25.
- (146) There is an illuminating exchange of views about building the cataract and the horse pond on the south side of the house letters dated 7th April, 13th April, 20th April 1703, Gloucester Record Office D1799 E234.
- (147) Gloucester Record Office D1799 E234, 20th April 1703, William Blathwayt asks coz. Watkins in this letter to get Hurnall to prepare "A rough but complete draught of the park old and new with planting etc; that I may return him my observations and directions .." This was to include the warren and the lines of the garden. He also writes "I shall by the next post return Hurnall the draught he sent me with my thoughts upon it. "
- (148) Gloucester Record Office D1799 E234, 7th April 1703, Letter from Thomas Hurnall to his Employer, William Blathwayt "I have sent another rough sketch of ye Lettle Cataract, by which you may see how I propose to fill up yt part of ye slope above ye Bottom of ye great drane etc;"
- (149) Gloucester Record Office D1799 E243 a letter sent by Coz Watkins to William Blathwayt, April 12th 1703. W. B. has annotated the letter with his views and sent it back to Dyrham with this postscript, "I send you ye enclosed Print to shew what sort of Rough work I aim at or as much as maybe for ye Cataract. Lett the print be taken care of and not dirtied."
- (150) Gloucester Record Office D1799 E235 letter 16, no date but estimated to be between 1699/1700 from W. B to Cox Watkins in which Hurnall is asked to send "The draught of the lines from ye top of the cataract to ye top of ye canall, where any

pipes are to be laid or intended to be laid for the conveyance of water or use of the fountains which I would have so plainly laid down that it may be well understood here and further directions be given as may be necessary before the stone work be laid that there is no occasion to break up ground or stonework on account of ye fountains or pipes.”

(151) The Diary of Dudley Ryder 1715-1716, transcribed by W. Mathews, Methuen, London, 1939 p.248.

(152) Francis Thompson: A History of Chatsworth p.59.

(153) Bolsover Castle is plate 15 in Volume I of Britannia Illustrata but the garden mentioned is hidden from the viewer. Roy Strong discusses this garden in The Renaissance Garden in England, p. 199 onwards.

(154) Gloucester Record Office D1799 A110 Weekly Account for December 23rd 1704 includes an entry for laying “Ye Turfe one ye bordure in ye middle parterre.”

(155) Gloucester Record Office D1799, A109 Weekly Accounts for 1702 and E243 letter dated 26th June 1703.

(156) It is only possible to tell that this is box by looking at the way box is drawn quite distinctively in the print of the Fountain Garden Hampton Court Palace.

(157) S. Switzer: op. cit. 1718, p.57.

(158) Gloucester Record Office D1799 E235 December 1699 f.59 contains an account for whitewashing various parts of the structure of the garden, Chatsworth Archive Building Accounts 1686-94 f.176 include payments for painting the” bals of ye cascades “ blue, and iron railings and grills black and another for 1695-96 f.2 includes a payment for gilding the iron grill in the new parterre in 1695

(159) The Journeys of Celia Feinnes Ed. C. Morris, Cresset Press 1947 p.84.

(160) Claude Mollet: Theatre des Plans et de Jardinages, Paris, 1652 p.194..” C’est pourquoi je me suis resolu de jamais planter des Pallisades de Cyprés, mais de planter de buys.” In 1684 John Evelyn wrote in his report to the Royal Society, The cypresses are most of them destroyed, especially such as were kept shorn in pyramids” P. Leith-Ross: The Garden of John Evelyn at Deptford, Garden History No.25 part 2 p.147.

(161) A. Mitchell: Trees of Britain, Harper Collins 1996,p.61-62.

(162) J Worlidge: De Systema Horti-cultura, London 1677, p.75, “ Our modern planters have bought to our gardens to adorn our walks, the Eugh tree, which growing tall and straight against all weathers, and its small twigs sticking close to the trunk,

clothing it always in green, no sun nor snow offending it, is one of the most ornamental tress you can desire.”

(163) J. Parkinson: Paradisi in Sole, op. cit. facsimile of 1629 edition p.606. John Evelyn on a visit to the Pisan Botanic garden on May 21st 1654 wrote in his diary, “The garden of simples is well furnished, and has in it the deadly yew, or *taxus*, of the ancients: which Dr. Bellucio, the superintendent, affirms that his men cannot endure to clip for above half an hour a at time, from the pain of the head, which surprises them.” op. cit. Diary, volume I p.191.

(164) E. Hagglund: Cassandra Willoughby’s Visits to Country Houses, Georgian Group Journal Volume XI 2001 p.194. J. Johnson: Excellent Cassandra Sutton, Stroud, 1991, p.66.

(165) Celia Feinnes, op. cit. Cresset Press 1947 p. 173.

(166) The first introduction of this tree is given by Mitchell, Trees of Britain p.44, as 1638/9 the seeds having been brought to England by the Arabic scholar Dr. Edward Pocoke from Aleppo. The date for the planting of the Bretby Cedar occurs in Seventeenth –century Cedars, P.J. Jarvis in Garden History Vol.4 part 2 p 44.

(167) Longleat Muniments, First Viscount 19/11/1685: a bill from George London includes these trees.

(168) European Silver Fir, *Abies alba*, planted in England since 1603, A Field Guide to the Trees of Britain and Europe, A. Mitchell, Collins 1974 p.100 and the Norway Spruce, *Picea abies*, grown in England since 1584, A. Mitchell, Trees of Britain Harper Collins 1996, p.83.

(169) A. Mitchell: op. cit. 1996 p.115.

(170) Bedford Record Office Lucas Papers l/31/296.

(171) Badminton Muniment Folio 1 plans 20,21 and 23. Plan 22 was not used.

(172). The Retir’d Gardener, by L. Liger, translated by London and Wise, 1717 Edition, London pp.124 and 127.

(173) The Gardens of Epicurus in A.F. Sieveking, Essays on Gardens, Chatto and Windus, London 1908, p.44. he writes rather curiously of flowers and contrary to the enthusiasms of garden writers like John Rea in Flora, Ceres and Pomona, London 1676, “ I will not enter upon any account of Flowers, having only pleased myself with seeing or smelling them, and not troubled myself with their care which is more the ladies part than mine.”

(174) As in note165.

- (175) British Library Sloane Ms 4071 ff. 87, 88, 91, 93, 94, 95 are plant lists from the garden at Chelsea dated July 21st 1691, March 8th 1691/2, October 12th 1692 and December 27th 1693.
- (176) Badminton Muniment FM F1/2/81.
- (177) Badminton Muniment FT B1/2/1/(24) letter c. Nov. 1701.
- (178) Op. cit. The Retir'd Gardener, London 1717 p.141/142.
- (179) Sloane Ms 4071 ff.91, 94, 95.
- (180) These were more likely to have been in wooden cases.
- (181) Longleat First Viscount 7/7/1687. Bill from John Harvey.
- (182) Sloane Ms 4071 ff.87 and 94.
- (183) The Lie of the Land Ed. R Wilson-North, the Mint Press, 2003, Archaeological Recording on Historic Gardens by the National Trust, M. Papworth, p.15-16.
- (184) There By Design: Field Archaeology in Parks and Gardens, Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England 1998, Giant Steps: Fieldwork in London's Royal Parks by P. Pattison, pp.45-46.
- (185) Roger North and Sir Christopher Wren by H. Colvin, Architectural Review, October 1951 p.248
- (186) S. Sitwell, The Netherlands, Batsford, London, 1948 p.125 mentions eleven volumes of prints and maps in the Map Room of the British Library, which contain also prints of Dutch Gardens circa 1680-1700.

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THE BIRD'S-EYE VIEWS OF L. KNYFF AND J.KIP, AS
PUBLISHED IN BRITANNIA ILLUSTRATA, AND THEIR
USE FOR UNDERSTANDING HISTORIC LANDSCAPES

BY

HILARY A. F. McKEE

IN SUBMISSION TO OXFORD BROOKES UNIVERSITY

FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Volume 2

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EXPLANATION OF THE FIGURES

The illustrations are of several sorts. The photographs of the Kip and Knyff prints both in large and in detail were made from prints owned by the author. Where possible the author has photographed plans in archives, for example the garden plans at Badminton and those of Castle Bromwich in the Stafford Record Office. Site visits, mainly of the Gloucestershire sites, have been recorded by using photographs, combined with notes made by tracing estate maps and Ordnance Survey maps, as well as other relevant material, to form a visual record. It has not always been possible to obtain photographs or to make tracings of archive material and then sketches are used. The plans at Longleat can neither be traced nor photographed therefore working sketches are included in the figures. Where illustrations come from other publications they are acknowledged on the figure itself, or, if space is limited, in the list of figures below.

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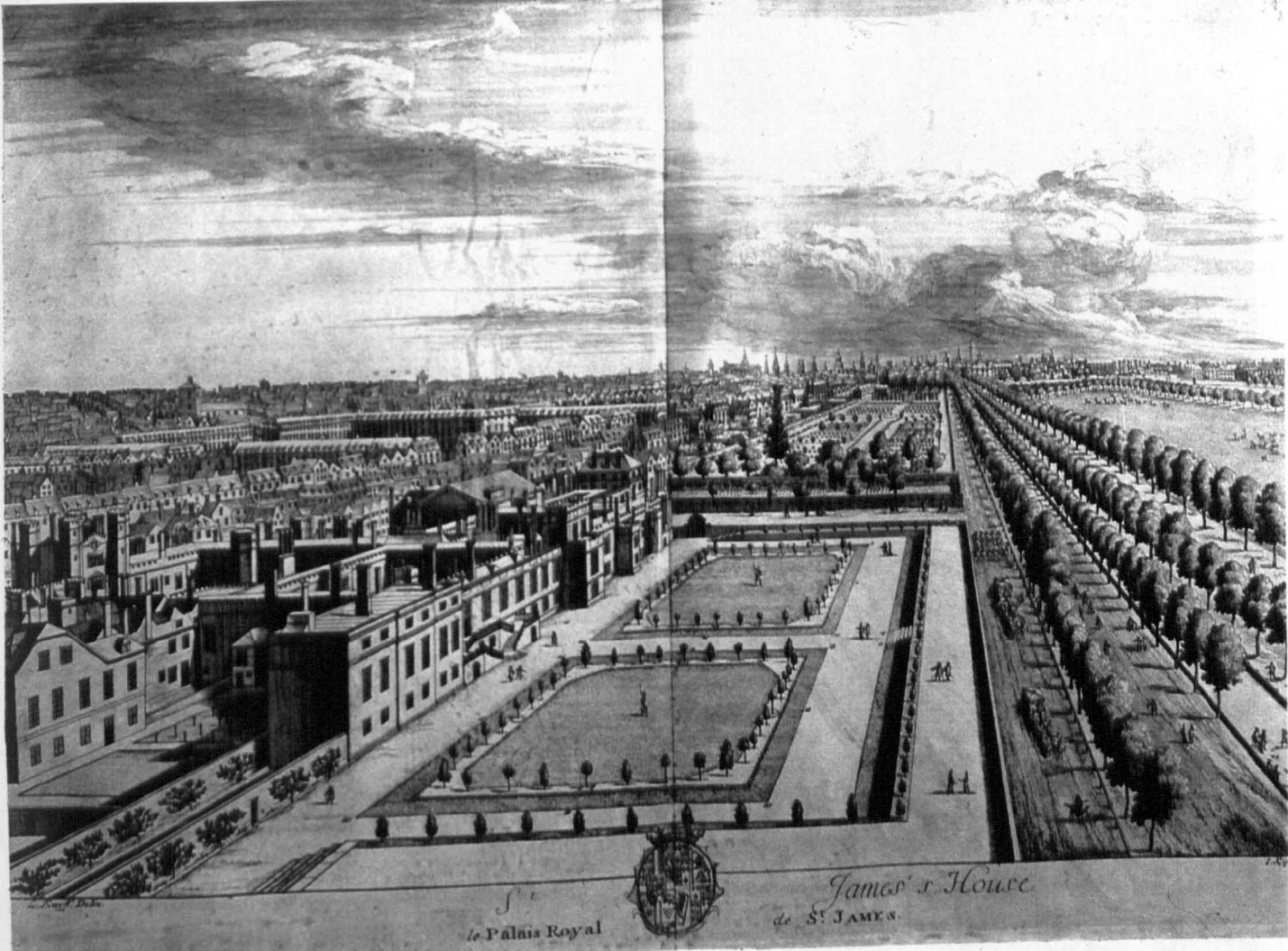
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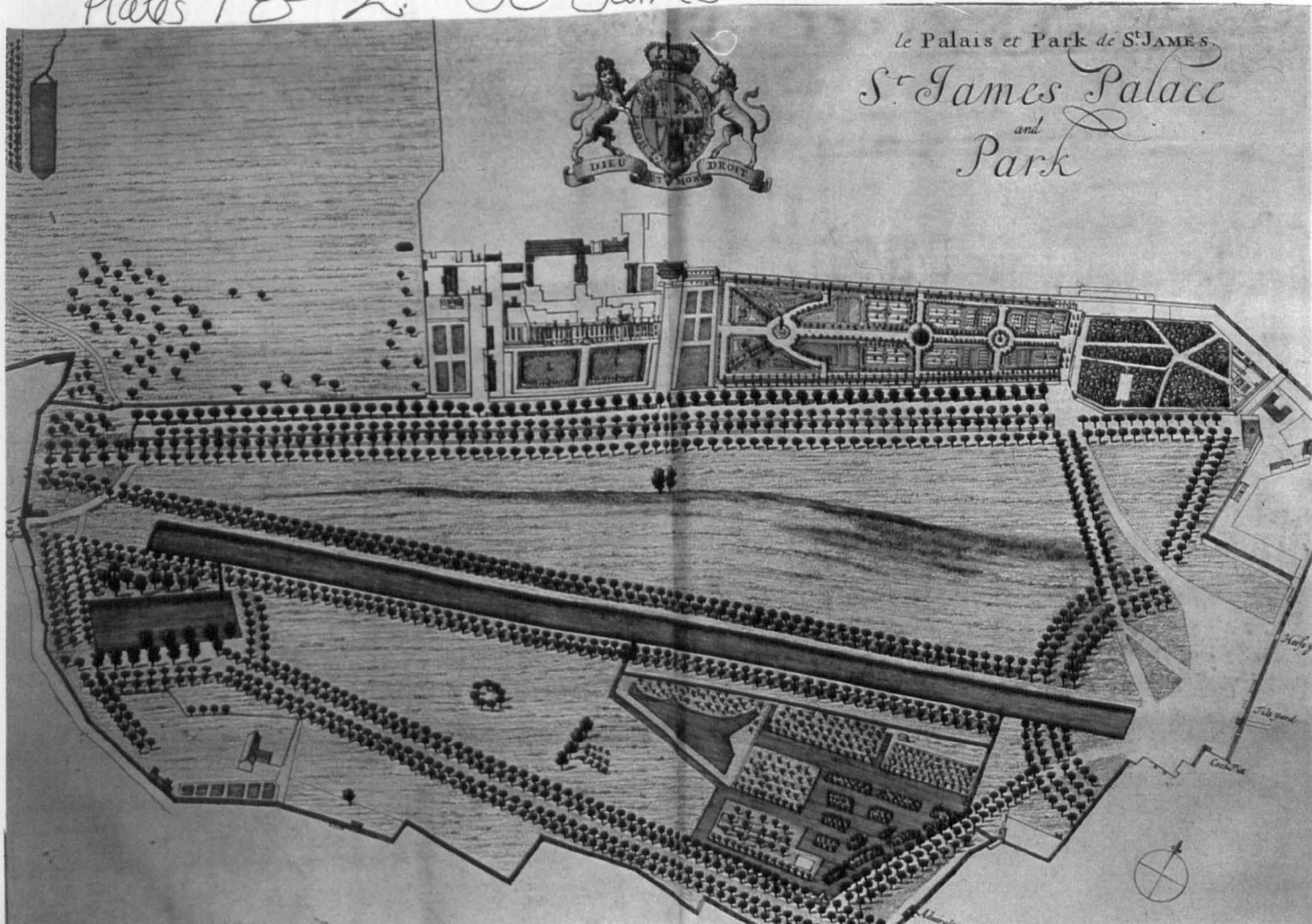
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55. Haigh
56. Sprotborough
57. Maddingly
58. Hatley-St.-George
59. Hutton Hall
60. Ingleby Manor
61. Great Ribston
62. Eaton Hall
63. Doddington
64. Acklam
65. Westwood

- 66. Brympton
- 67. Folkington
- 68. Wolloaton Hall
- 69. Constable Burton
- 70. Seat of Thomas Chaloner in Cleveland
- 71. Ragley
- 72. Esther Place
- 73. Swillington
- 74. Southwick
- 75. The Prospect of Nottingham.
- 76. Orchard Portman
- 77. Bryanstone
- 78. Whixley
- 79. Kirkleatham
- 80. Coley



Plates 1 & 2. St James.



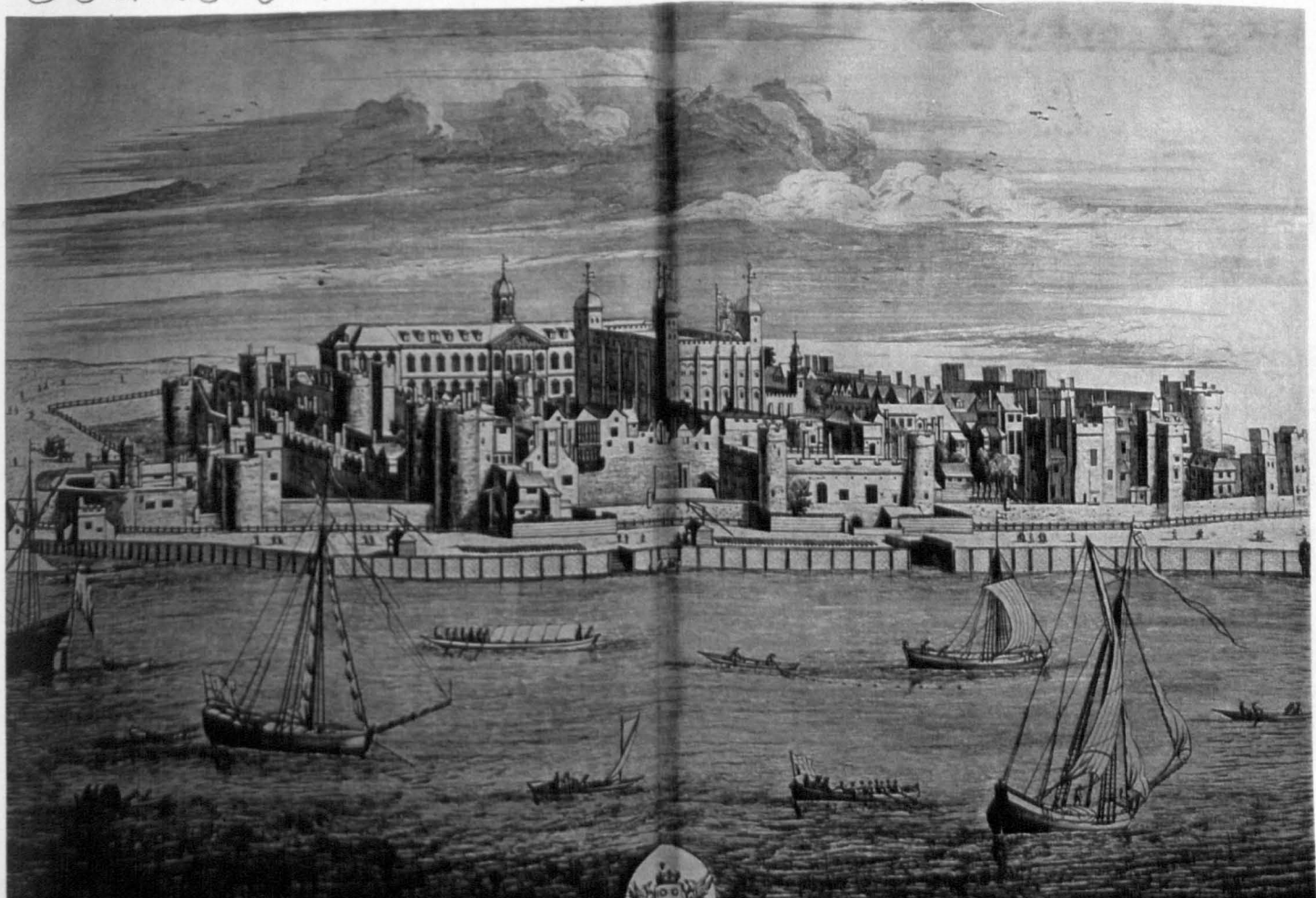


Somerset
la Maison



House
de SOMERSET.

3 Somerset House e 4 the tower of London.



The Tower of London, Commanded in Chief by the R.^o Hon.^{ble} Robert L.^d Lucas.

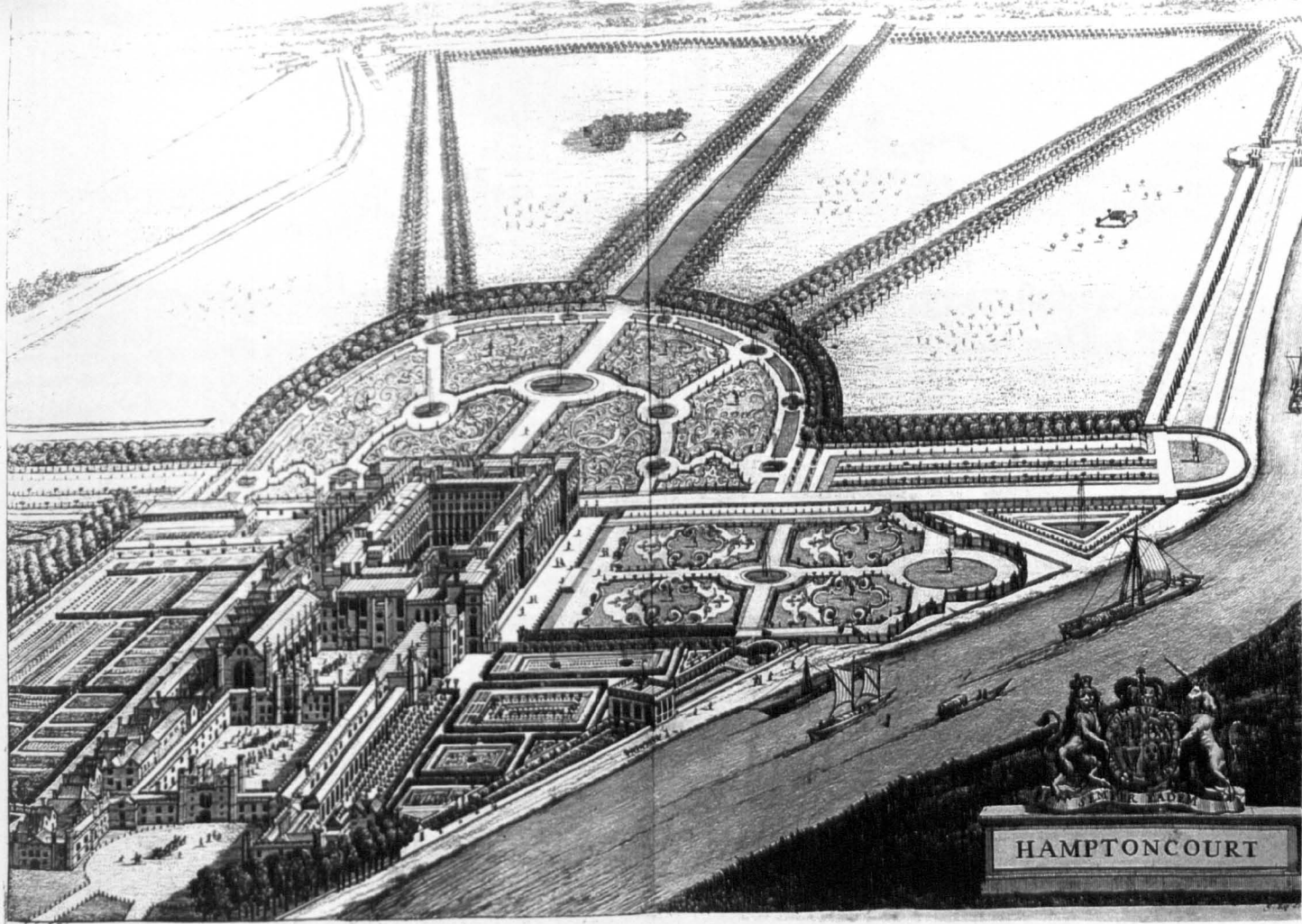


Plate 5 Hampton Court Plate 6 Windsor Castle.



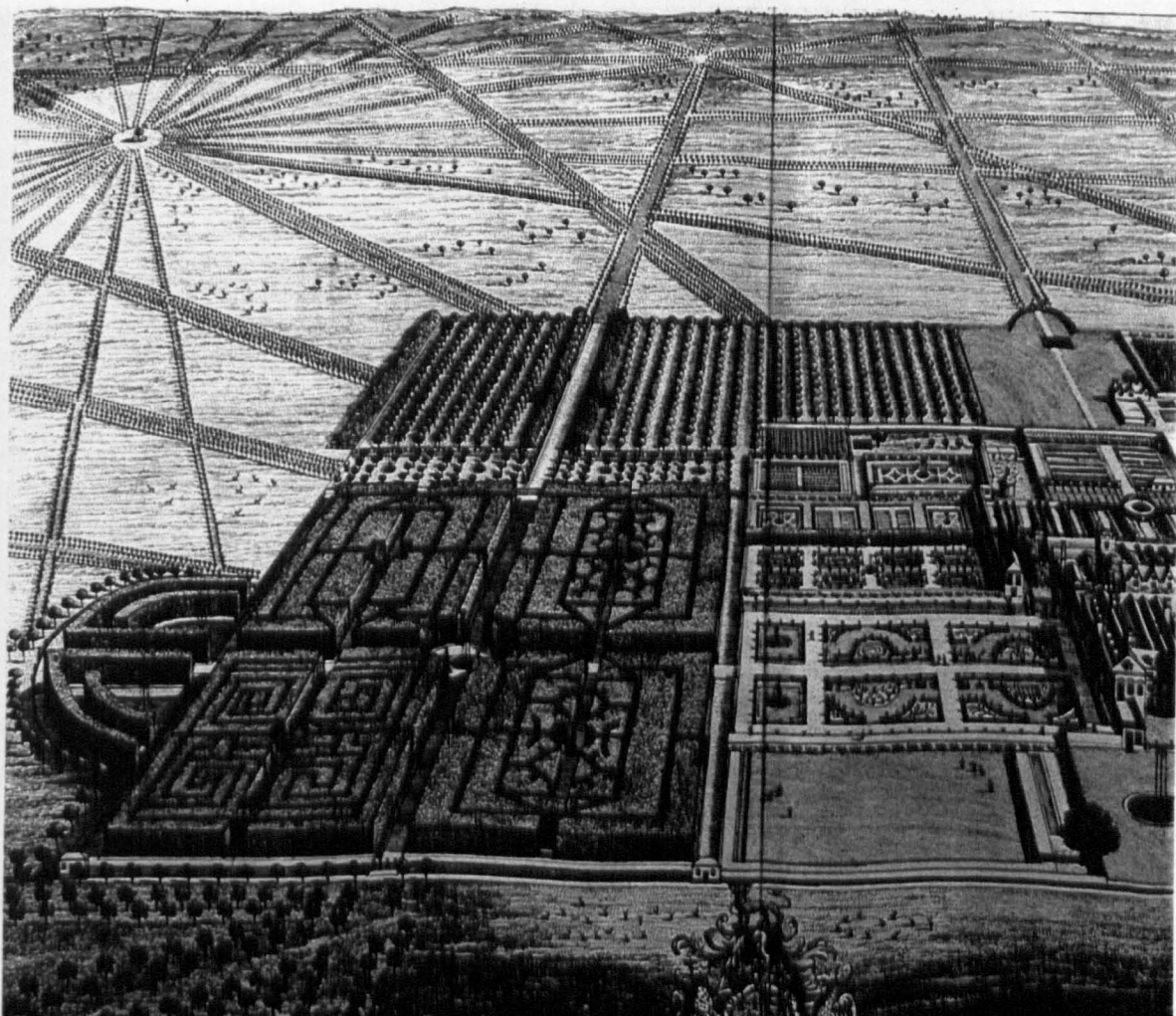
Windsor
Castle

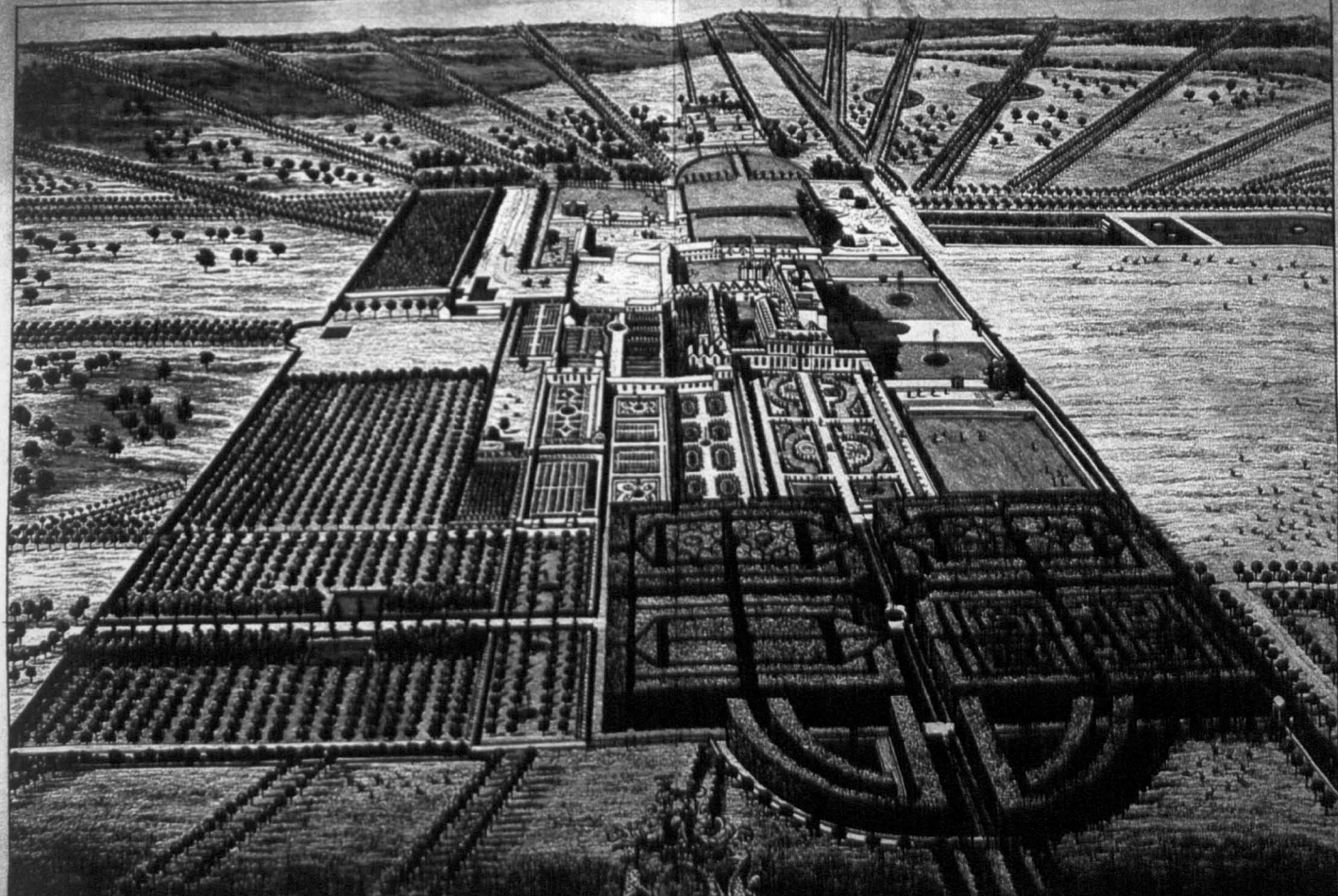
Castle



Lambeth, His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury's Palace.
LAMBETH la Maison de L'Archevesque de Canterbury.

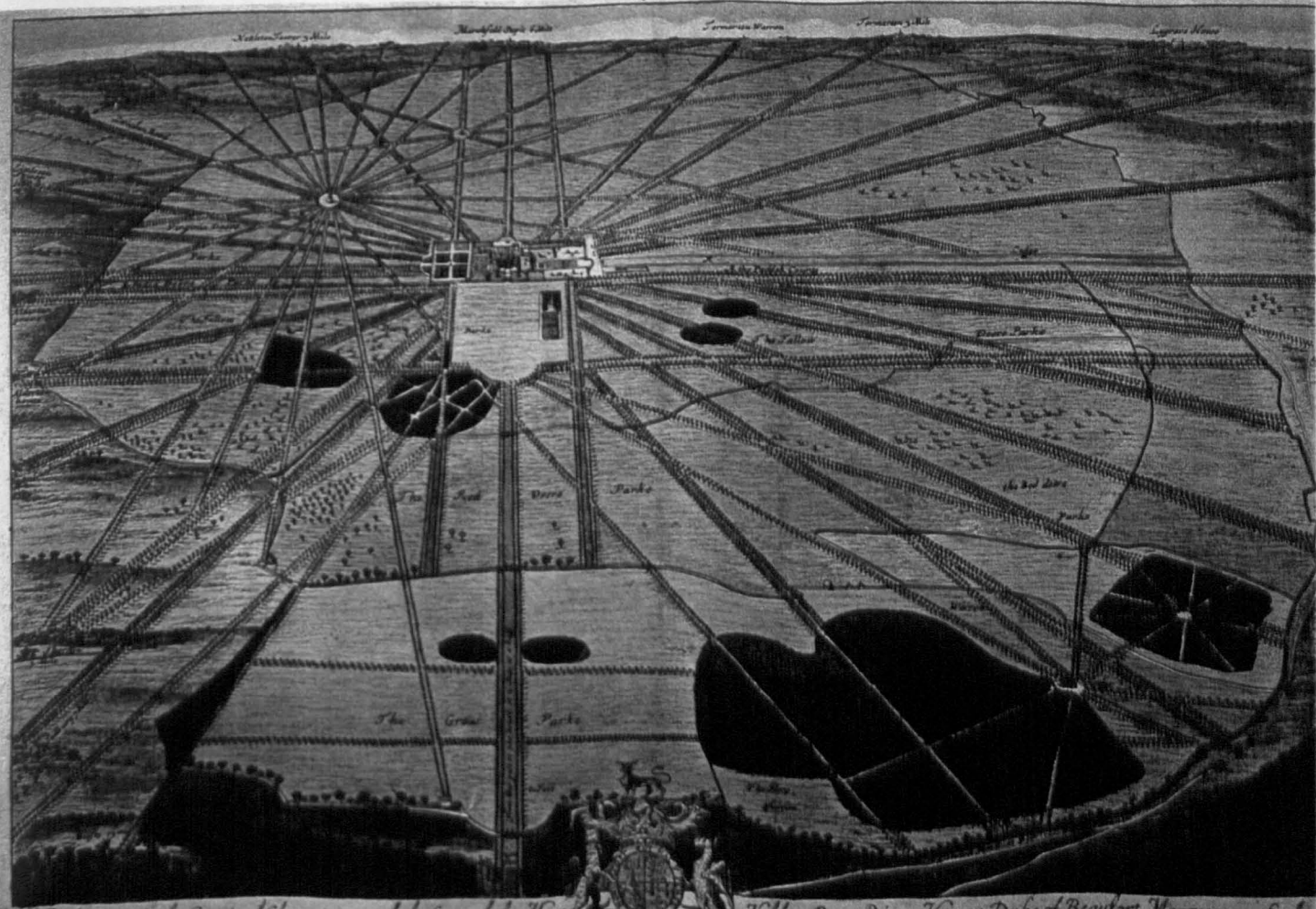
Lambeth Palace plate 8: Badminton plate 9



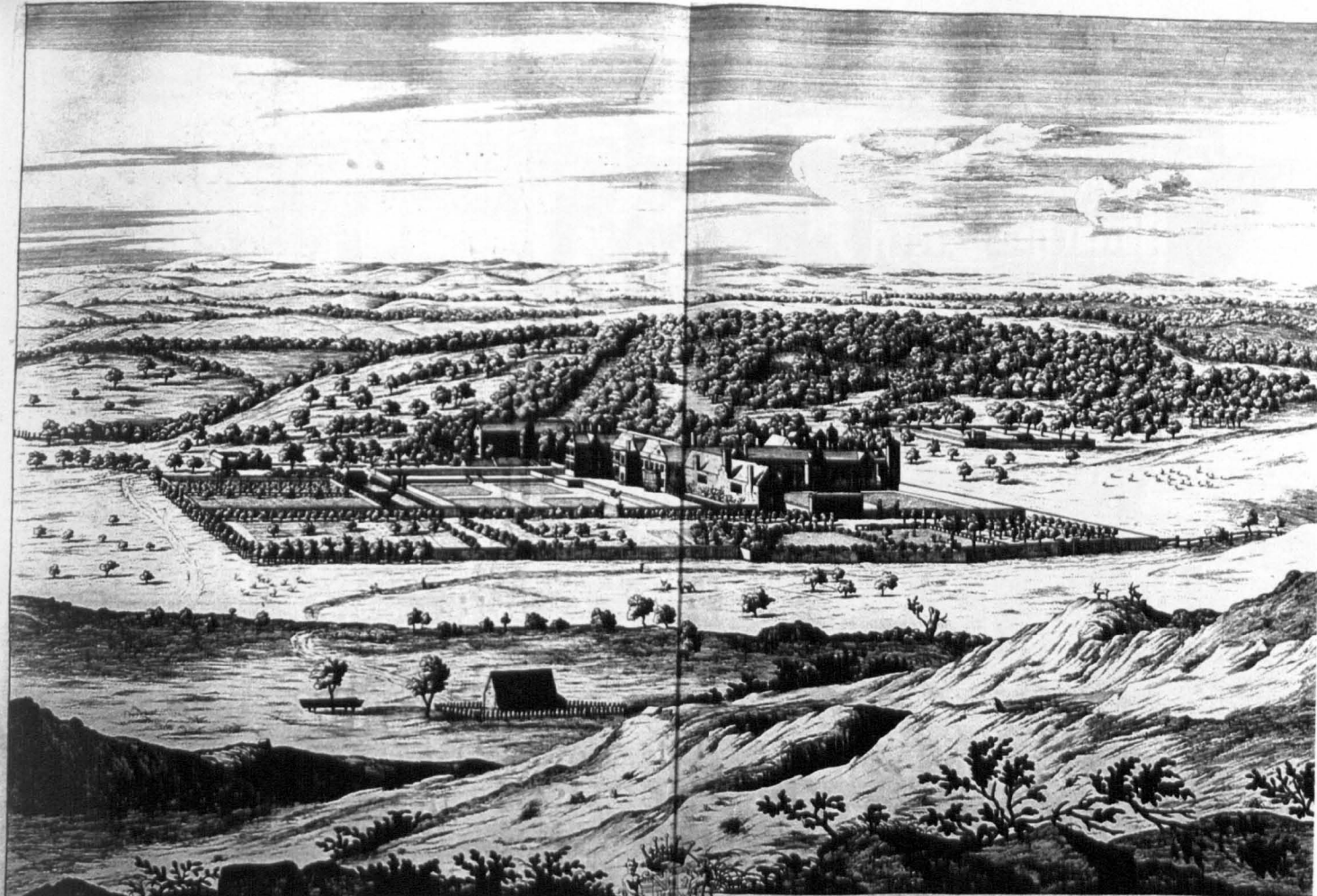


Badminton in the County of Gloucester one of the Seats of the Most Noble & Potent Prince Henry Duke of Beaufort Marquess & Carle of Worcester Baron Herbert of Cheshire Raylan & Gower, and Knight of the Most Noble order of the Garter.

Badminton Plate 10 E 11.



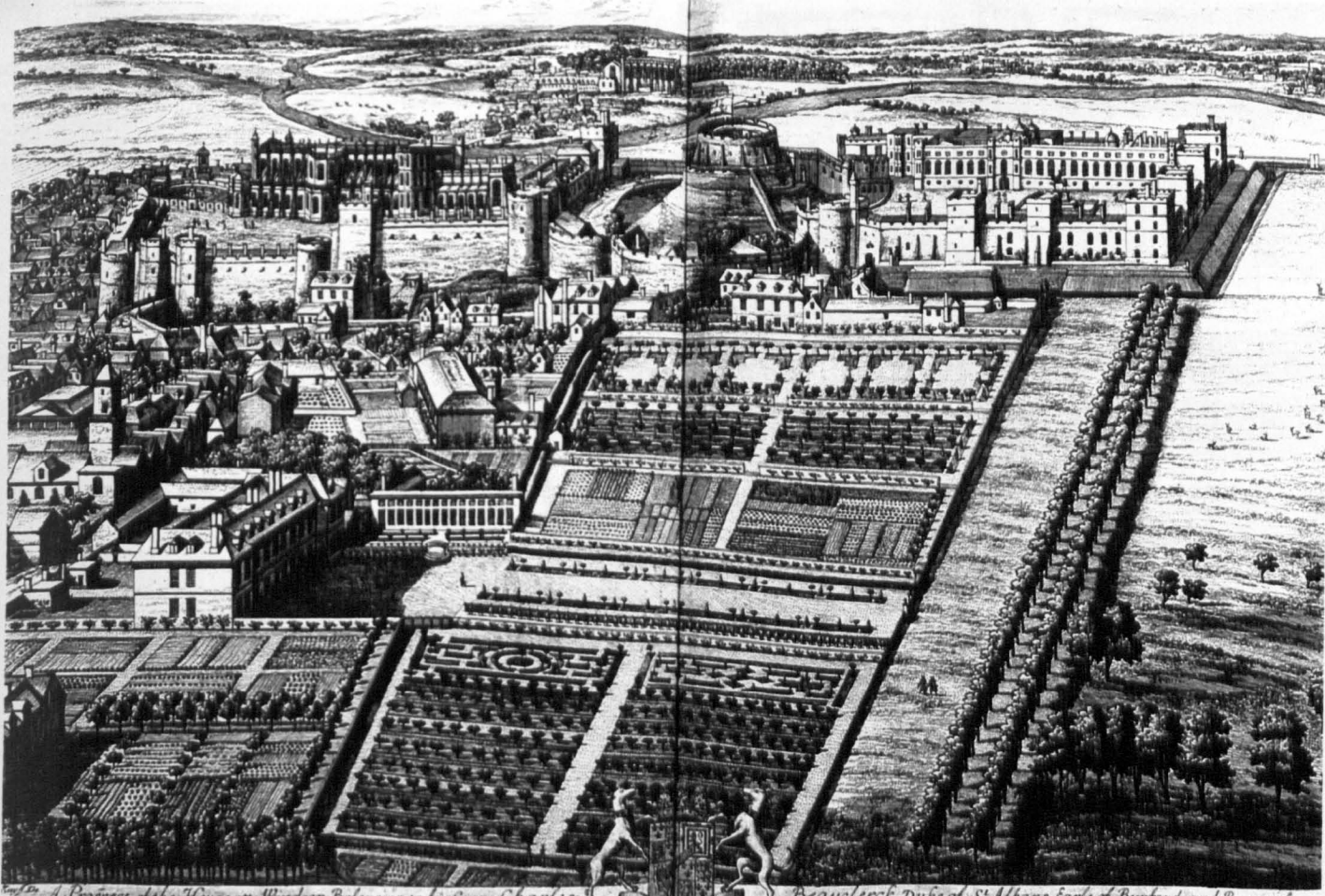
Badminton in the County of Gloucester one of the Seats of the Most Noble & Potent Prince Henry Duke of Beaufort Marquess & Carle Knight of the Most Noble order of the Garter.



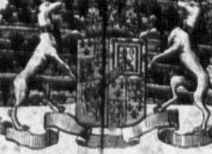
Broadgate in Leicestershire Being the
 Plate 12 Broadgate Plate 13 Chelsea.
 Seat of y^e R^o Hon^{ble} the Earle of Stamford.



The House at Chelsea in the County of Middlesex one of the Seats
 of the Most Noble & Potent Prince Henry Duke of Beaufort
 Marquess & Earle of Worcester Baron Herbert of Cheshire Raglan & Gower
 and Knight of the Most Noble order of the Garter.



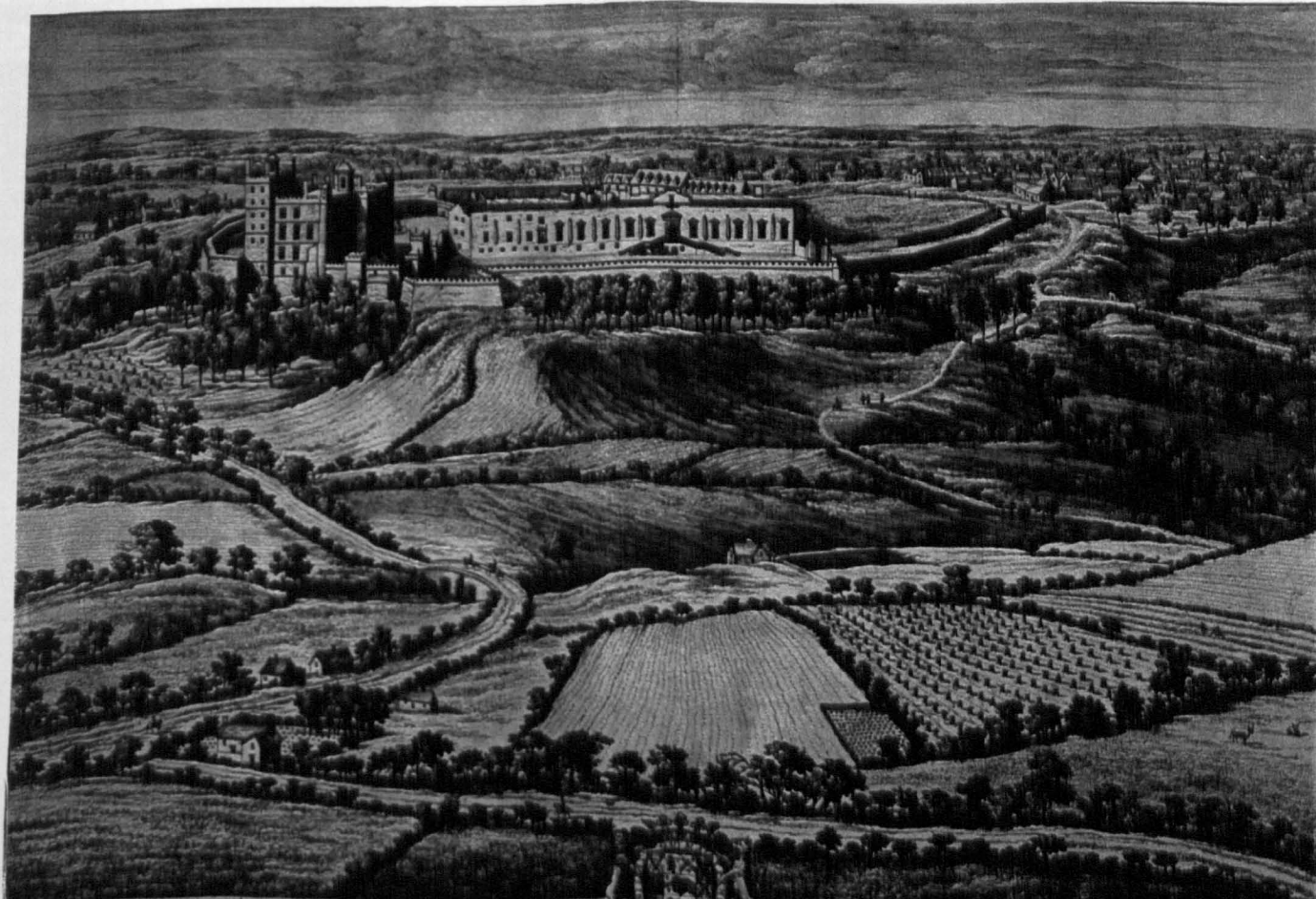
*A Prospect of the Houſe at Windſor, Belonging to his Grace Charles
Steddington, Cap: of the Hon^{ble} Band of Gentlemen Penſioners, Maſter
of his Maj^{ty}*



*Beaulerck Duke of St. Albans, Earle of Burford, and Baron of
all & Surveour of the Kewkes to his Maj^{ty}; & one of the Gentlemen
of his Chamber.*

House at Windsor plate 14

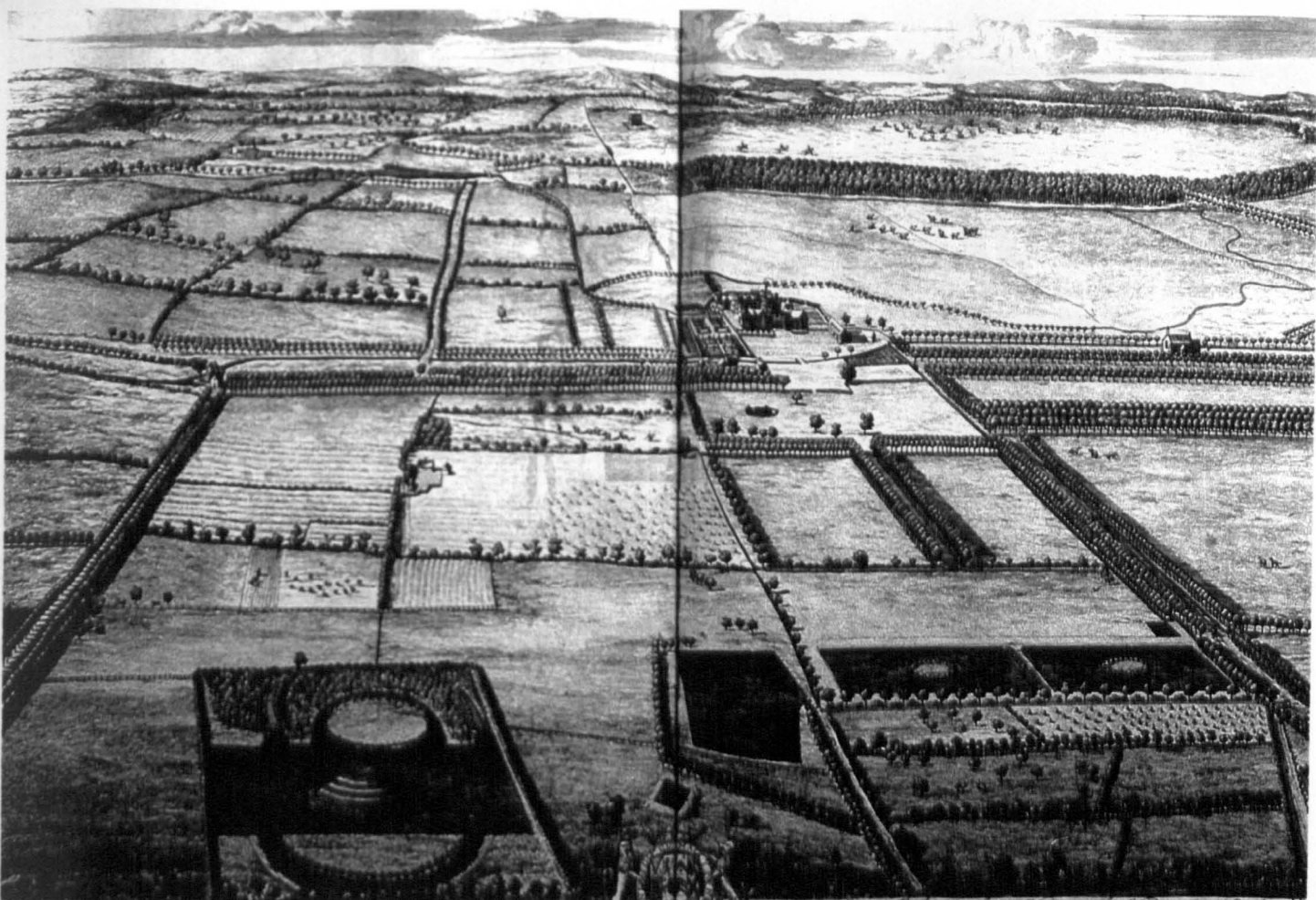
Bolsover Castle plate 15.



