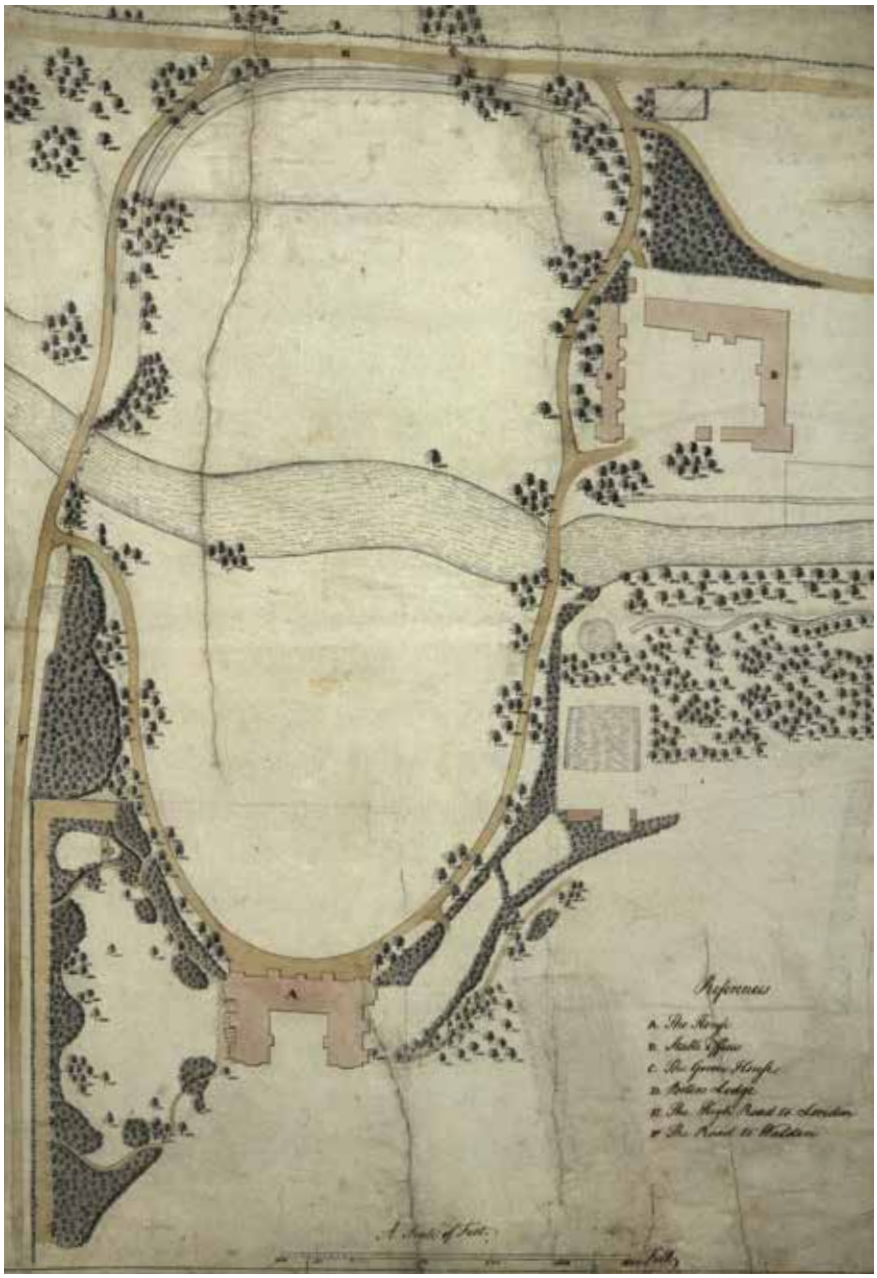
RESEARCH REPORT SERIES no. 50-2013

LANCELOT 'CAPABILITY' BROWN: A RESEARCH IMPACT REVIEW PREPARED FOR ENGLISH HERITAGE BY THE LANDSCAPE GROUP, UNIVERSITY OF EAST ANGLIA