*A Prospect of Bolsover in Derbyshire one of the Seats of the most Noble and
Ancient Baron Haughton of Haughton, Lord of the County of*



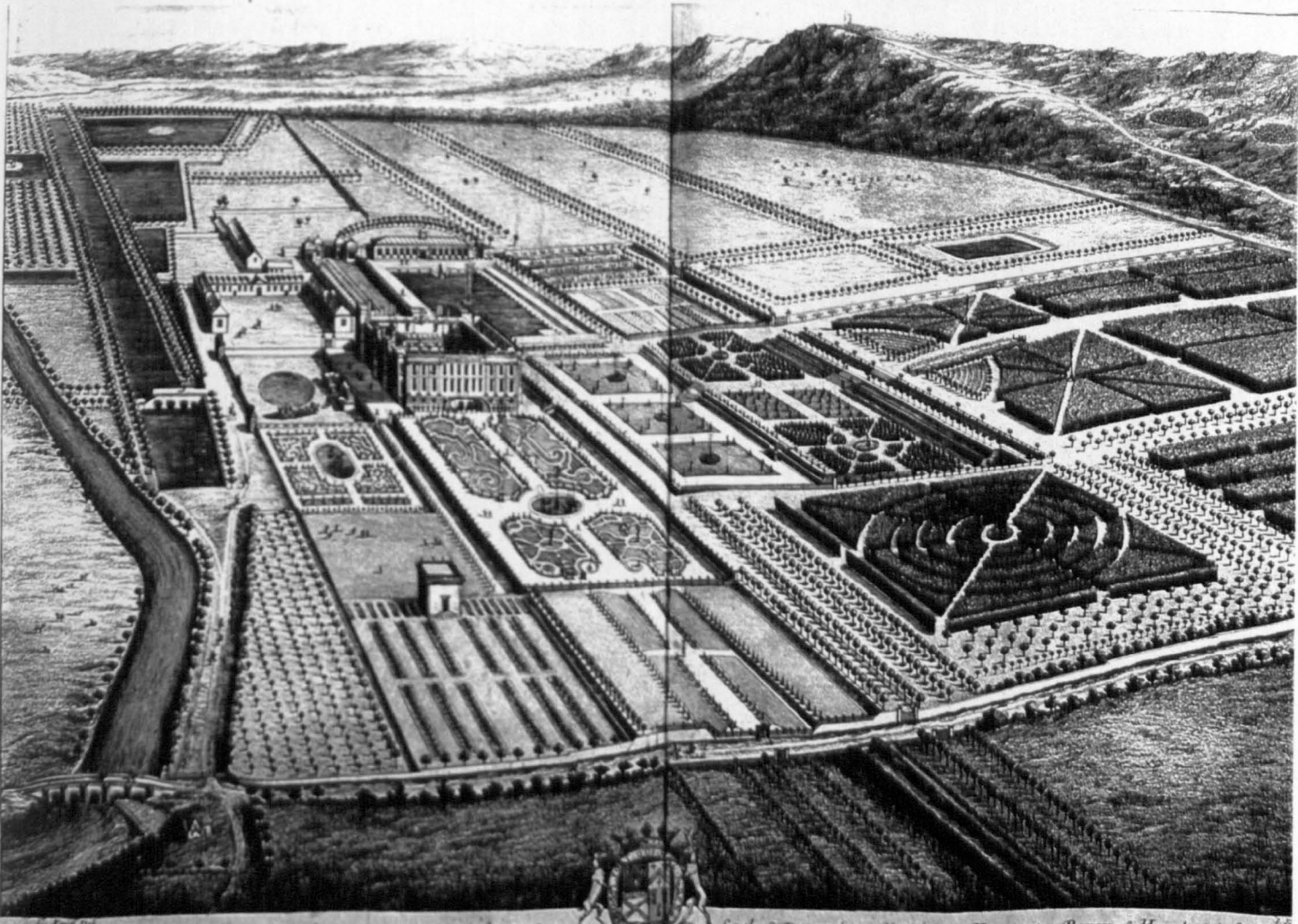
*Mighty Prince John Holles Duke of Newcastle, Marquis and
Earl of Gainsborough and of Baron and County of Gainsborough and*



*Haughton in the County of Nottingham one of the Seats of the Most Noble
of Clare Baron Haughton of Haughton L^d of the County of Nottingham
of Sherwood and Knight of the Most Noble order of the Garter
and Mighty Prince John Duke of Newcastle Marquis and Earl
and of the Town and County of the Town of Nottingham L^d Warden of the Forest
the Most Noble order of the Garter.*

Haughton plate 16

Chatsworth plate 17.



*Chatsworth House being of the Grace of His Grace the Duke and
Earl of Devonshire Marquis of Hartington Baron of Hardwick L^d Steward*

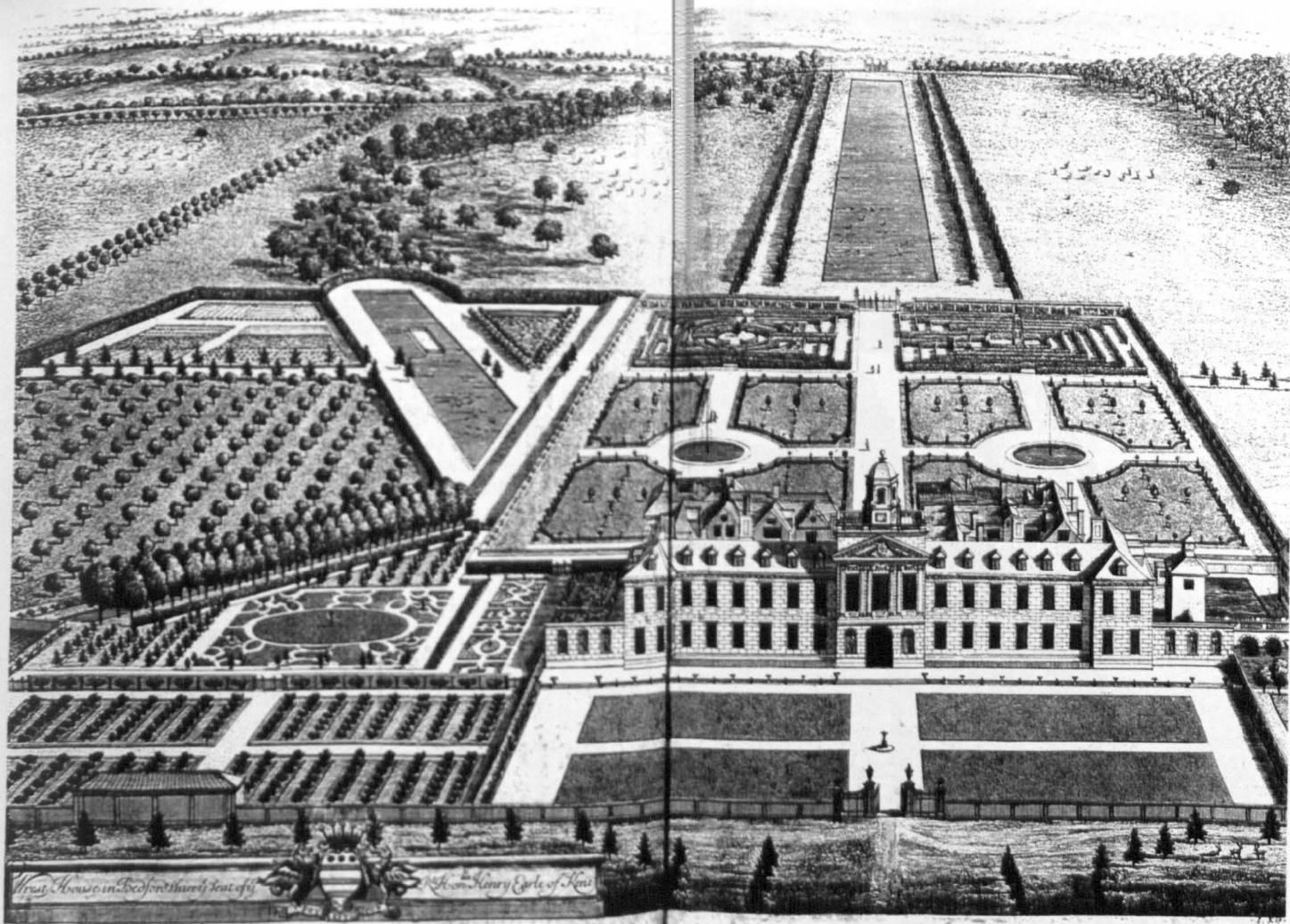
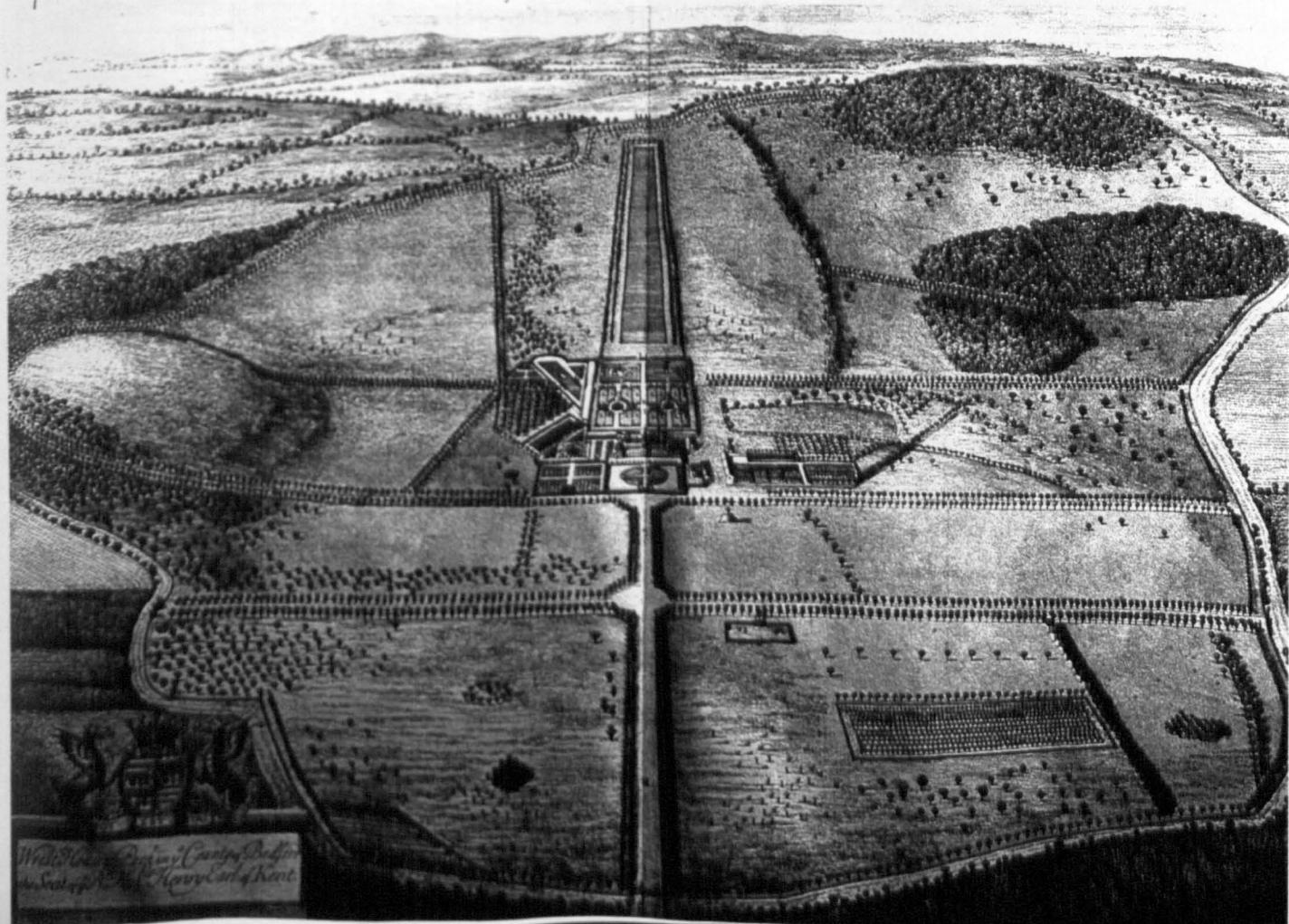
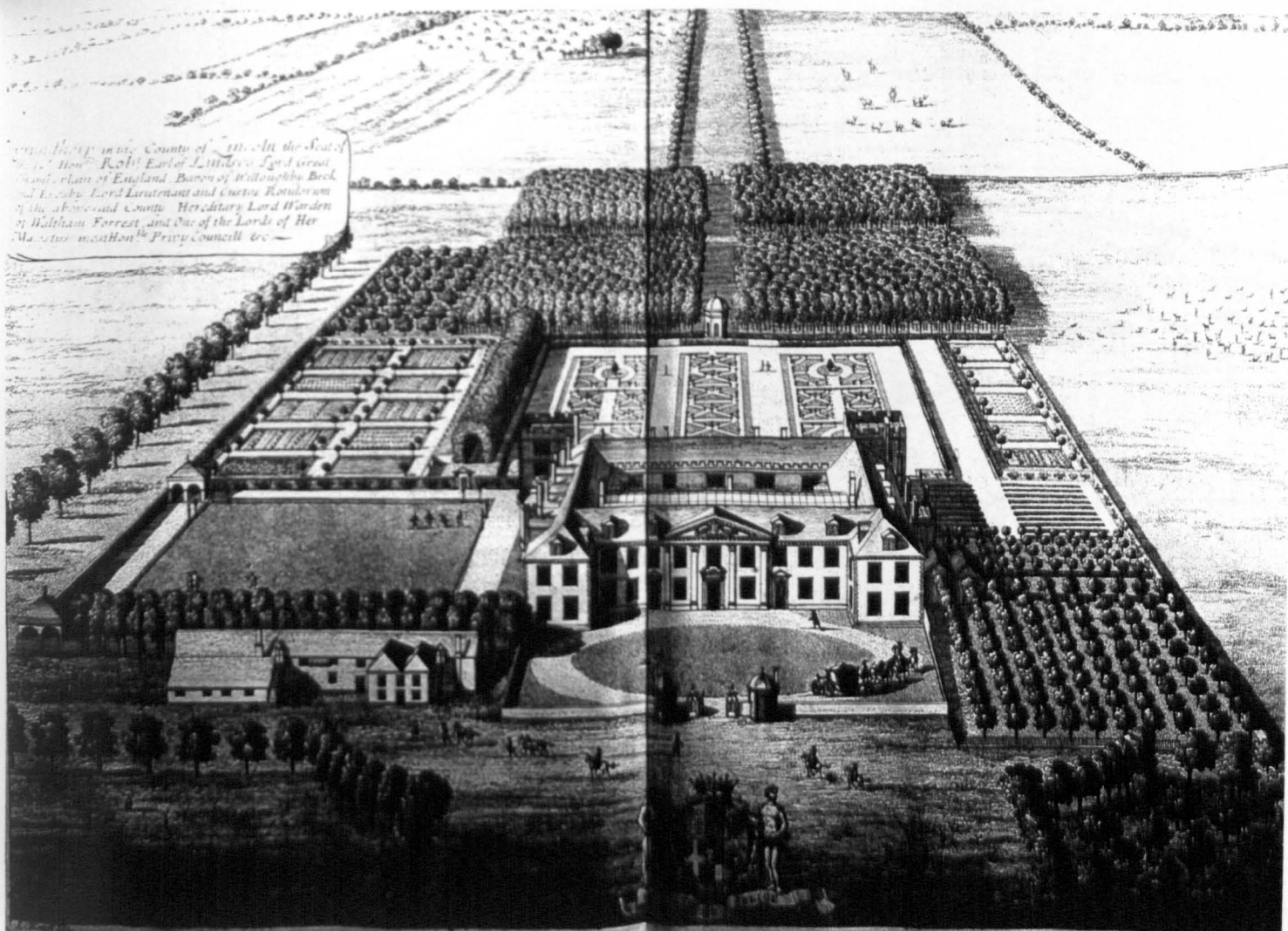
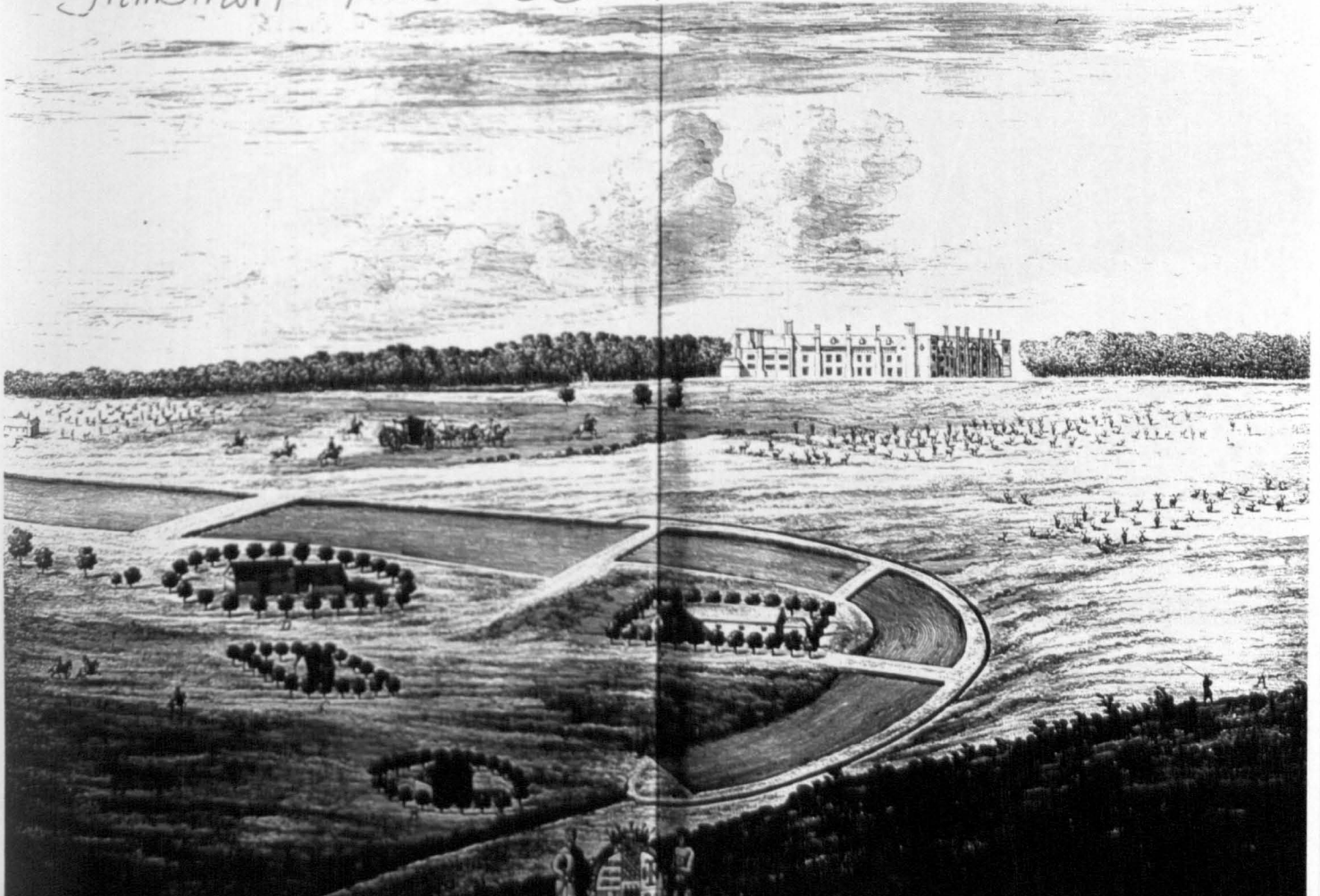


Plate 18 & 19 West Park

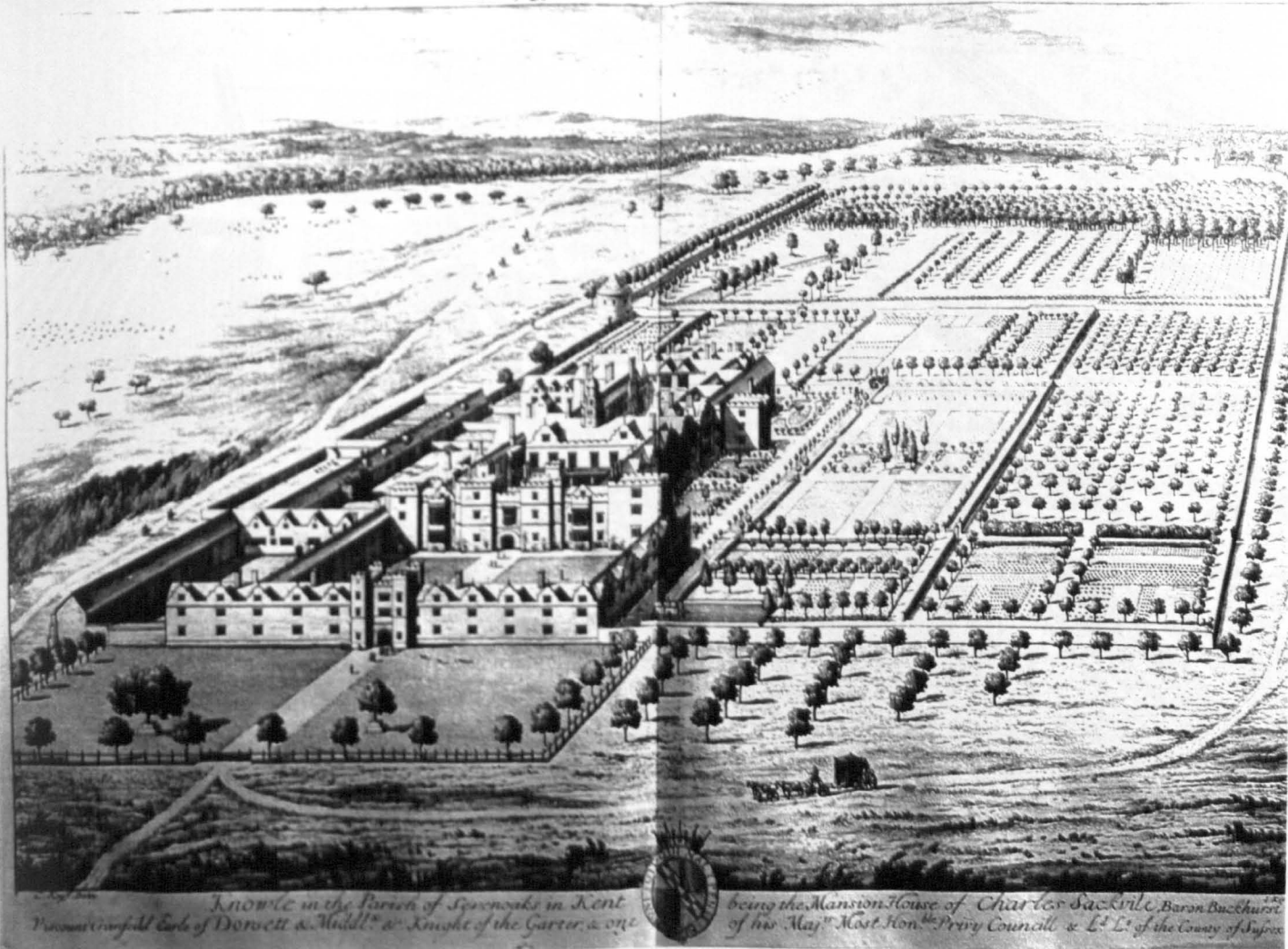




Grimsthorp Plates 20 & 21



Grimsthorp in the County of Lincoln the Seat of the R^{ts} Hon^{ble} Rob^t Earl of Lindsey Lord great Chamberlain of England Baron of Willoughby abovesaid County Hereditary Lord Warden of Waltham Forrest and one of the Lords of Her Majesty's most Hon^{ble} Privy Council.



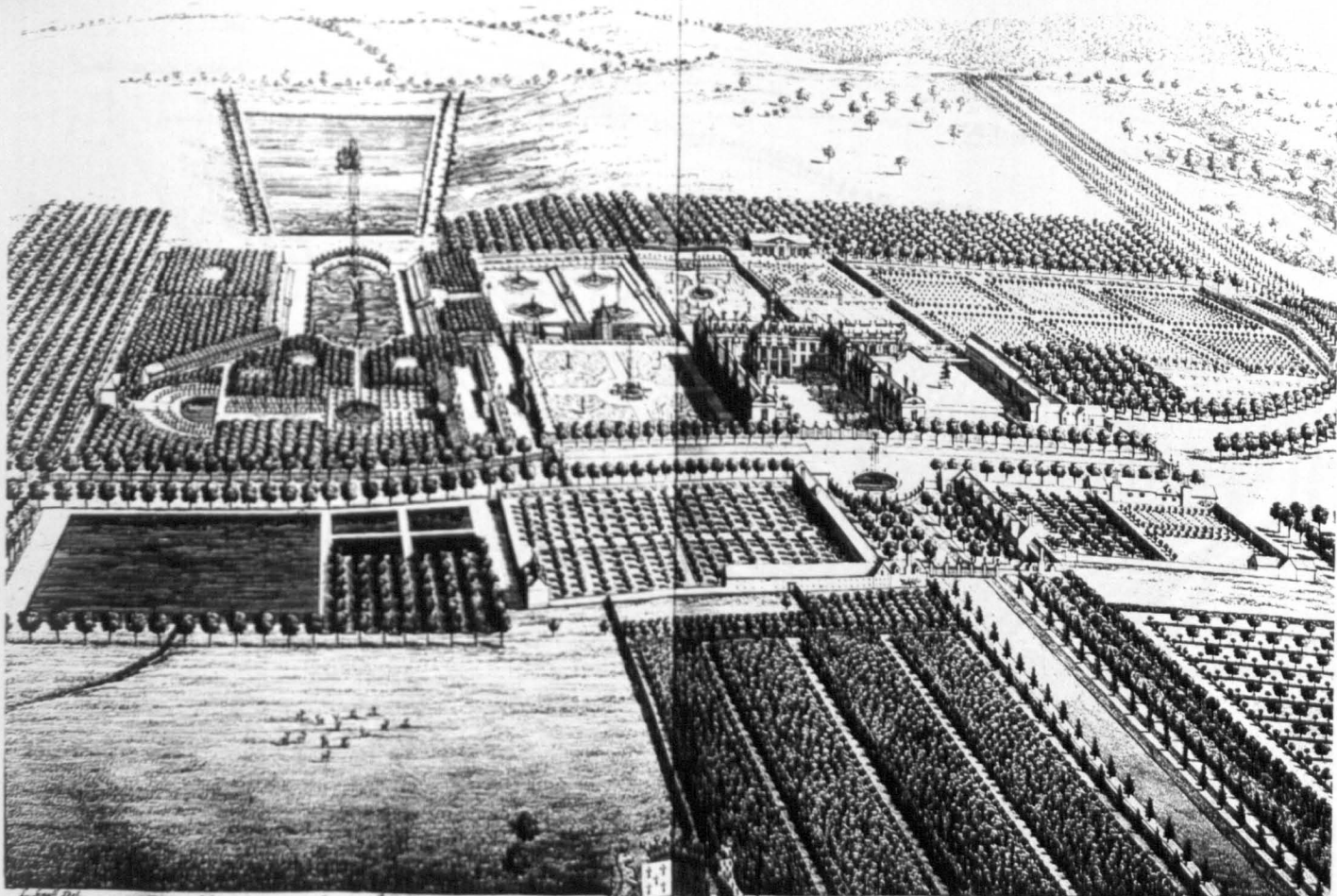
Knowle in the Parish of Spenoaks in Kent
Presently the Seat of the Earl of Dorset & Midd^{le} & Knight of the Garter, & one
 being the Mansion House of Charles Sa. Earl, Baron Bouchurch
 of his Maj^{ty} Most Hon^{ble} the Privy Council & L^{td} of the County of Surron

Knowle Plate 24

Newnham Paddock Plate 25



Newnham Palace in Warwickshire the Seat of the Rth Hon^{ble} Brasill
 Germania, Baron of Newnham Palace & S^{on} in Viscount Fielding
 Fielding Comes de Hapsbury Domus Loffenbury & Rinfelden in
 & Carl of Denbigh in England, Baron of Lough Viscount Callen & Earl

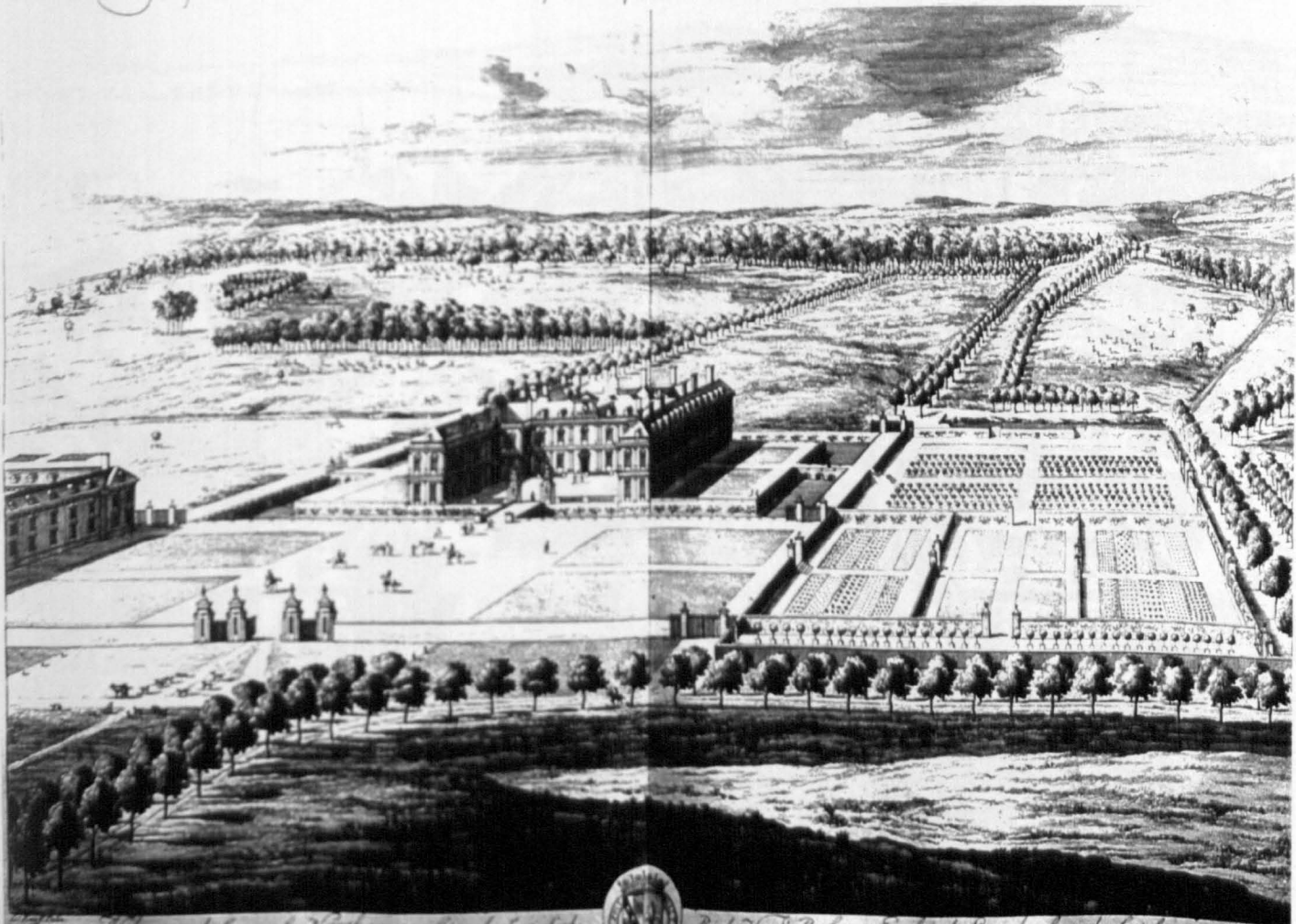


Bredby in Darby Shire, the Seat of the
Chertofful and Baron



R^{ts} Hon^{ble} Phillip Stanhope Earle of
Stanhope of Shelford &c.

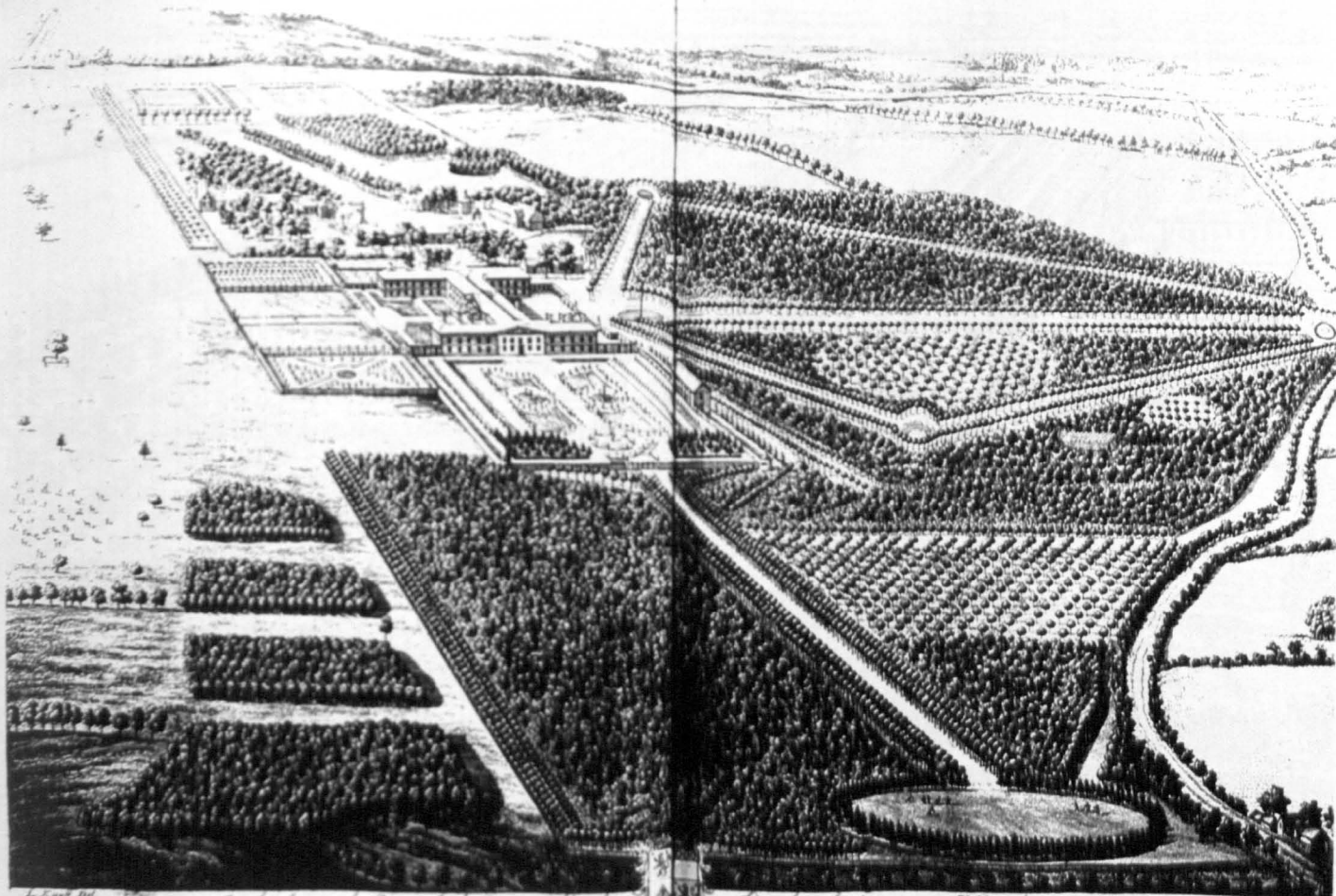
Bredby Plate 26 Althorp Plate 27



Althorp in the County of Northampton being the Seat of the
Countess Dowager of Northampton

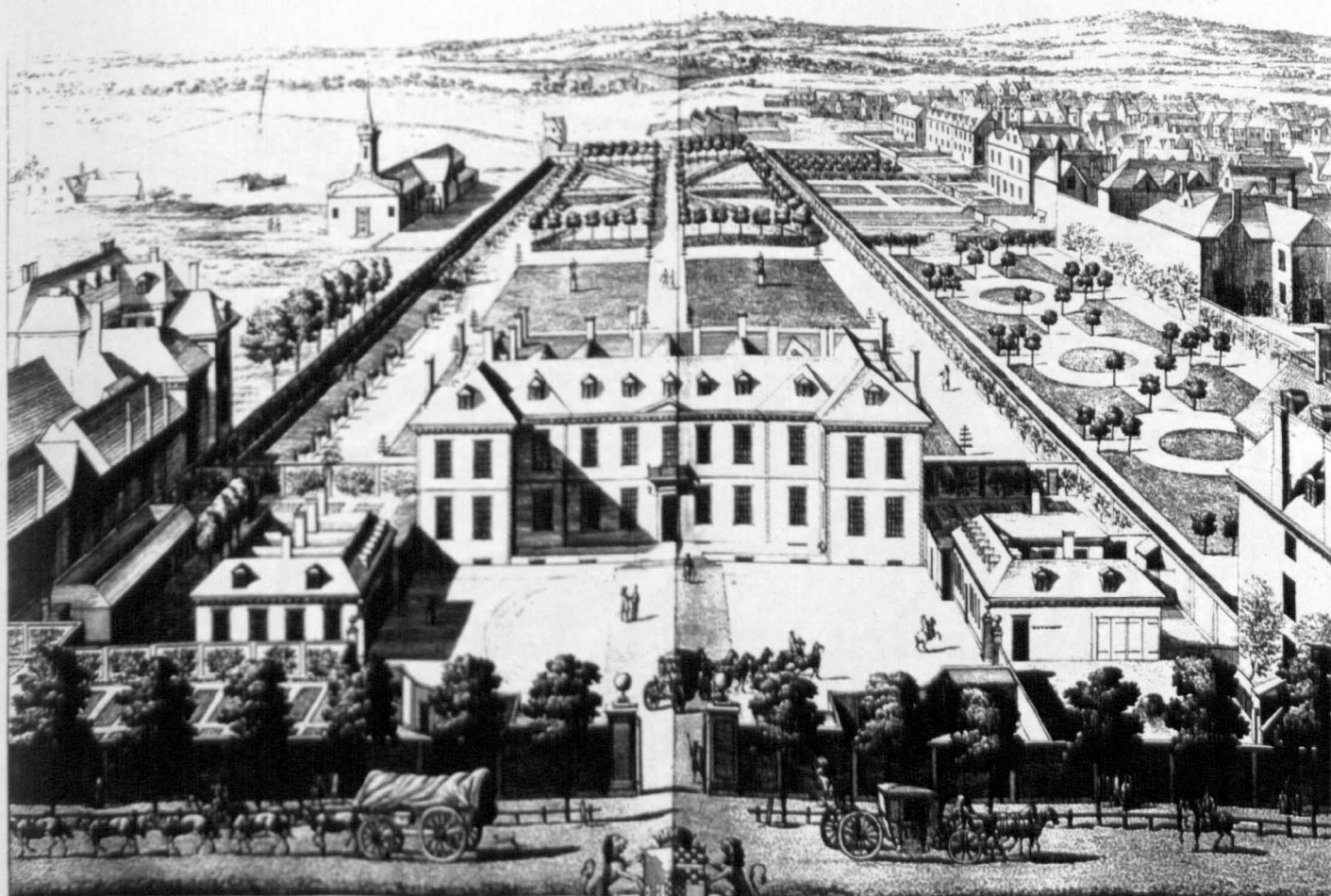


Right Hon^{ble} Robert Earle of Sunderland Lord
High Treasurer of Great Britain



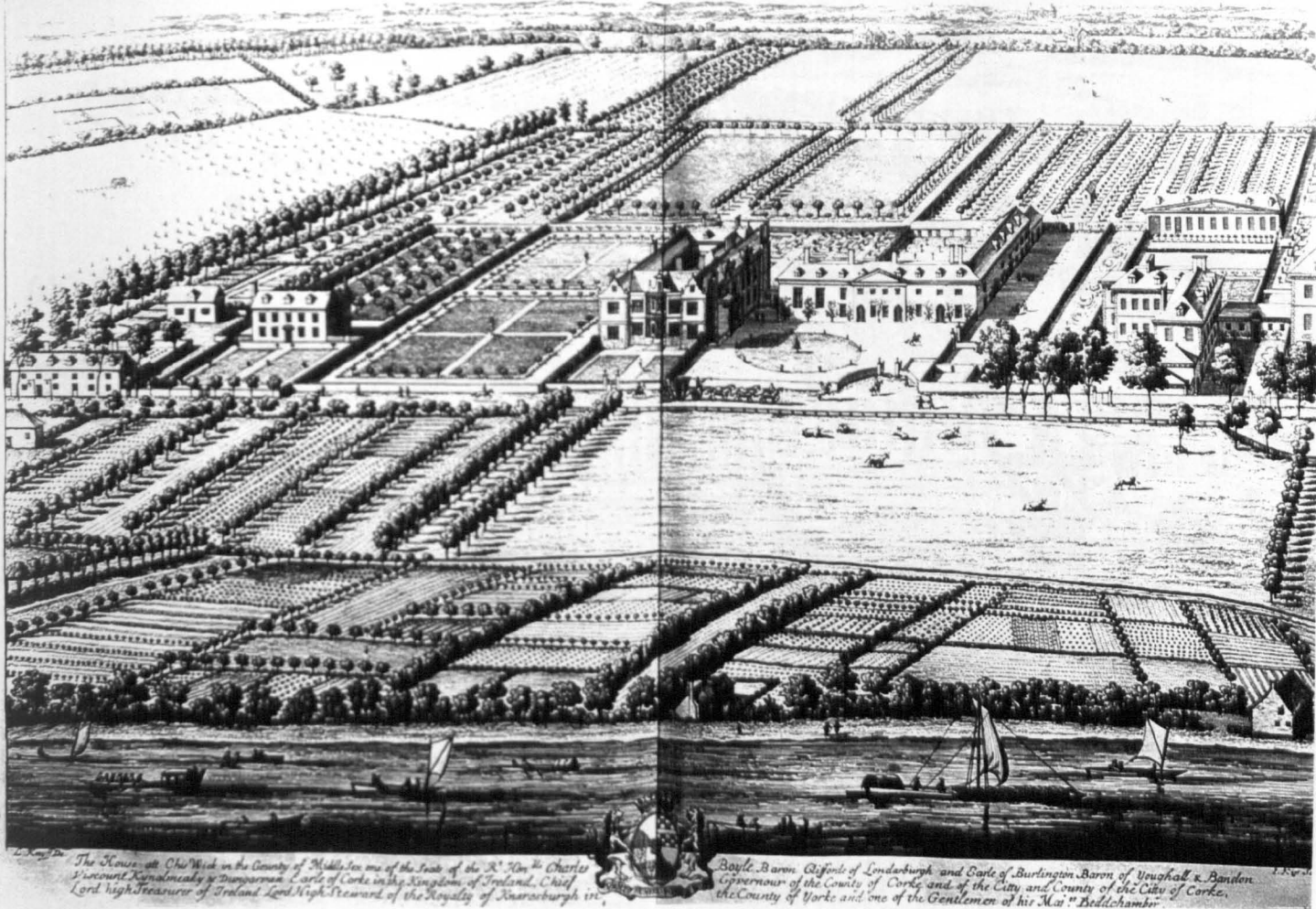
Cassiobury the Seat of the R. Hon^{ble} the,  Earl of Essex in Hertfordshire.

Cassiobury Plate 28 Burlington House Plate 29



Burlington House is probably Belonging to the R. Hon^{ble} Charles Boyle a Baron, Viscount Kinalmaddy & Bingham Earl of Cork & the City of Cork, Lord High Treasurer of Ireland, Lord High Steward of the Kingdom of Great Britain, &c.

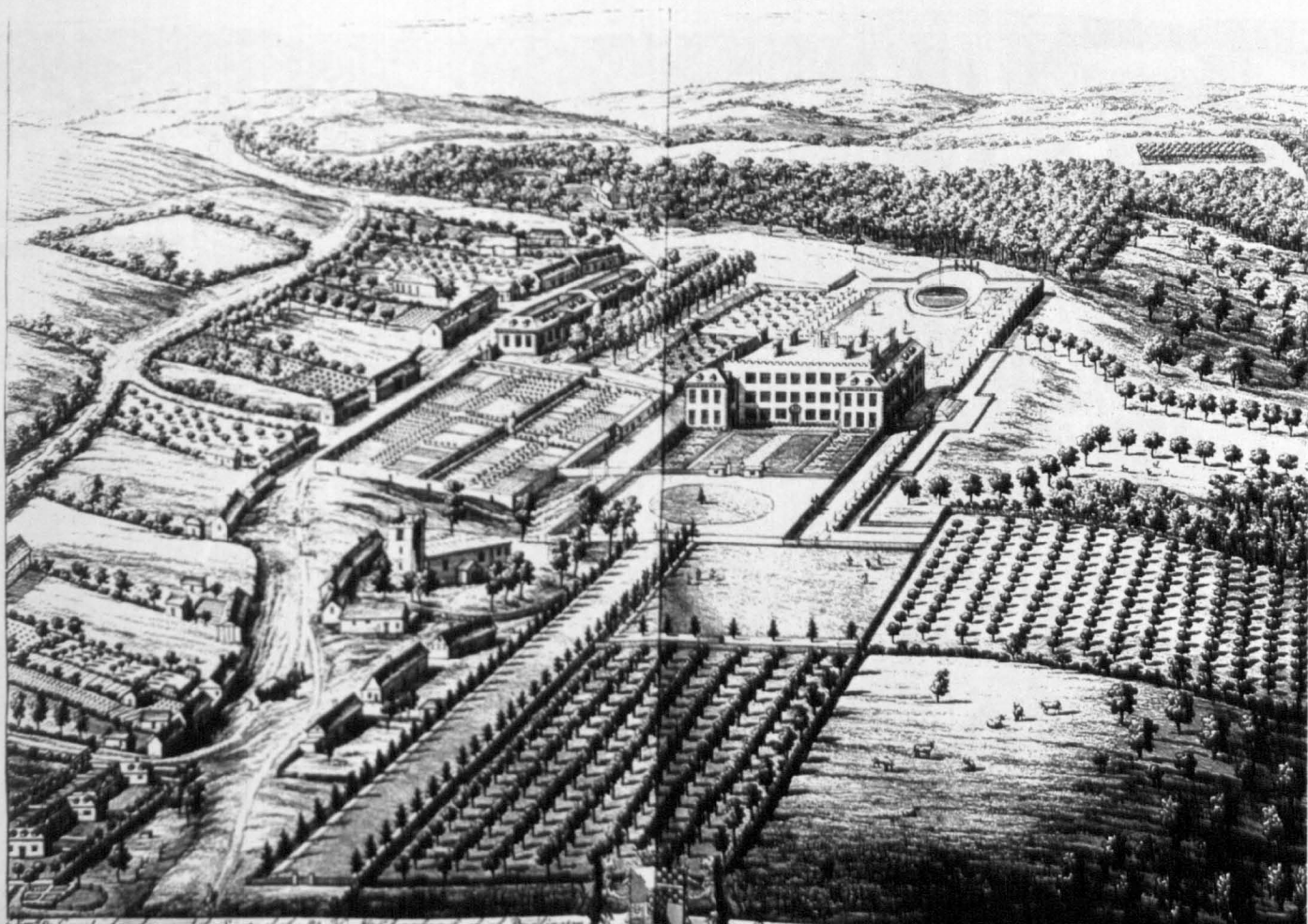
Baron Clifford of Lonsborough, and Earl of Burlington Baron of Woughall of Ireland, Chief Governour of the County of Cork, and of the City, and the Royalty of Kinsborough in the County of York, one of the Gentlemen of his Ma^{ty} Bedchamber.



The House at Chiswick in the County of Middlesex one of the Seats of the R^{ts} Hon^{ble} Charles Viscount Kinalmeaky & Dungannon Lord of Cork in the Kingdom of Ireland, Chief Lord High Treasurer of Ireland Lord High Steward of the Royalty of Anarburgh in

Boyle, Baron Clifford of Londarburgh and Earl of Burlington Baron of Voughall & Bandon Governour of the County of Cork and of the City and County of the City of Cork, the County of York and one of the Gentlemen of his Mai^{ties} Bedchamber

Chiswick Plate 30 Londarborough Plate 31



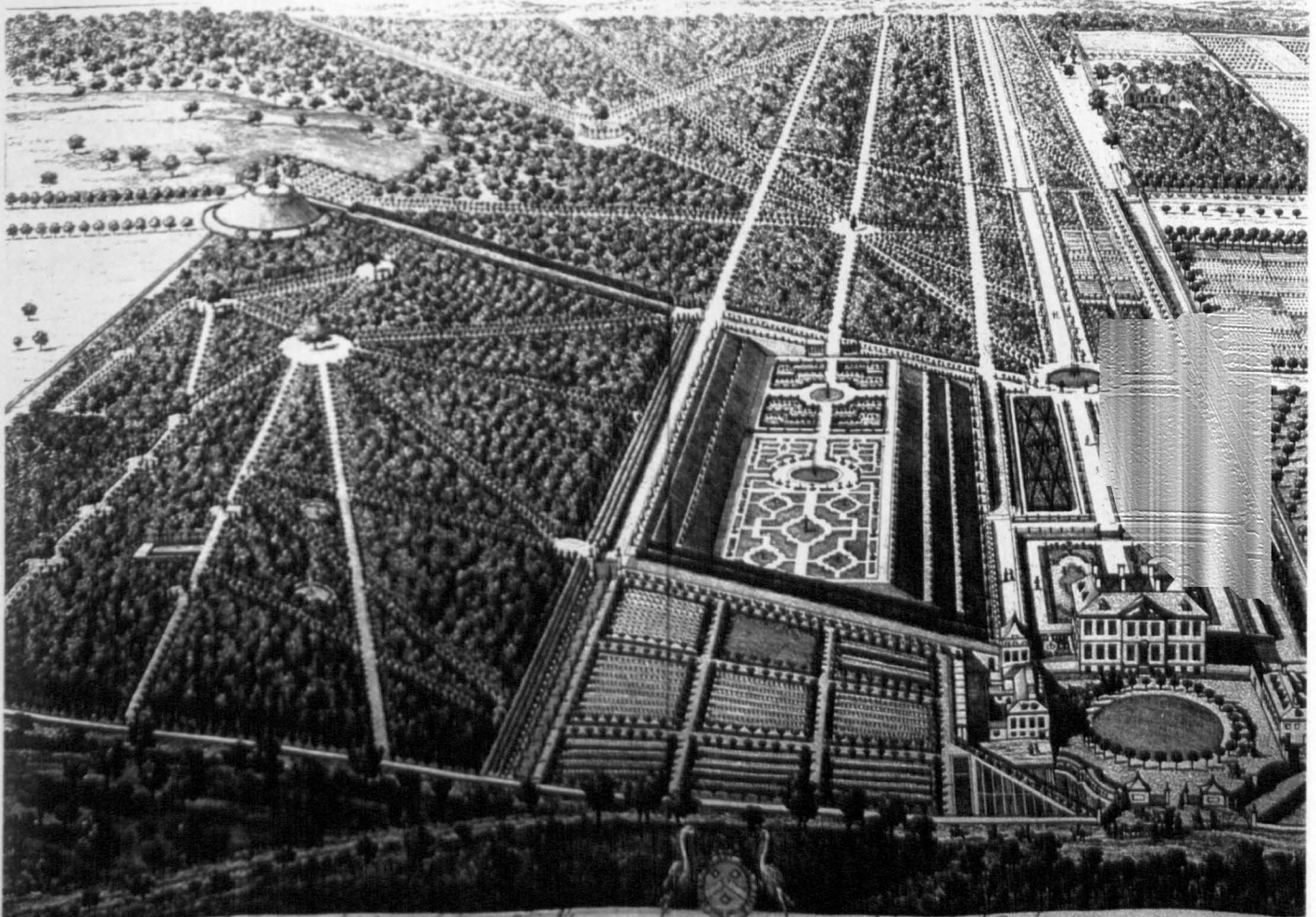
Londarborough one of the Seats of the R^{ts} Hon^{ble} Charles Earl of Burlington Dandon Viscount Kinalmeaky & Dungannon Lord of Cork in the Kingdom of Ireland Lord High Treasurer of Ireland Lord High Steward of the Royalty of Anarburgh in

Boyle, Baron Clifford of Londarburgh in North Shire Baron of Voughall & Bandon Chief Governour of the County of Cork and of the City & County of the City of Cork, the County of York, Curator of the Royal Mint & Lord High Treasurer of the City of Cork

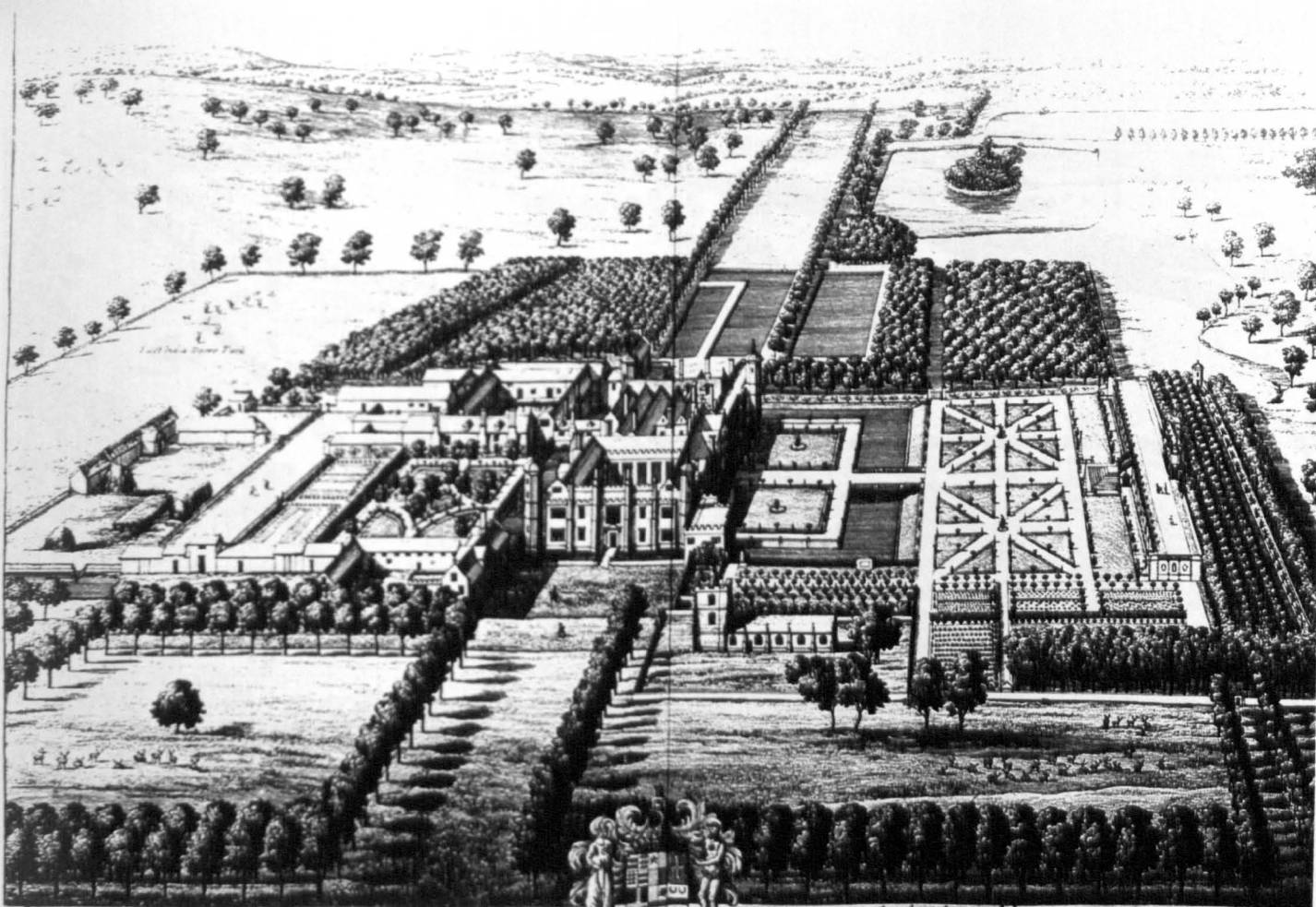


J. Kneller delin. Wimpole in the County of Cambridge the Seat of
 Baron of Truro Viscount Bodmyn and Earl of
 *J. Kneller sculp.* Charles Bodville Lord Robartes
 Radnor L^{td} & Custos Rotulorum of the County of Cornwall.