Jon Gregory, Sarah Spooner, Tom Williamson



University of East Anglia

ENGLISH HERITAGE

Research Report Series 50-2013

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ISSN 0246-98002 (Online)

SUMMARY

> "Lancelot Brown changed the face of eighteenth century England, designing country estates and mansions, moving hills and making flowing lakes and serpentine rivers, a magical world of green. The English landscape style spread across Europe and the world...It proved so pleasing that Brown's influence moved into the lowland landscape at large and into landscape painting."
>
> Jane Brown, *The Omnipotent Magician – Lancelot 'Capability' Brown 1716-1783*, Chatto&Windus, 2011

2016 marks the 300th anniversary of Lancelot 'Capability Brown'. English Heritage is one of the partners developing a national Capability Brown 300 celebration and festival along with the Association of Gardens Trusts, the Country and Landowners Business Association (CLA), NADFAS, the Garden History Society, the Garden Museum, the Historic Houses Association, ICOMOS-UK, the National Gardens Scheme, Natural England, Parks & Gardens UK, Visit Britain, the National Trust, the Royal Horticultural Society, the Landscape Institute, and most importantly the owners of these special landscape designs and their estate teams and head gardeners; and many others. The aims of the celebration and festival are:

- To celebrate Lancelot 'Capability' Brown as an artist and landscape designer
- To encourage an increased number of people to visit, learn about and enjoy Brown's landscapes
- To encourage a greater appreciation of our designed landscape heritage

Academics and researchers will play an important role in developing our understanding of Brown, his work, and his legacy. English Heritage commissioned the University of East Anglia in 2013 to review the research carried out to date with the aim of stimulating a wider discussion about research needs and opportunities, and also to inform English Heritage's next National Heritage Protection Plan and future applied research activity.

As part of the research review, UEA held an academic workshop 'Lancelot 'Capability' Brown – A Research Agenda for the Future' 10-11 May. The discussion generated lots of ideas and these have been incorporated into the review. The Maison Française D'Oxford ran a series of Garden and Landscape History Seminars this year to complement the André Le Nôtre 400th anniversary and the 18 May 2013 programme focused on Brown. Various research teams are now exploring the possibility of funding such as Arts and Humanities Research Council grants.

Research, and especially a reliable list of landscapes attributed to Brown, are key to the Capability Brown 300 festival and celebration in 2016 and its long term legacy.

Jenifer White BSc (Hons) MSc CMLI
Senior Landscape Advisor
September 2013

More information on the Capability Brown 300 Celebration and Festival is at www.capabilitybrown.org

The Parks and Gardens UK www.parksandgardens.org.uk will be developed to hold the attributions for all the sites designed by Brown.

The English Heritage National Heritage Protection Plan is at www.english-heritage.org.uk/professional/protection/national-heritage-protection-plan/

CONTRIBUTORS

The review was carried out by University of East Anglia's Landscape Group.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The UEA Landscape Group would like to thank the following colleagues for their contributions to the review: Dr Stephen Bending (University of Southampton), Dr David Brown, Professor John Dixon-Hunt (University of Pennsylvania), Dr Jonathan Finch (University of York), Dr Andrew Hann (English Heritage), Dr Clare Hickman (King's College London), Dr David Jacques, Dr Laura Mayer (University of Bristol), Professor Ian Rotherham (Sheffield Hallam University), Mrs Steffie Shields (University of Cambridge), Dr Twigs Way, Angus Wainwright (National Trust), Jenifer White (English Heritage), Professor Richard Wilson (University of East Anglia) and Dr Jan Woudstra (University of Sheffield); and to the owners of Kimberley Hall for hosting the workshop site visit.

ARCHIVE LOCATION

http://research.english-heritage.org.uk/

DATE OF THE REVIEW

The research impact review was undertaken in 2013.