Wimpole plate 32. New Park Plate 33

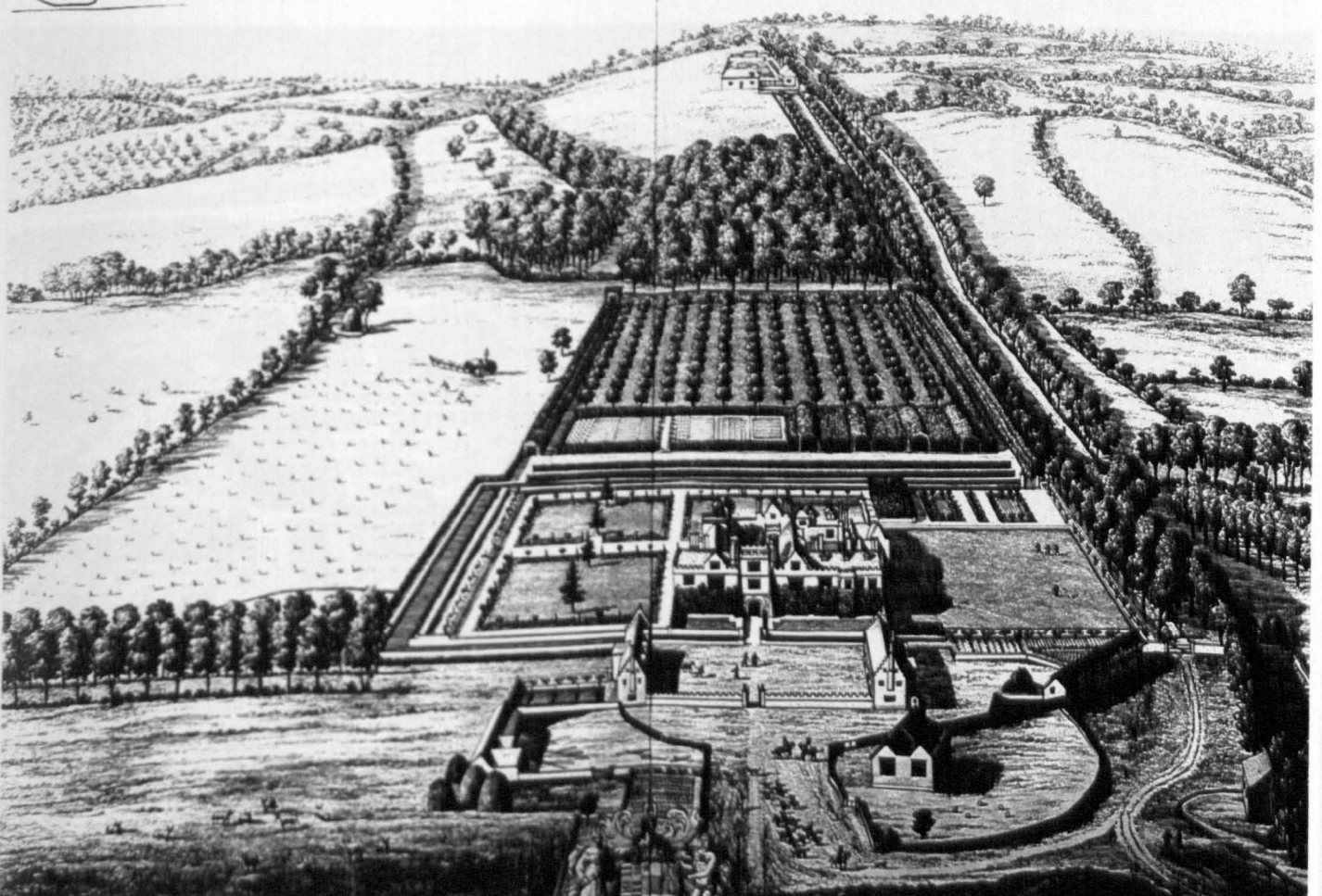


J. Kneller delin. New Park in Surrey the Seat of the Rth Hon^{ble}
 *J. Kneller sculp.* the Earl of Rochester.

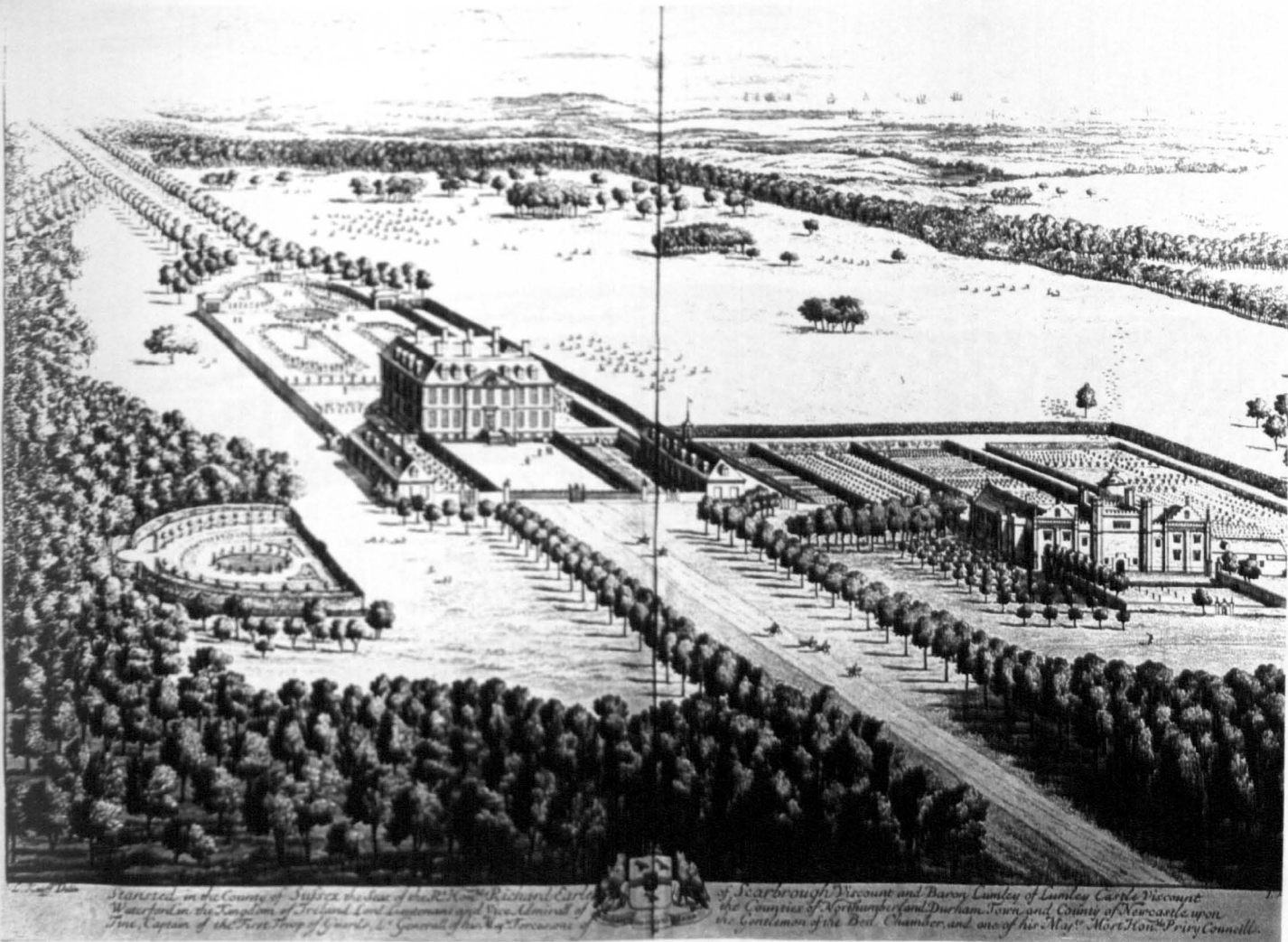


Ryccott in the County of Oxford one of the Seats of the R^h Hon^{ble} Montague Earle of Abingdon Baron Norris of Ryccott

Ryccott Plate 34 Wytham Plate 35

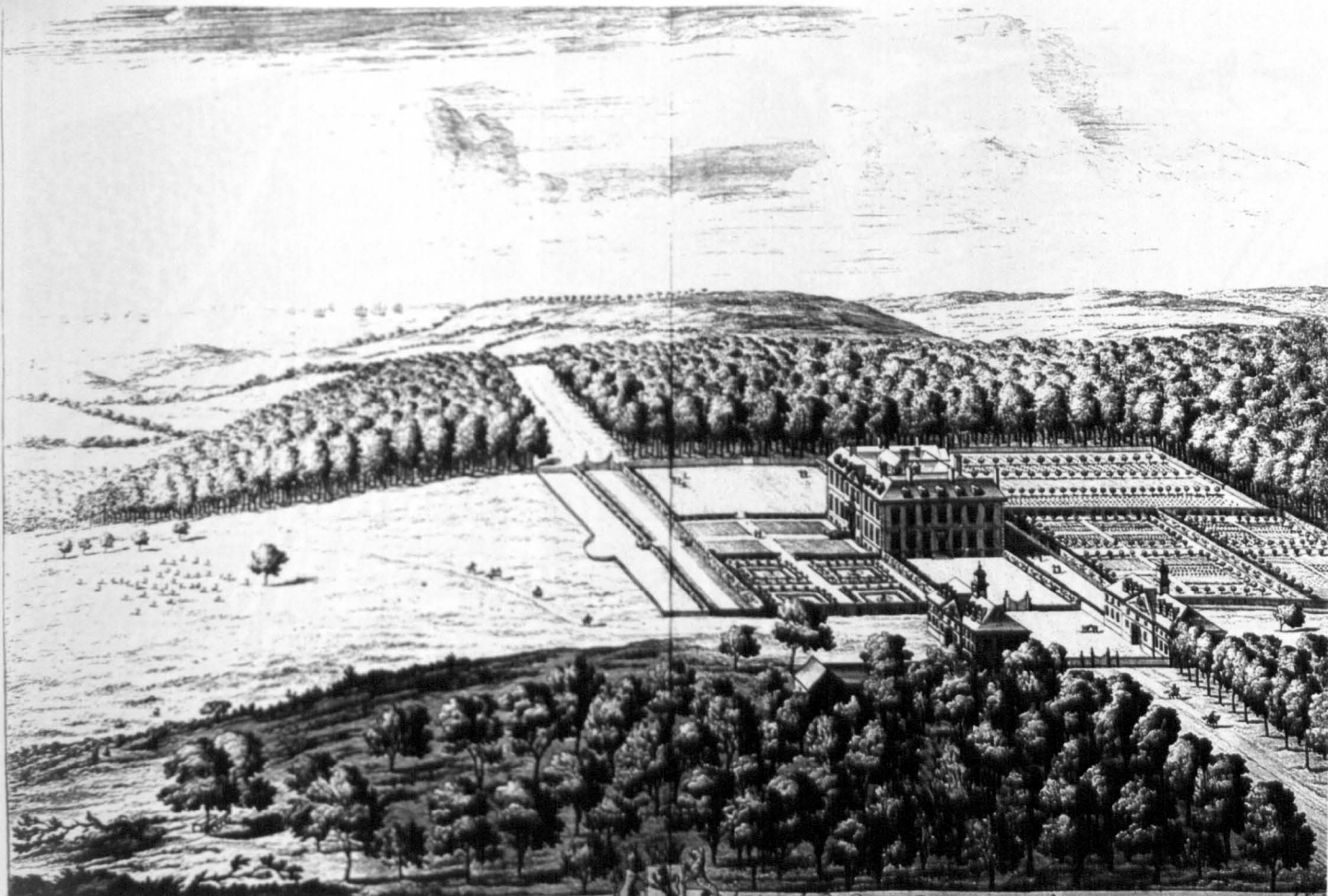


Wytham in the County of Berks one of the Seats of the R^h Hon^{ble} Montague Earle of Abingdon Baron Norris of Ryccott Within two Miles of Oxford



Stanstead Plate 36 Danham Massey Plate 37

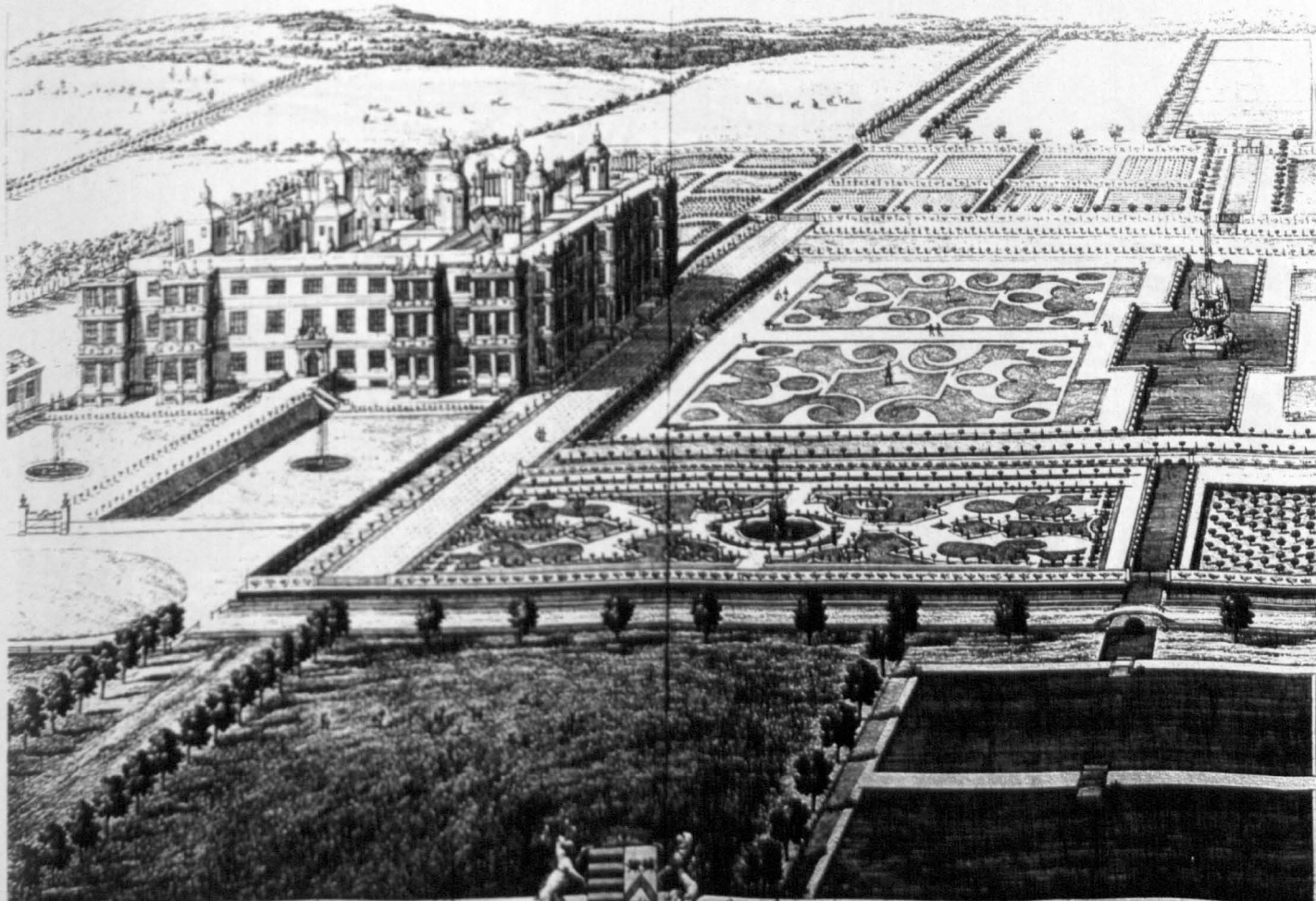




Up Parke in Sussex the Seat of the R.^o Hon.^{ble} Earl of Tankerville and one of Ford L^o Grey Baron of Werke, Viscount Glendale His Maj.^{ty} Most Hon.^{ble} Privy Council.

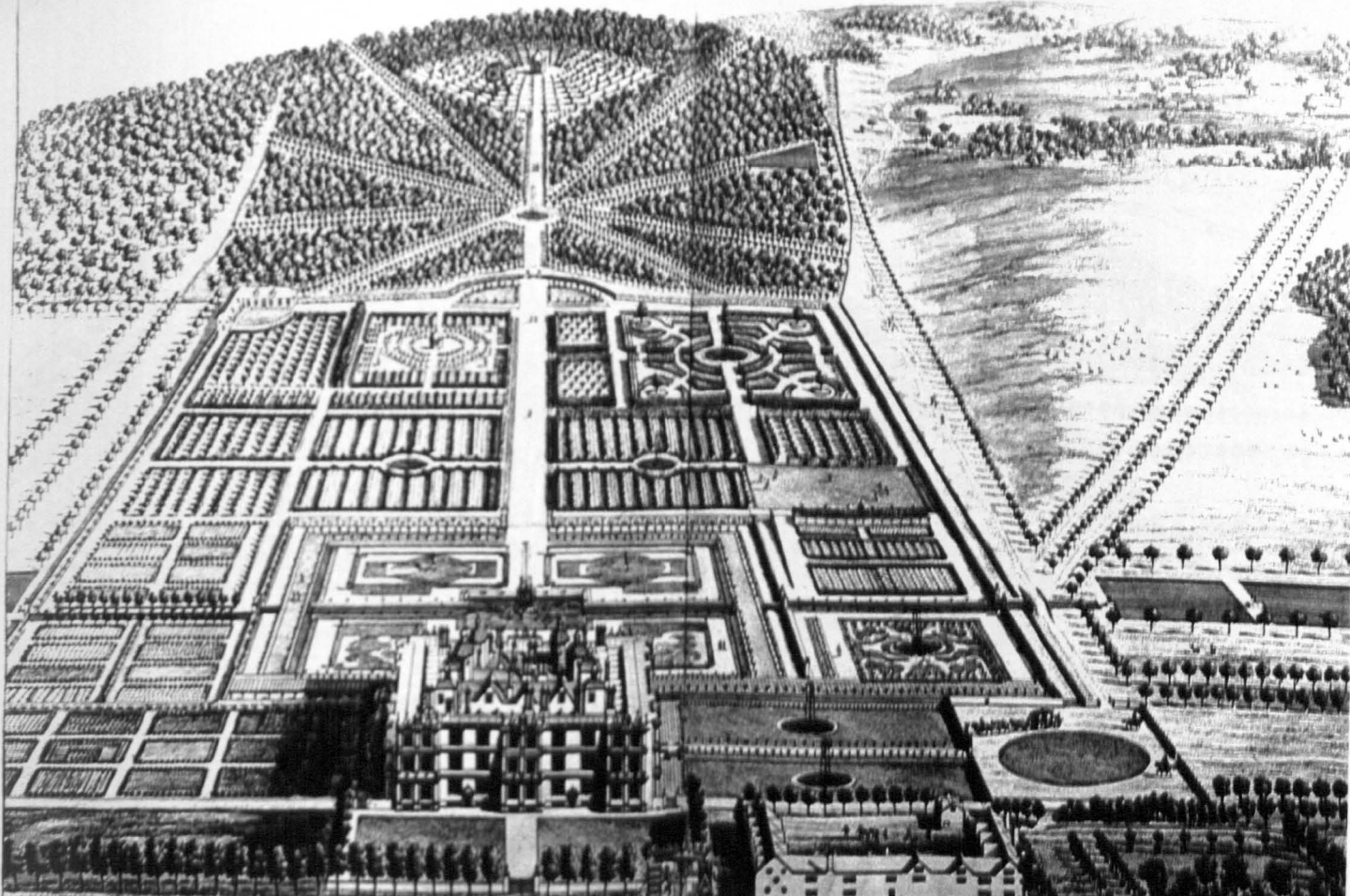
Plate 38 Uppark

Long Leate plate 39



Long Leate the Seat of the R.^o Hon.^{ble} Thomas Lord Weymouth Baron of Warmister

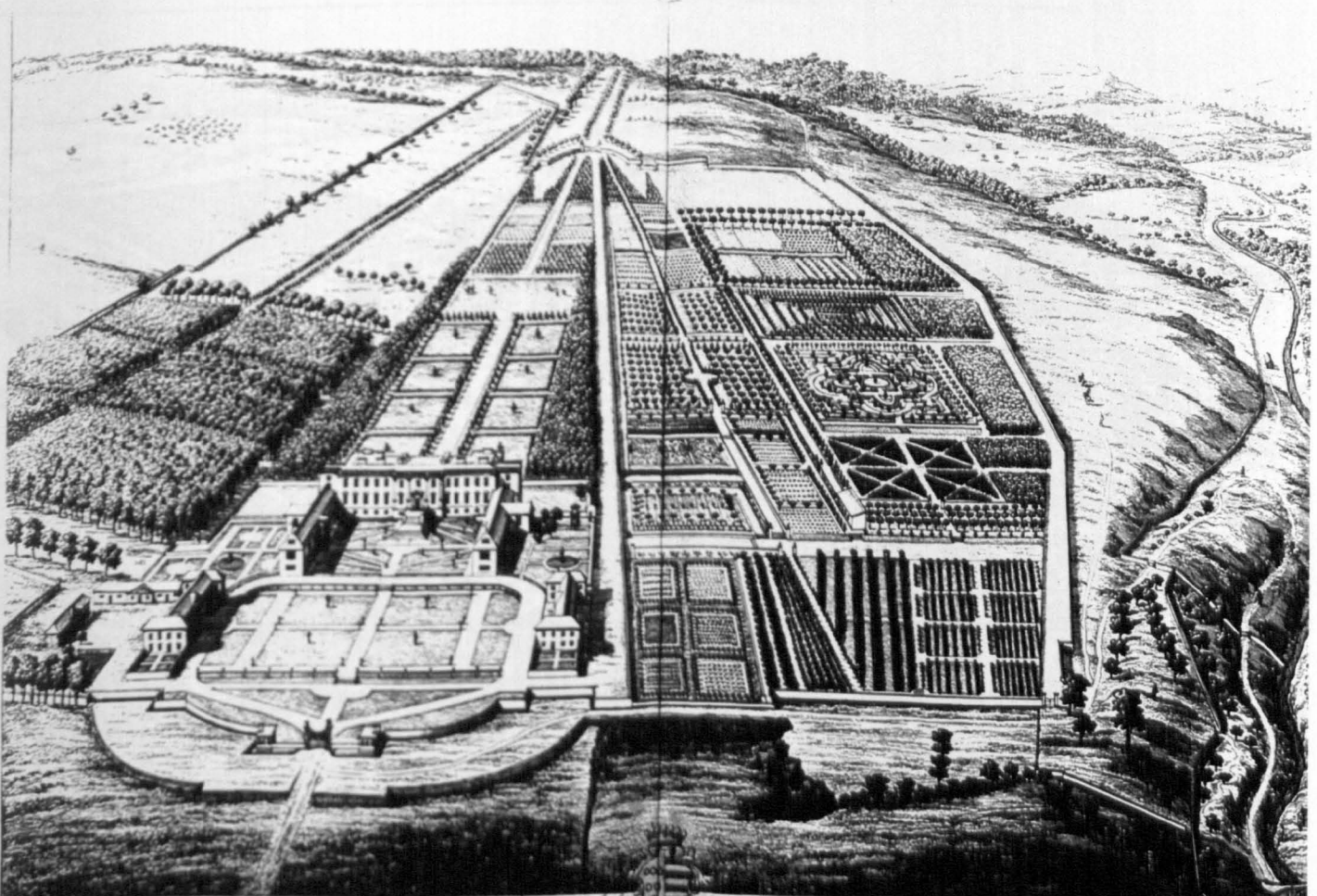
Long Leate Maison du Seig.^r Thomas Viscount de Weymouth Baron de Warmister.



Long Leate, the House & gardens of the R. Hon.^{ble}

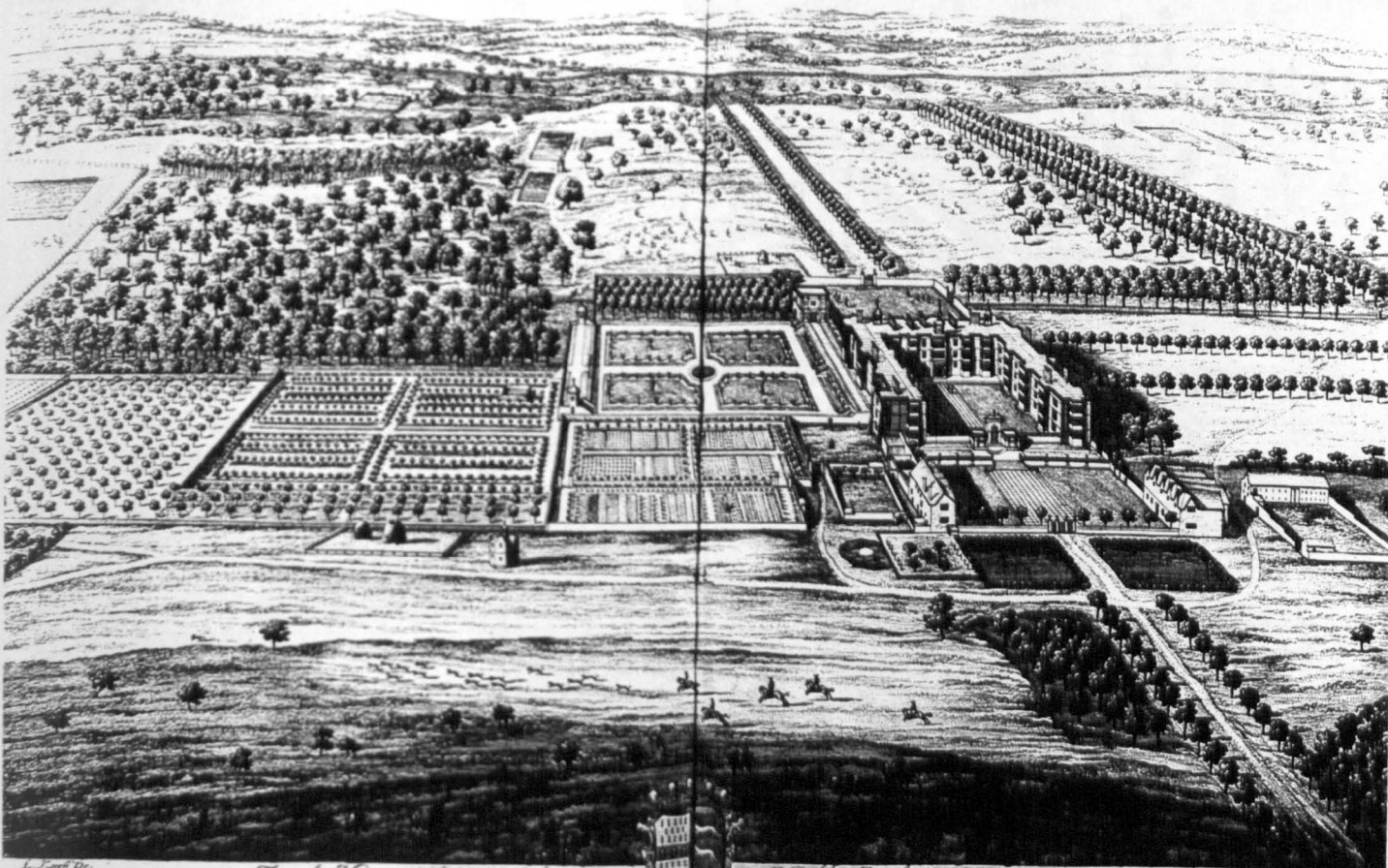
Thomas Lord Viscount Weymouth, Baron of Warrimster

Long Leate Plate 40 Lowther Plate 41



Lowther in the County of Westmorland the Seat of the

R. Hon.^{ble} the Ld. Viscount Lonsdale, L. Privy Seal.



L. J. Smith Del.

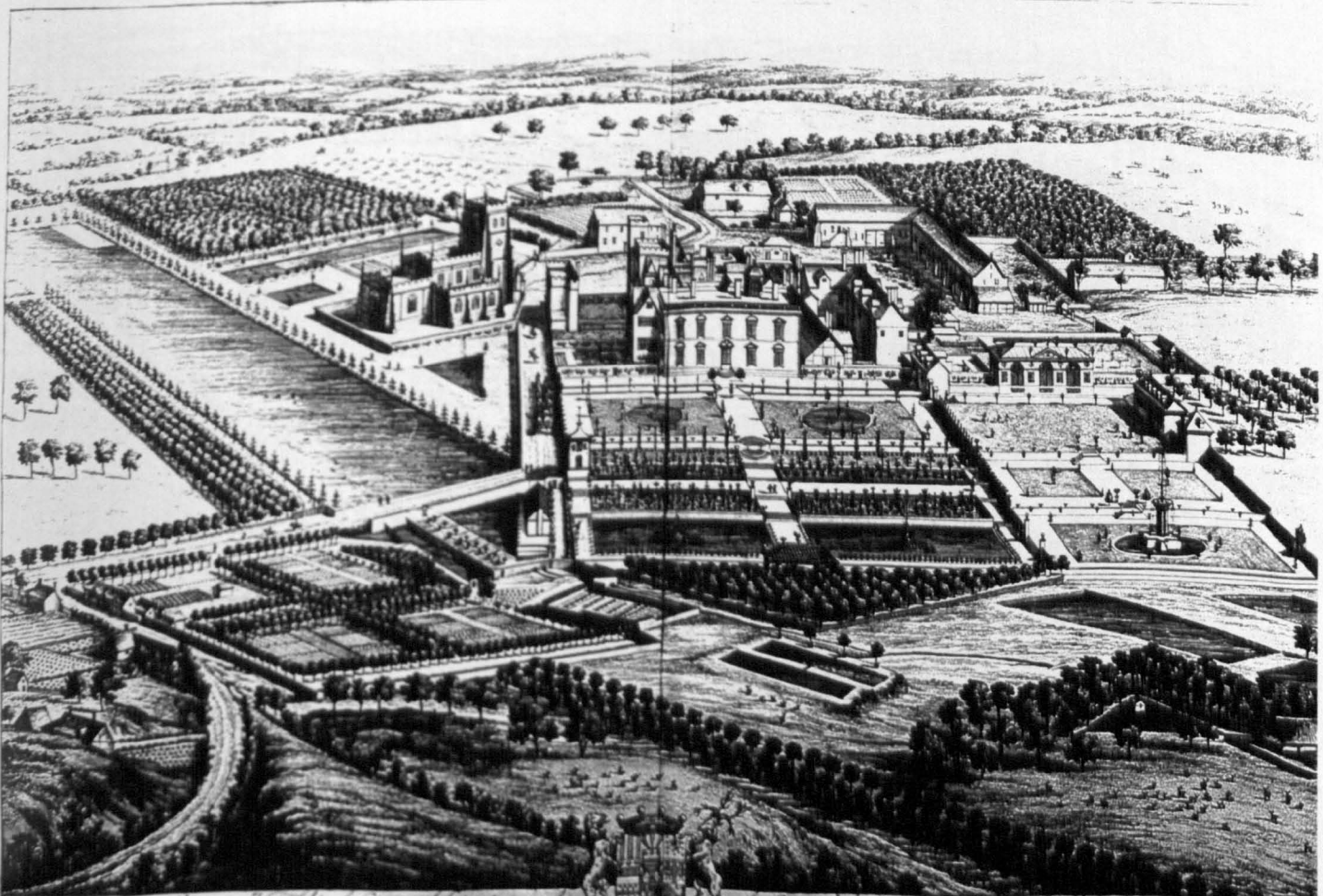
Temple Newsam, the Seat of the R^t
Hon^{ble} Arthur Lord Ingram Viscount
of the North Riding of York & Shire



Hon^{ble} Arthur Lord Ingram Viscount
of the North Riding of York & Shire

J. Kay Sculp.

Temple Newsam 42 Staunton Harold 43

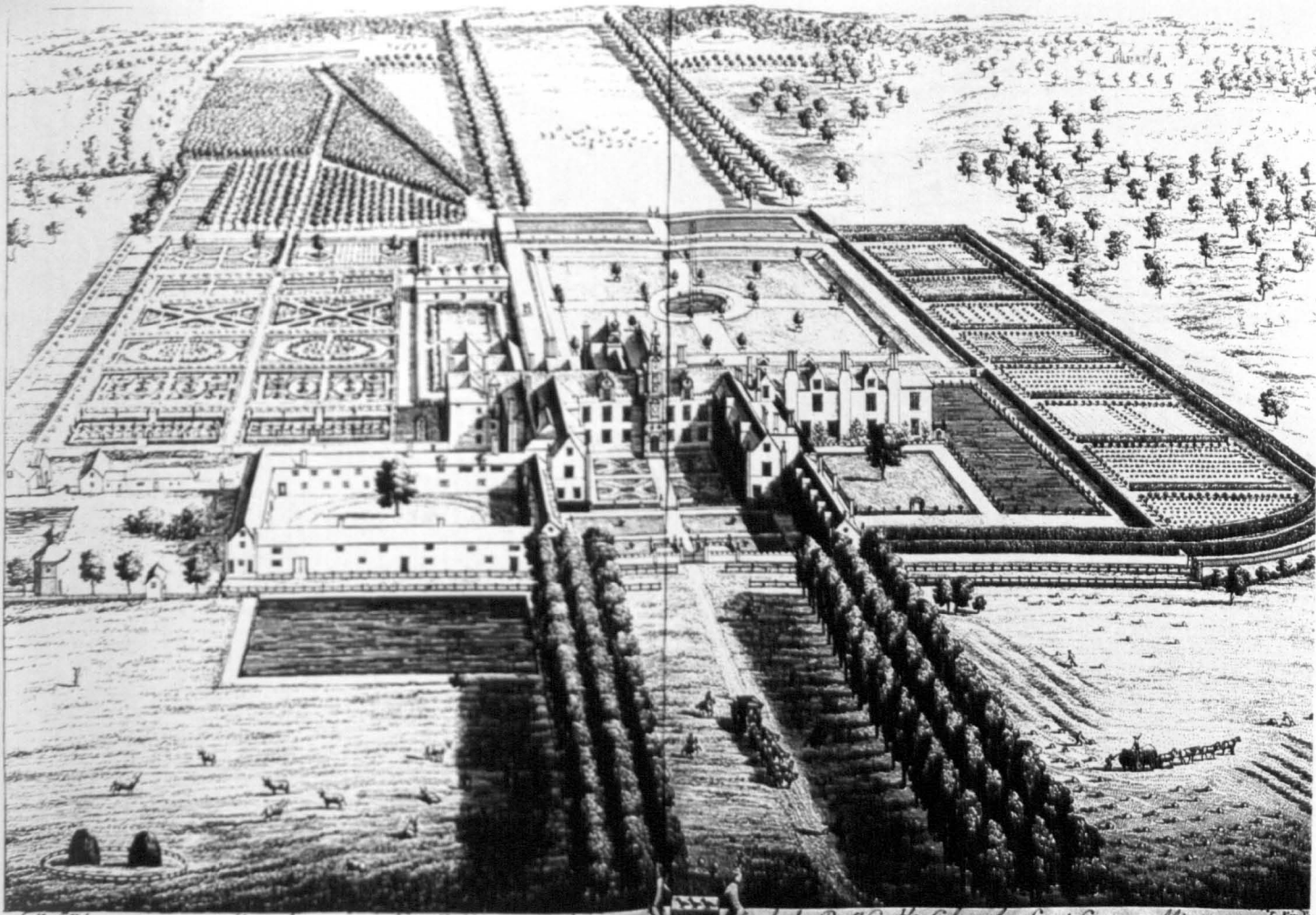


Staunton Harold in the County of Leicester one of



the Seats of the R^t Hon^{ble} Robert Lord Ferrers

J. Kay



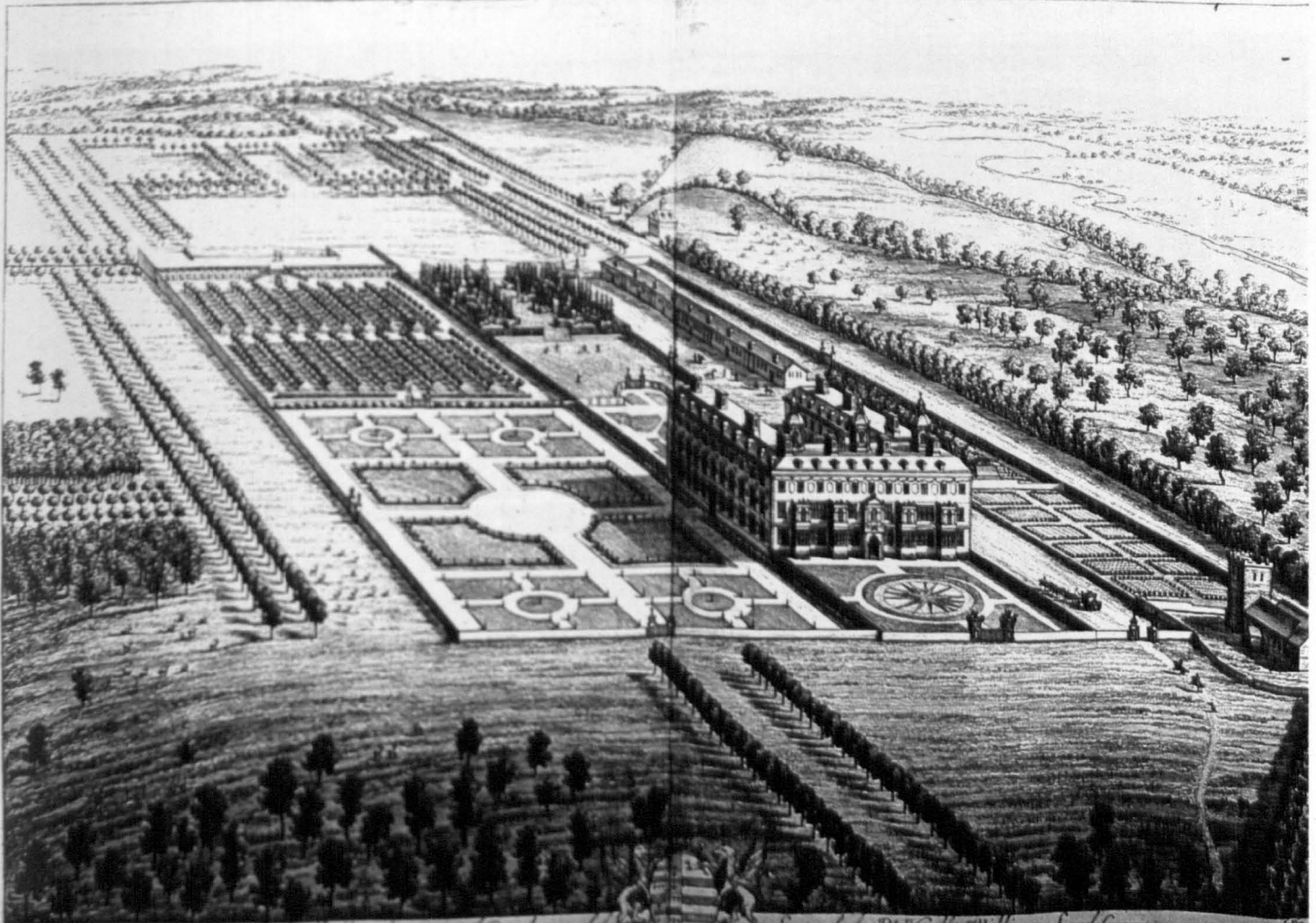
L. Kneller Del.

Brome Hall in the County of Suffolk, one of the Seats
of the R^{ts} Hon^{ble} Charles Lord Cornwallis
Baron of Ebor

of the R^{ts} Hon^{ble} Charles Lord Cornwallis
Lord Lt. of the Said County.

T. Kneller Sculp.

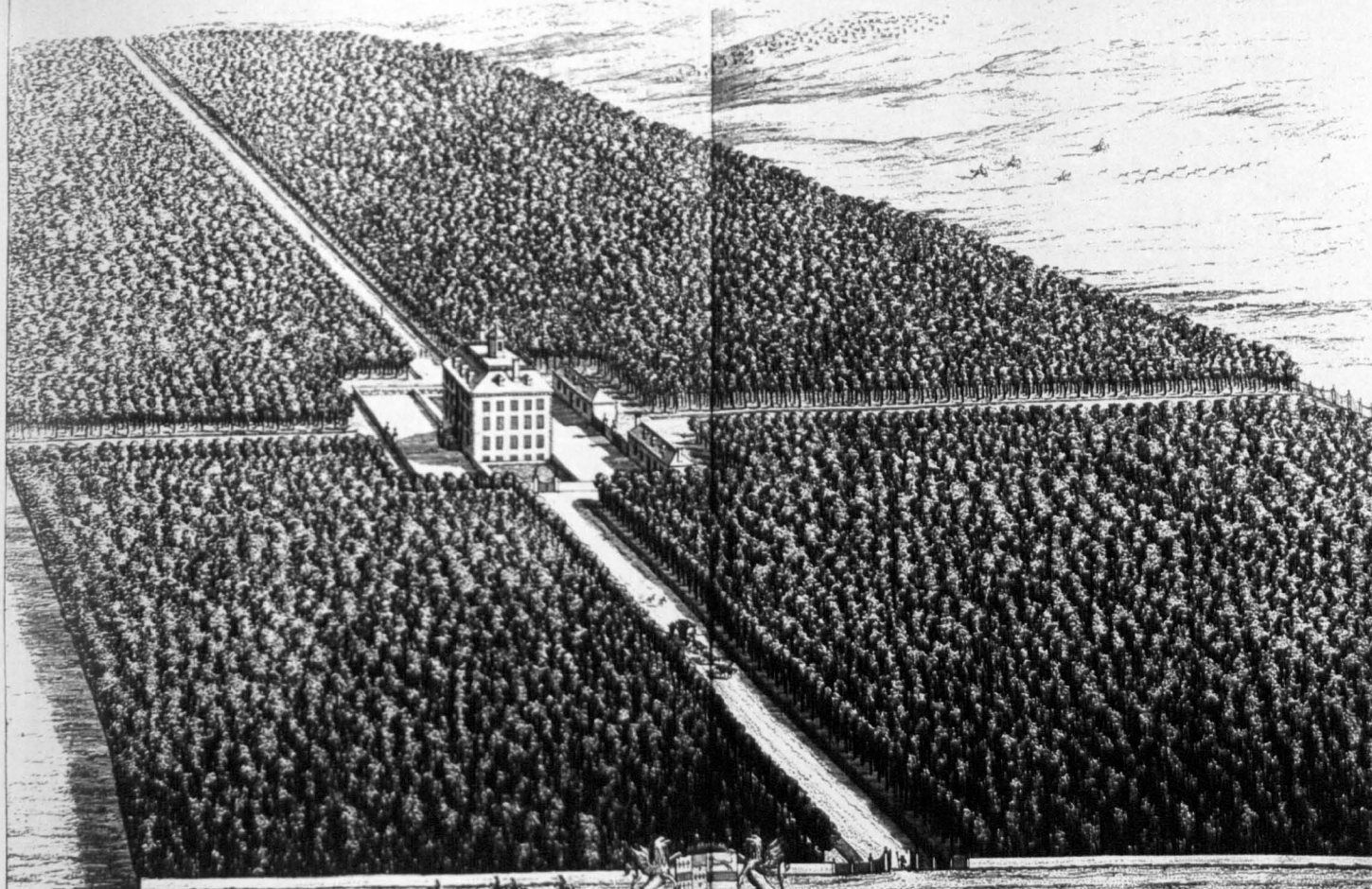
Brome Hall Plate 44 Homstead Marshall Plate 45



Homstead Marshall in the County of Berks, one of the
Seats of the R^{ts} Hon^{ble} William Lord Craven
Baron Craven of Homstead

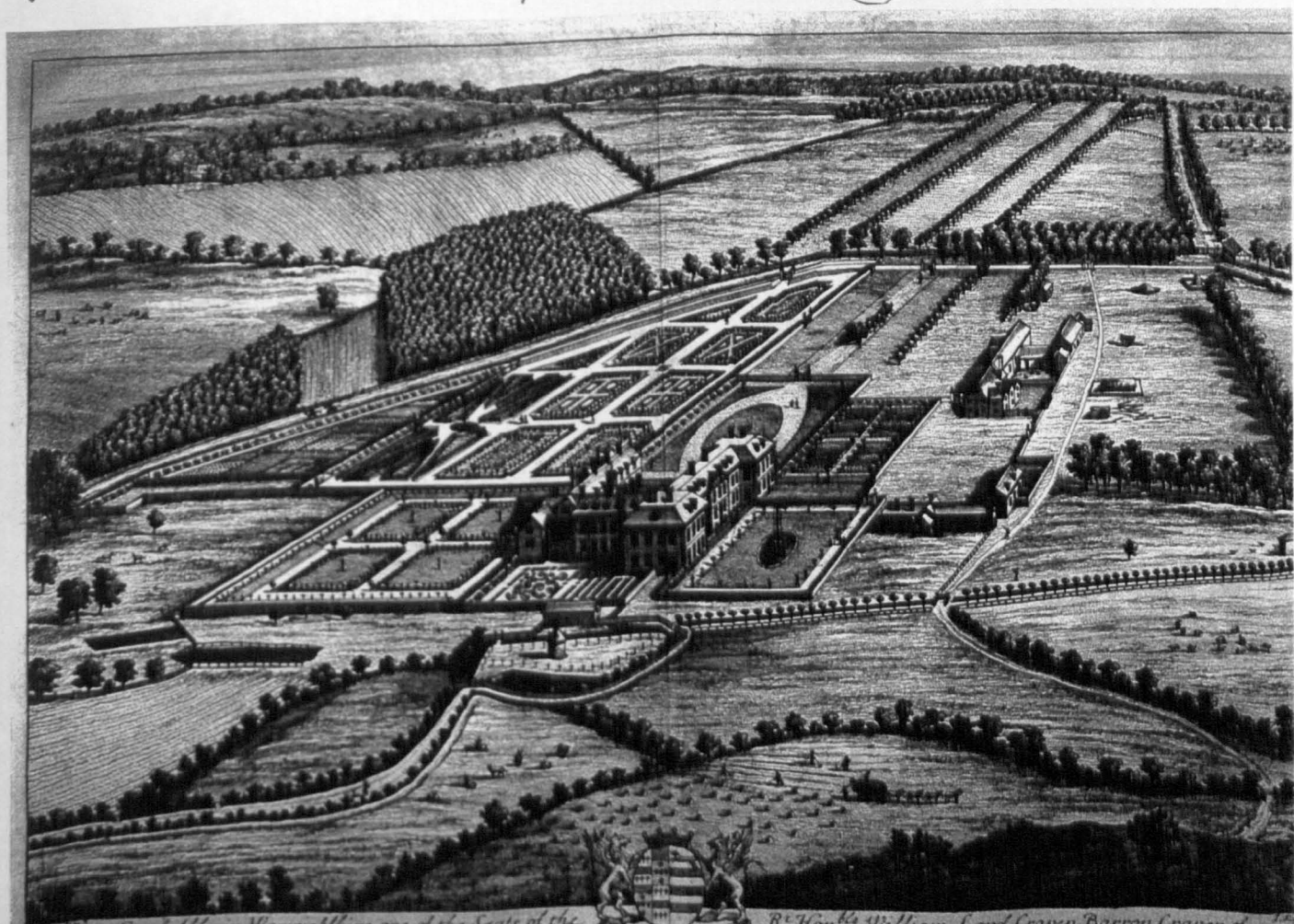
Seats of the R^{ts} Hon^{ble} William Lord Craven
Marshall in the County of Berks

T. Kneller Sculp.



L. Kneller del. Ashdown Park in the County of Berks one of the Seats of *Hamstead Marshall* the R. Hon^{ble} William Lord Craven Barron Craven of in the County of Berks.

Ashdown Park Plate 46 Combe Abbey Plate 47



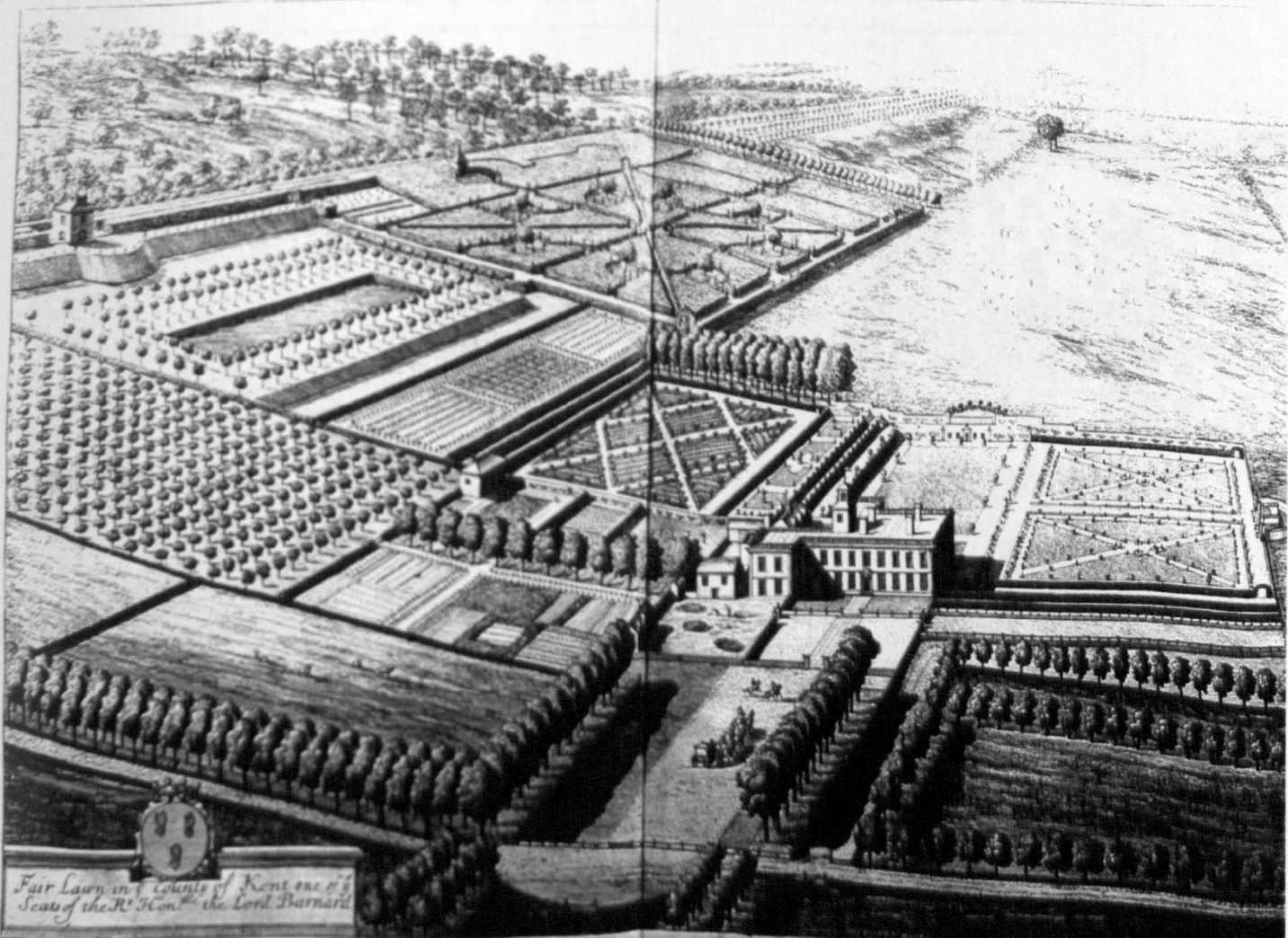
L. Kneller del. Combe Abbey in Warwickshire one of the Seats of the R. Hon^{ble} William Lord Craven Barron Craven of



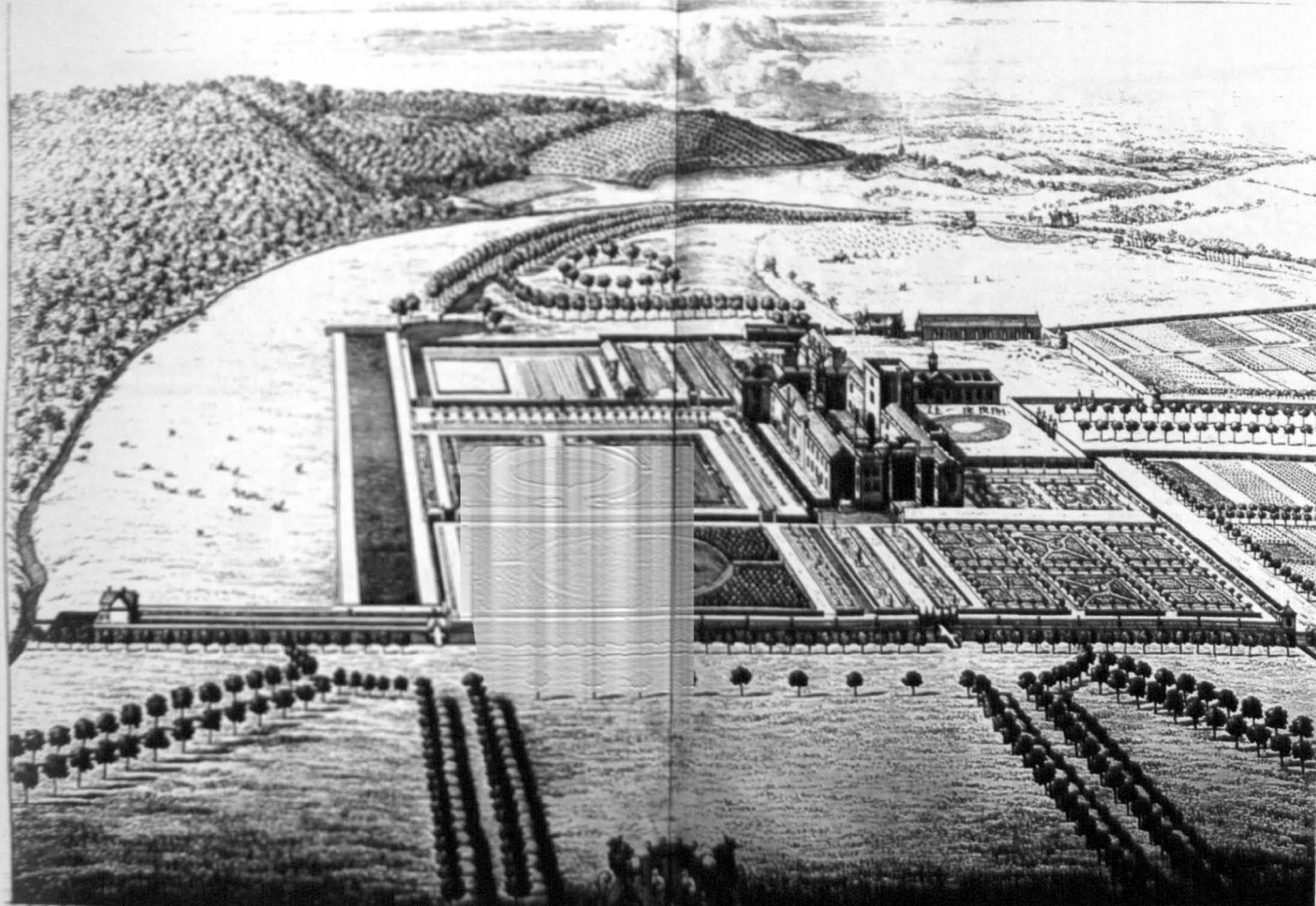
Dawley in the County of Middlesex, the Seat of  the Right Hon^{ble} Charles Lord Ossulston.

Dawley Plate 48

Fair Lawn Plate 49



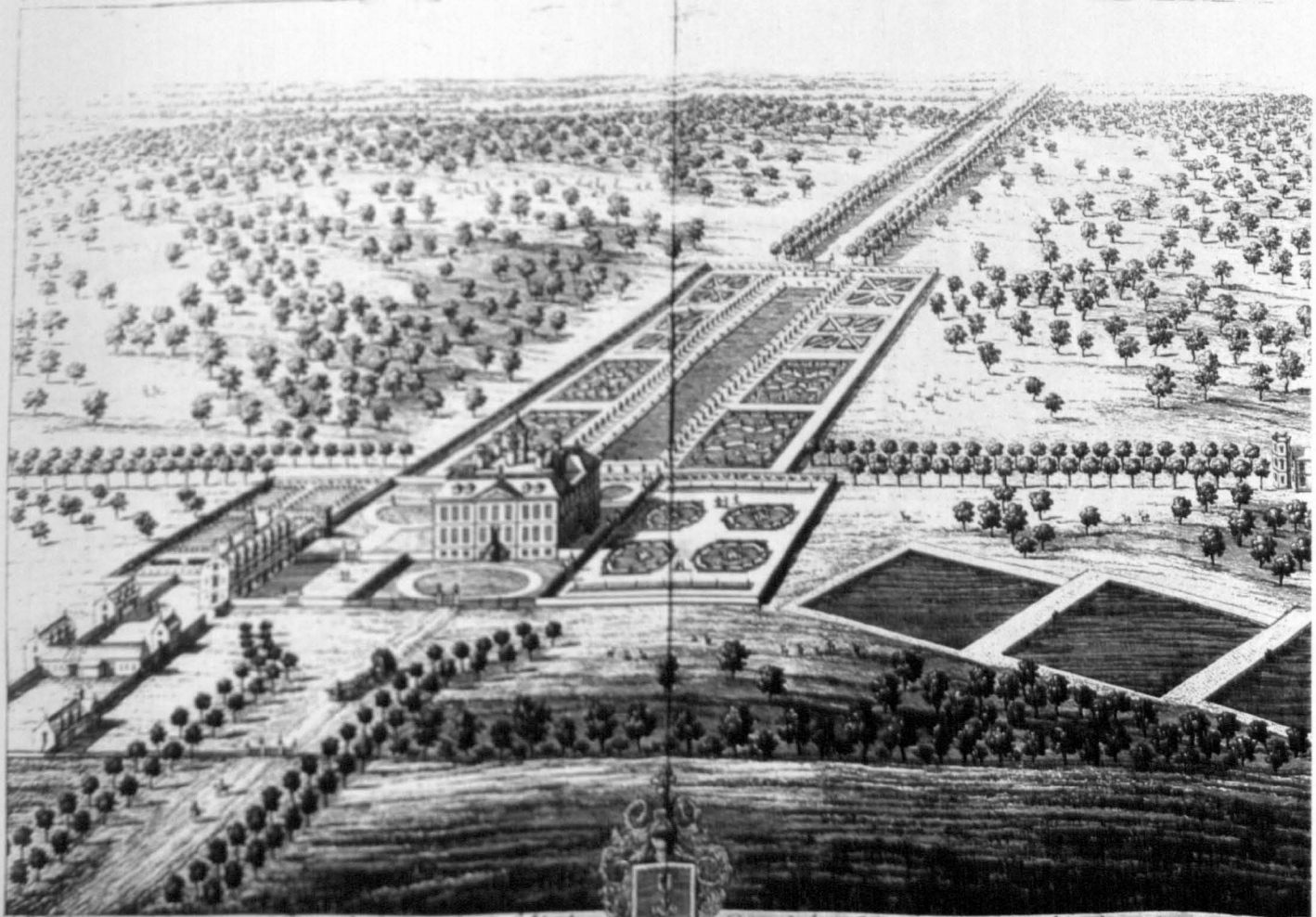
Fair Lawn in the County of Kent one of the Seats of the R^{ts} Hon^{ble} the Lord Barnard



*Hampton Court in Herefordshire the Seat
Baron of Clanbrassil in the Kingdom of Ireland.*

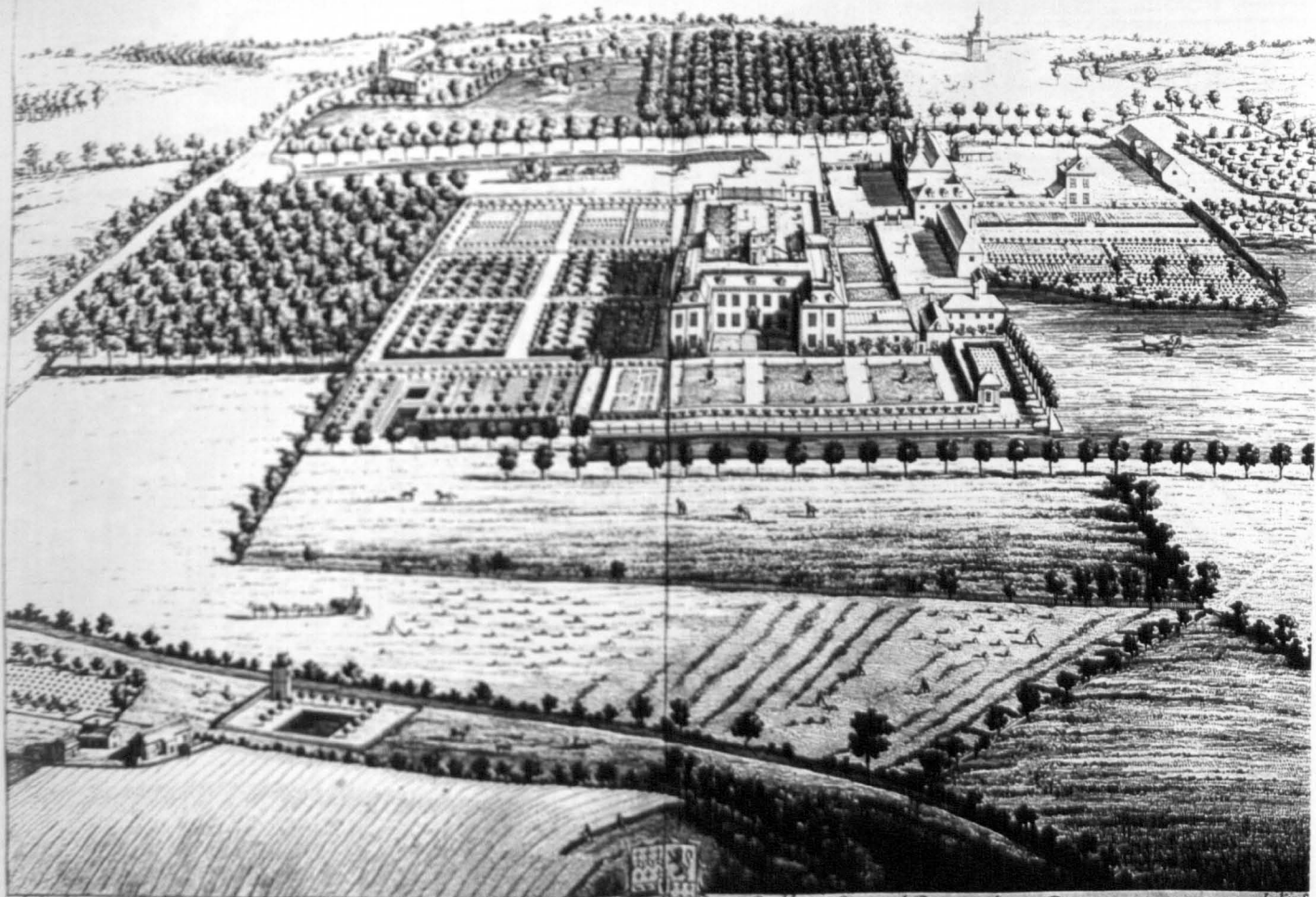
*of the R.^o Hon.^o Tho. Lord Coningsby
one of his Maj.^{ty} Most Hon.^o Privy Council.*

Hampton Court Plate 50 Melton Constable Plate 51



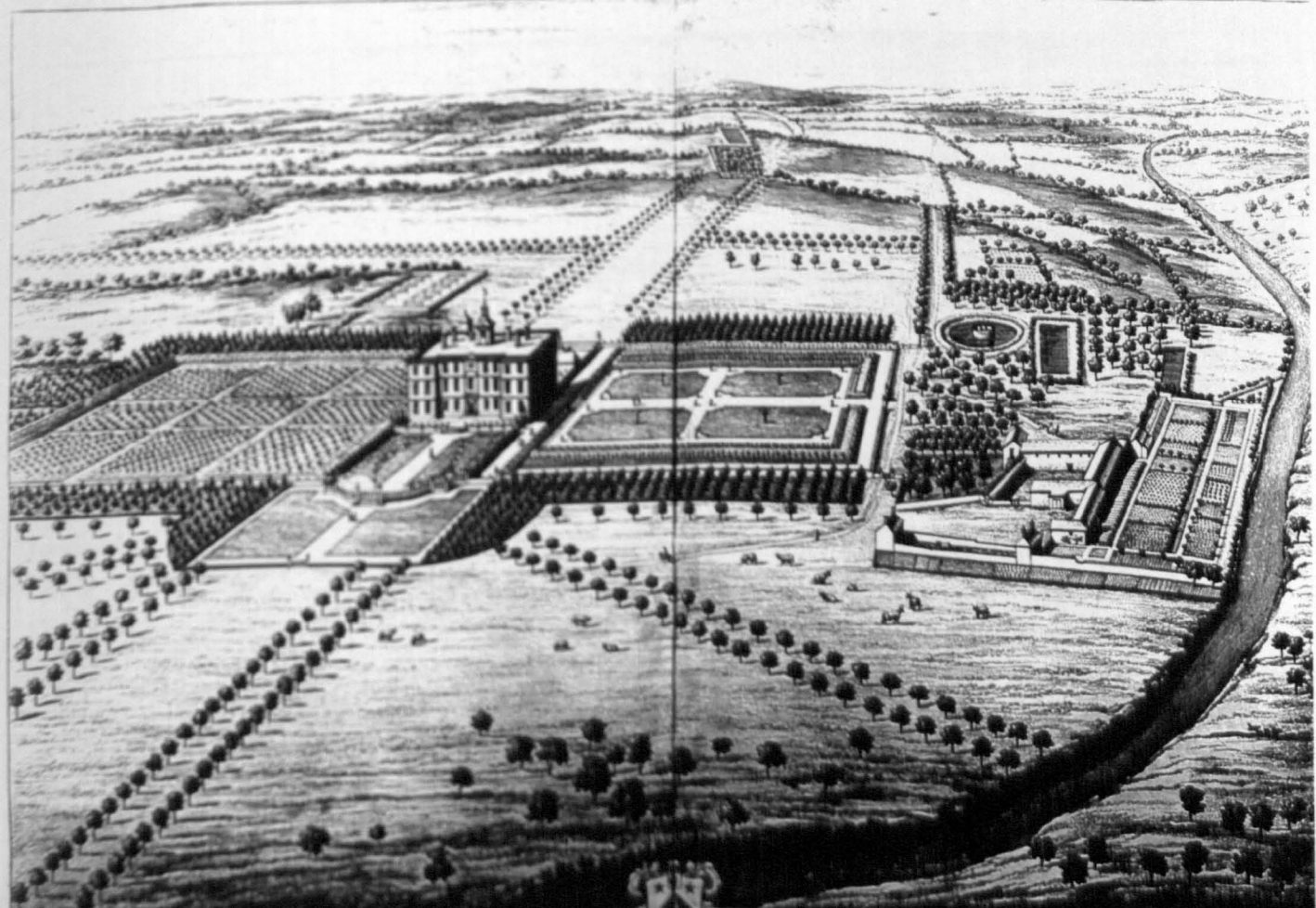
Melton Constable in the County of Norfolk the

Seat of the Hon.^o St. Jacob Astley K.^t and Bar.^o

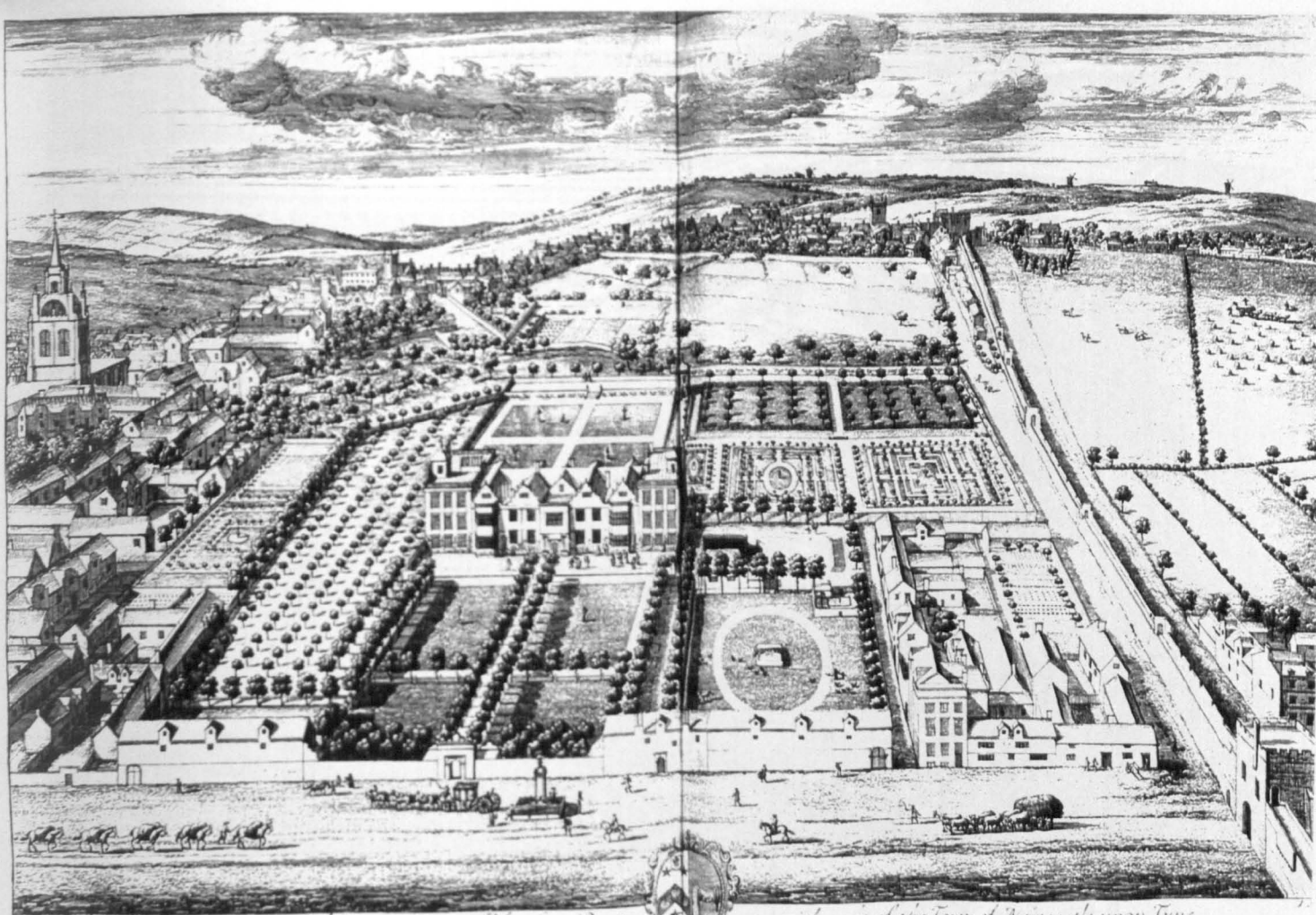


Brightwell in the County of Suffolk, the Seat of the Hon.^{ble} St. Samuel Barnardiston Barr.^{tt}

Brightwell Plate 52 Newby Plate 53



Newby the Seat of the Hon.^{ble} St. Edward Blackett Barr.^{tt} in the West Riding of the County of York.

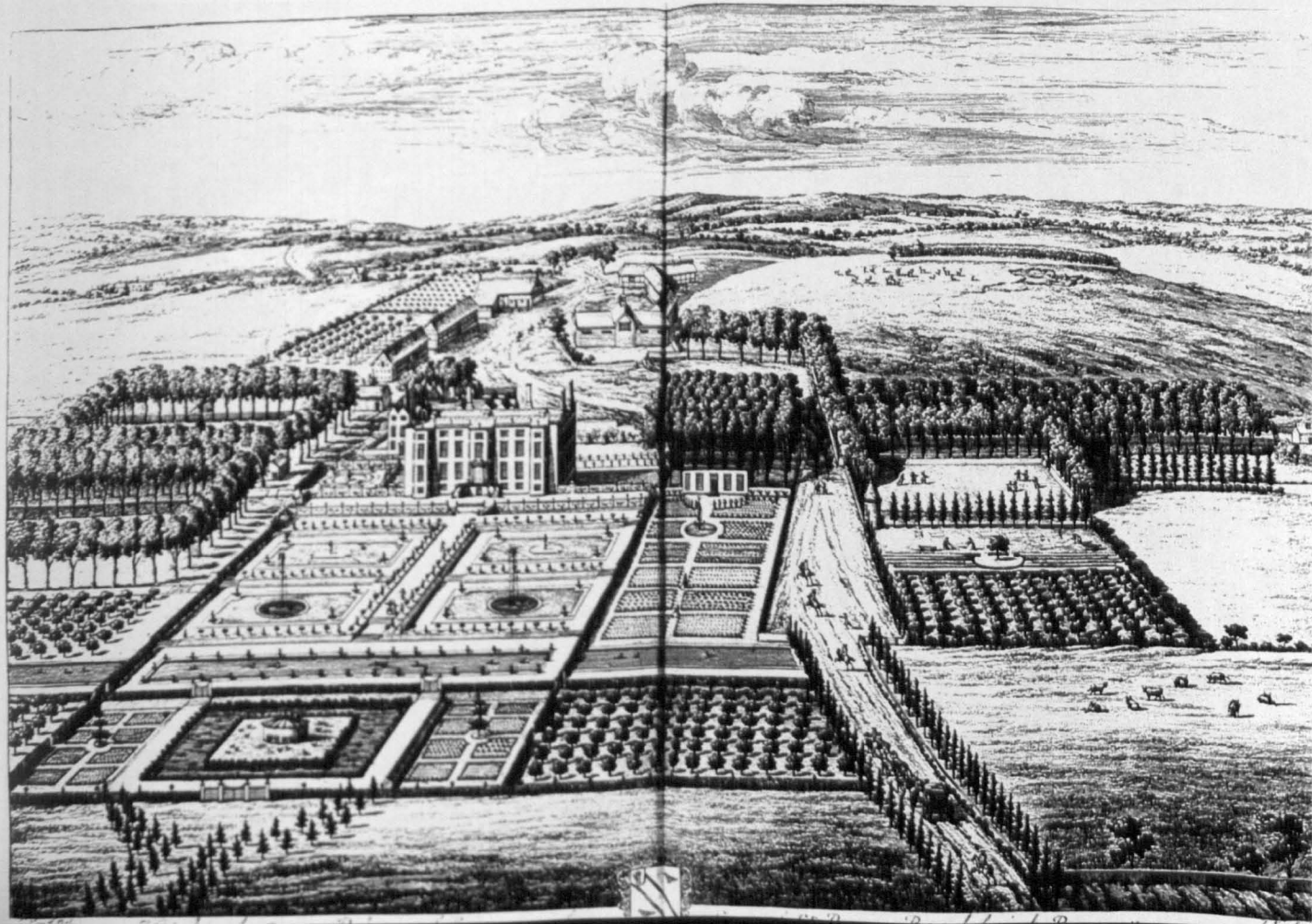


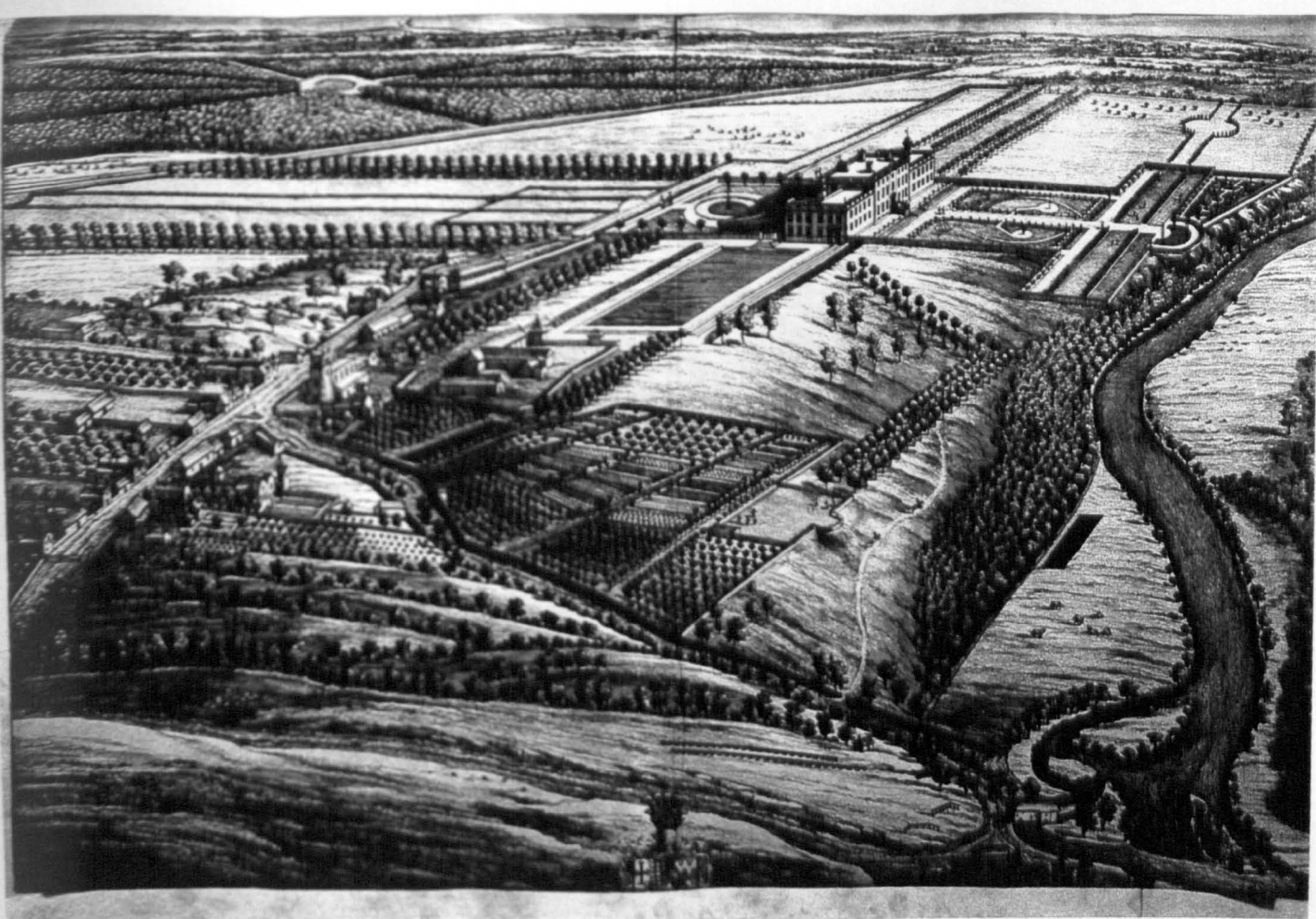
The Seat of the Hon^{ble} S^r W^m Blackett Bart with part of the Town of Newcastle upon Tyne



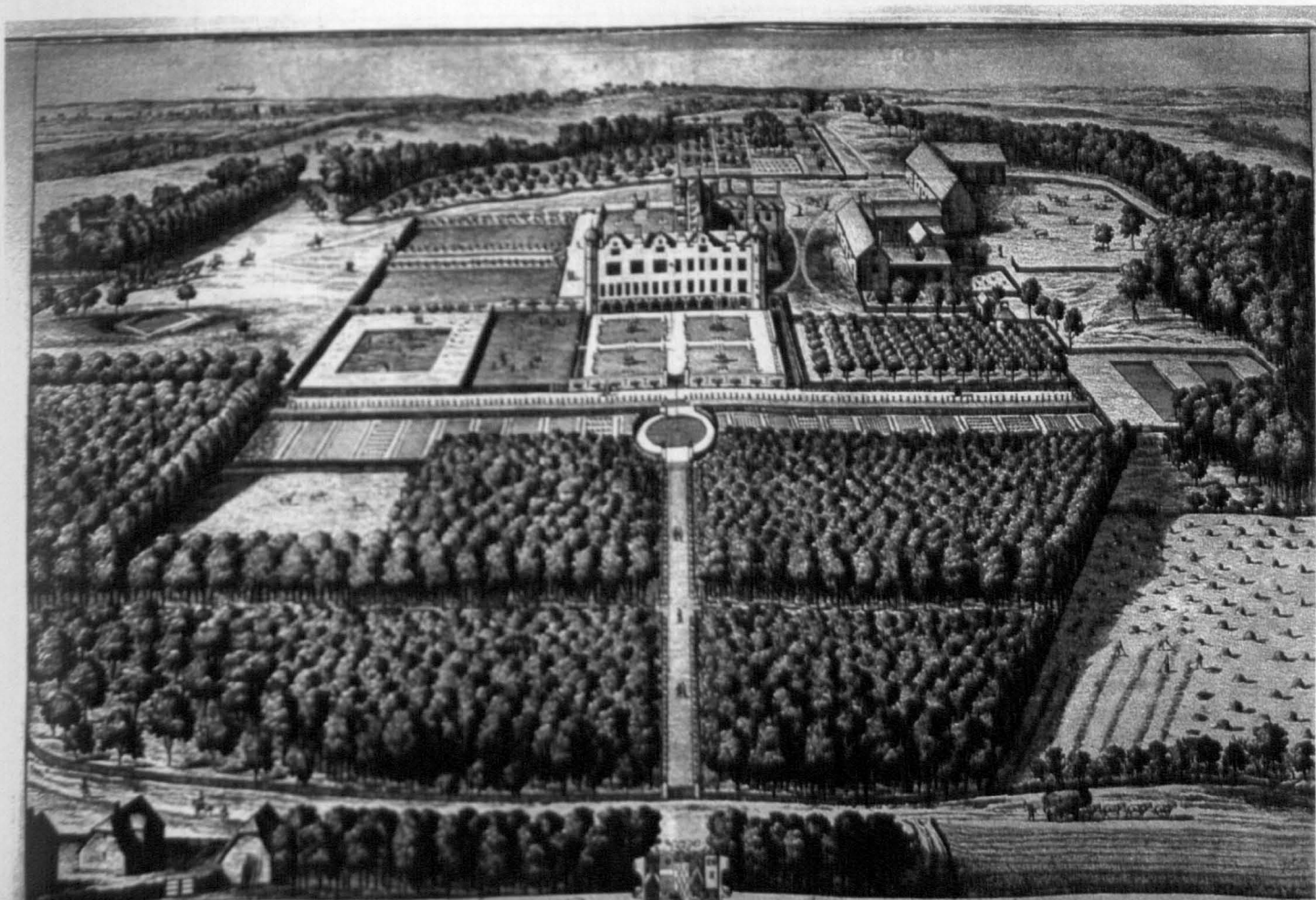
Newcastle Plate No 54

Haigh Plate 55



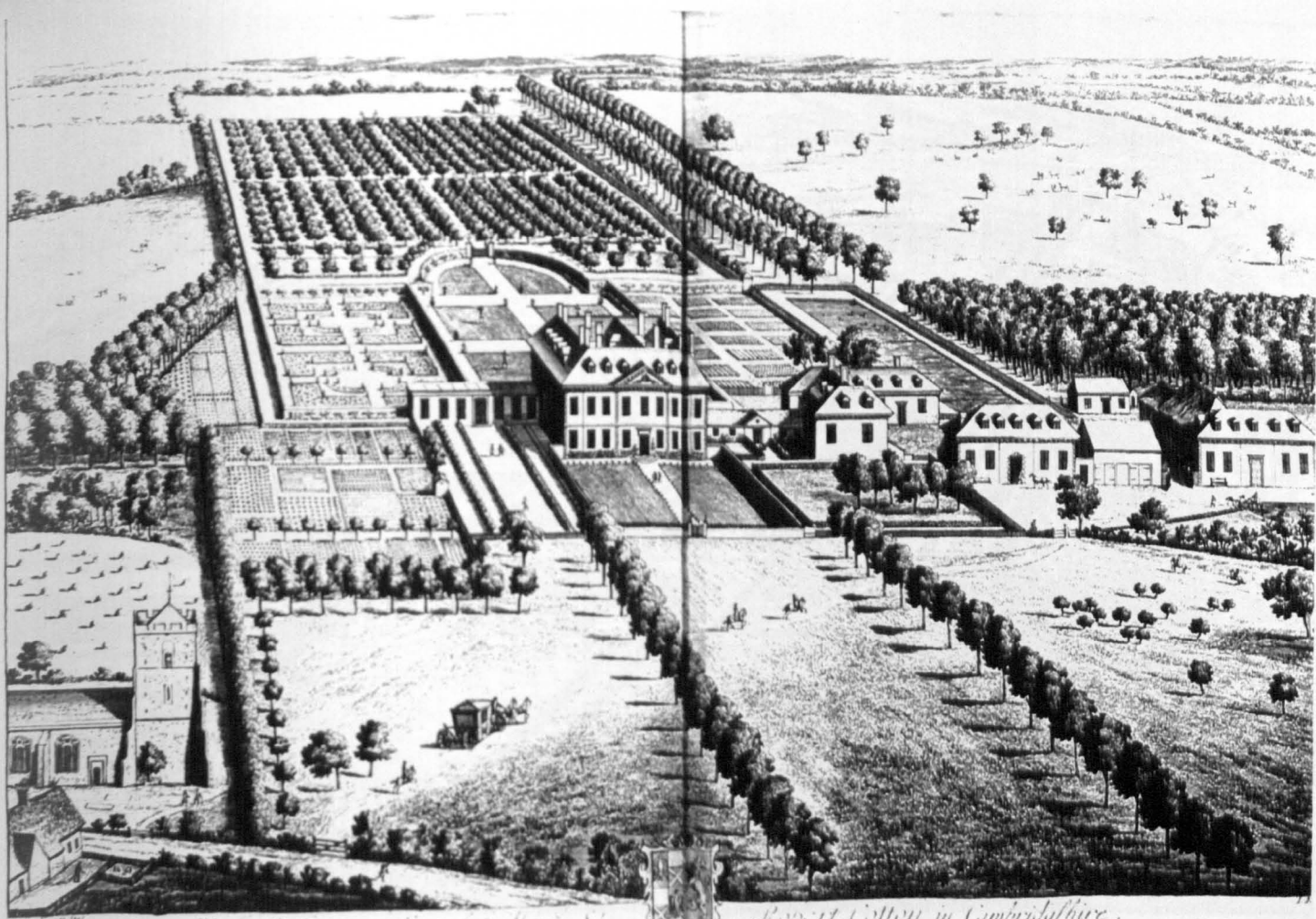


Springsburg Plate 56 Moddingly Plate 57.



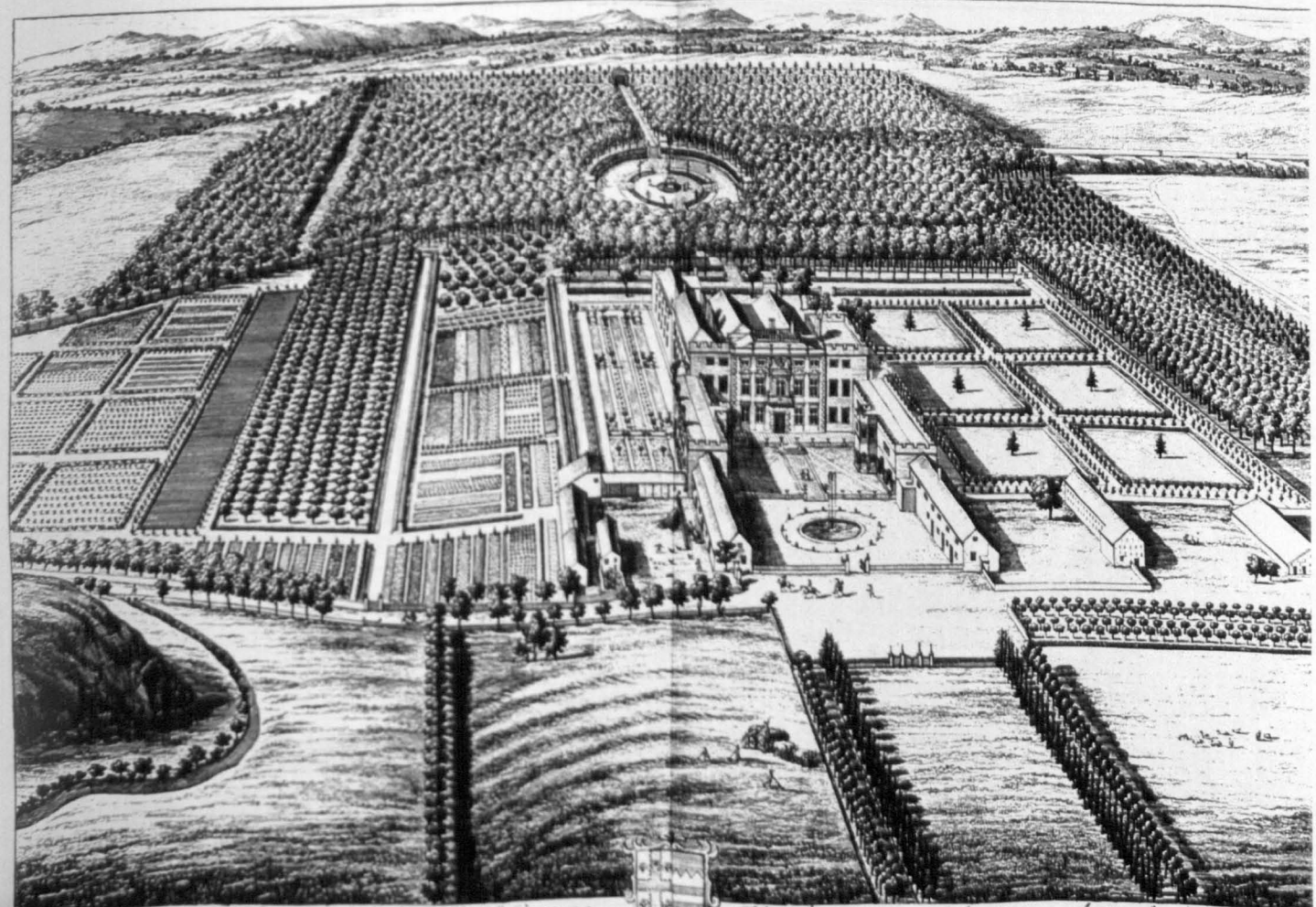
Moddingly the Seat of 5th John Cotton Bar^{re}

Within two Miles of Cambridge.

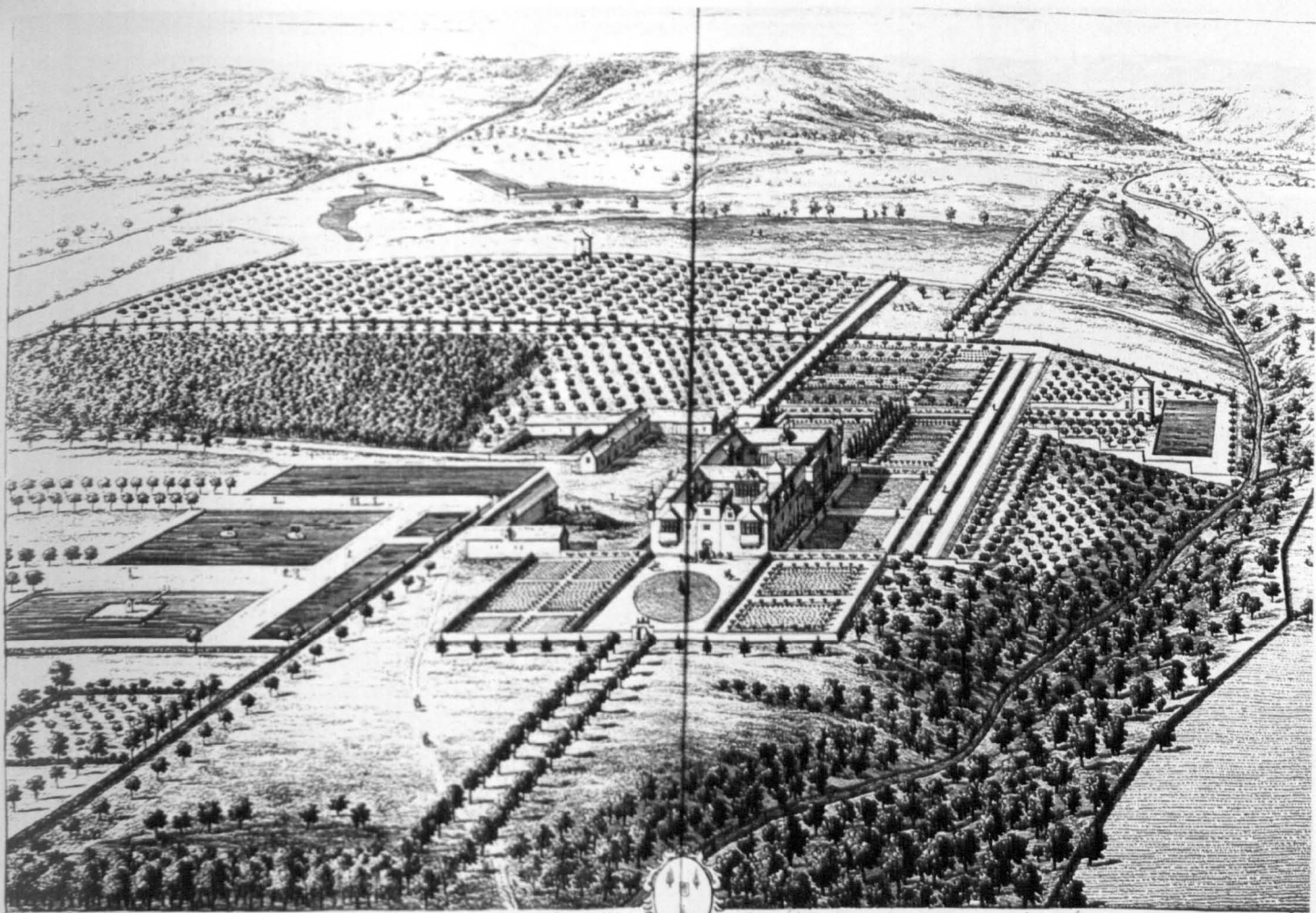


Hatley St. George the Seat of the Hon^{ble} Robert Cotton in Cambridgeshire.

Hatley St. George Plate 58 Hatton & the Forest Plate 59.

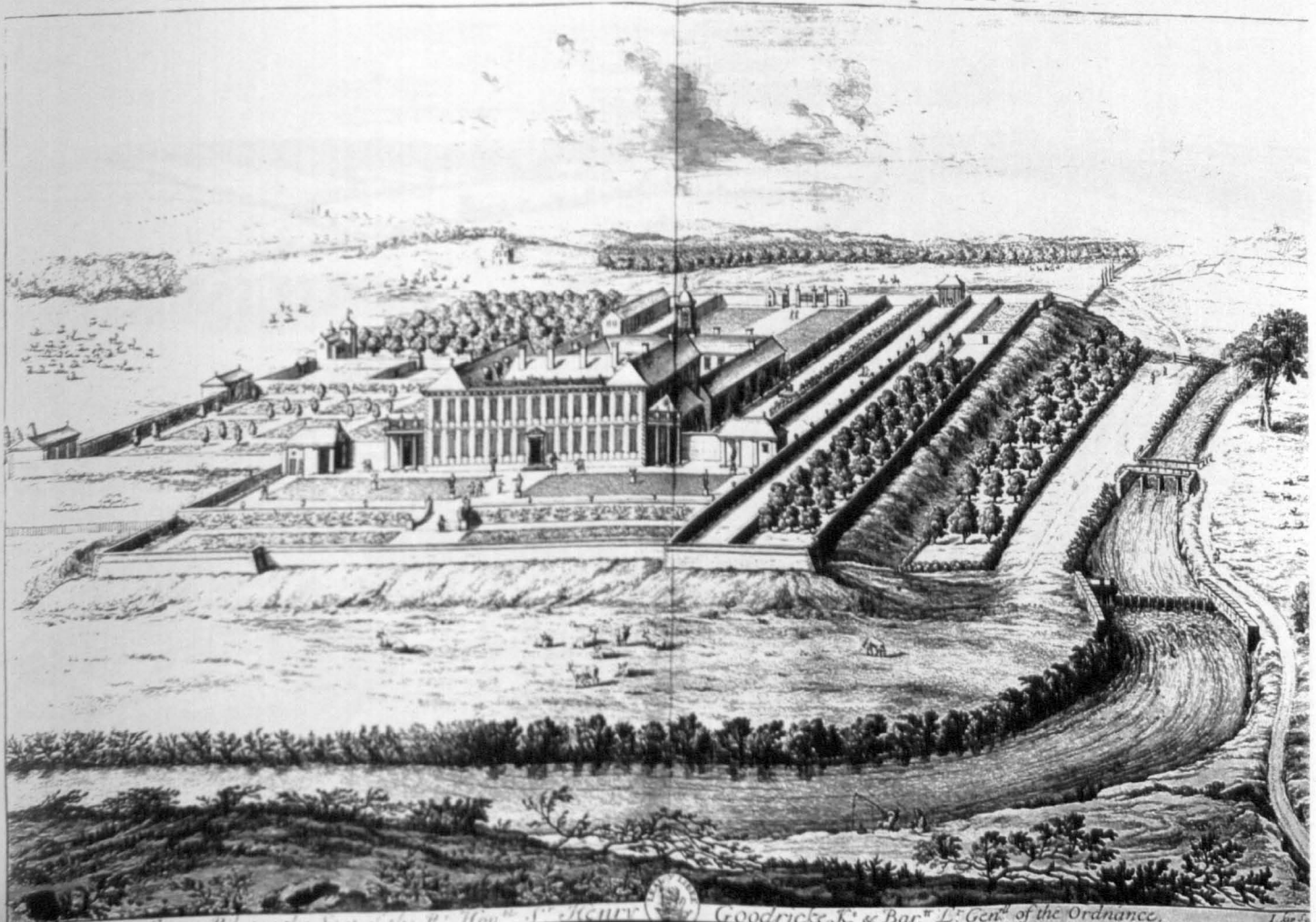


Hatton Hall the Seat of the Hon^{ble} Fletcher Barr in the County of Cumberland.

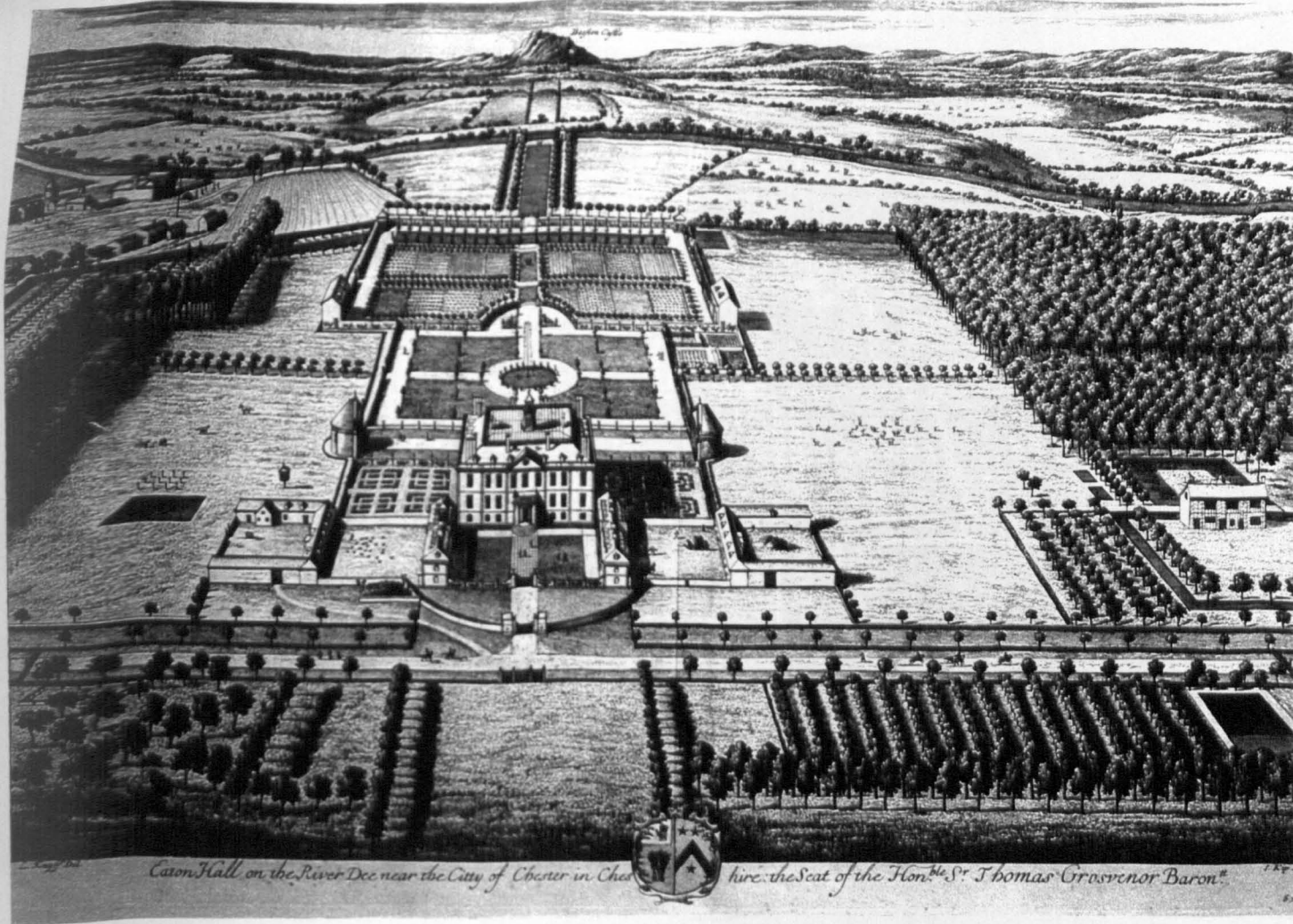


Inglesby Manor the Seat of the Duke of Devonshire. Foulis Barⁿ in the County of Yorke.