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INTRODUCTION

Lancelot Brown, the best-known landscape designer in English history, has over the years been maligned and mythologized in almost equal measure. The subject of several biographies, and of innumerable journal articles, a consideration of his work appears in almost every major publication on eighteenth-century landscape design. This very ubiquity, however, arguably serves to obscure the extent to which important aspects of his career and legacy remain under-researched.

The review that follows is intended to examine the principal research carried out into Brown and his works over the last few decades, and to identify some of the principal gaps in our knowledge as we approach the tercentenary of his birth. This is based on a survey of the published secondary literature on Brown, and addresses the problem of the so-called 'grey' literature. The review and its findings were discussed at a multi-disciplinary workshop held at the University of East Anglia in May 2013, in part to peer review the work presented here, and in part to stimulate discussion for future research on Brown.

On the face of it Brown's landscapes are straightforward and familiar. The 'landscape park' was informal and 'natural' in character, eschewing straight lines and formal geometry. It comprised open expanses of turf, irregularly scattered with individual trees and clumps and was surrounded in whole and part by a perimeter belt. It was ornamented with a serpentine body of water and was usually provided with, at best, a rather sparse scatter of ornamental buildings. Walled enclosures were demolished, avenues felled. Many hundreds of landscape parks had appeared in England by the time of Brown's death in 1783, mainly created by imitators of his style: they constituted, in Pevsner's words, 'England's greatest contribution to the visual arts'.[1] Many – like a minority of Brown's own designs – were entirely new creations, made at the expense of agricultural land; others represented modifications of existing deer parks. As scholars have long been aware, however, this kind of designed landscape did not come into existence, fully-formed, at the start of Brown's career in the late 1740s and 50s. The debt Brown owed to William Kent, in whose footsteps he followed at Stowe, has long been recognized and, although lacking the profusion of architectural features which usually characterized the designs of the latter, Brown's parks nevertheless represented, in part, a continued development of this essentially Arcadian tradition, which sought to recreate elements of idealized classical landscapes (especially as represented in the paintings of Claude and Poussin) in an English context, and in an English idiom.[2] Yet while Brown's debt to Kent is generally acknowledged many – perhaps most – researchers have seen the character (and scale) of his work as truly innovatory. Only in recent decades has Brown's preeminence been challenged, as we shall see, in a variety of ways.

THE REPUTATION OF BROWN

Some understanding of how Brown and his works have been received over the years is critical for an appreciation of their true nature: as John Dixon Hunt has reminded us, the 'afterlife of gardens' is as illuminating and as important as the character of their initial reception.[3] During his lifetime Brown was generally praised and eulogised by clients and commentators. There were critics, it is true – most notably William Chambers but for the most part educated taste lauded his achievements, with Horace Walpole in particular a strong supporter. Around a decade after his death, however, in the 1790s, he and his work came under more sustained fire from the Picturesque theorists Uvedale Price and Richard Payne Knight.[4] It is often assumed that such hostility was universal in the decades around 1800, but in fact the situation is more complex. The prominent 'picturesque' commentator William Gilpin for example was more ambivalent, describing the 'many improvements of Mr Brown' on one page of *Remarks on Forest Scenery*, before making scathing comments on his lakes a few pages later: 'I have rarely seen either ruins, or rivers well manufactured: Mr Brown, I think, has failed more in river-making than in any of his attempts'.[5] Gilpin praised Brown's 'masterly' landscape at Trentham (Staffordshire), calling it a 'scene of great simplicity and beauty'[6], yet described the Brownian landscape at Warwick Castle as 'a paltry work'.[7] Other tourists considered parkland landscapes in Brown's style to be picturesque, at least in the Claudian sense of the term. In the 1790s Adam Walker noted in his journal that he passed a park 'all clothed with wood in a style worthy [of] the celebrated Brown... My black mirror presented me with many beautiful landscapes in this park, that a Claude might not have disdained to copy'.[8]