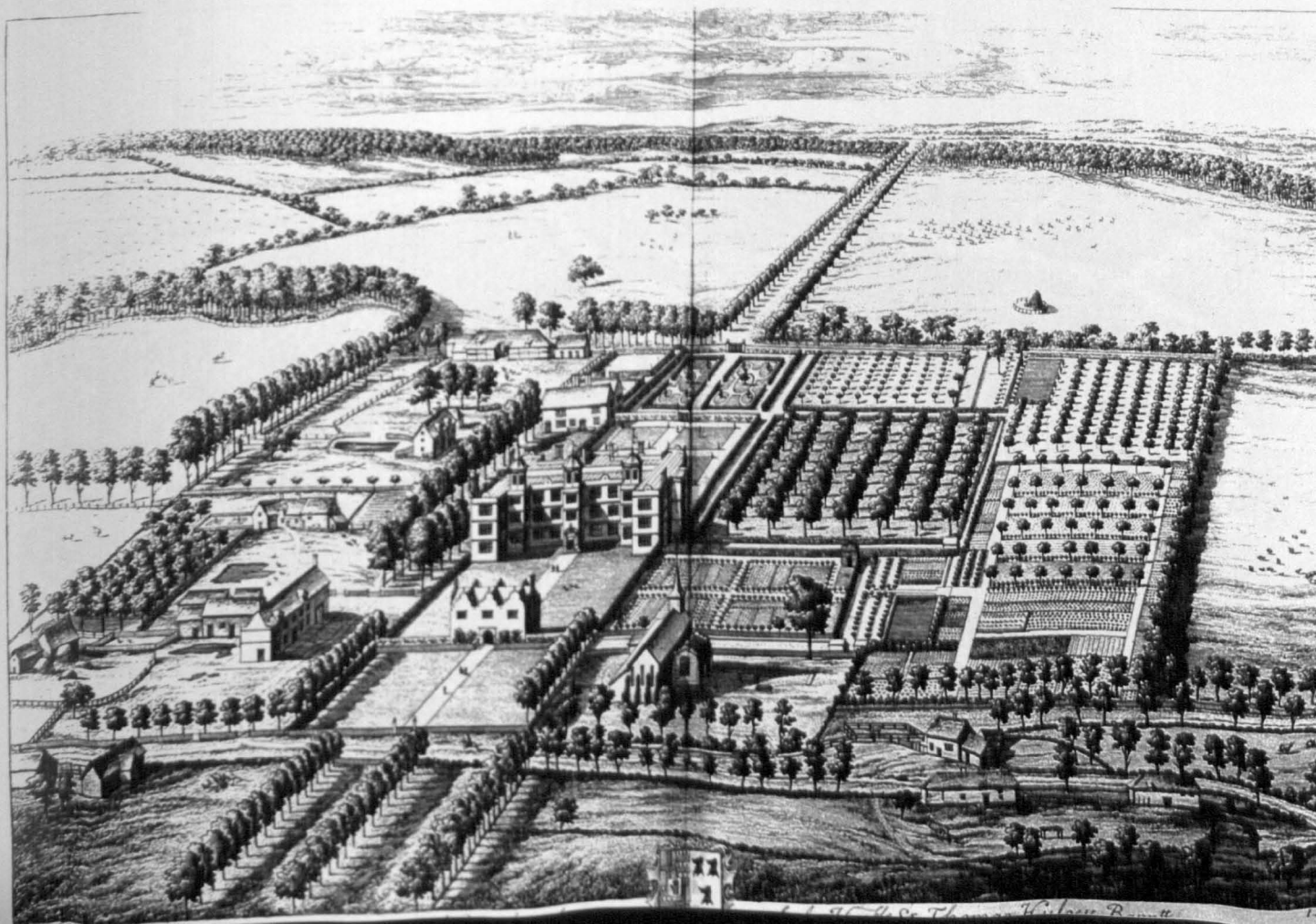
Inglesby Manor Plate 60 Great Ribston Plate 61

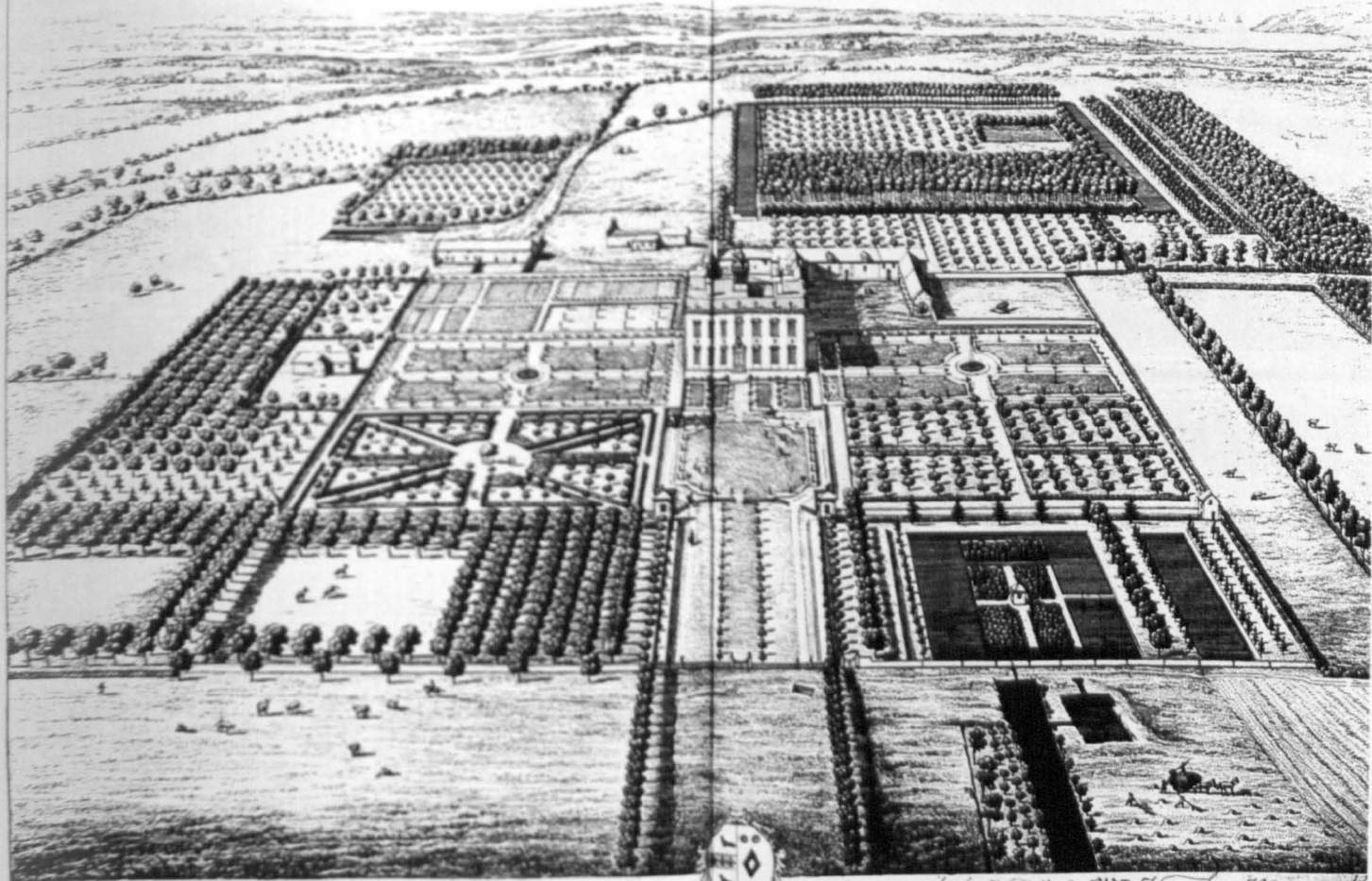


Great Ribston the Seat of the Duke of Devonshire. Goodricke K^t & Barⁿ L^t Gen^l of the Ordnance.



Eaton Hall Plate 62 Doddington Plate 63



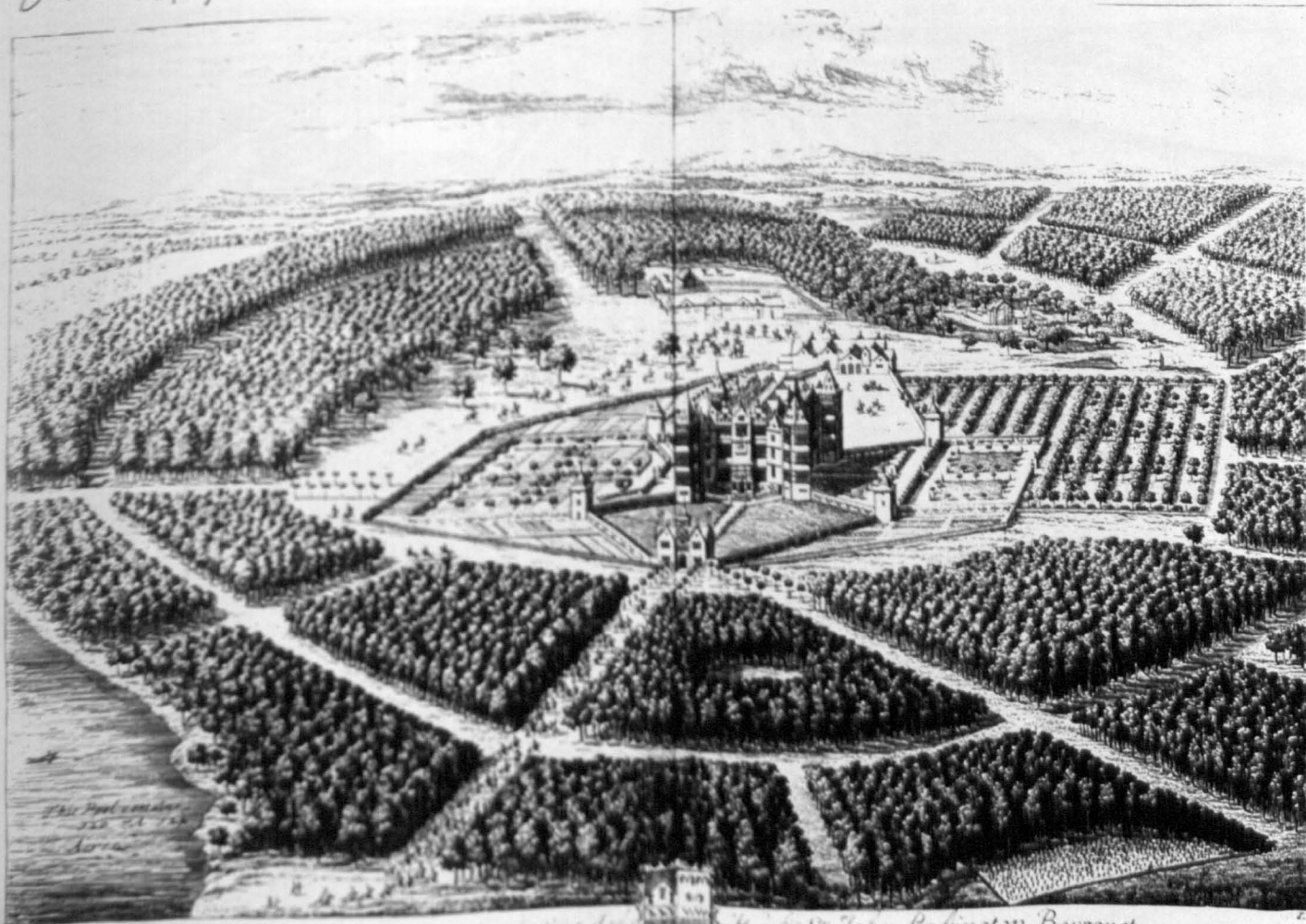


Aclam in Cleveland in the County of North



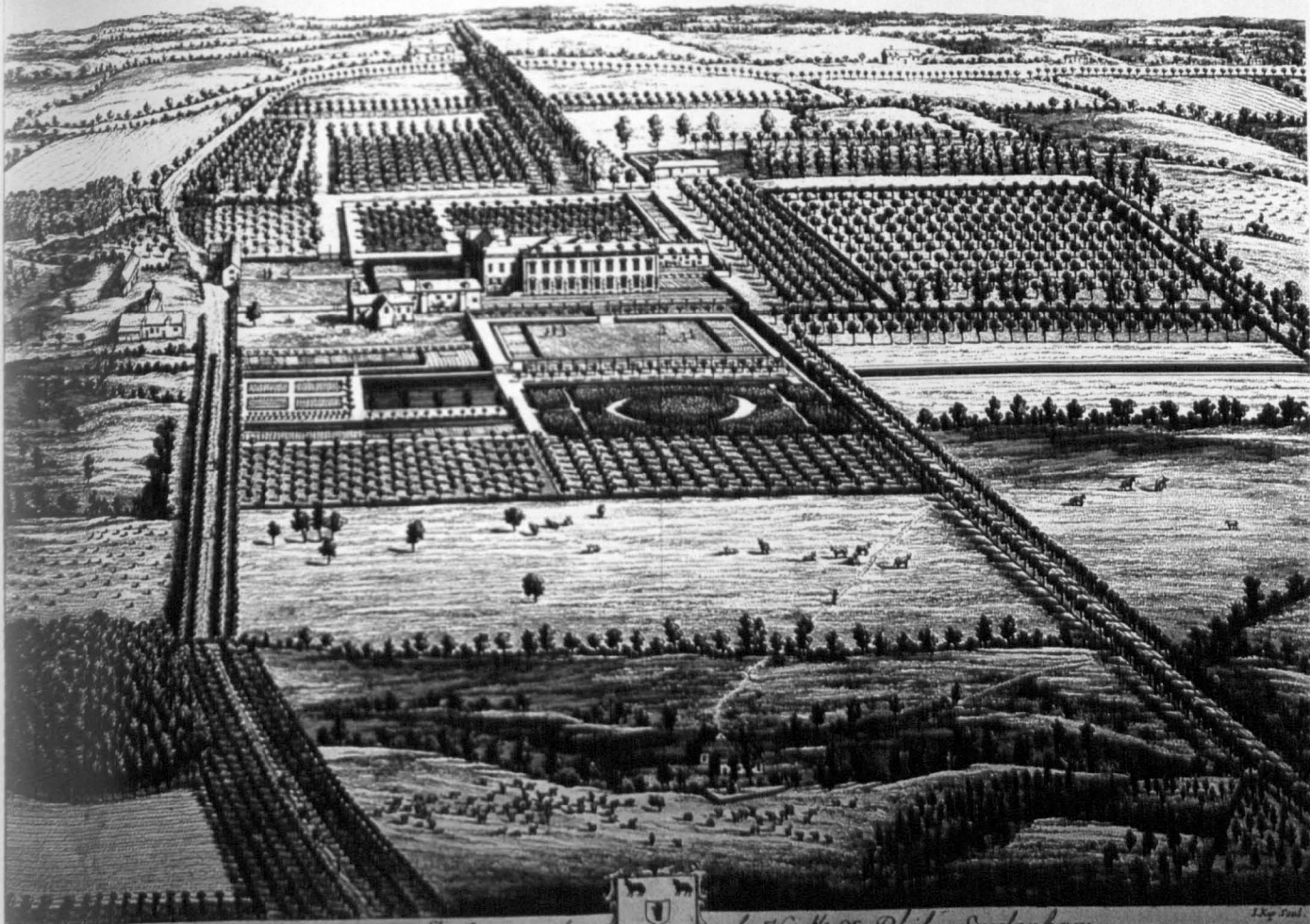
the Seat of the Hon.^{ble} St. W. Hustler K.

Aclam Plate 64 Westwood Plate 65.



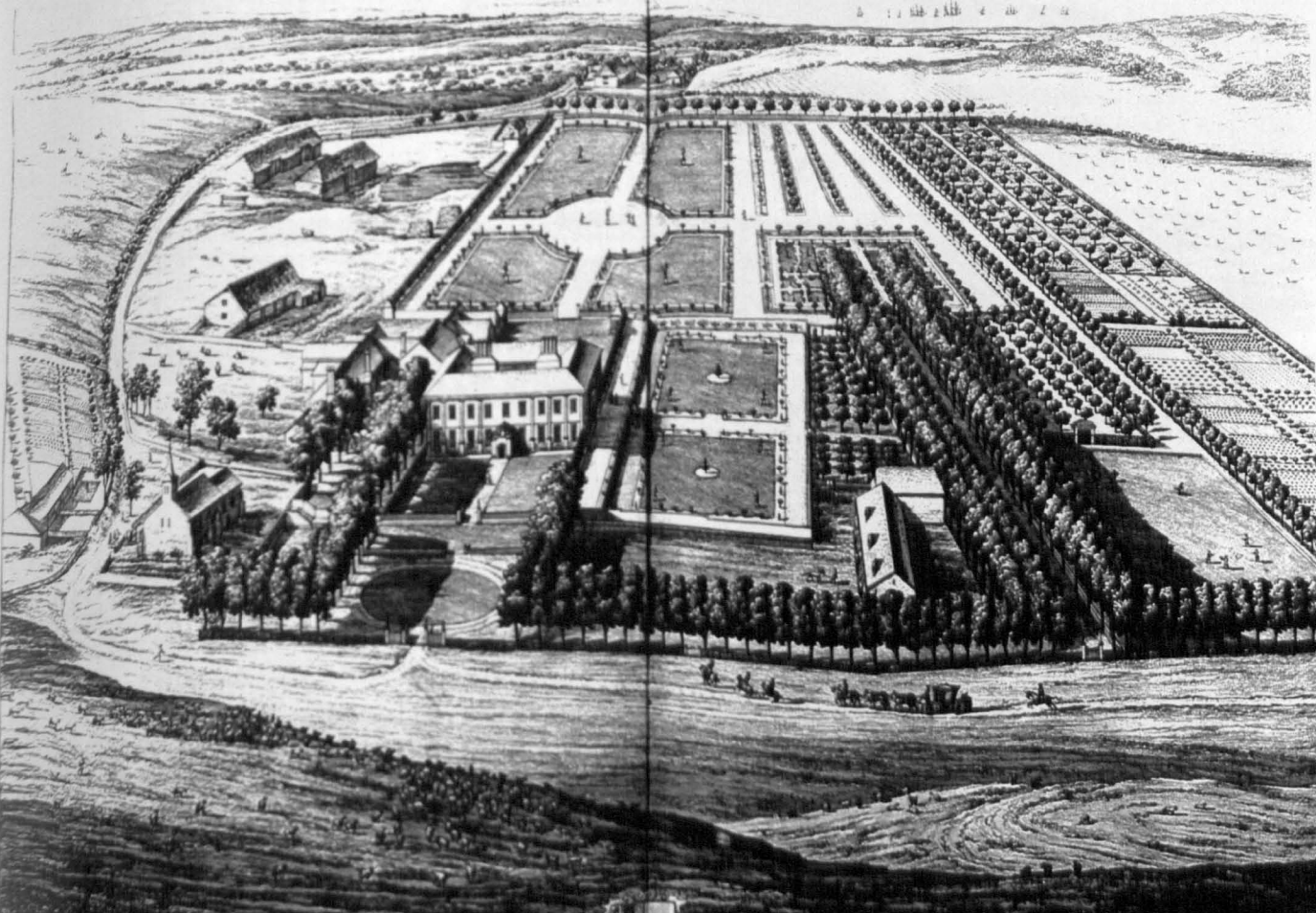
Westwood in Westwood in the County of North

Hon.^{ble} St. John Pakington Barronet.

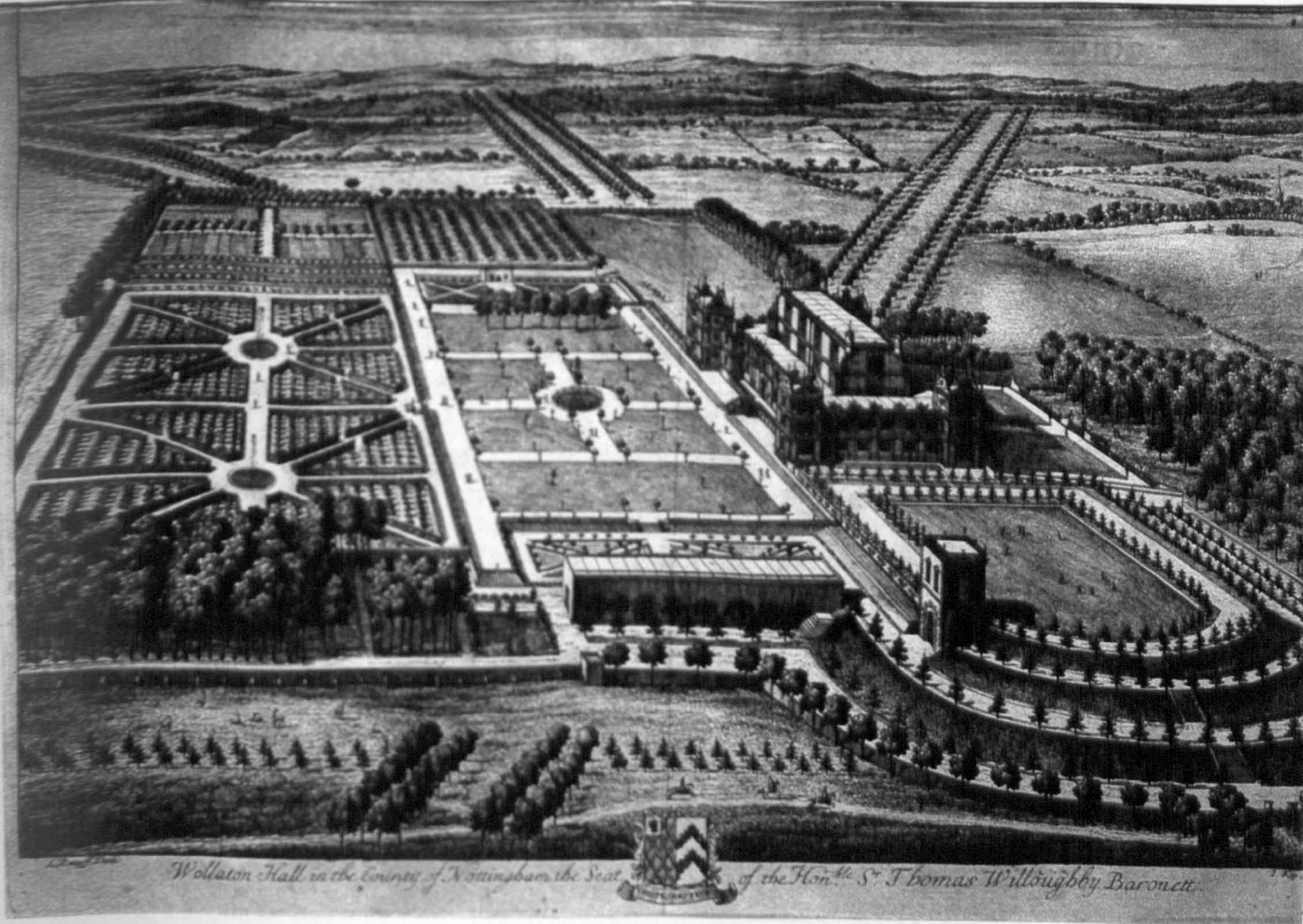


Brympton in Somerset the Seat of  the Hon^{ble} Sr Philip Sydenham

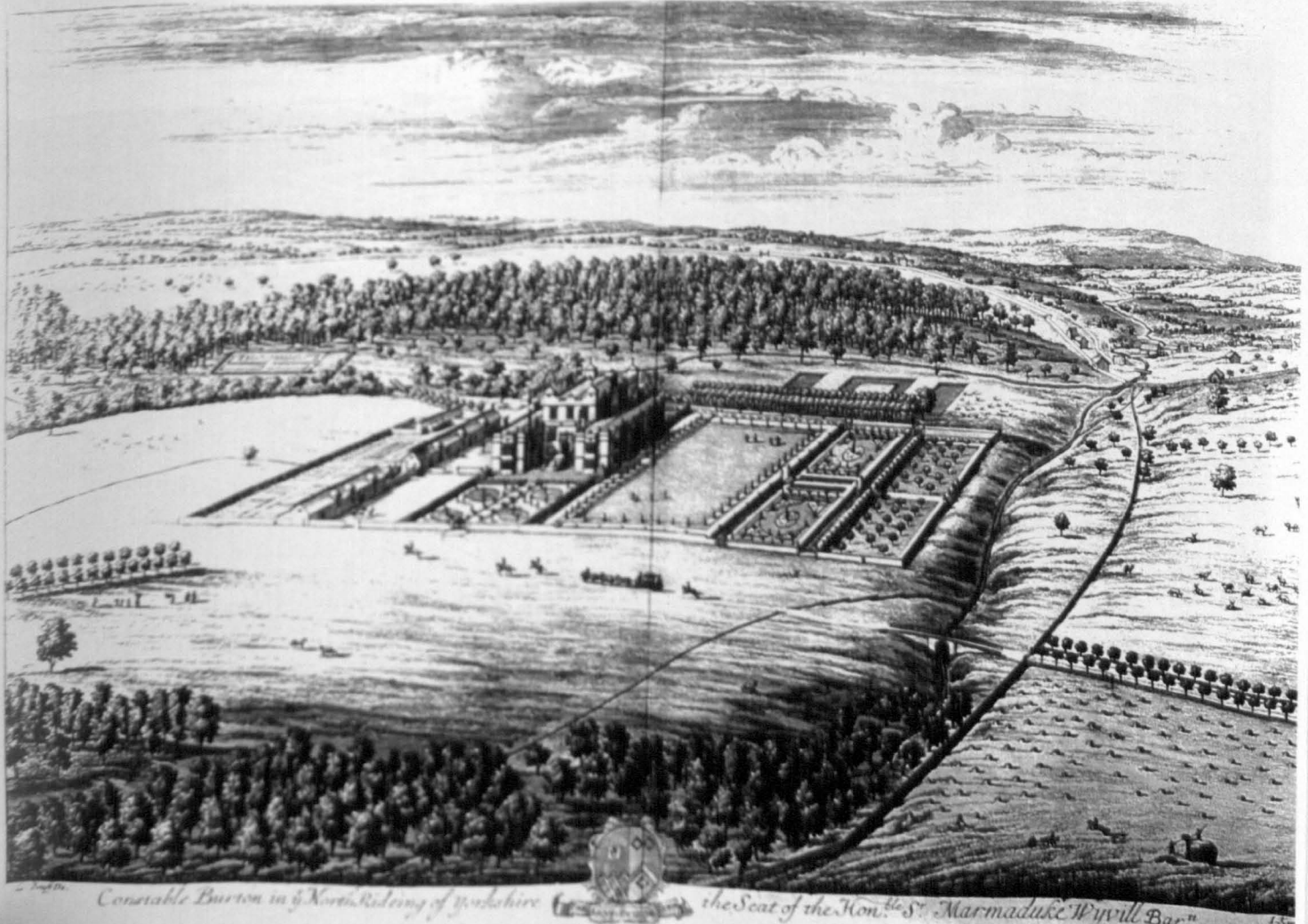
Brympton Plate 66 Folkington Plate 67

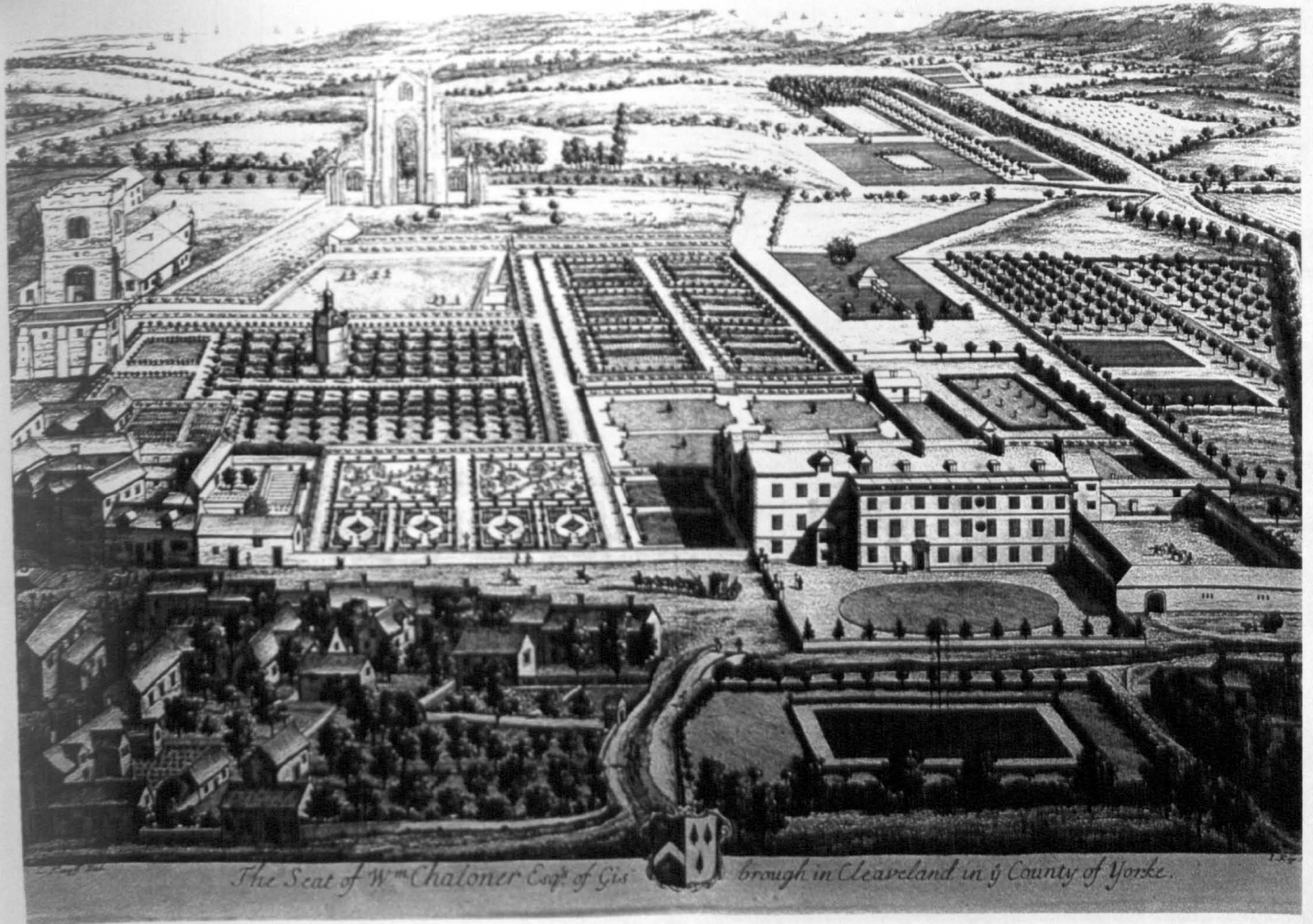


Folkington the Seat of the Hon^{ble} Sr William  Thomas Baronett in the County of Sussex

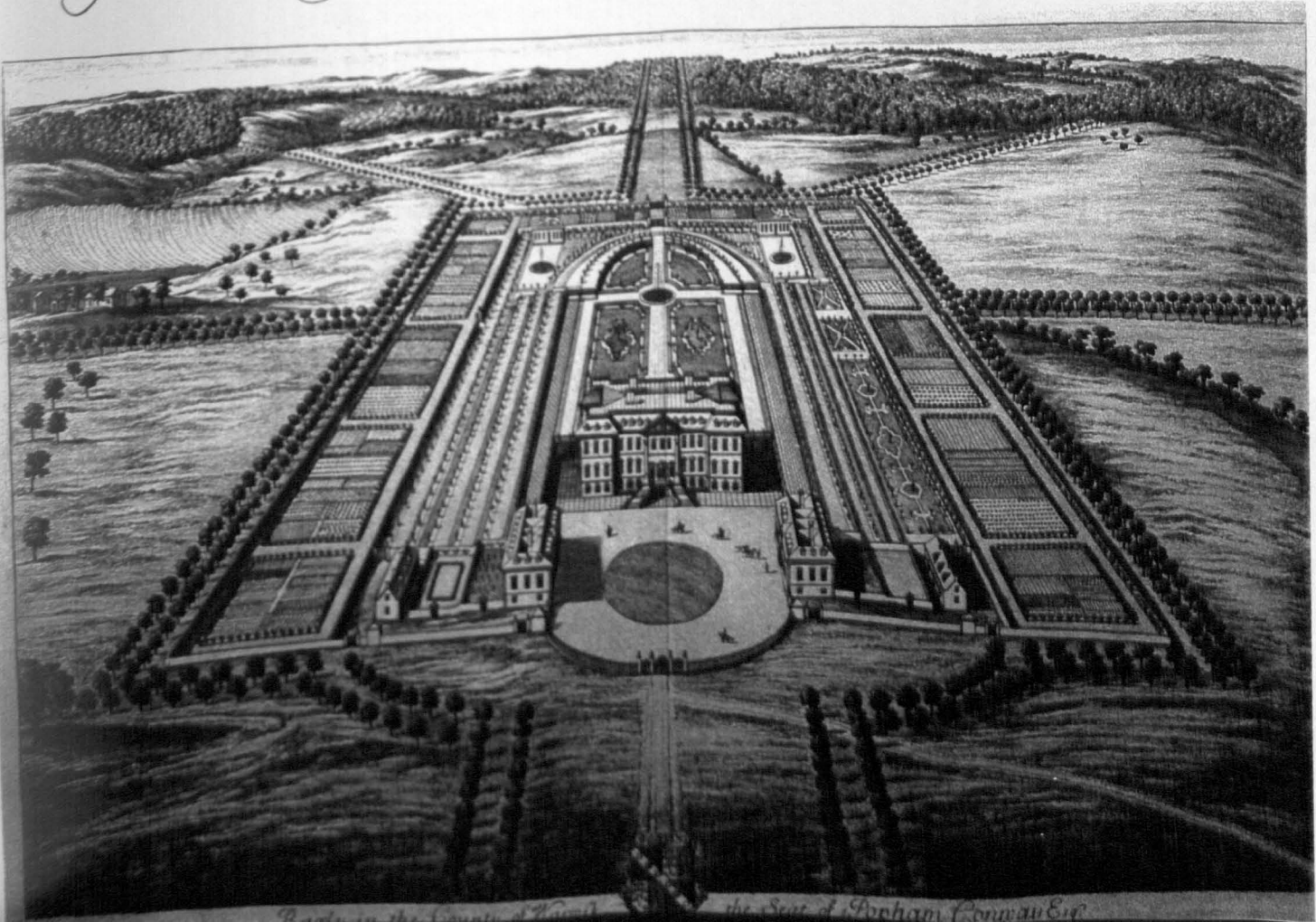


Wollaton Hall Plate 68 Constable Burton Plate 69





Guisborough Plate 60 Ragley Plate 71



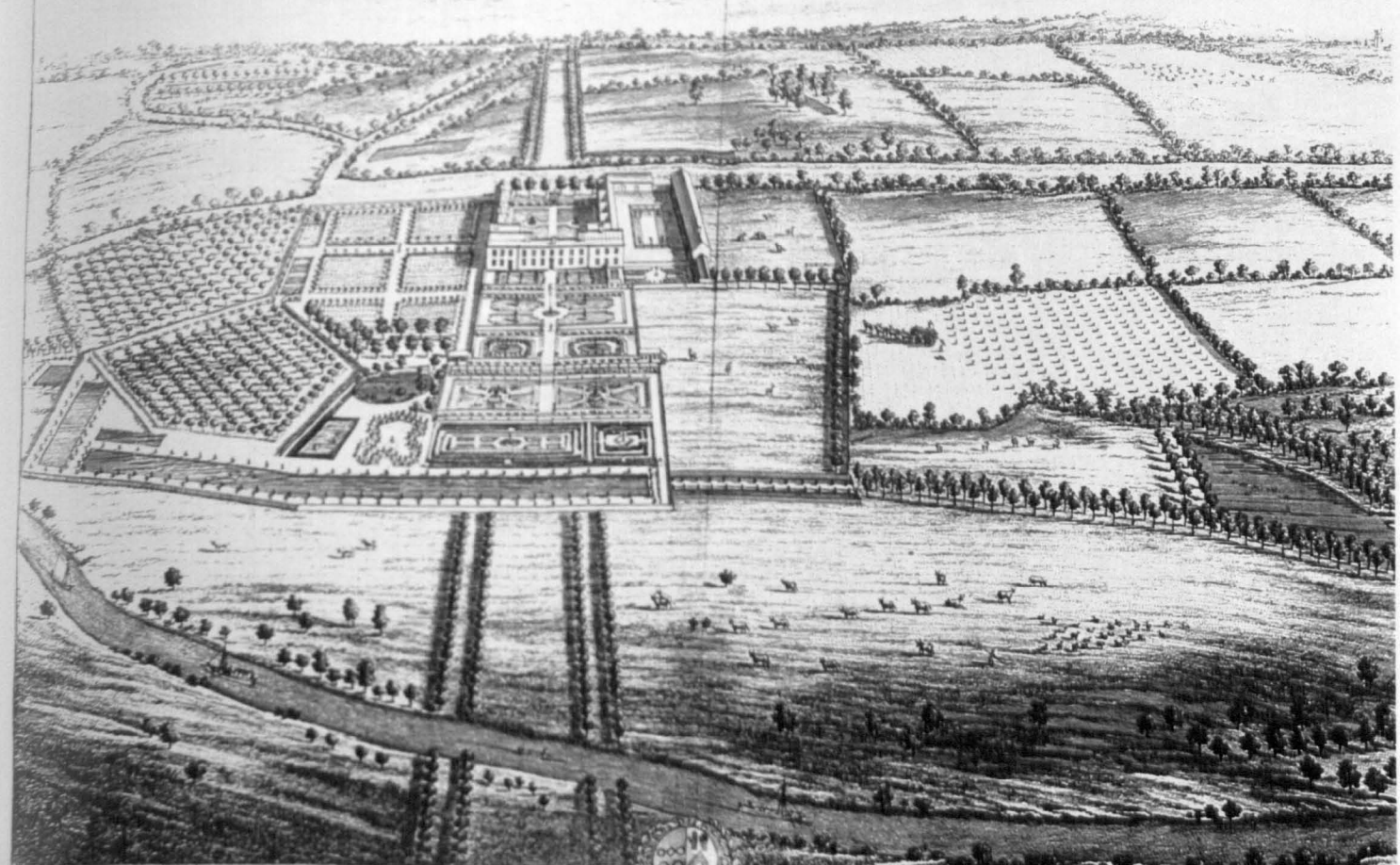


Escher Place in the County of Surrey the Seat of J. Escher
and His Wife of his Excellency's Privy Council



Cotton Esq. & Philadelphia his Wife, Daughter
of the Late Governor of Jamaica.

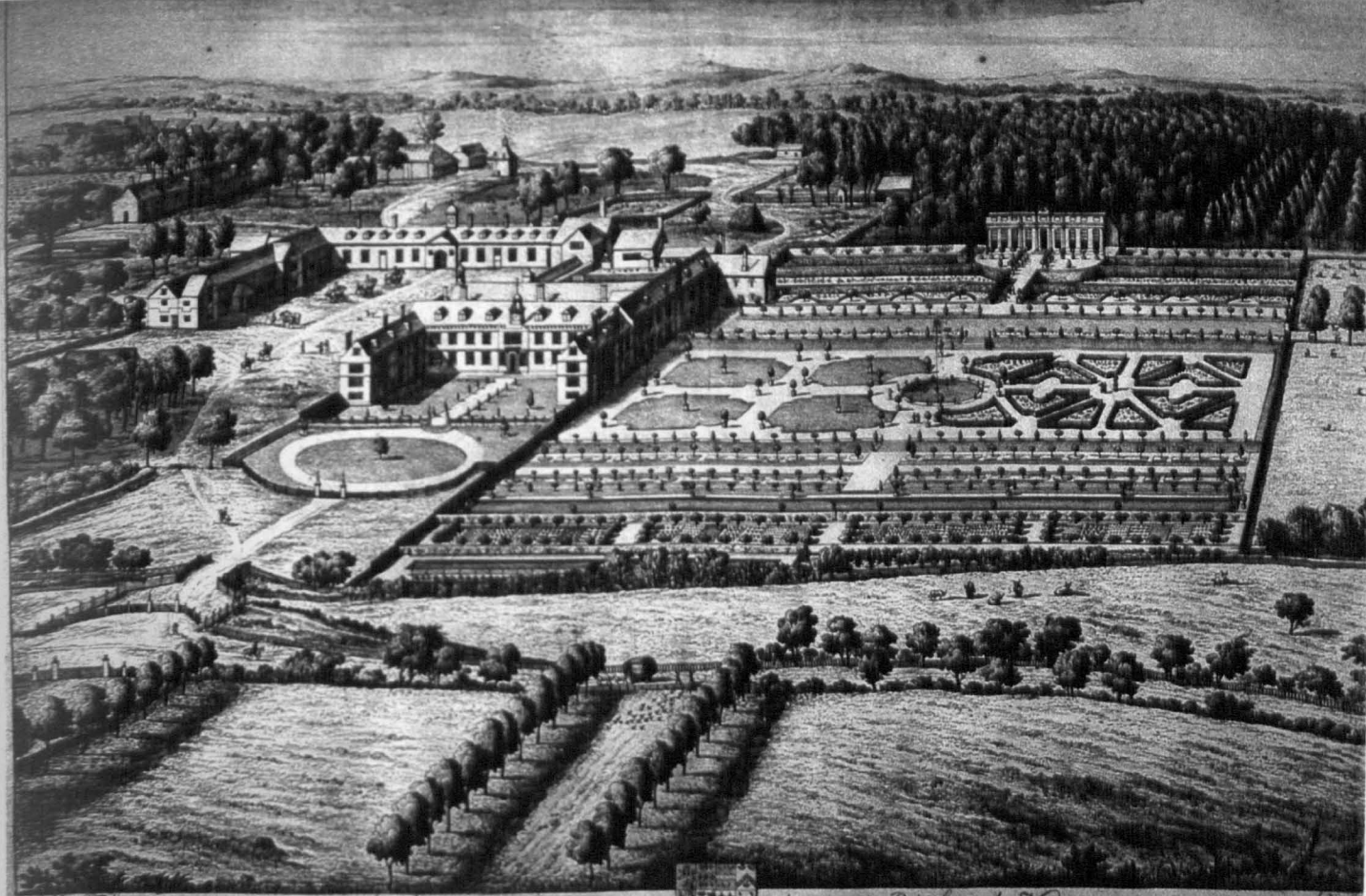
Escher Place £2 Swellington Place £3



Swellington in the West Riding of Yorkshire

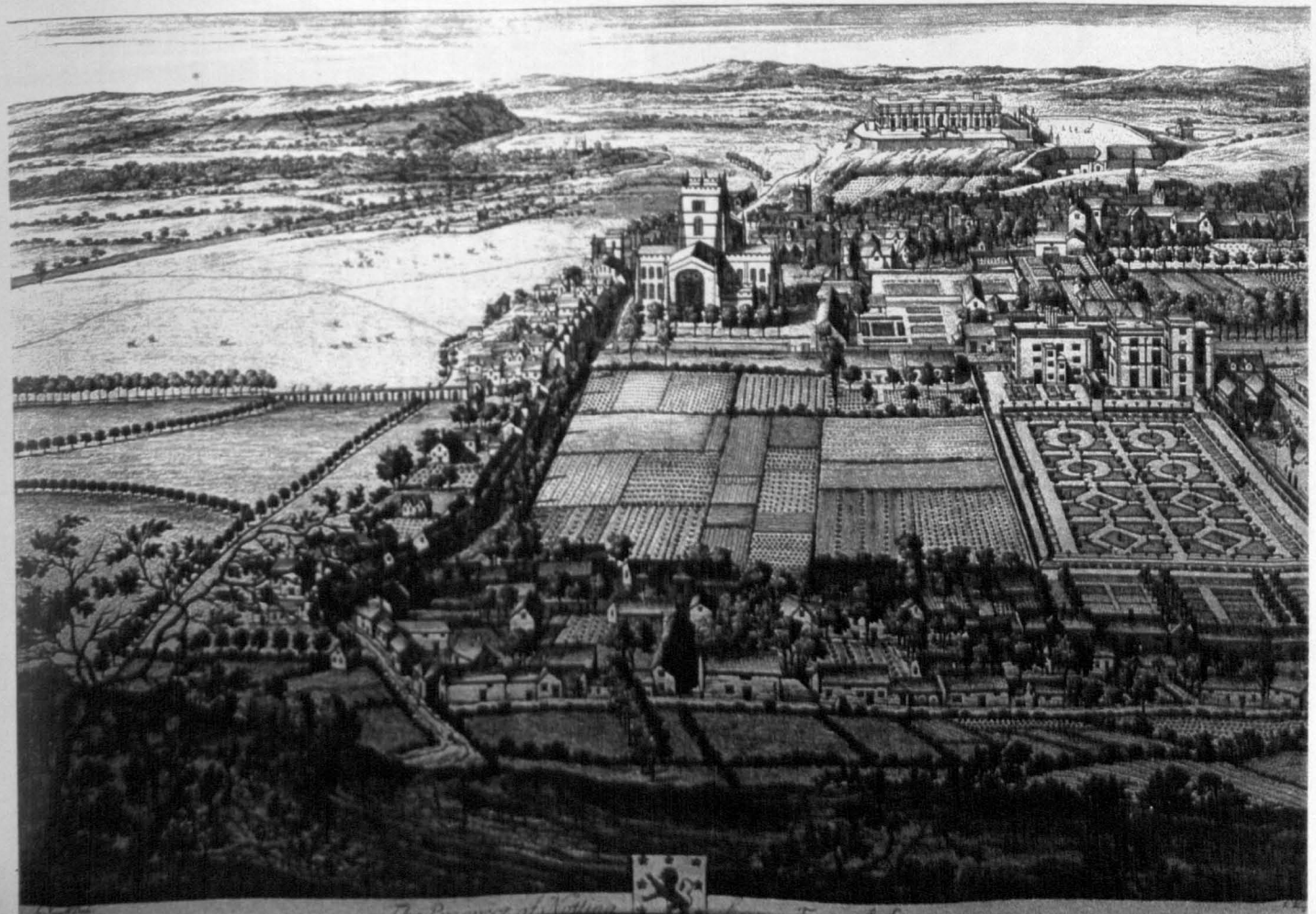


the Seat of William Lowther Esq.

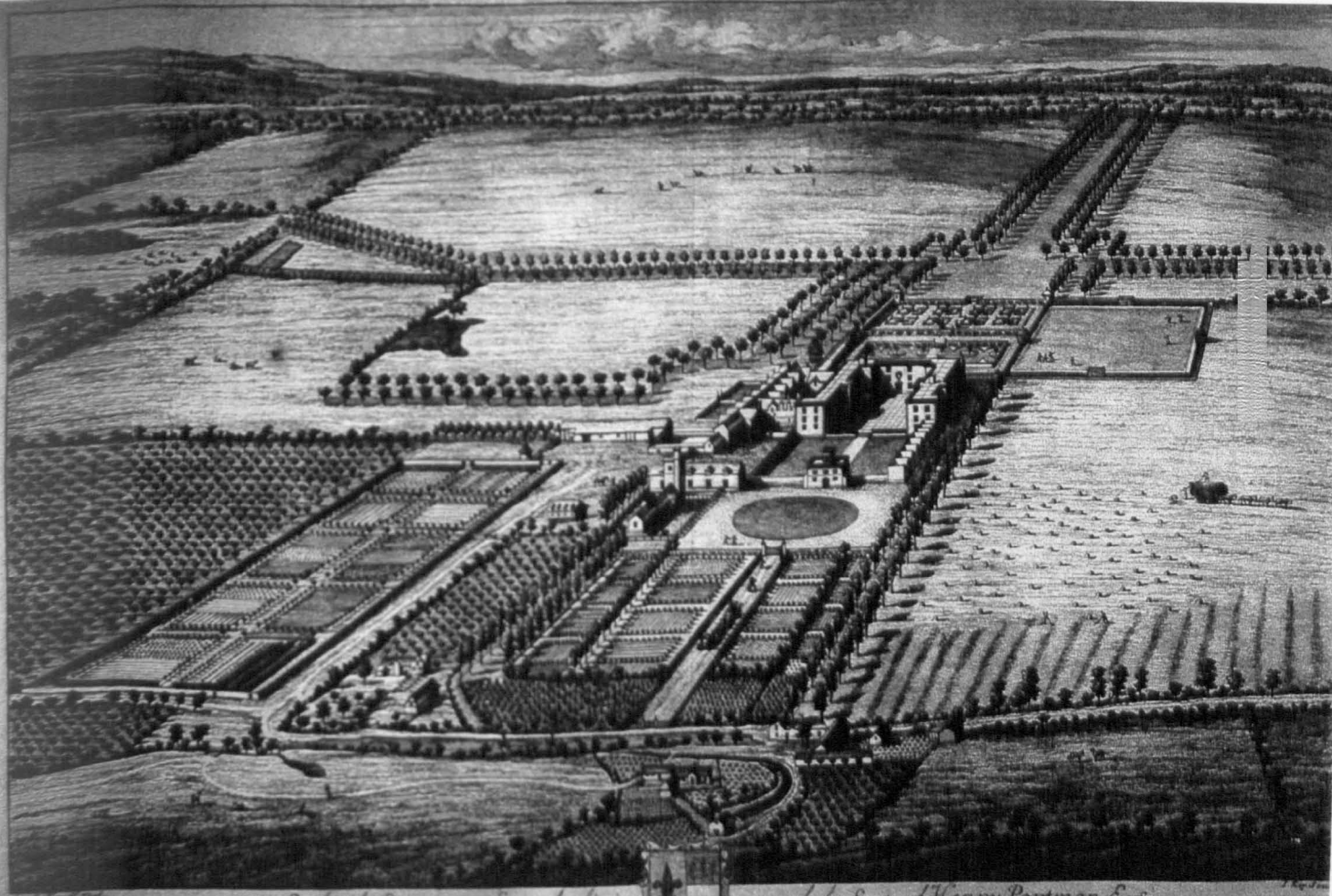


Southwick in the County of Southampton  the Seat of Richard Norton Esq.

Southwick Plate 74 Nottingham Plate 75.



Nottingham Plate 75  Nottingham Plate 75



Orchard Portman in Somersetshire

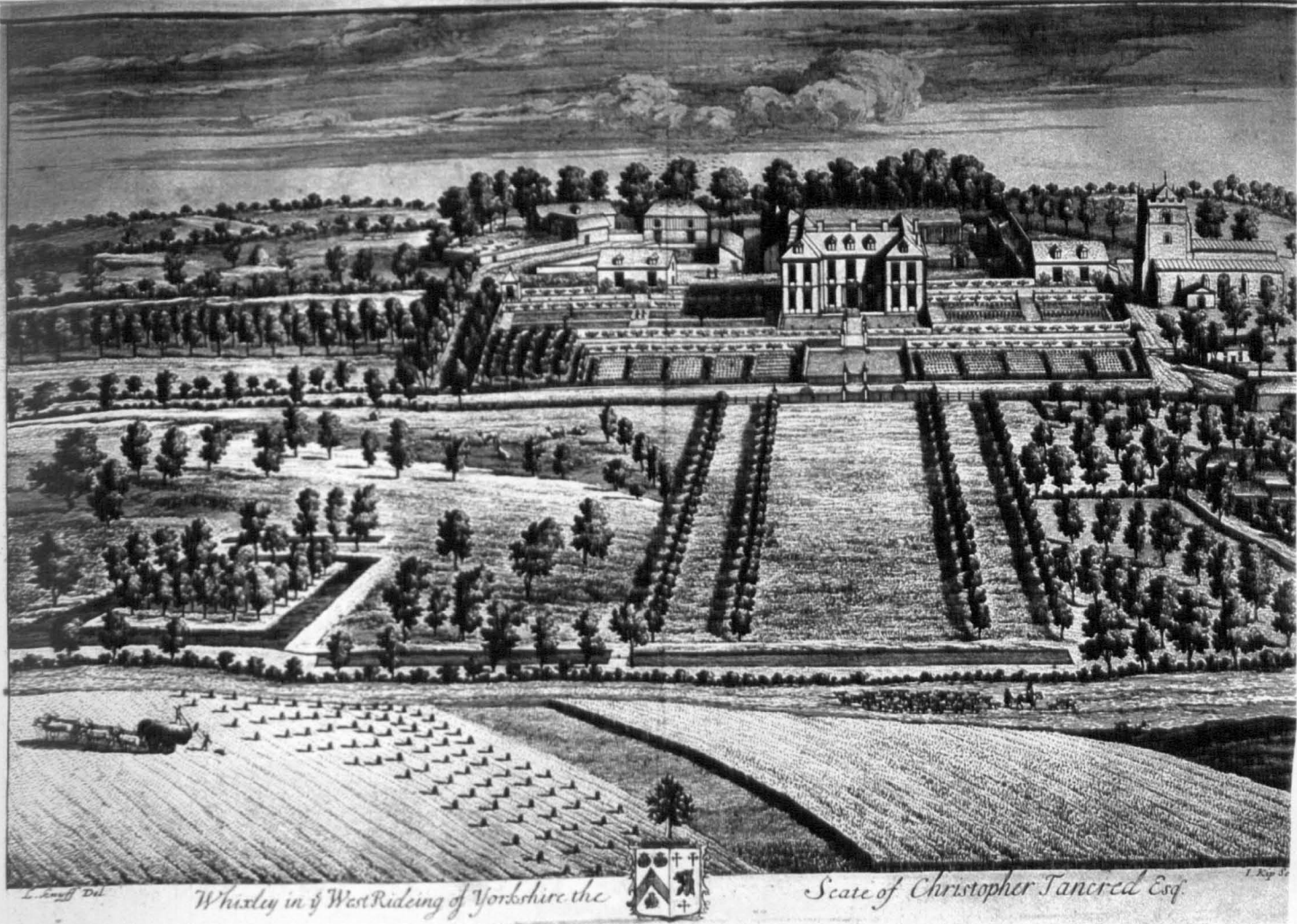
one of the Seats of Henry Portman Esq.

Orchard Portman Plate 26 Branstone Plate 77.



Branstone in Dorsetshire one of the

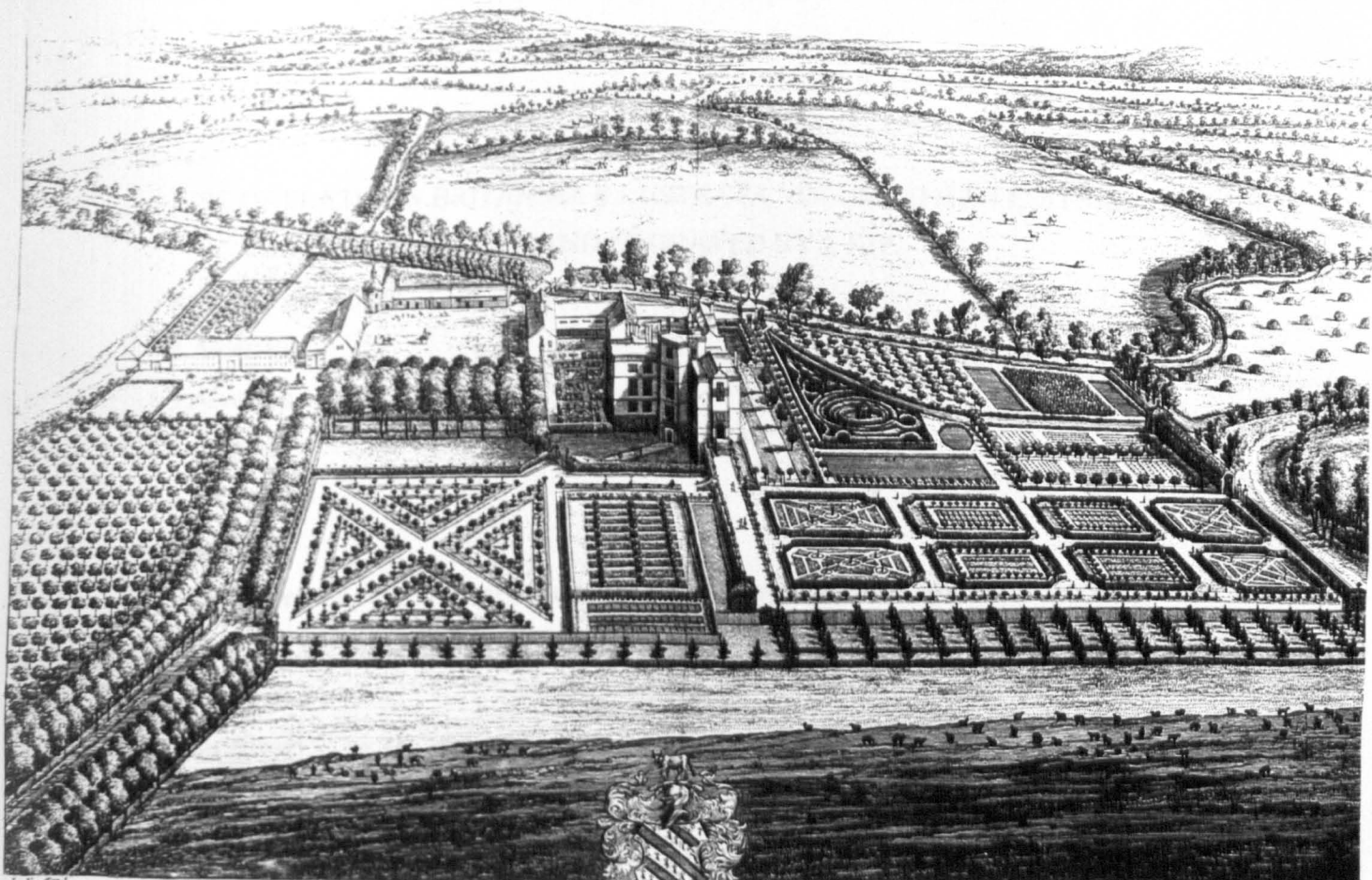
Seats of Henry Portman Esq.



Whixley Plate 76

Kirkstatham Plate 79





L. Kneller del.

Coley, Near Reading in the County of



Berks, the Seat of Tanfeild Vachell Esq.

Coley Plate 80

LIST OF PLATES IN BRITANNIA ILLUSTRATA VOLUME II (1724 EDITION)
DRAWN AND ENGRAVED BY J. KIP.

1. Cirencester Abbey
2. Alderley
3. Alveston
4. Ampney
5. Barrington
6. Battsford
7. Beachborough, which is not included since this comes from Dr. Harris's History Of Kent. The plate of Badminton is substituted, which is in Atkyns and was not reprinted
8. Barrington
9. Broadwell
10. Bradley
11. Cirencester
12. Coberley
13. Cocken omitted since not by Kip.
14. Cleeve Hill
15. Clearwell
16. Chepstow
17. Didmarton
18. Dyrham
19. Dumbleton
20. Eastington
21. Fairford
22. Flaxley
23. Gloucester Panorama
24. Gloucester (Map omitted)
25. Hampton
26. Hardwick
27. Hatherop
28. Hailes
29. Henbury (Harcourt)

30. Henbury (Sampson)
31. Hull
32. Kingsweston
33. Kempford
34. Knole
35. Little Compton
36. Leckhampton
37. Lypiatt
38. Miserden
39. Maugersbury
40. Nibley
41. Over
42. Rendcomb
43. Saperton
44. Sherbourne
45. Shipton Moyne (Hodges)
46. Shipton Moyne (Estcourt)
47. Syston
48. Shobden Court, Herefordshire by John Harris has been omitted.
49. Stanway
50. Stoke Gifford
51. Swell
52. Stoke Bishop
53. Sneed Park
54. Sevenhampton
55. Sandywell
56. Southam
57. Sundridge from Harris's History of Kent: omitted.
58. Shurdington.
59. Toddington
60. Trotworth i.e. Tortworth
61. Tragpol, from Harris's History of Kent: omitted
62. Upper Dowdeswell
63. Westbury-on-Severn.

64. Witcombe

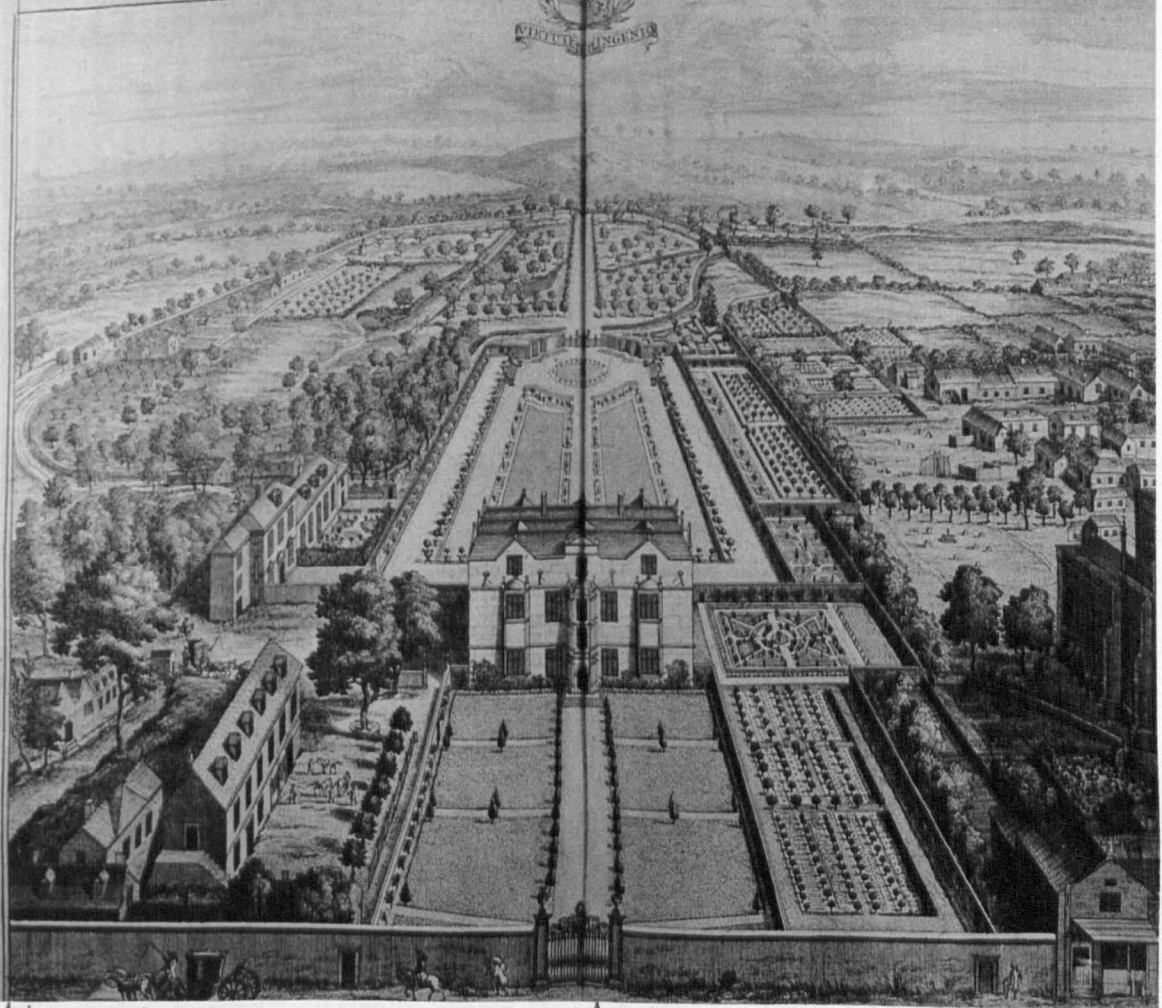
65. Wooton

66. Williamstrip

67. Wyck

68.69.70, Tenham, Sedburgh and Ashurst, not prints by Kip and omitted.

The Abbey in Cirencester *The Seat of Thomas, Master Esq.*

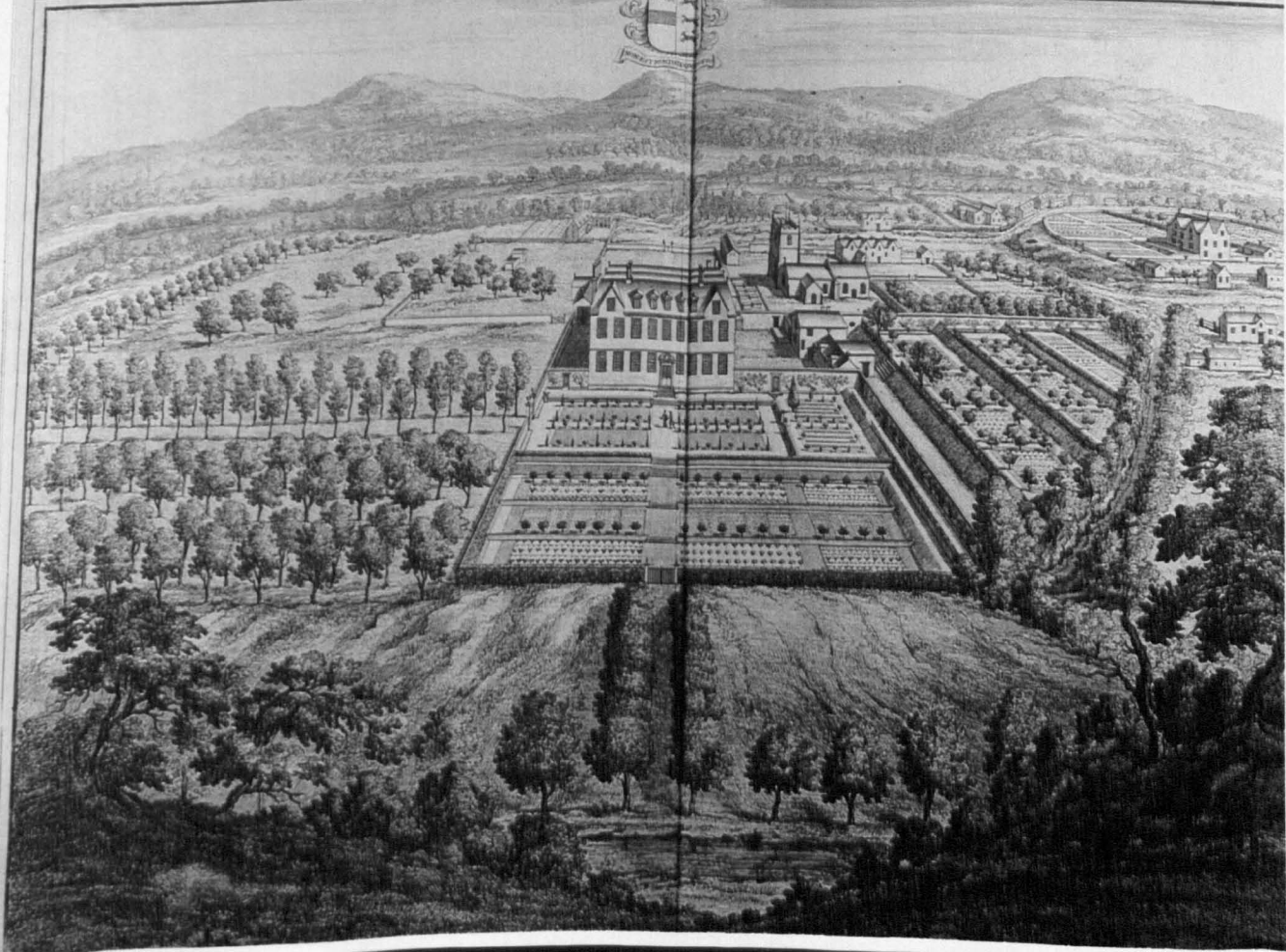


The Abbey Cirencester Plate 1

Alderley Plate 2.

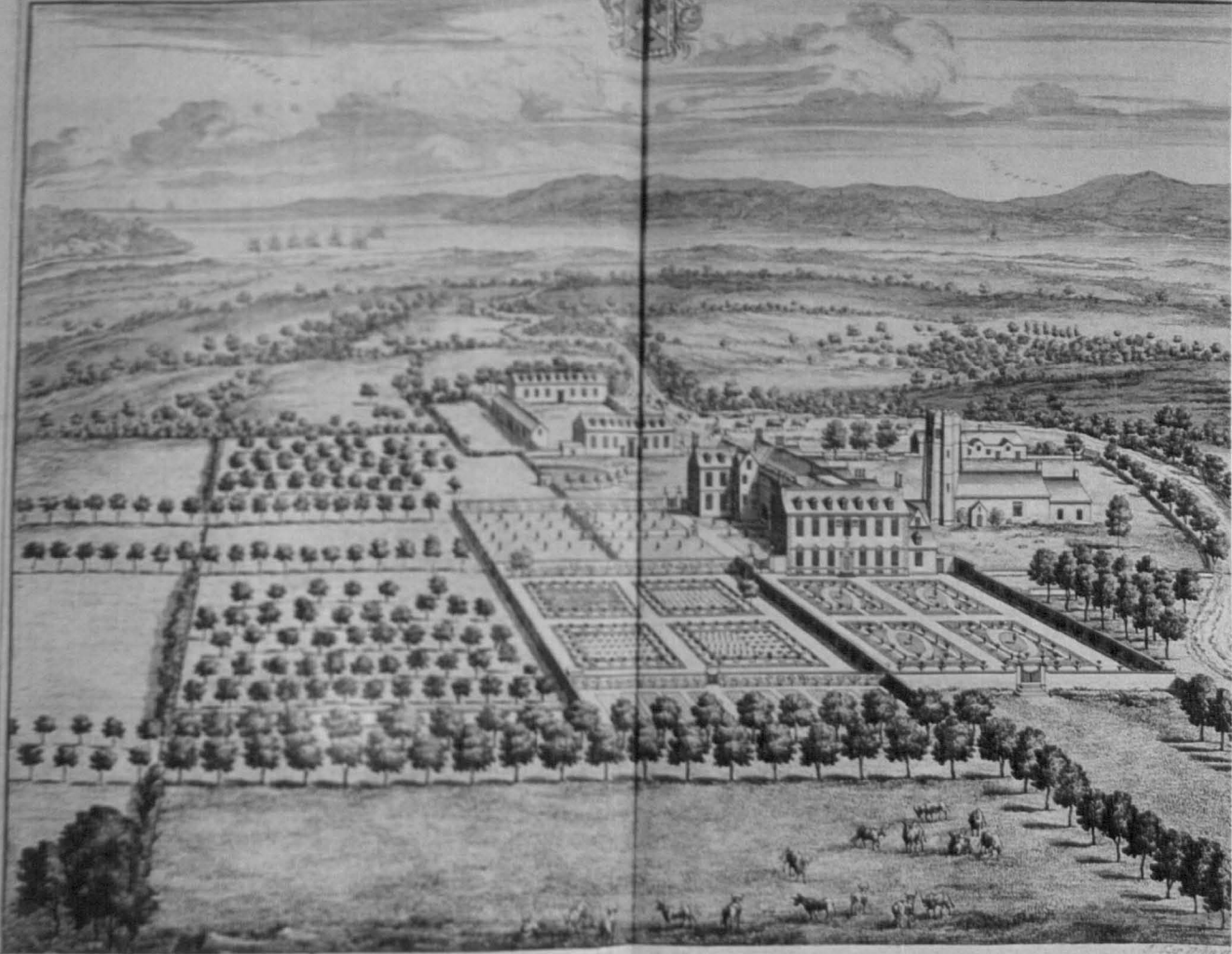
Alderley the Seat of M^{rs} Hale

Widow of Matthew Hale Esq.



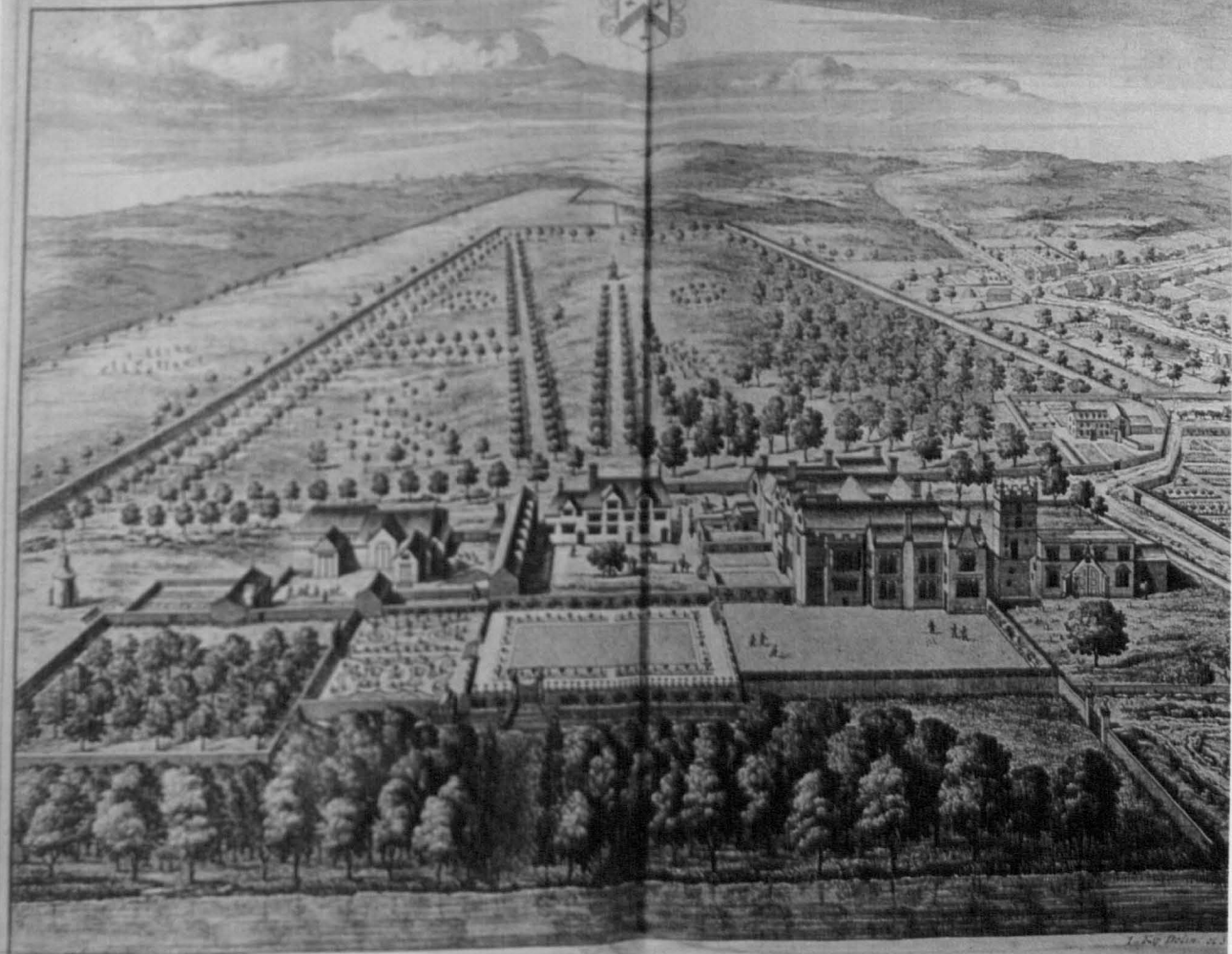
Alveston the Seat of

Edward Hill Esq.



Alveston
plate 3
Ampry
Crucis
plate
4.

Barrington the Seat of Camond Dray Esq



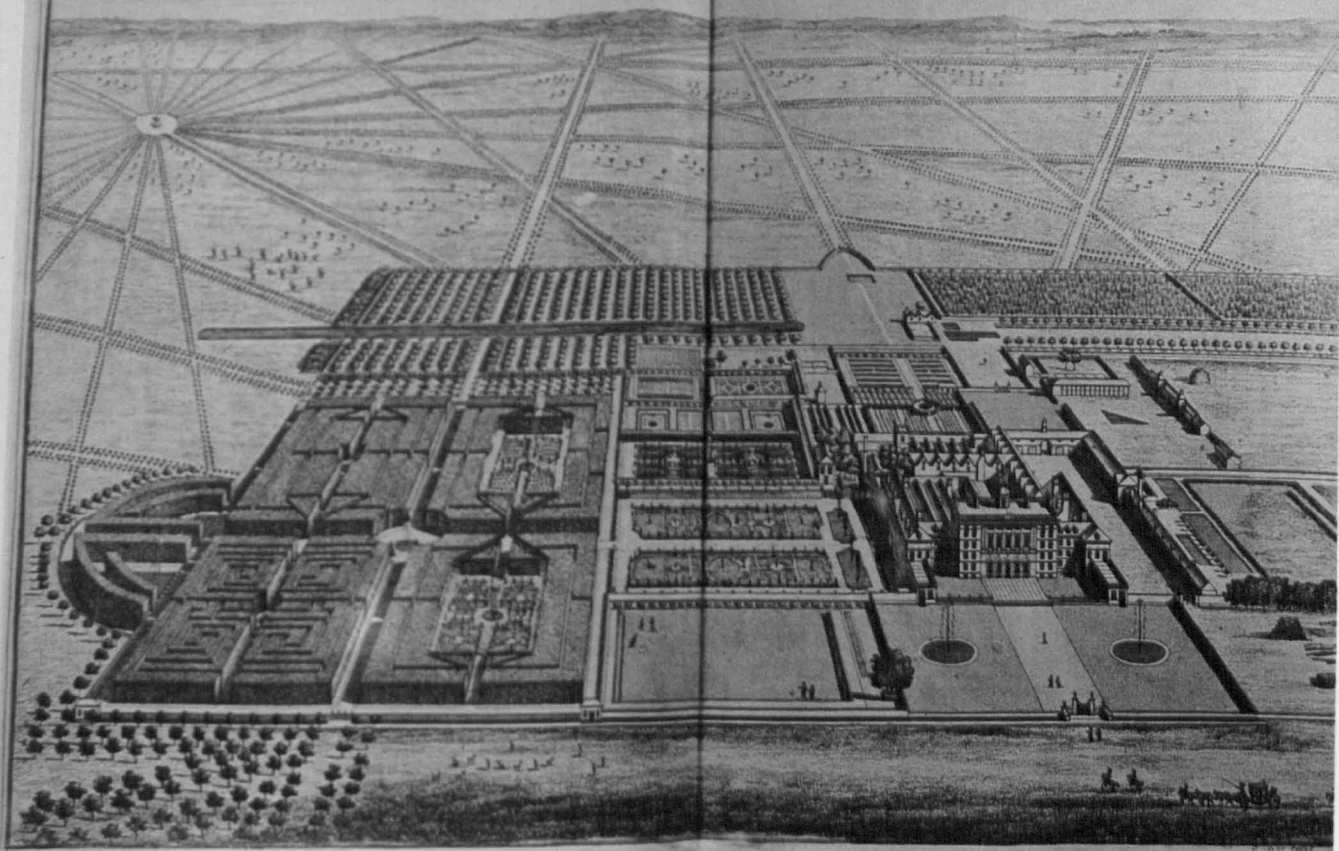
J. Kay Delin. 1733

Barrington Plate 5 Battsford Plate 6

Battsford the Seat of Richard Freeman Esq



Badminton the Seat of the Duke of Beaufort

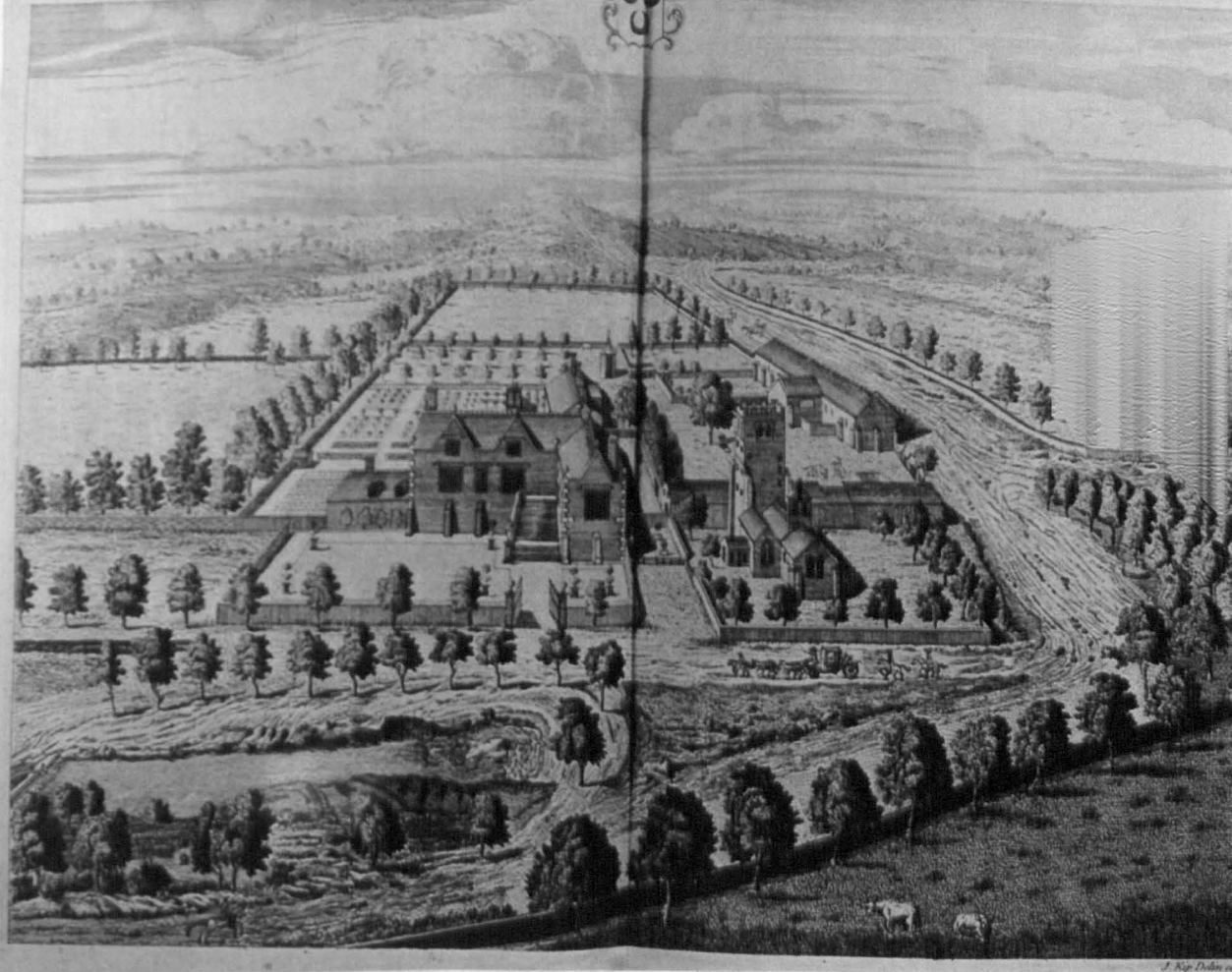


*Badminton substituted for Beachborough L. 7: & Berkeley Plate 8
Berkeley Castle, the Seat of the Duke of Beaufort*



Broadwell the Seat of

Danvers & Hodges Esq.

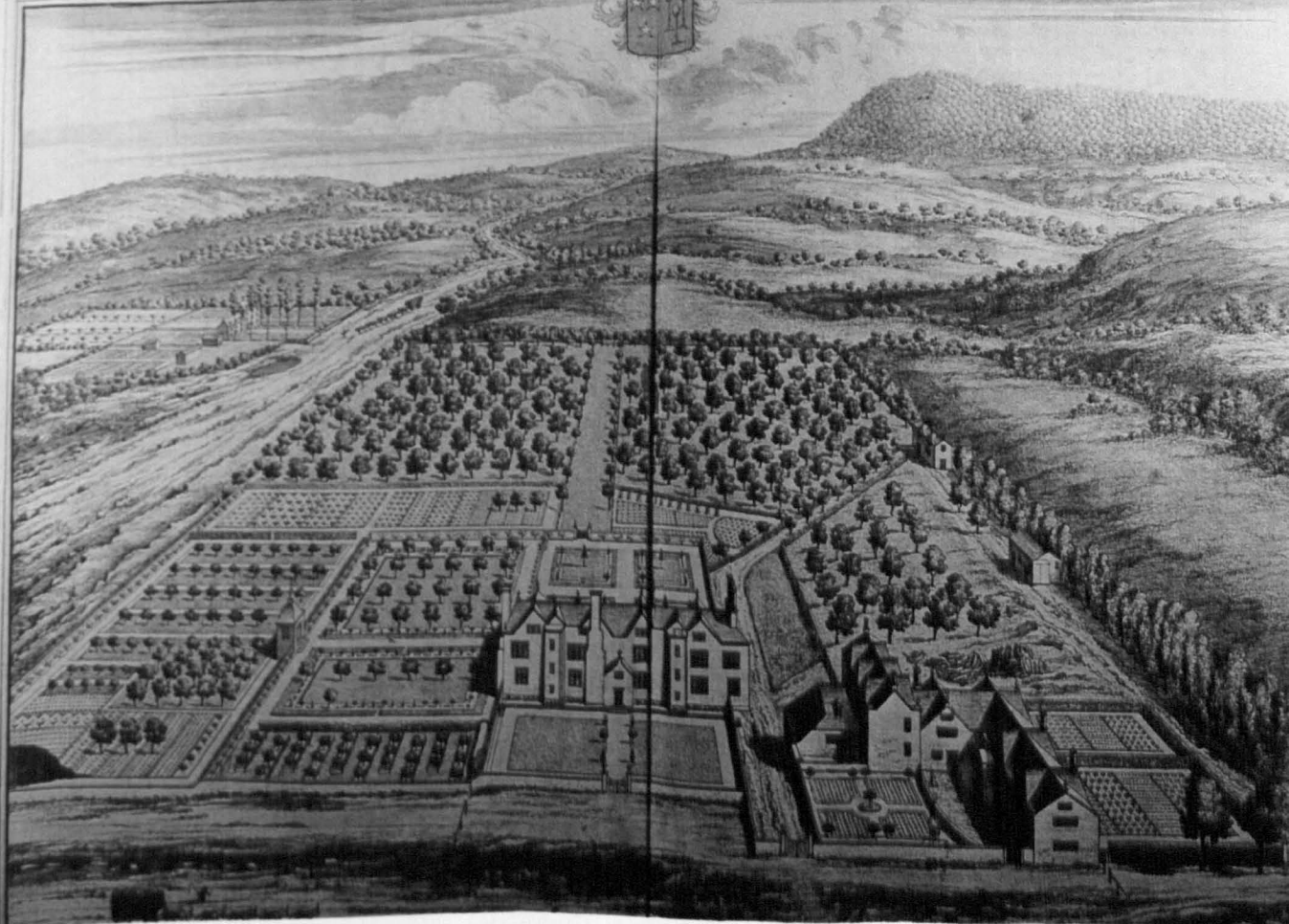


J. Kip Delin.

Broadwell Plate 9 Bradley Plate 10

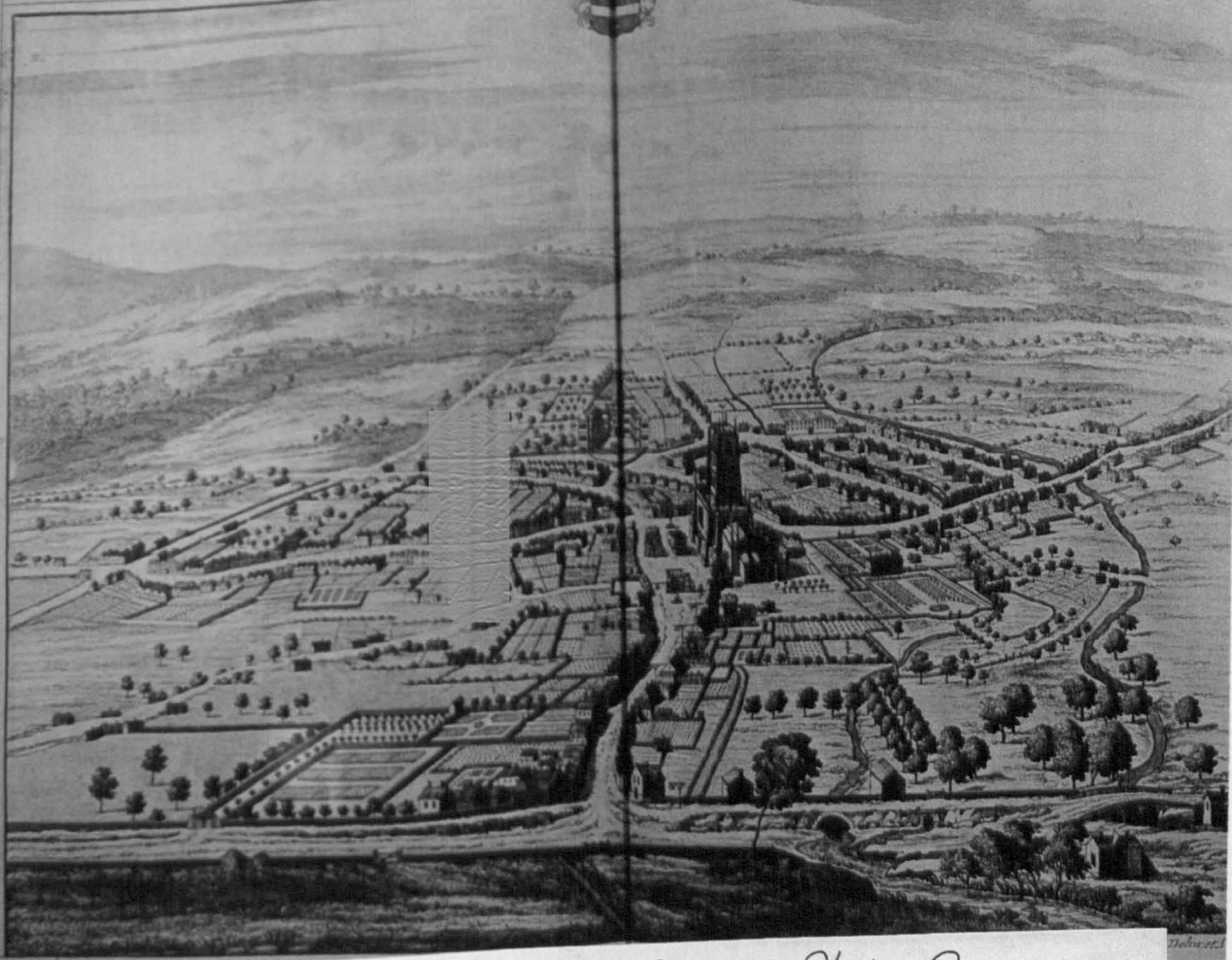
Bradley the Seat of

Thomas Dawes Esq.



Cirencester the Seat of

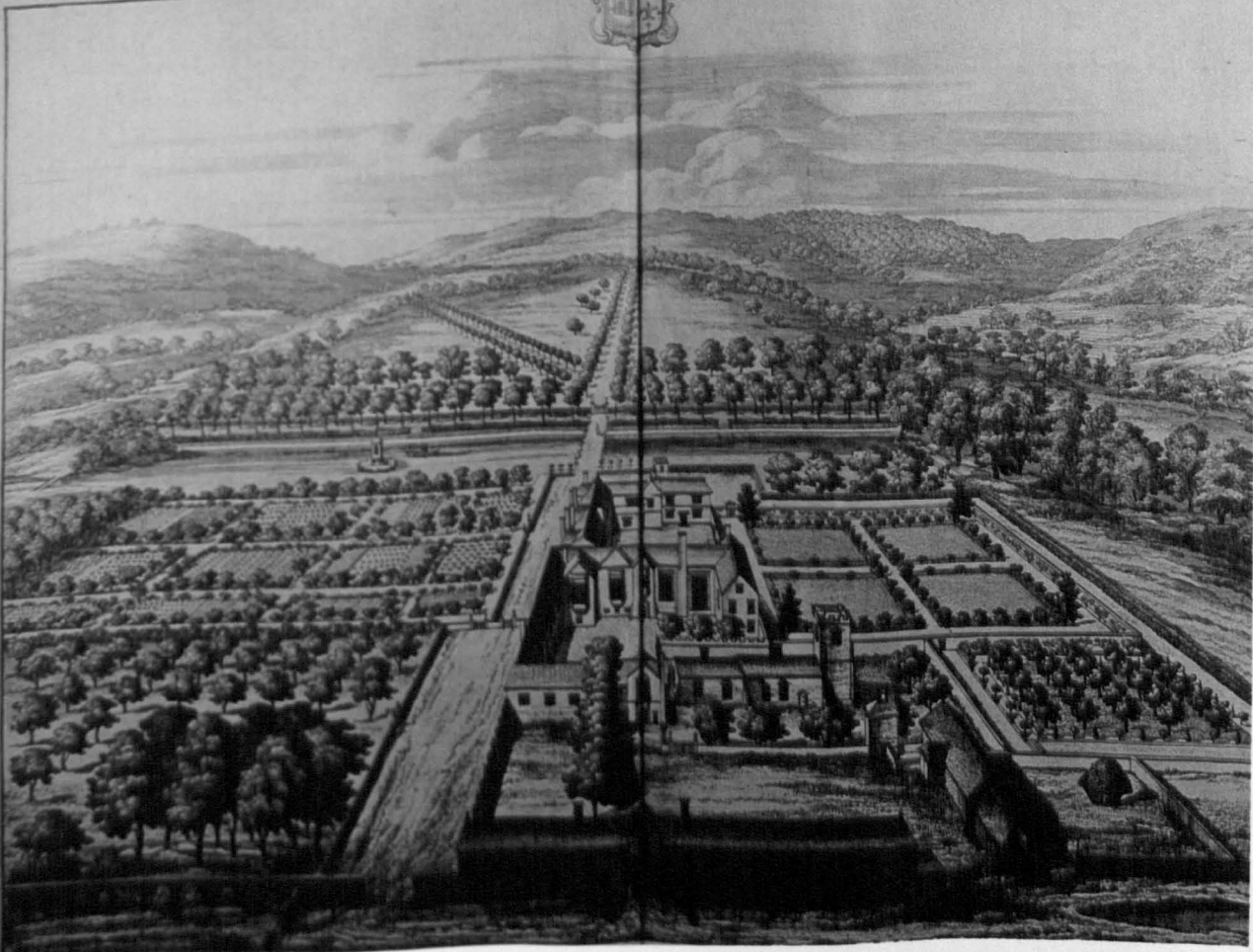
Allen Dathurst Esq.

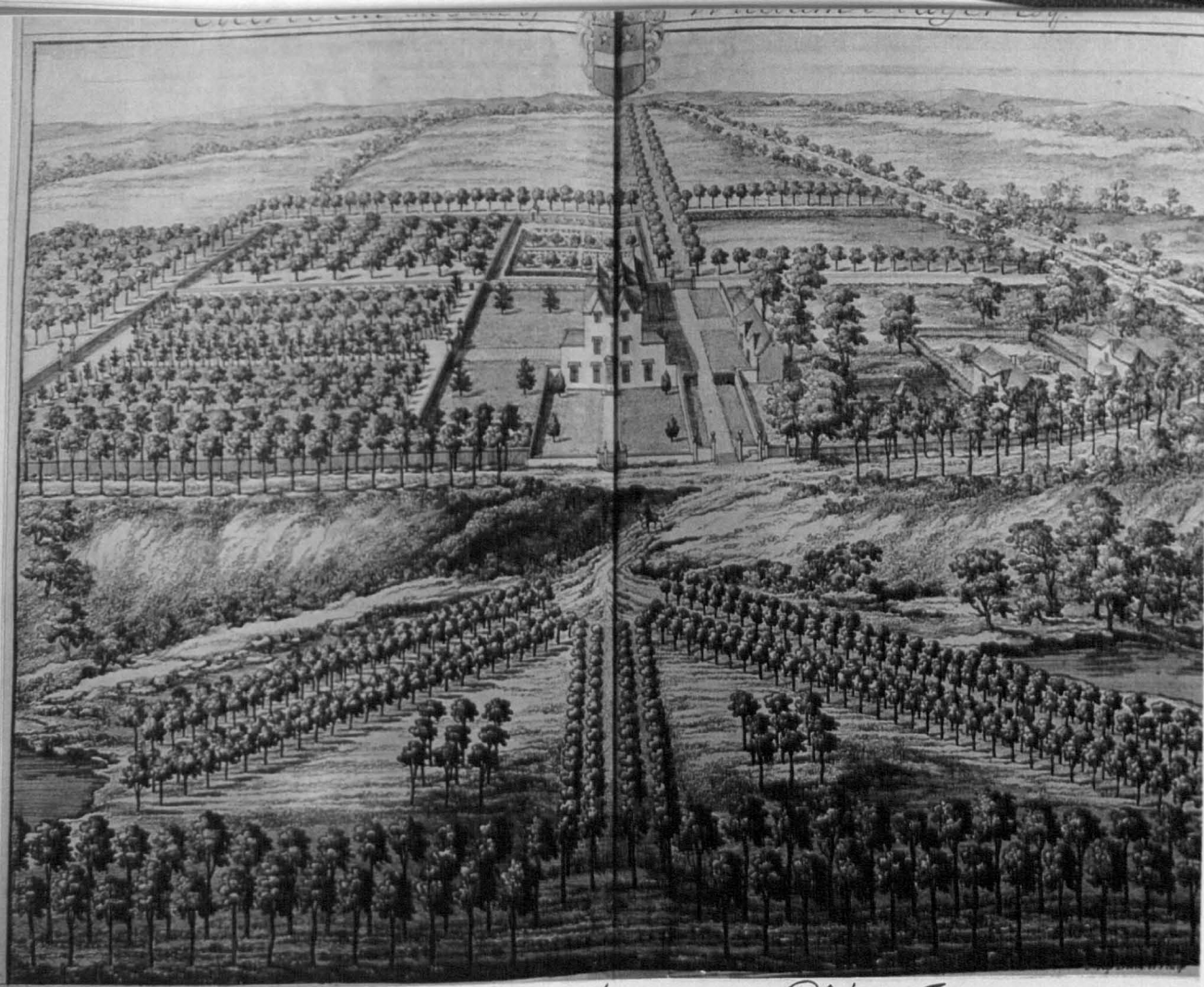


Cirencester Plate 11 *Coberley Plate 12*

Coberley the Seat of

Jonathan Castelman Esq.





Clear Hill Plate IV Clearwell Plate 15.

Lower Wall the Seat

of Francis Wyndham Esq



Chepstow Castle belonging to his

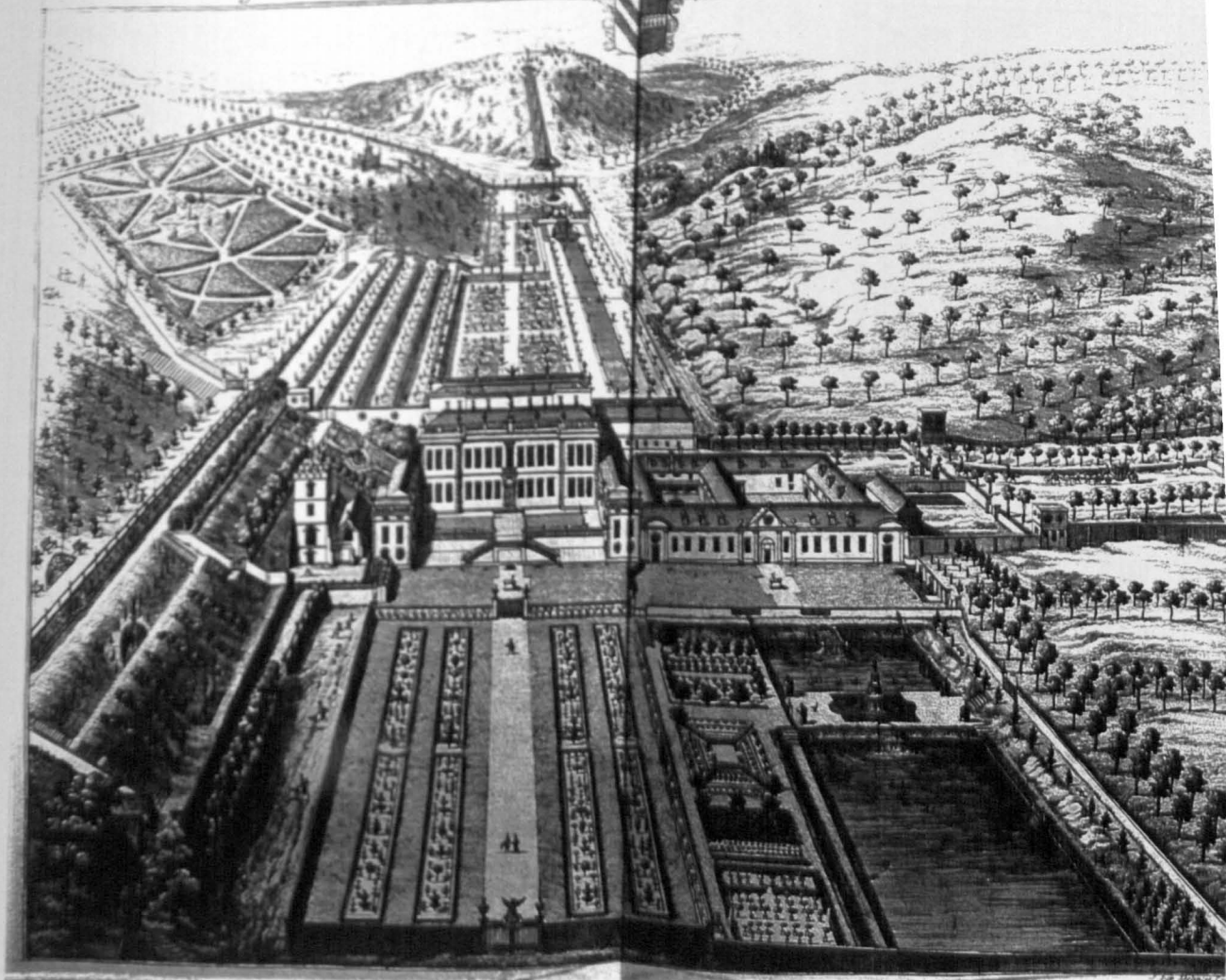
Grace the Duke of Beauford



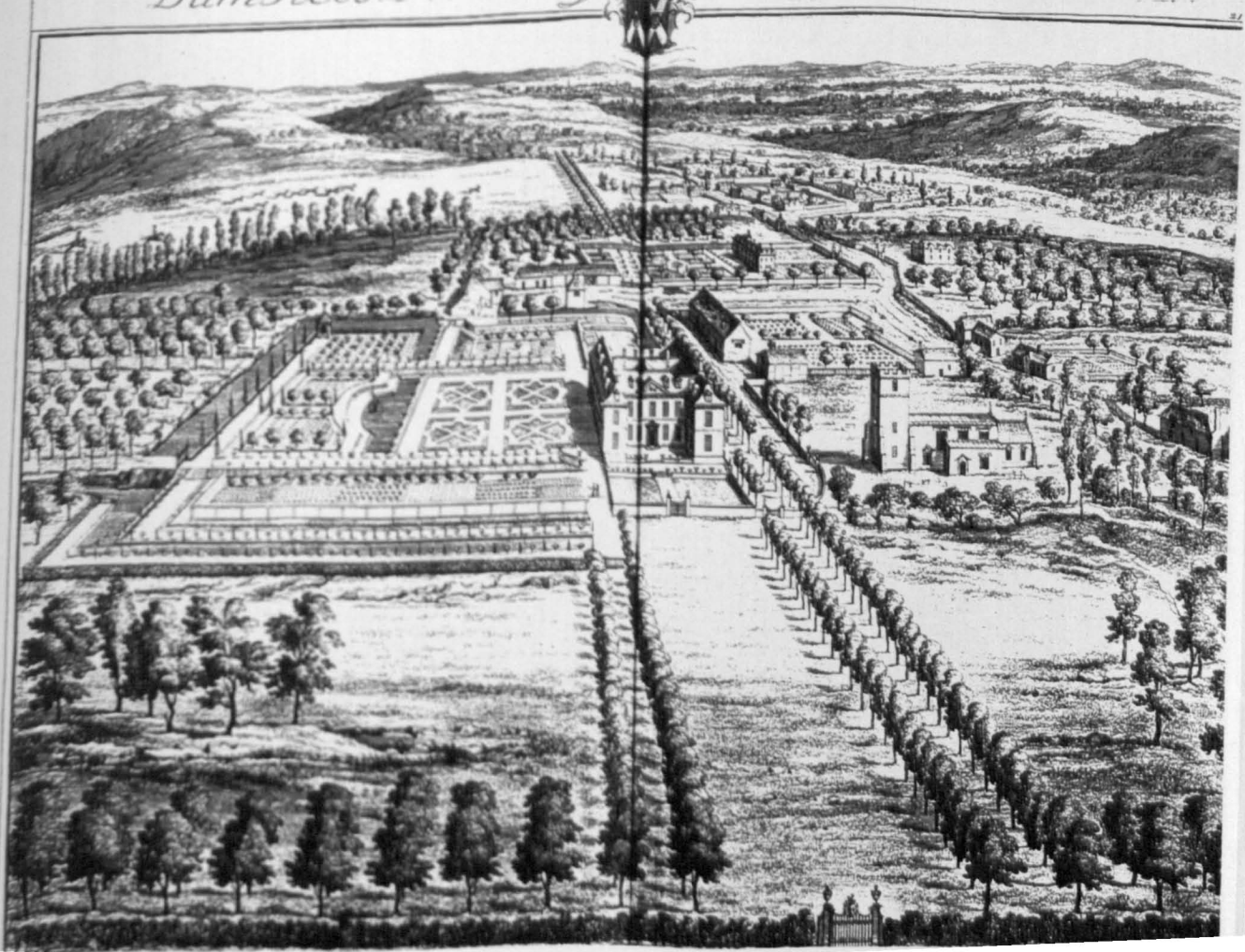
Chepstow Plate 16 Didmarton Plate 17.

Didmarton the Seat of Robert Godrington Esq.



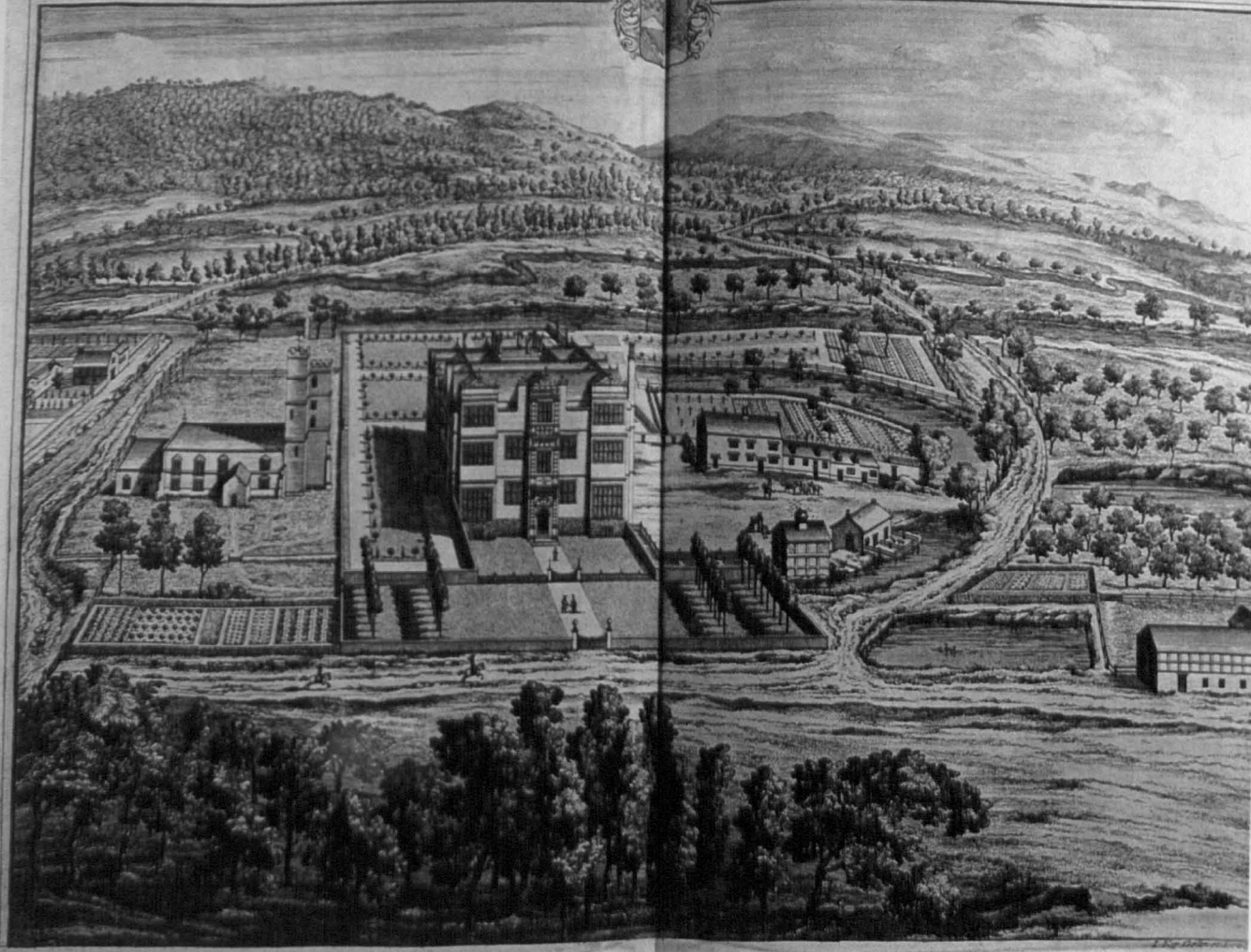


Dyrham Plate 18 Dumbleton Plate 19



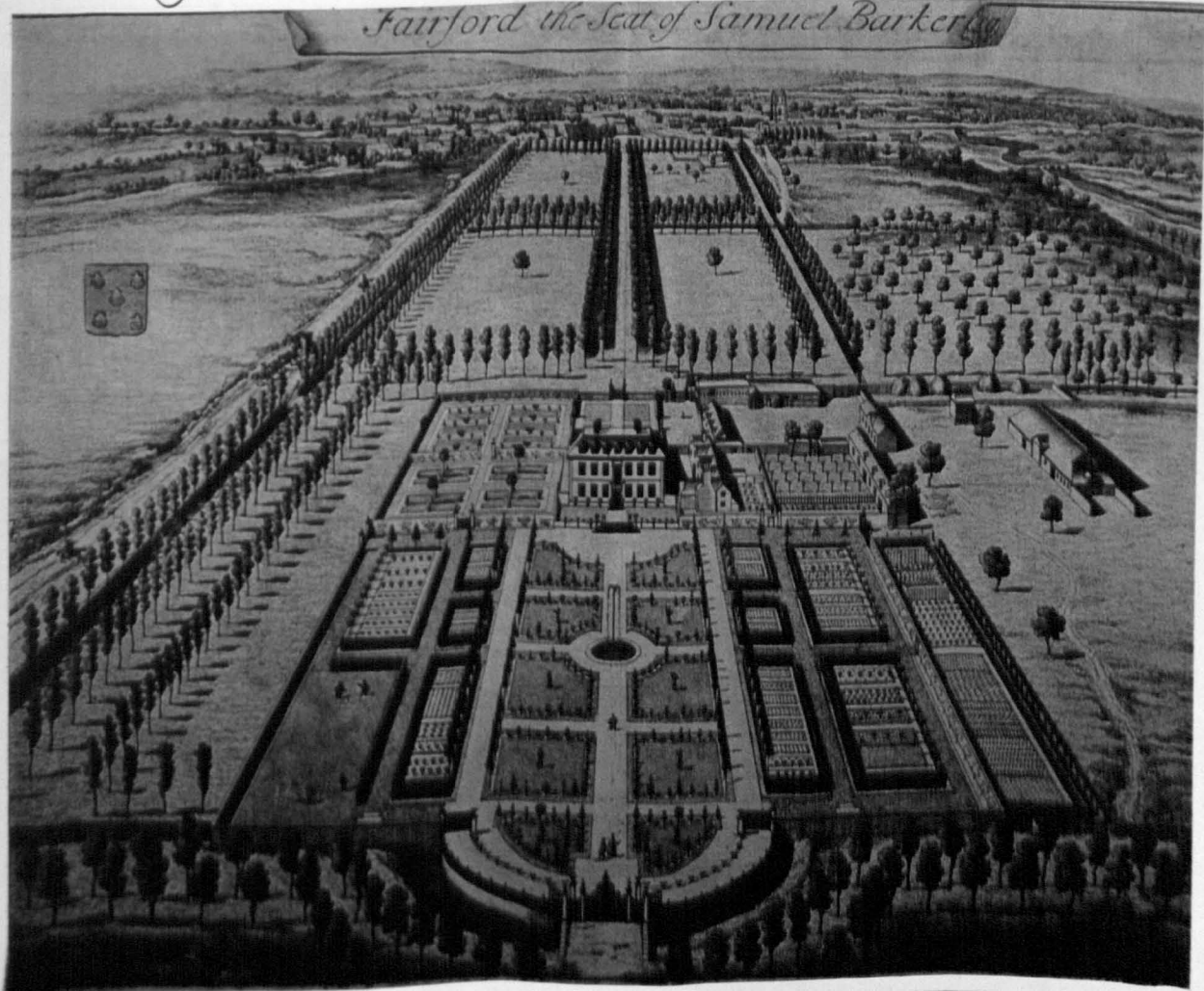
Carington the Seat of

Nathaniel Storer's Esq



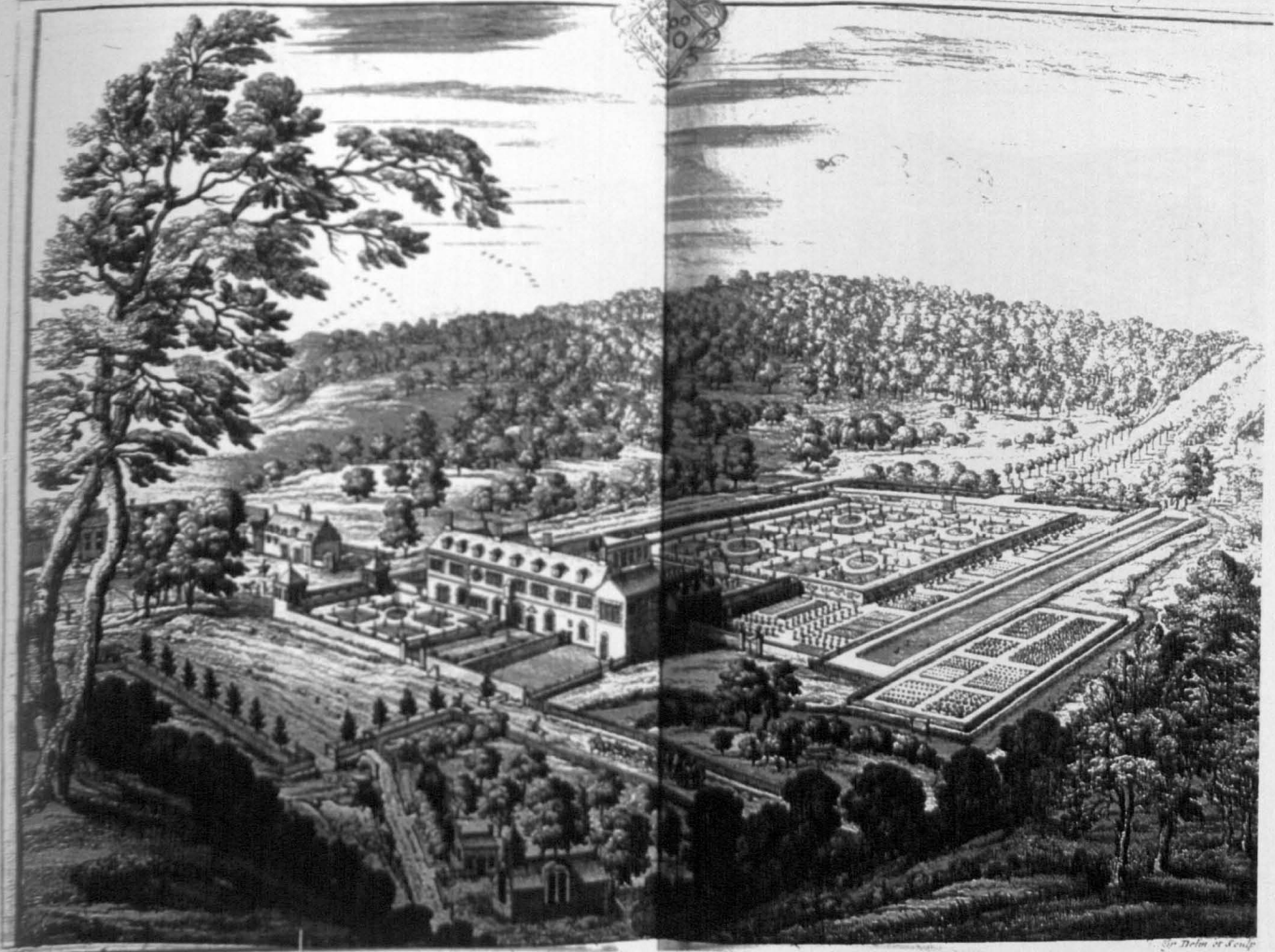
Eastington Plate 20 Fairford Plate 21

Fairford the Seat of Samuel Barker Esq



Flaxley the Seat

of M^{rs} Borey



Flaxley Plate 22 Gloucester Plate 23

The West Prospect of Gloucester

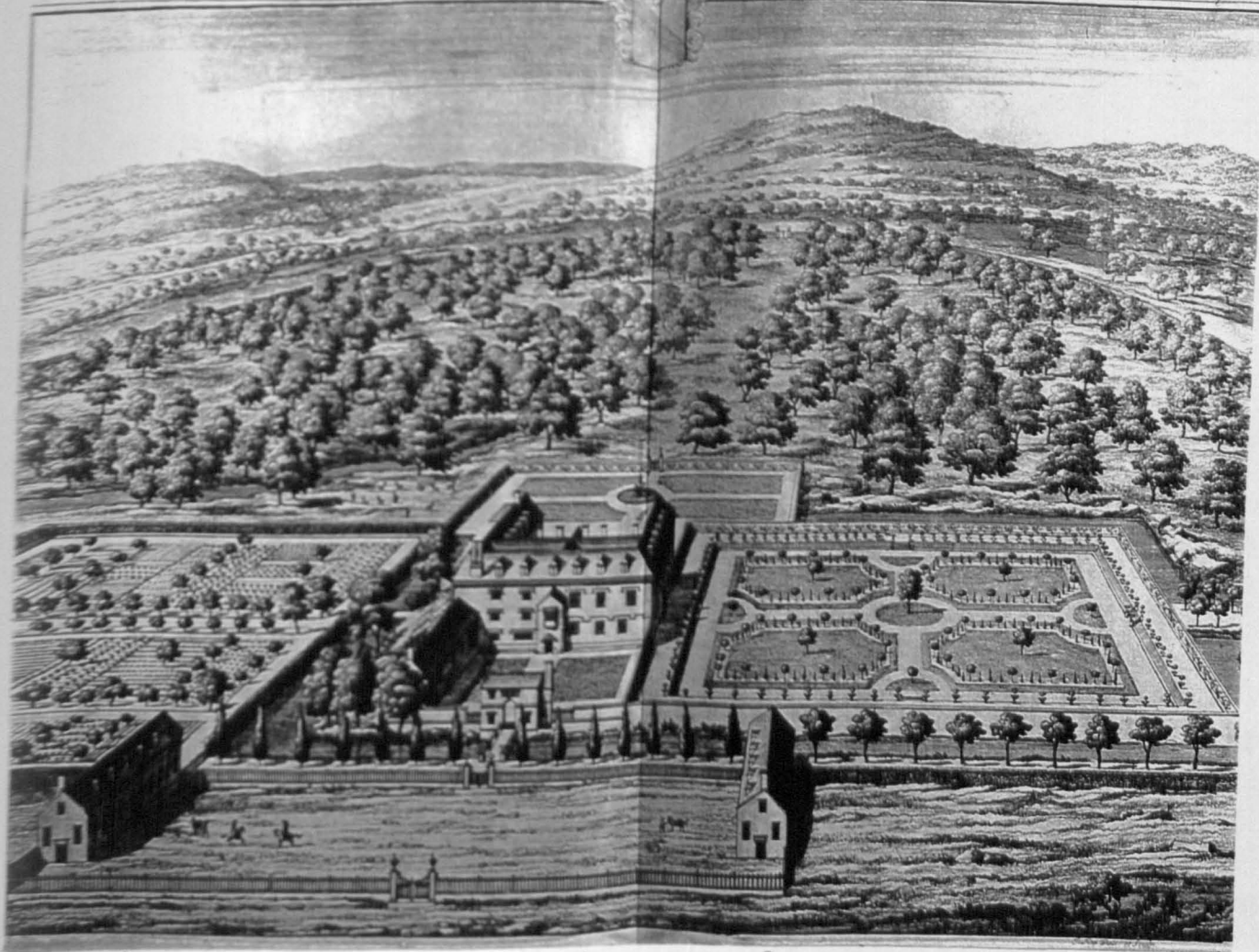
To The Mayor and Aldermen

Sold by J. Smith in London



Hardwick Park Court

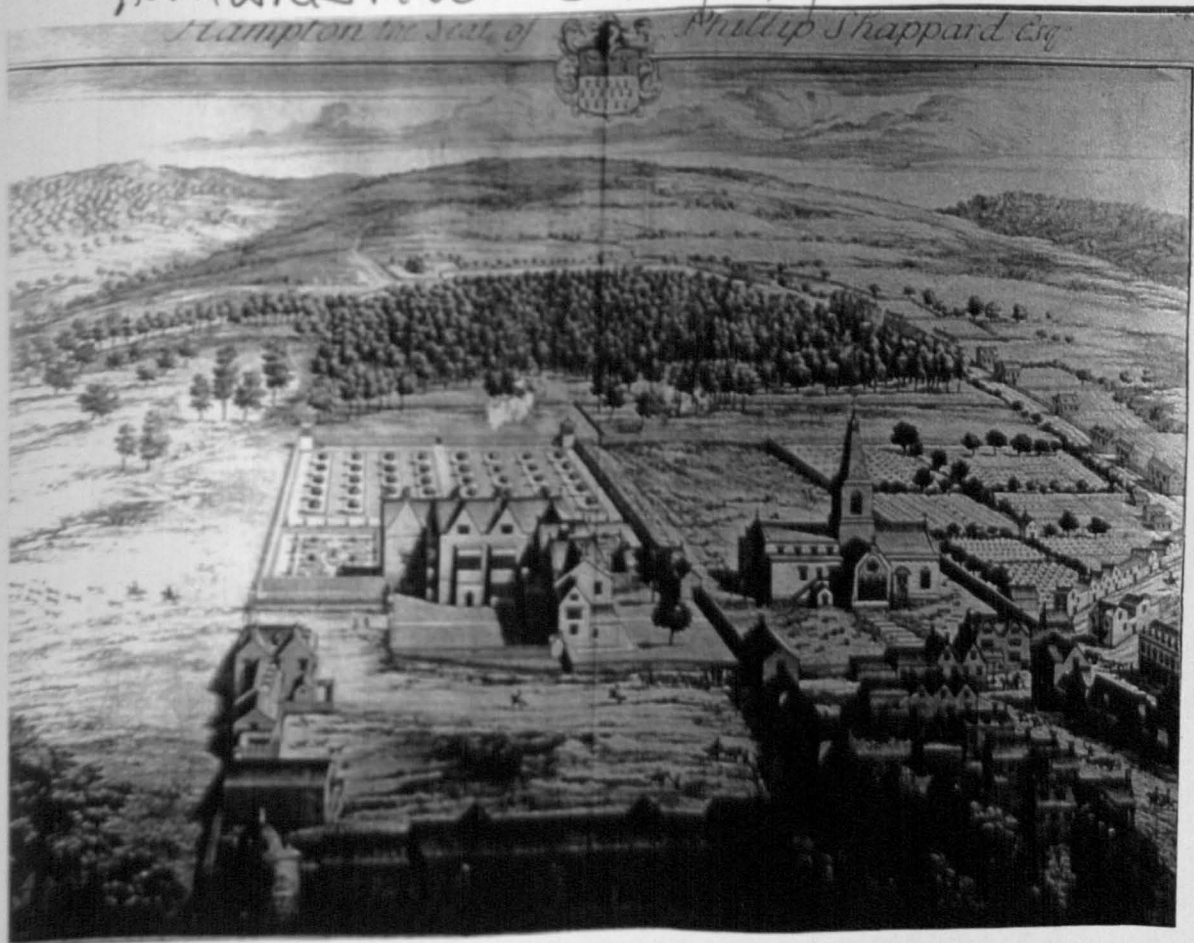
the Seat of William Trye Esq.



Hardwick Plato 26 Hampton plato 25.

Hampton the Seat of

Phillip Shappard Esq.



Hatterop the Seat of



S^r John Webb Bar^t

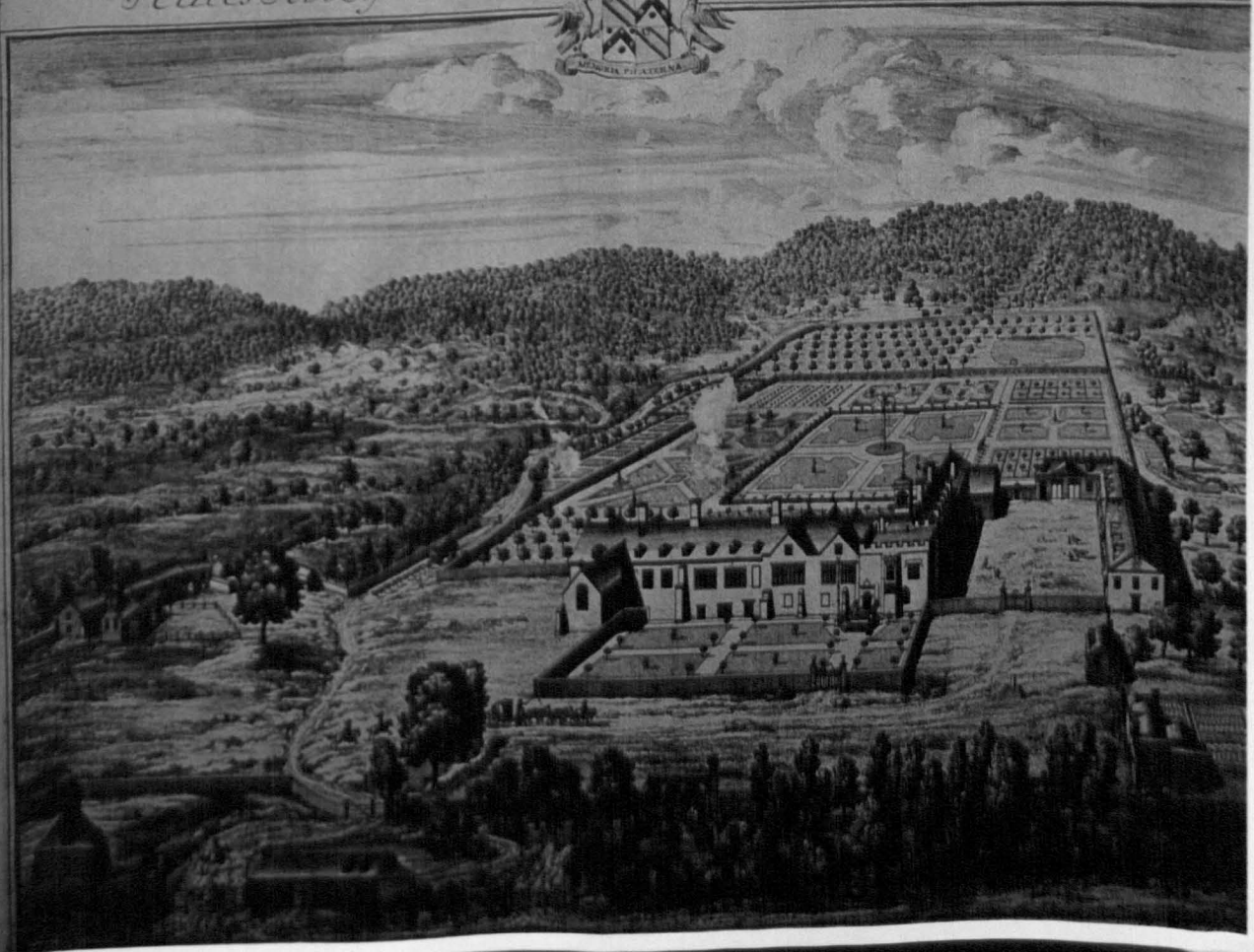


Hatterop Plate 27 Hales Plate 28

Hales Abbey the Seat

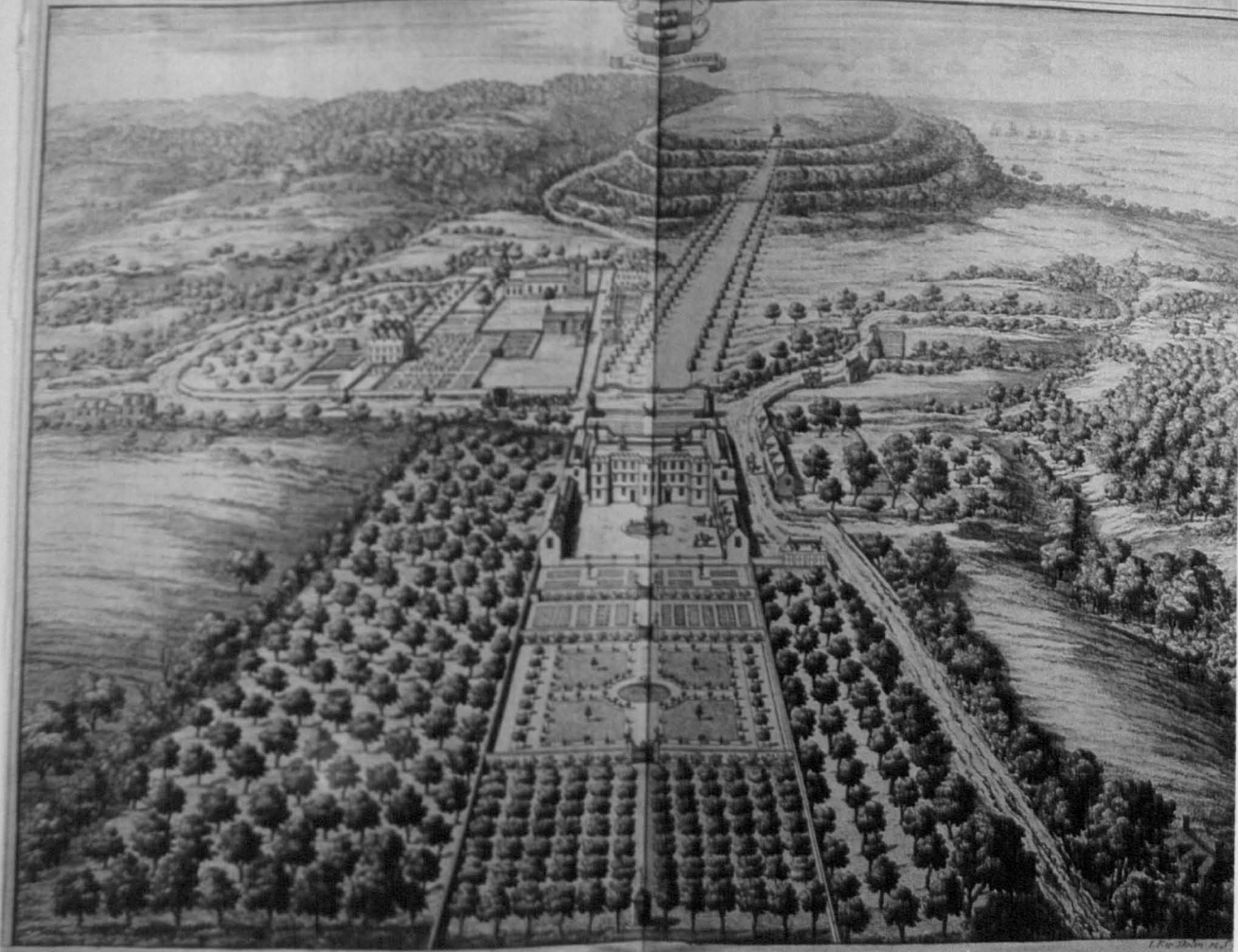


of the Lord Tracy



Henbury the seat of

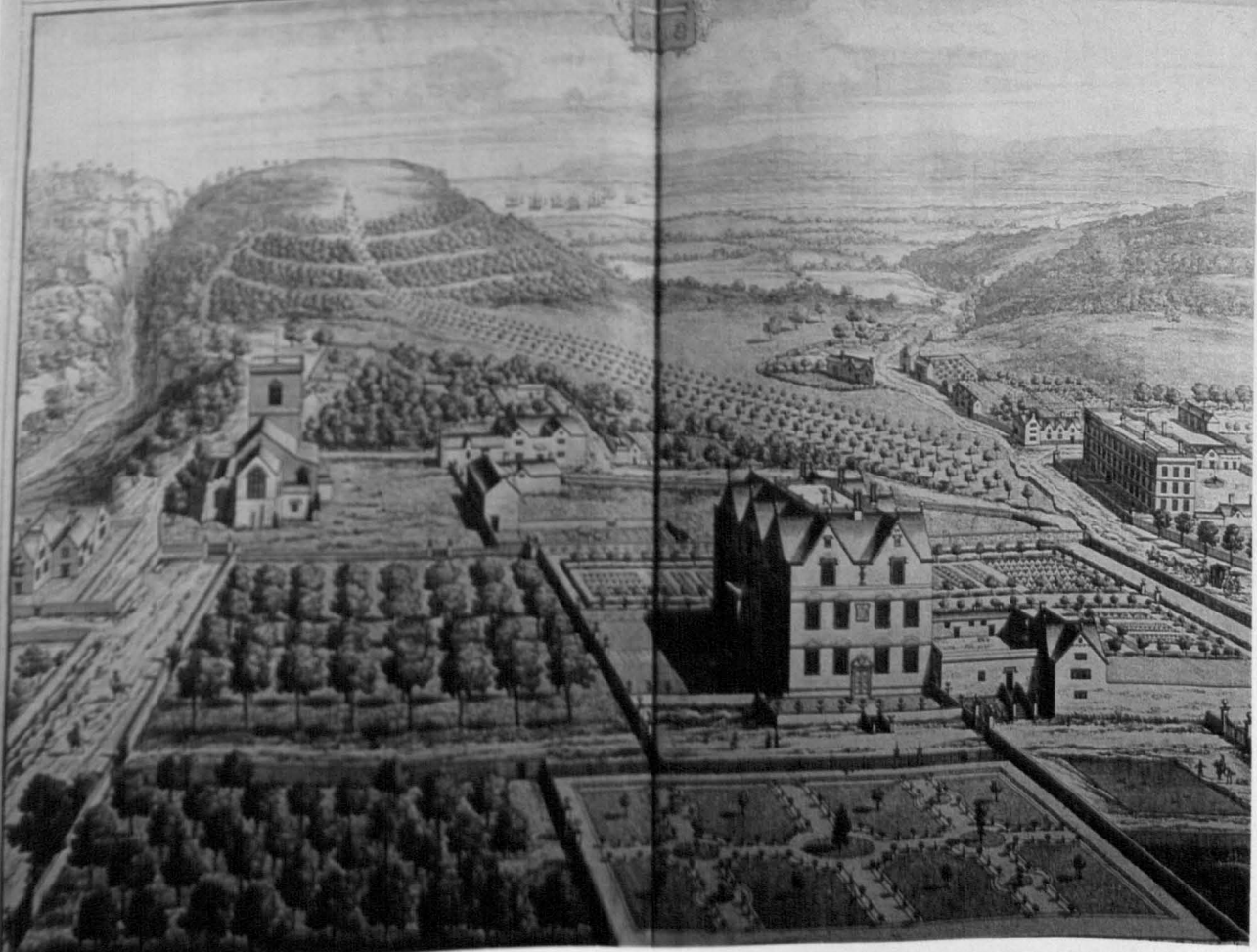
Simon Harcourt Esq.



Henbury plots 29 & 30

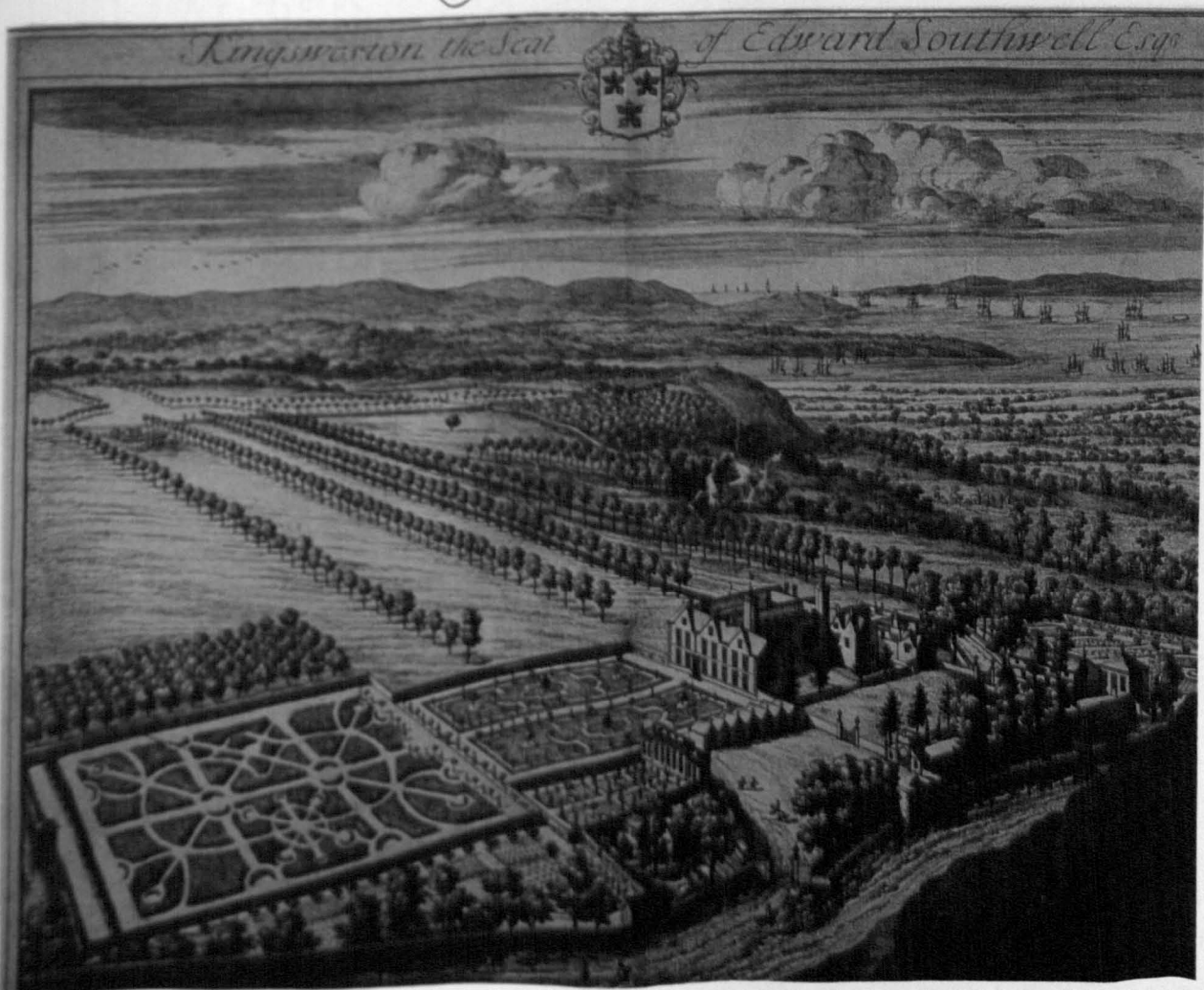
Henbury The Seat of

M^r John Sampson





Hull Plate 31 Kingswanton Plate 32.



Kempsford the Seat of the Lord Viscount Weymouth

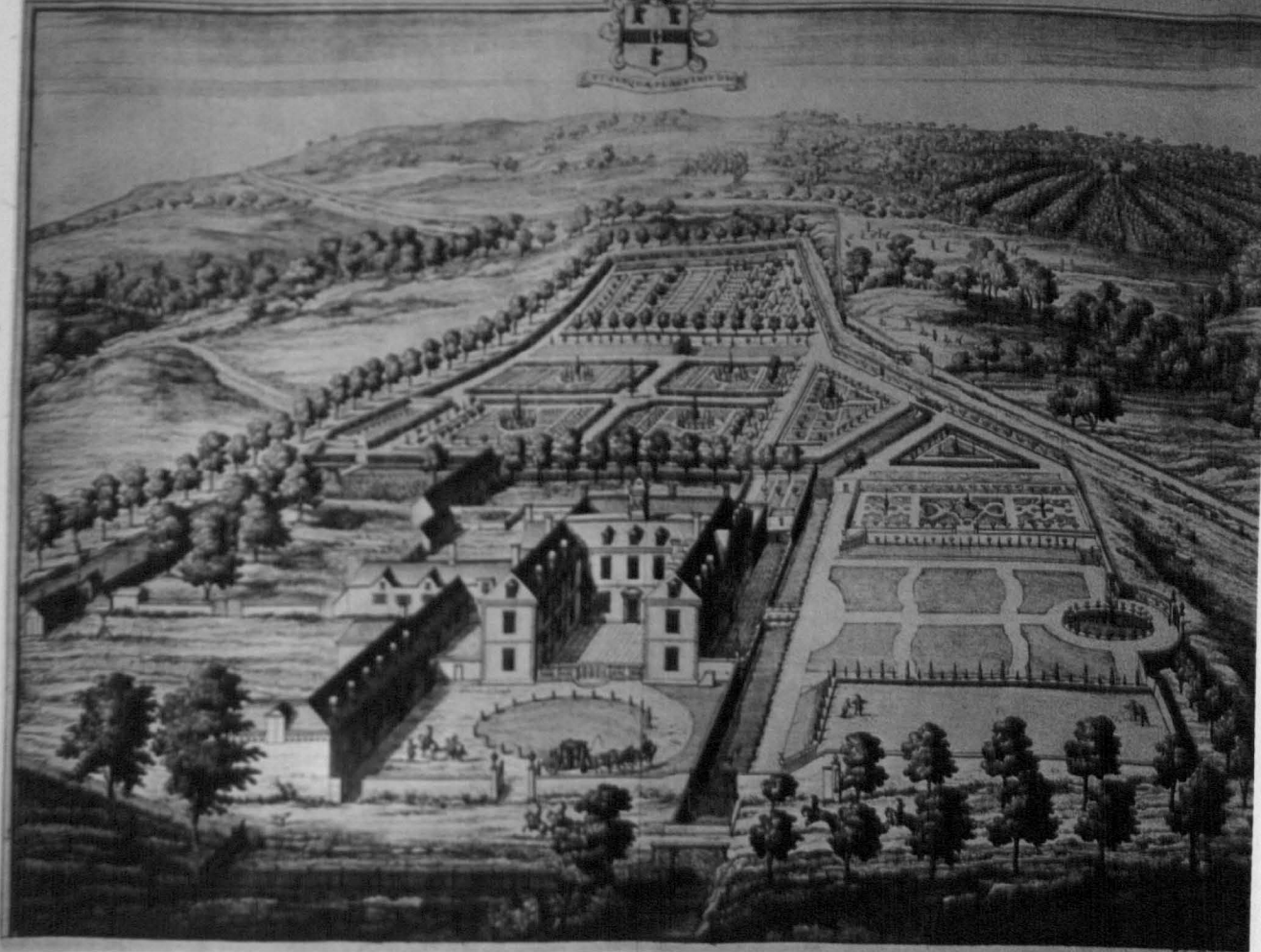


Kempstford Plate 33 Knole Plate 34

Knole The Seat of Tho: Chester Esq.



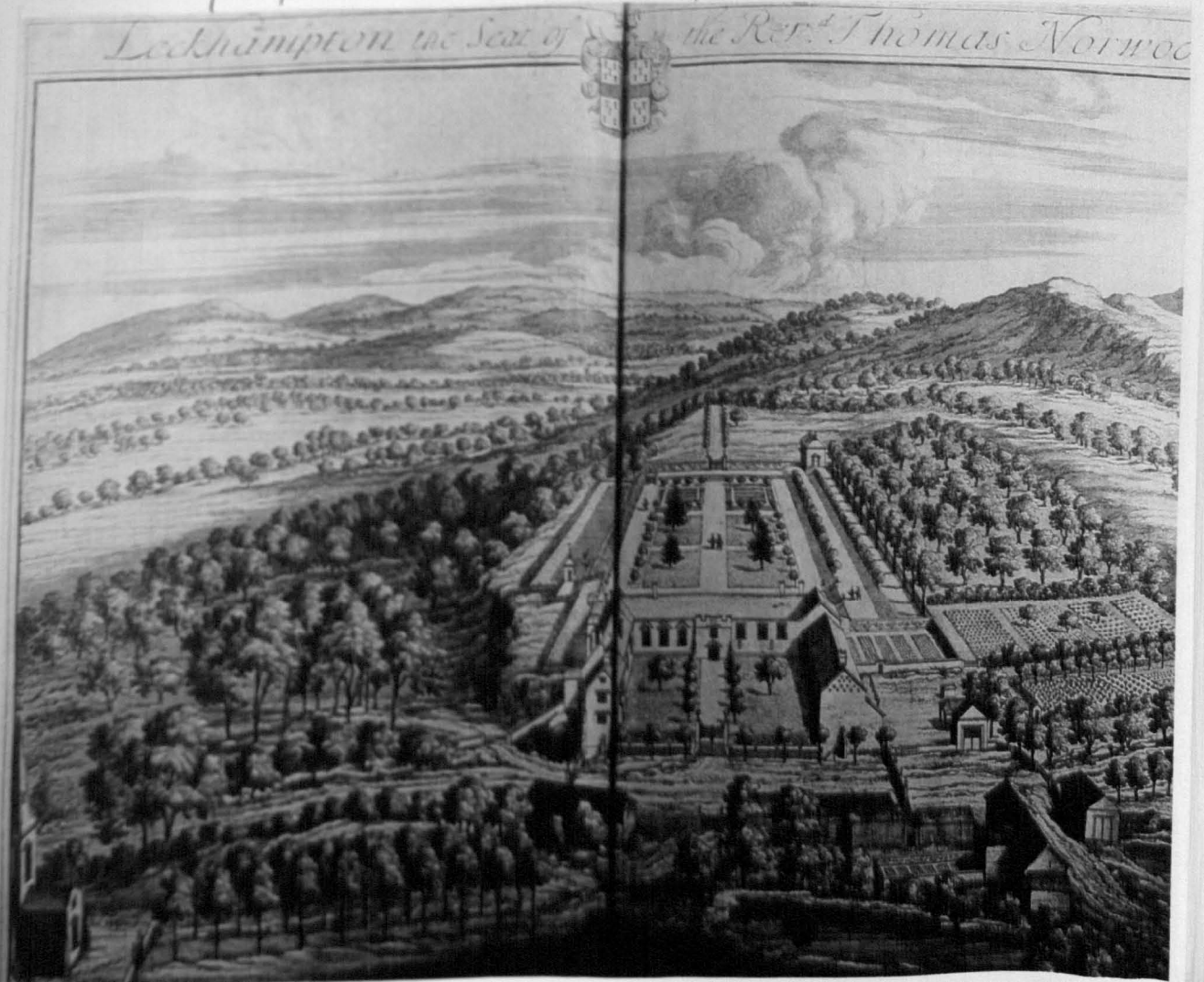
Little Compton the Seat of S^r Richard Howe Bart



Little Compton Plate 35.

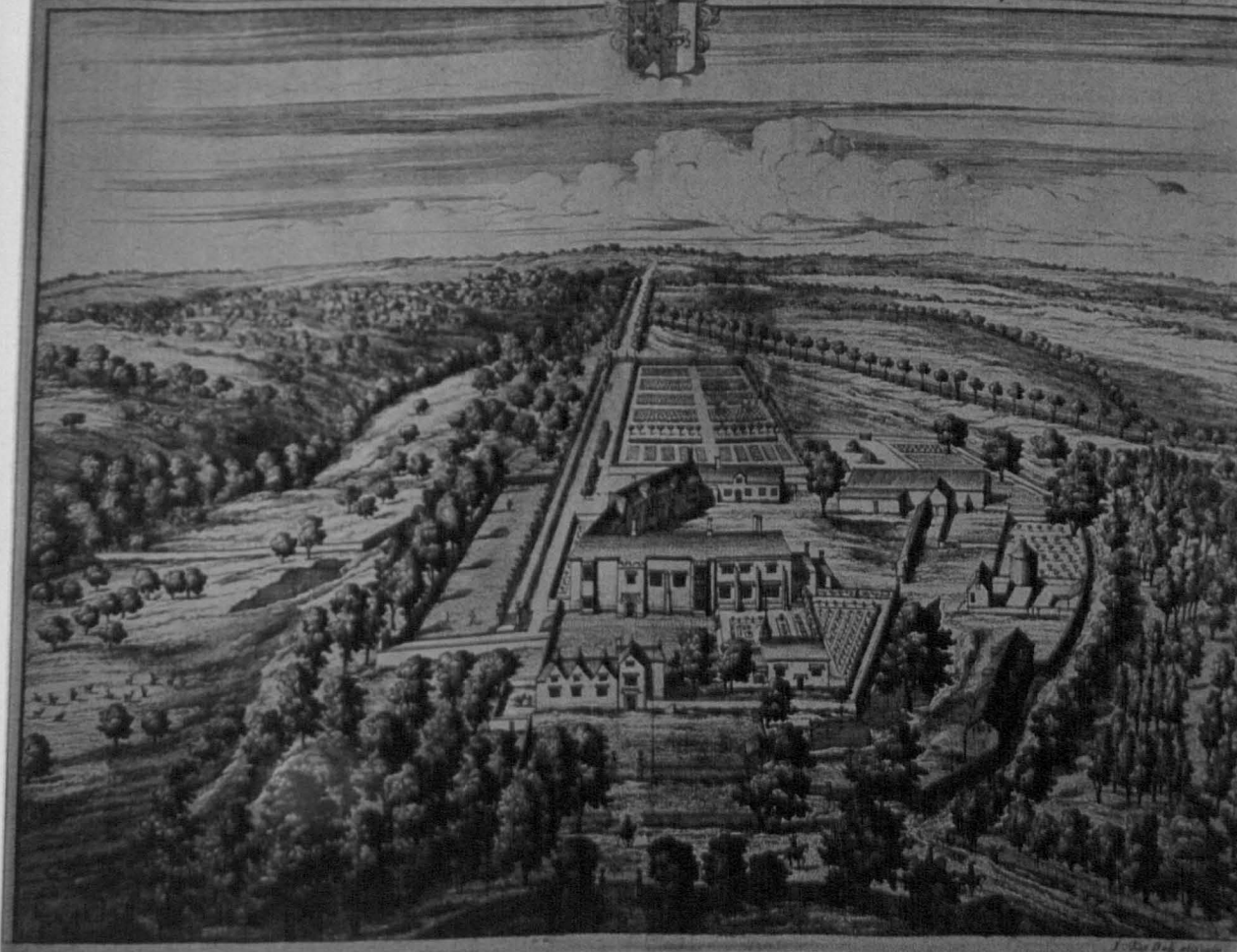
Leekhampton Plate 36

Leekhampton the Seat of the Rev^d Thomas Norwood



Lupriatt the Seat of

Thomas Stephens Esq.

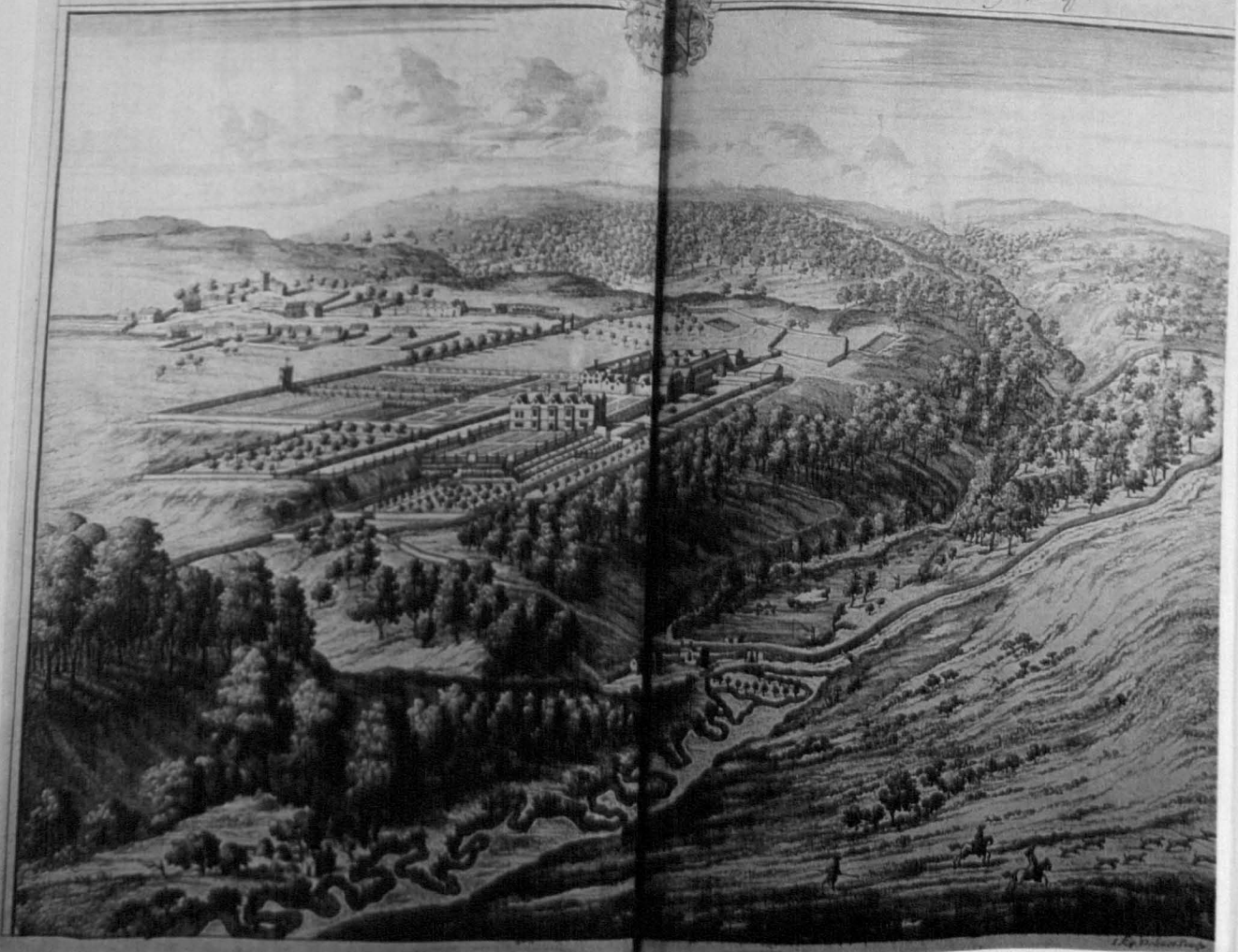


Lupriatt Plate 37

Miserden Plate 38

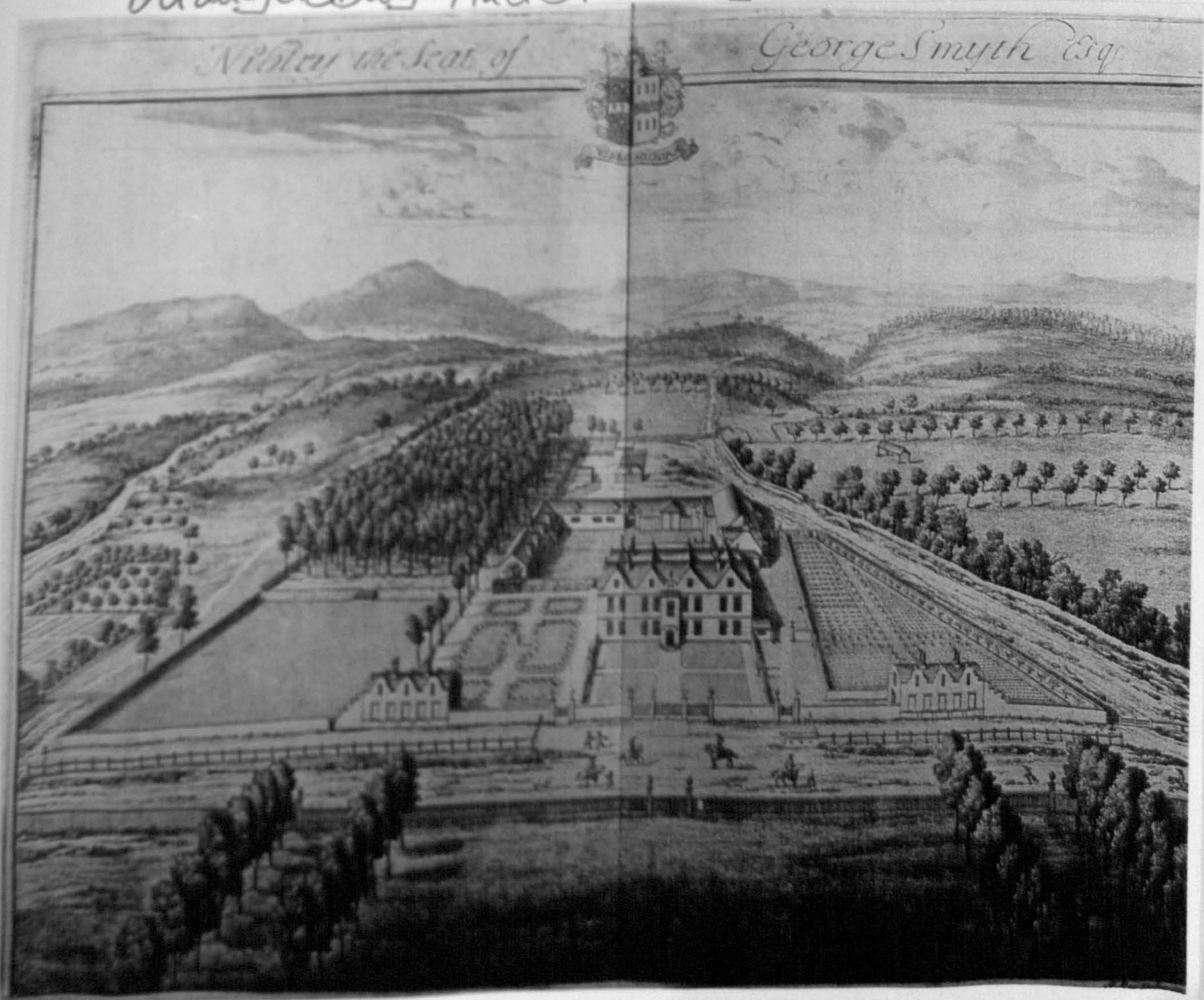
Miserden the Seat of

William Sandys Esq.





Maugersbury Plate 39 Nibley Plate 40



Over the Seat of

John Dowell Esq



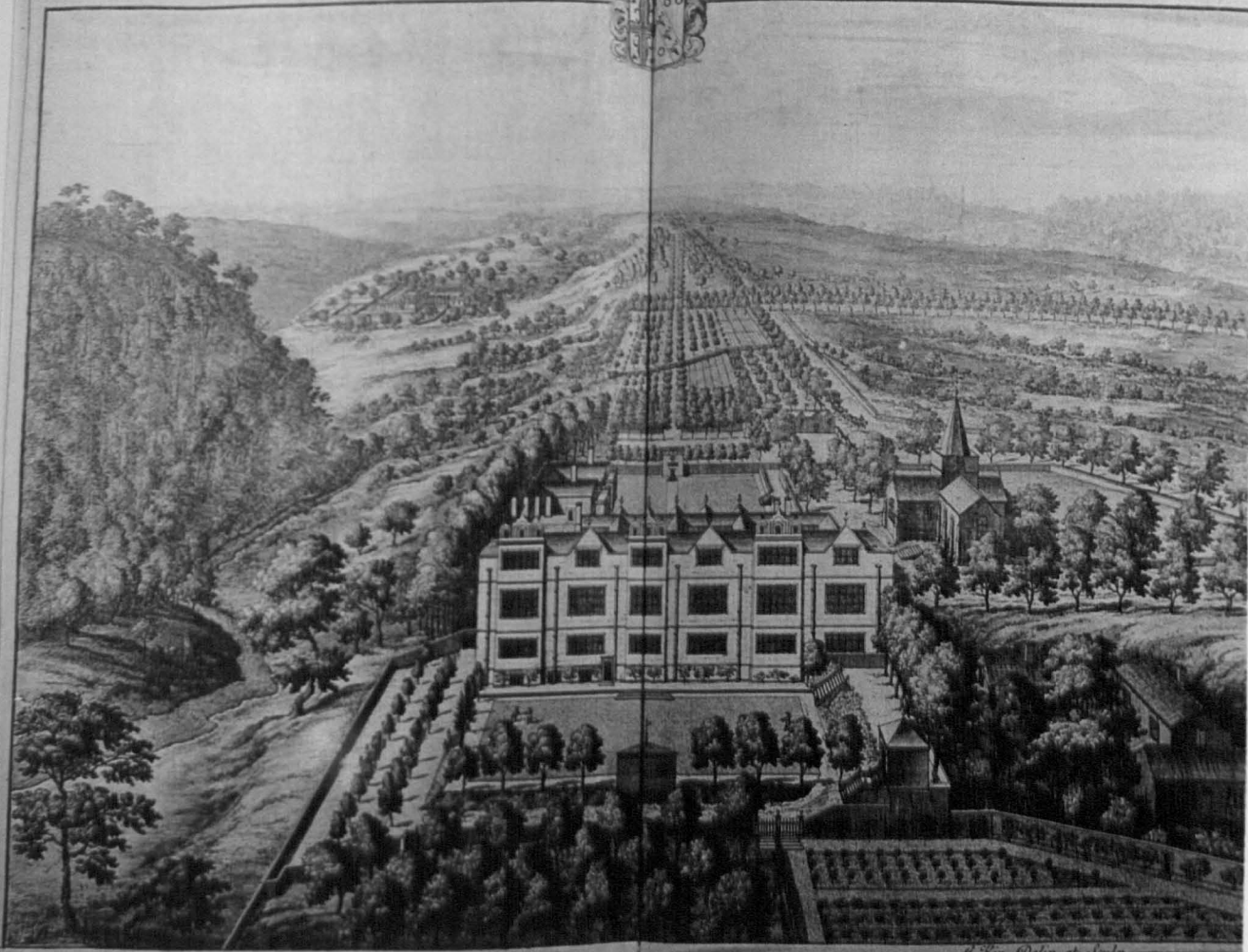
Over Plate 41 Pondcomb Plate 42.

Rendcomb the Seat of

S^r John Guise Bar^t



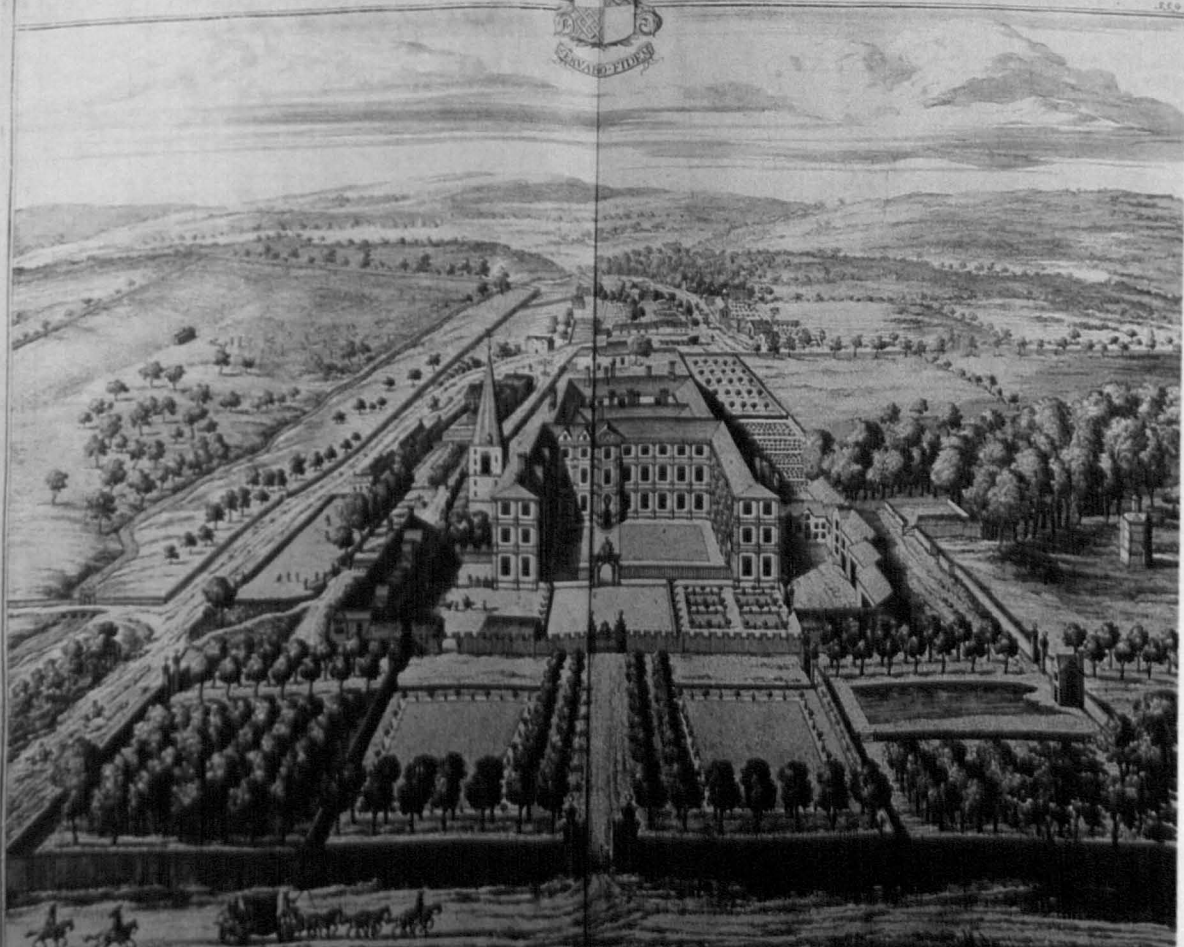
Saperton The Seat of S^r Robert Atkyns.



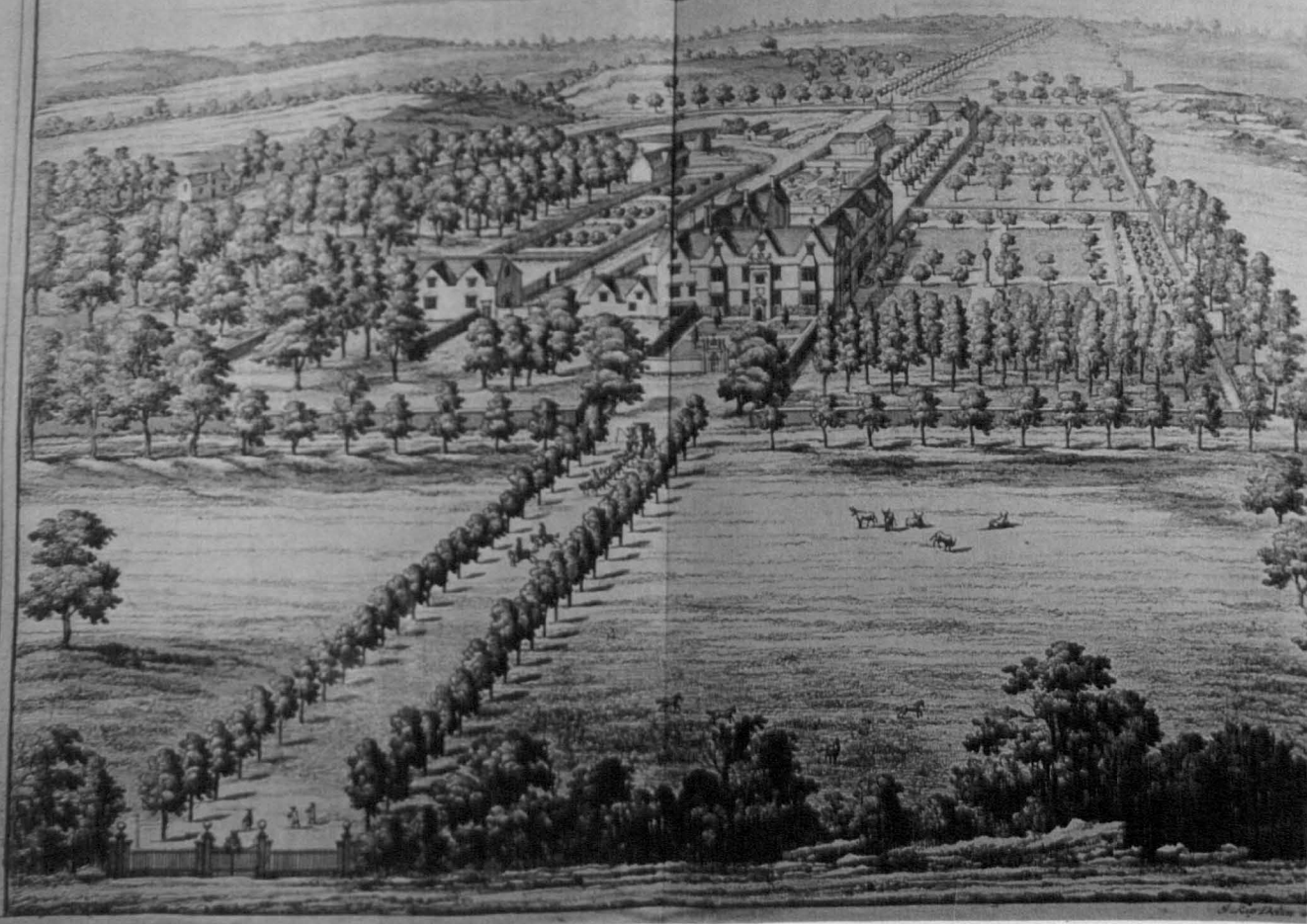
J. Kay Delin. et Sculp.

Saperton Plate 43 Sherborne Plate 44

Sherborne The Seat of S^r Ralph Dutton Bar^t.

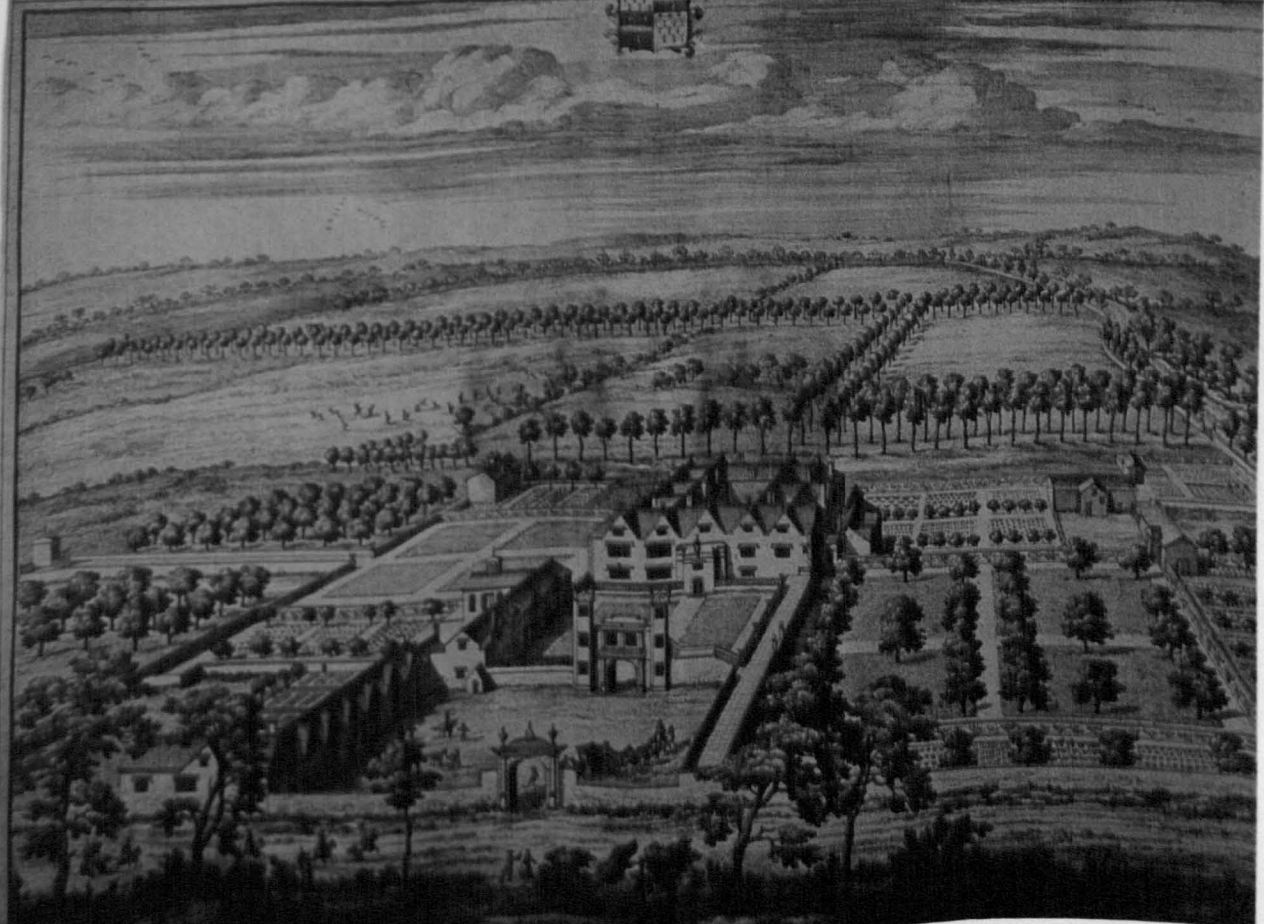


Shipton Moyne the Seat of M^{rs} Hodges Relict of Tho. Hodges



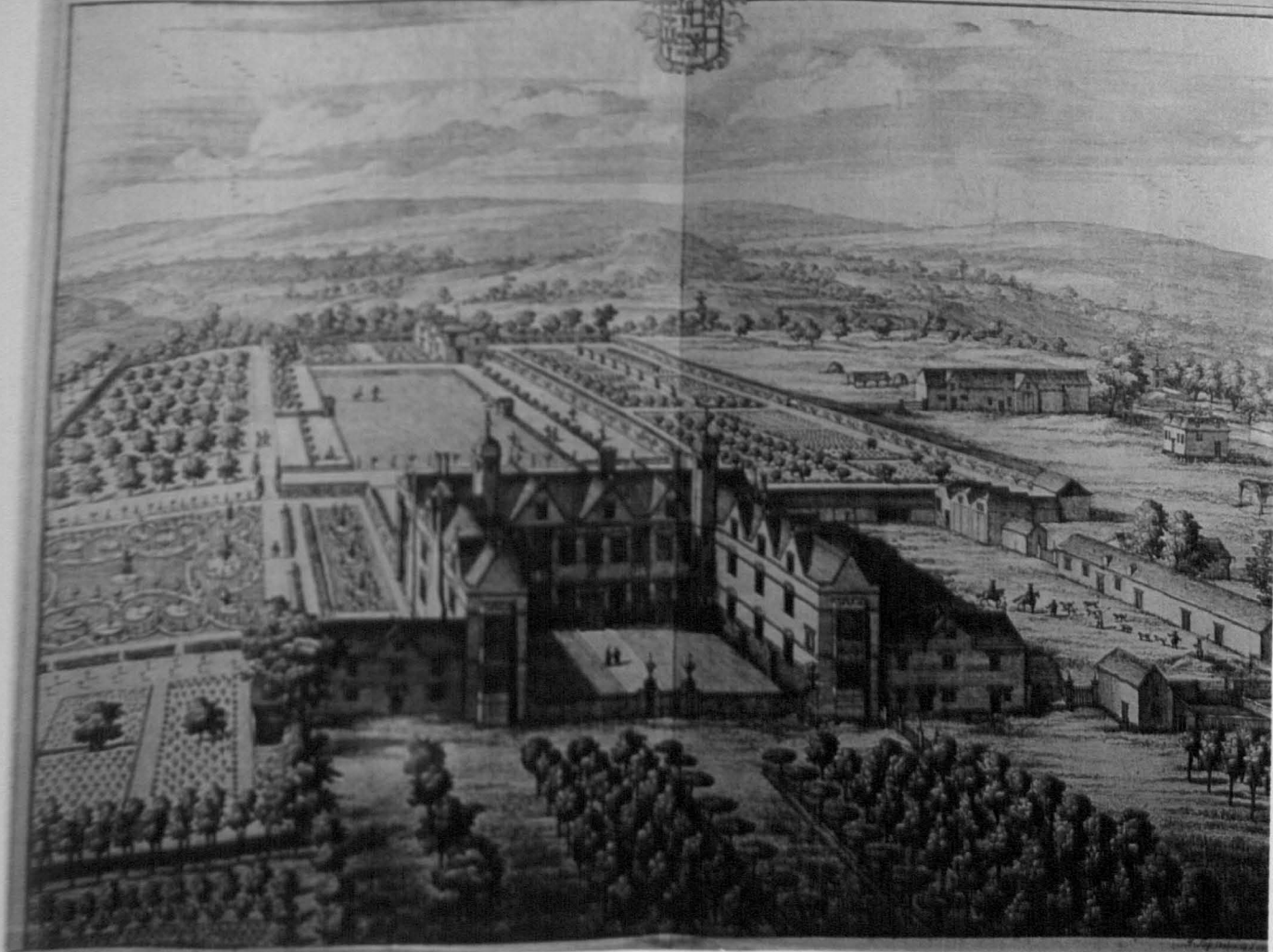
Shipton Moyne Hodges 45 : Estcourt Plat 46

Shipton Moyne the Seat of Walter Estcourt Esq



Histon the Seat of

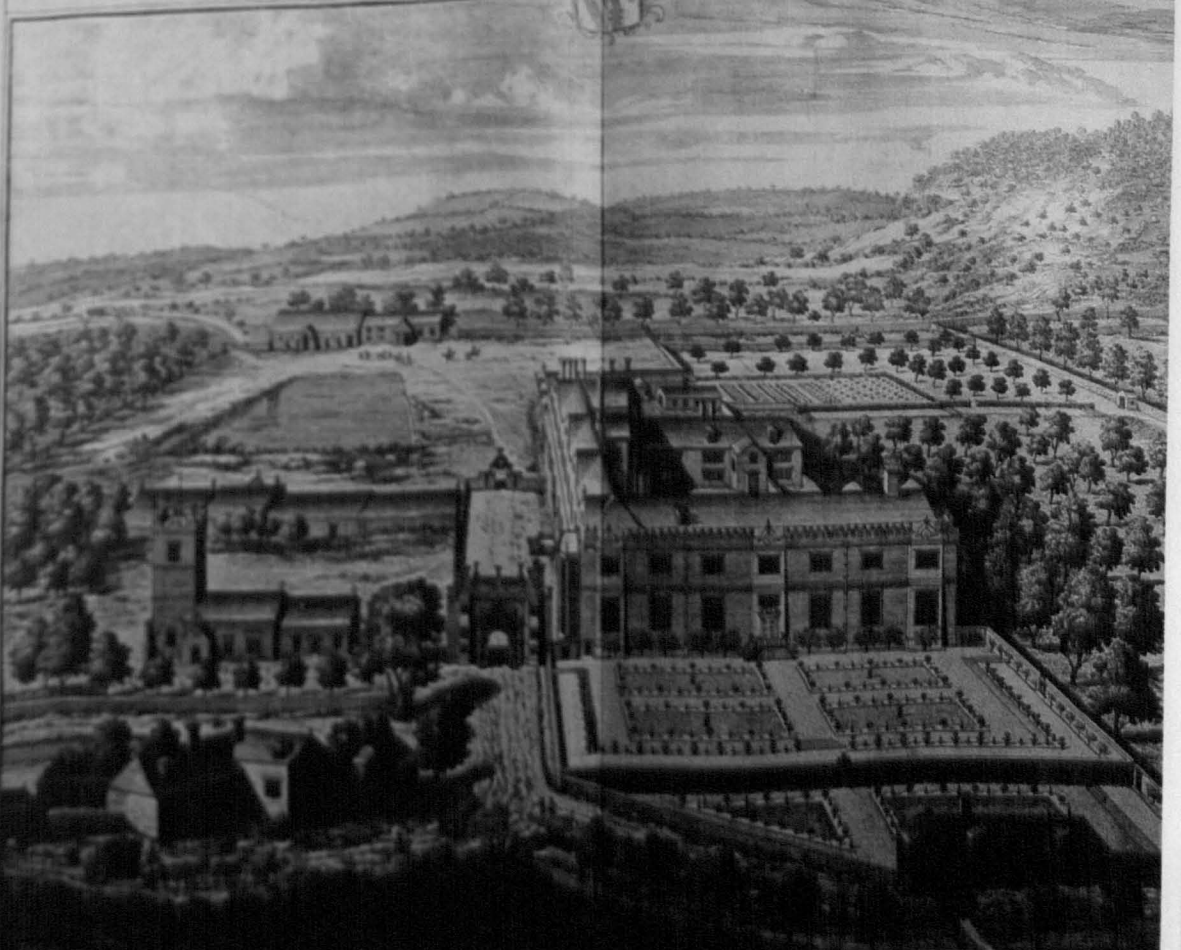
Sam^l Frolman Esq.



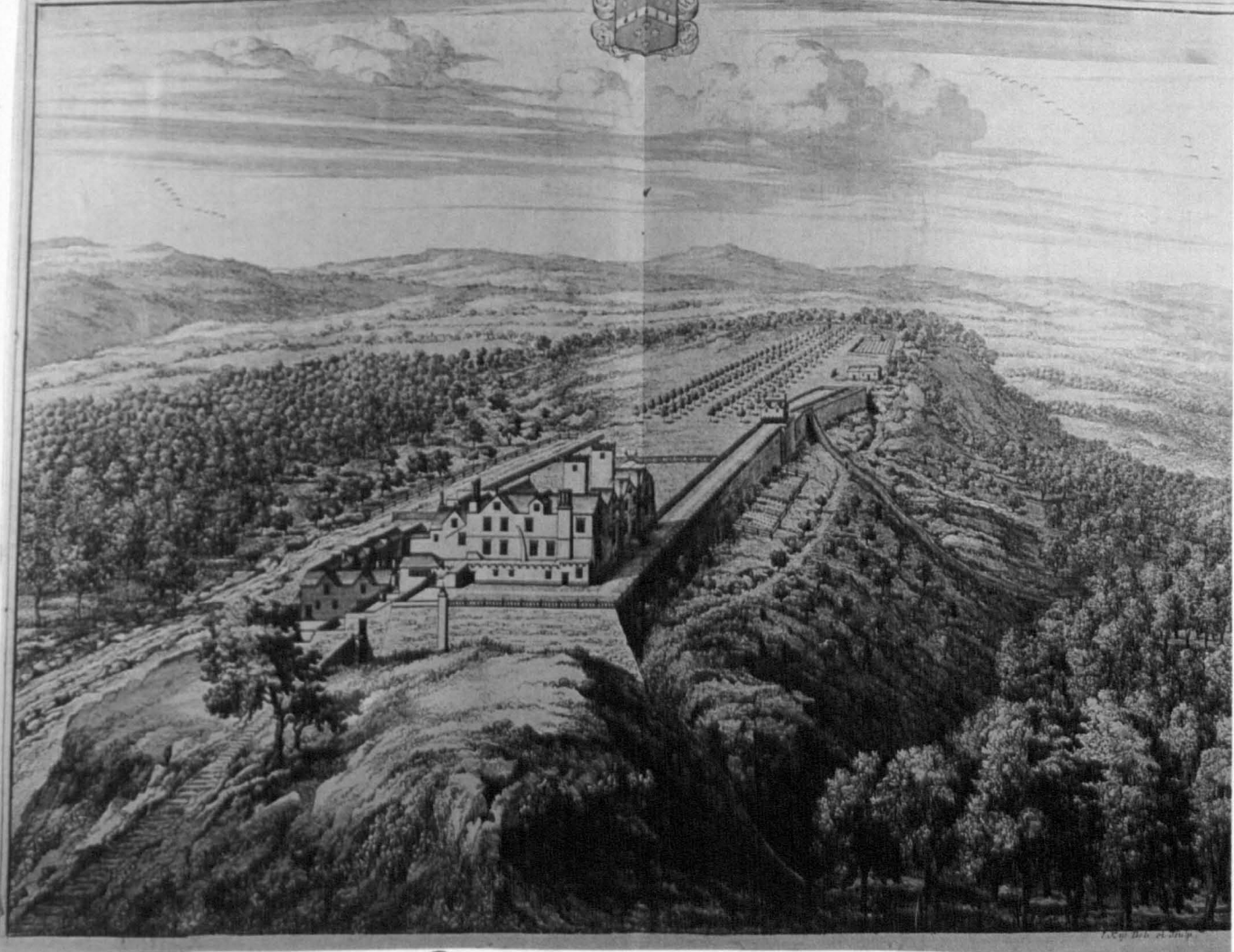
*Sutton
plate 47
48 is
Harris of
Slobden
Court
(omitted)
49 is
S Yanway*

Yanway the Seat of

John Tracey Esq.

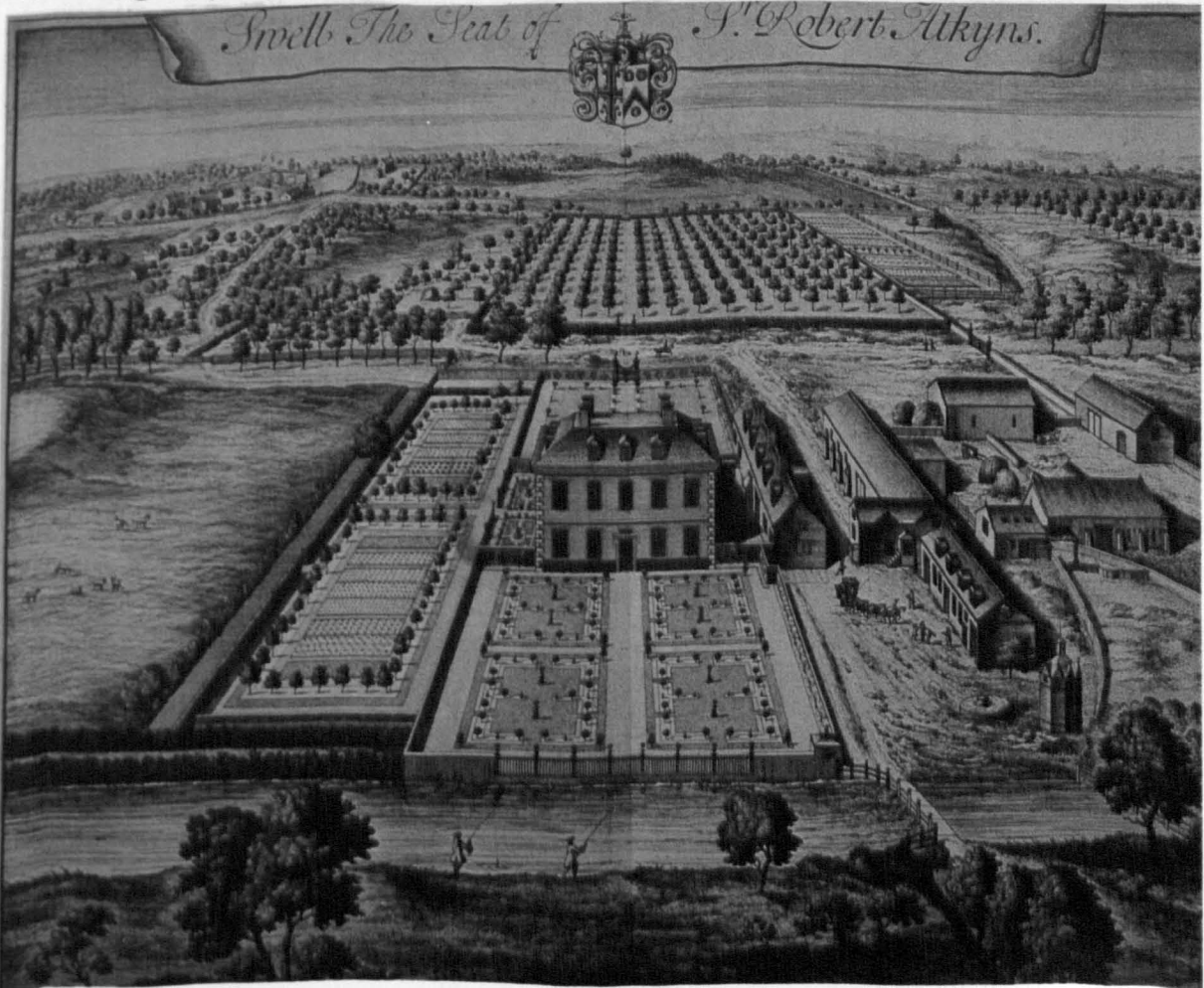


Stoke Gifford The Seat of John Berkeley Esq.

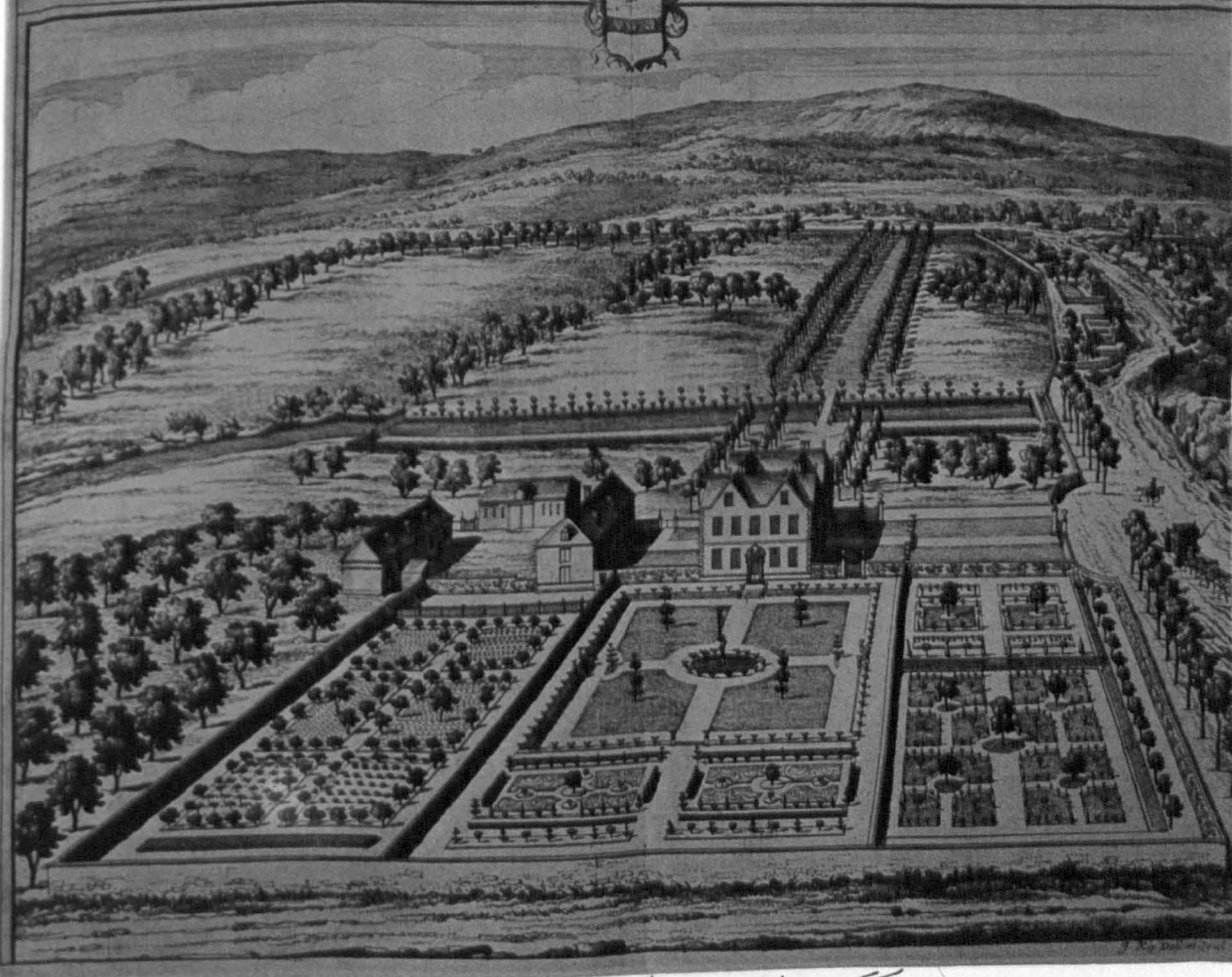


Stoke Gifford Plate 50 Swell Plate 51

Swell The Seat of S^r Robert Atkyns.

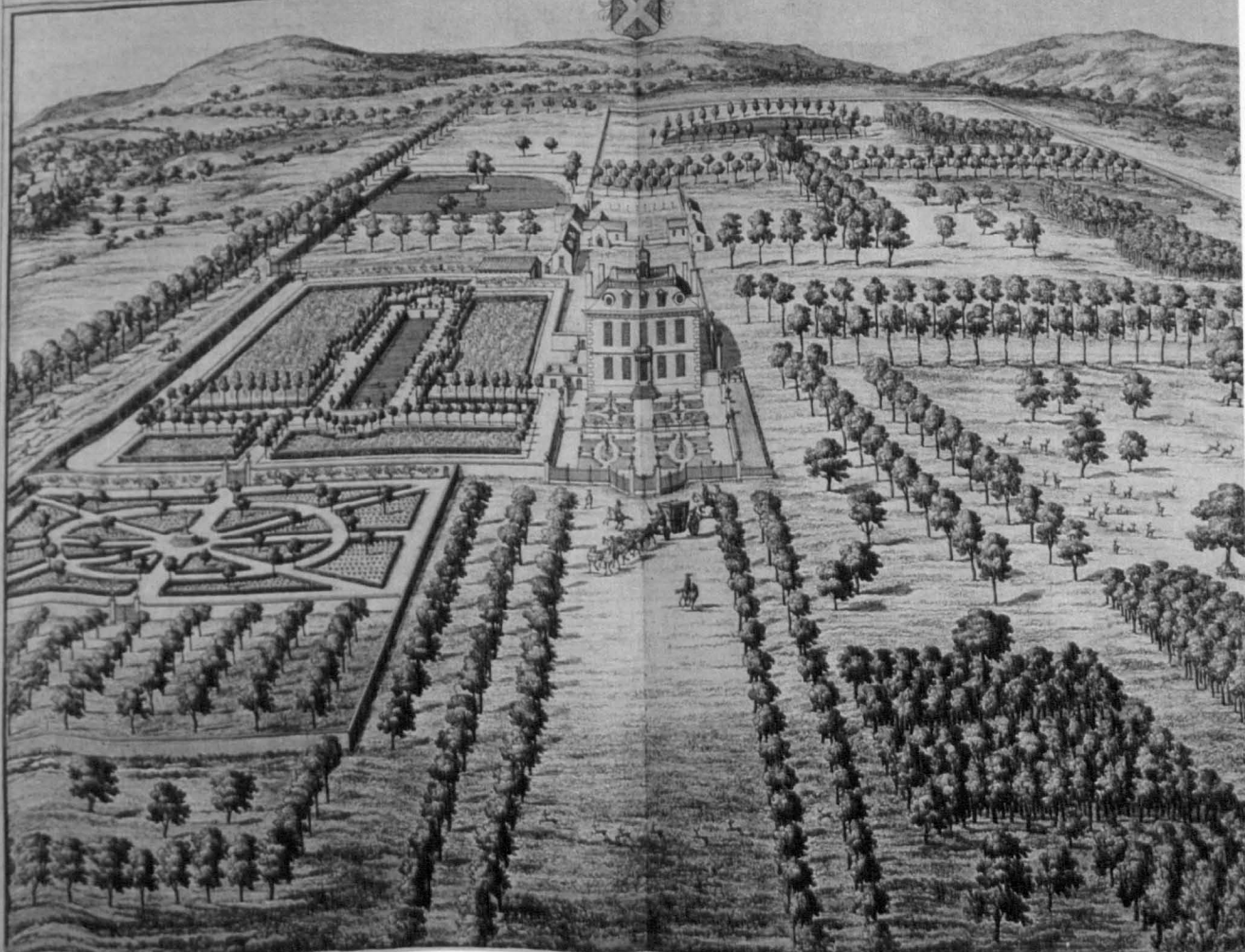


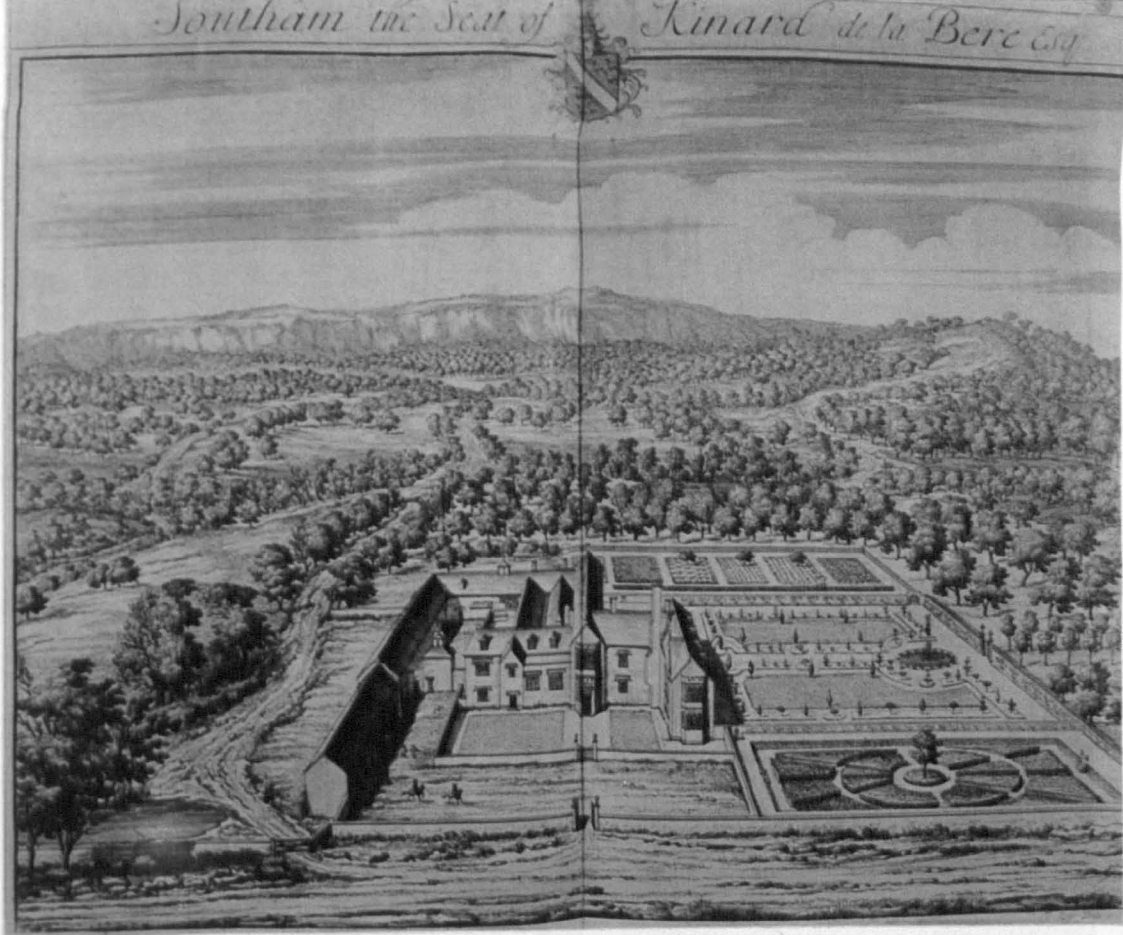
Seavenhampton the Seat of S^r W^m Dodwell



Seavenhampton: 54 Sandywell 55

Sandywell the Seat of Henry Bret Esq





Southam Plate 06 : 57 is Harris of Sundridge Kent
 Shurdington ton: 38.



plate
59

Toddington The Seat of the Lord Tracy.

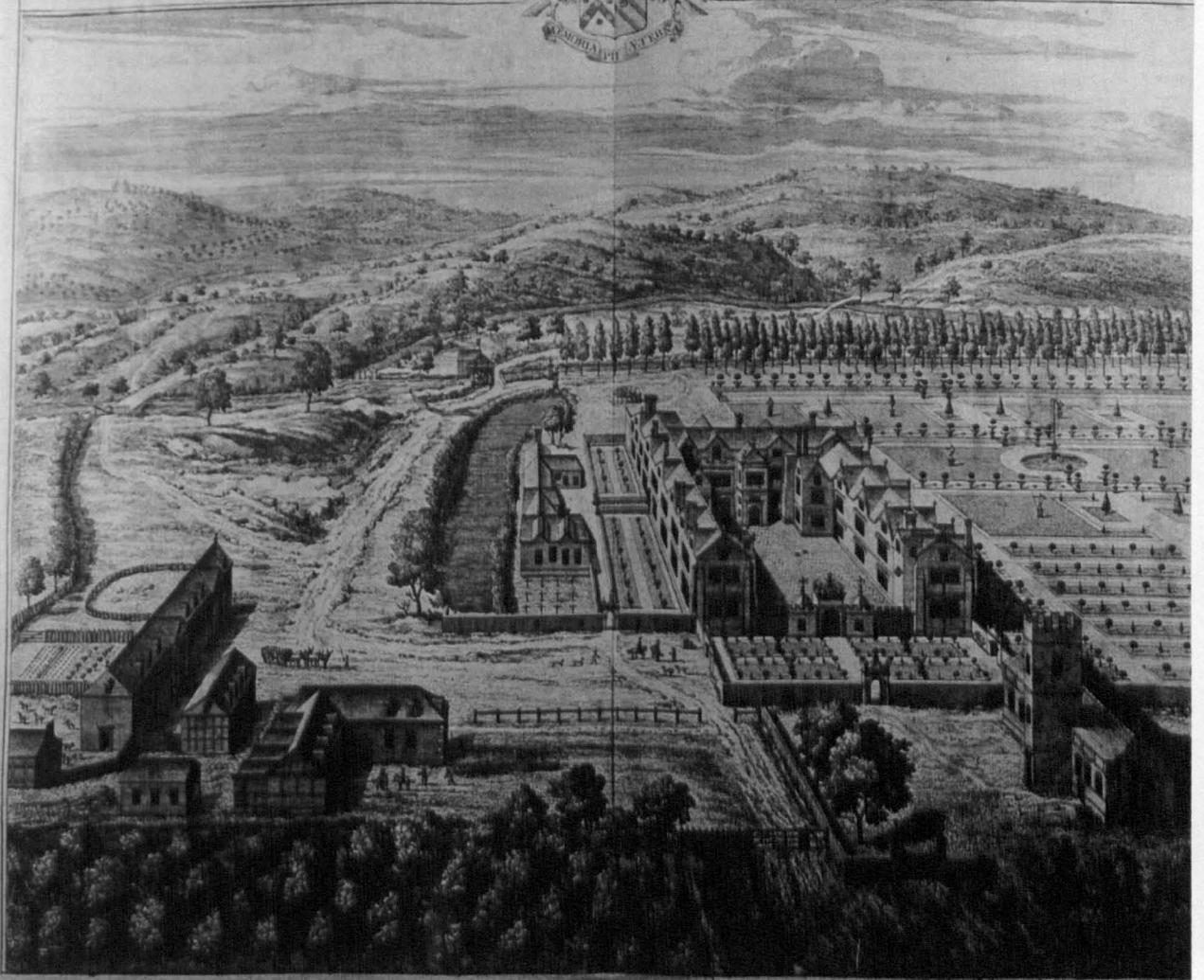
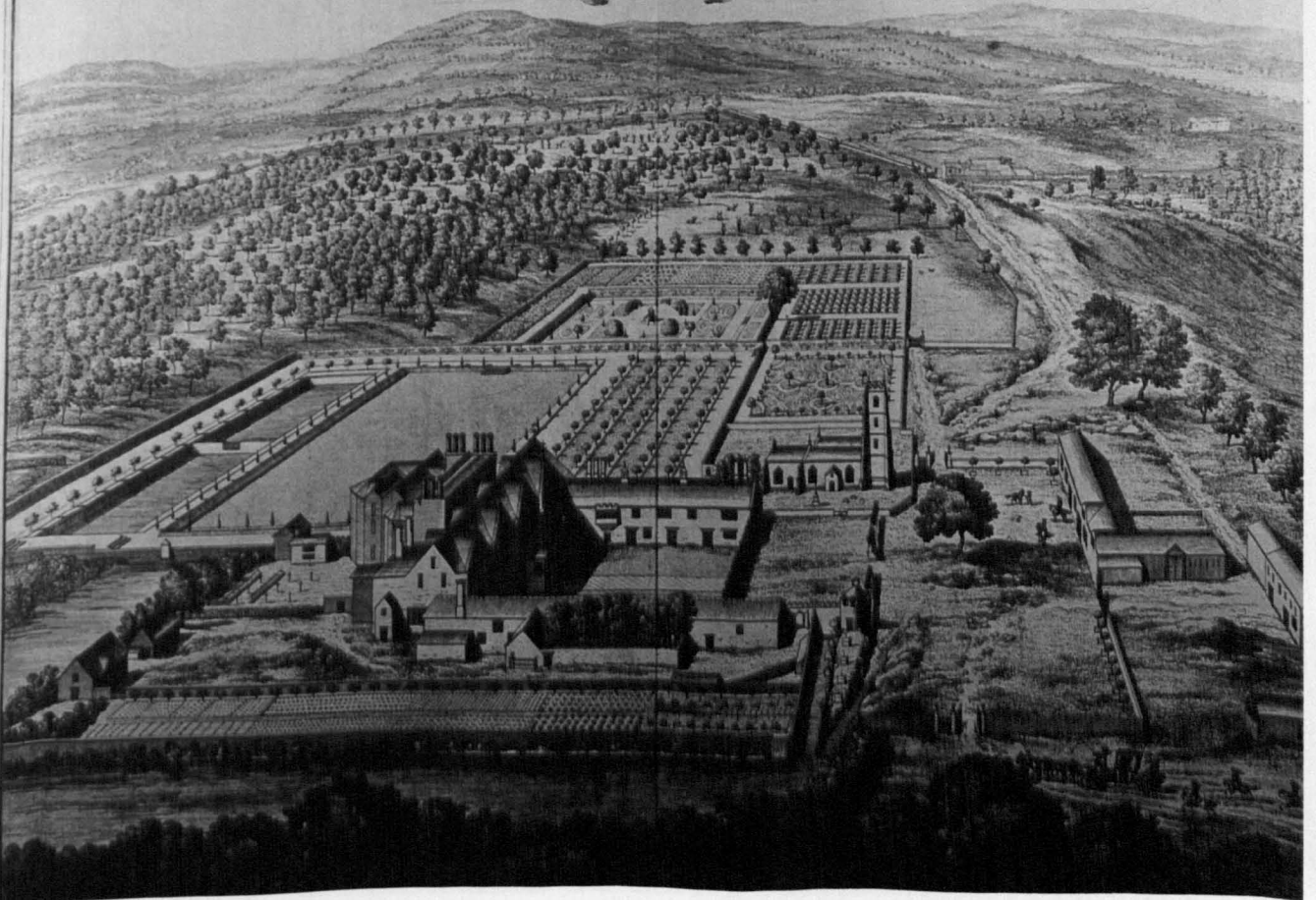
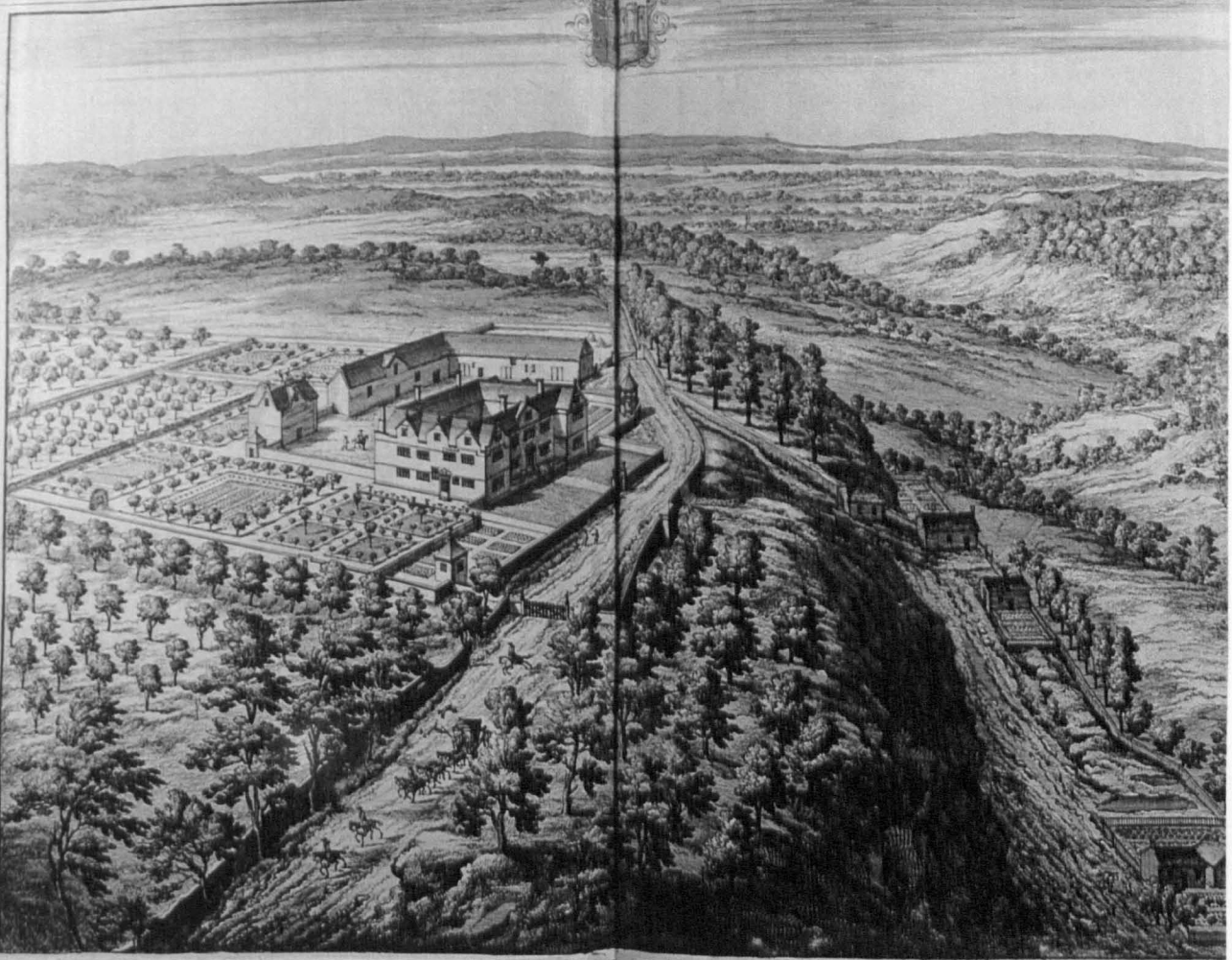


plate
60

Fortworth the Seat of Matthew Ducey Morton



Upper Dourdeswell the Seat of Lionel Rich Esq



Upper Dourdeswell plate 62 (61 omitted) Westbury Plate 63

Westbury Court the Seat of Maynard Colchester Esq.



Wilcombe Park the Seat of St. Michael Hicks



Wilcombe Park Plate 64 Wosten Plate 65

Wotton the Seat of



Tho. Horton Esq.



Williamstrip the Seat of Henry Stretton Esq

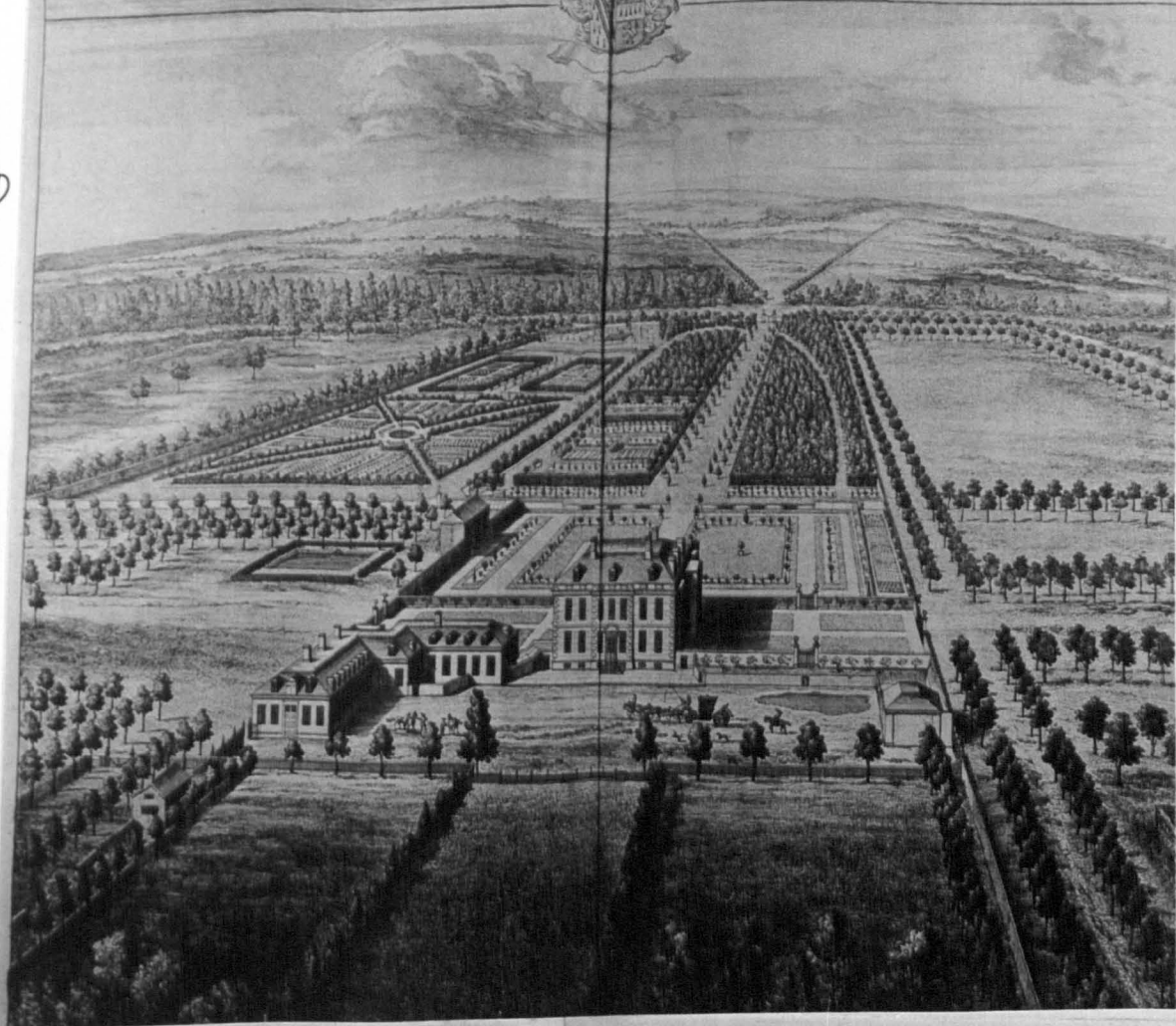


plate 66
Williamstrip

plate 67
Wyck

Wyck the Seat of Richard Haines Esq