Humphry Repton, Brown's self-proclaimed successor and self-appointed guardian of his reputation, strongly defended him against the attacks of Price and Knight: 'It is evident to me, that the only source of disgust excited in this gentleman's mind, on viewing the scenes improved by Mr Brown, proceeds from their not being fit objects for the representation of the pencil.'[9] He argued that the clumps derided by Price and Knight were outgrown nursery plantations intended to shelter deciduous trees, which had not been removed by landowners as Brown had intended.[10] Later in his career, Repton modified his opinions of Brown to some extent, but was always careful to pin the blame for the insipid and artificial at the door of 'the day labourers who became his successors'.[11] These nameless 'illiterate followers'[12] were accused of diluting and corrupting Brown's style into the form of landscaping which was criticised by Price and Knight.

It is here, with Repton, Knight and Price, that the story told by historians about Brown tends to stop. Little research has yet been carried out into how Brown's reputation developed later in the nineteenth century. His parks were still being visited, and of course altered, with the creation of formal gardens and additional parkland planting. A very preliminary examination of nineteenth-century sources suggests that this may be a fruitful area for research, and that we should not necessarily assume that Brown was entirely unfashionable and unappreciated. The nineteenth-century writer and designer John Claudius Loudon, another noted critic of Brown, recounted a visit he made to Claremont (Surrey) in 1834 (landscaped by Brown in 1769) where the head gardener 'pointed out … several parts of the original plan of Brown, which he had restored: a mode of improvement highly to be commended'.[13] What Loudon and the gardener mean

by 'restoration' in this context is unclear, but it is interesting that 65 years after Brown's commission, this particular landscape was thought to be in need of it.

Certainly, as the popularity of Gothic architecture increased, together with an interest in an imagined, nostalgic pre-industrial, English past, the Brownian park could take on new meanings. In the nineteenth century the house and grounds at Charlecote (Warwickshire) became associated with the legend that a young Shakespeare had been punished for poaching in the park, and in 1871 an anonymous member of the Society of Antiquaries wrote that 'if we cease to believe that Shakespeare chased the deer over the Charlecote sward... We rob this mansion of its living interest, this hall of the literary halo which centuries have sanctioned; we disenchant those parks and ponds, limes and elms, osiers and oaks of the charm which draws the world to walk among them.'[14] The park was indeed in origin a sixteenth-century deer park but it had been drastically redesigned by Brown between 1757 and 1771: the landscape park was perhaps already becoming synonymous with antiquity and Englishness. This said, the evidence suggests that overall Brown's reputation remained at low ebb throughout the nineteenth century, as geometric features returned to favour and the taste for a wilder nature took hold. Walter Scott memorably described how Brown's landscapes bore 'no more resemblance to that nature which we desire to see imitated, than the rouge of an antiquated coquette, bearing all the marks of a sedulous toilette, bear to the artless blush of a cottage girl'.[15]

Despite some interest in the 1920s, most notably from Christopher Hussey, Brown received relatively little academic attention until Dorothy Stroud finally published her groundbreaking monograph in 1950, the project having been stalled by the outbreak of the Second World War. Hussey provided an introduction which acknowledged the great contribution which Brown had made to the English landscape, while at the same time retaining some of the ambivalence that he had earlier showed in his book *The Picturesque*, in which Brown had been criticised for a 'cut and dried system that he applied in principle to every scene that he was called upon to improve'.[16] Stroud's biography was, and remains, a key text, and she reproduced for the first time, in accessible form, a number of vital extracts from letters, diaries and accounts which have been quoted and re-quoted in almost every subsequent book published on eighteenth-century landscape design. The footnotes and bibliographies of later works, both on Brown himself, and on landscape design more widely, demonstrate the debt that subsequent authors owe to her. It is perhaps surprising, however, that a book originally published over 60 years ago still holds such currency, even though our wider understanding of the eighteenth century, and of landscape design more generally, has moved on considerably. Certainly, the monographs on Brown by Hyams (1971), Turner (1985) and Hinde (1986) contributed relatively little that was new, and relied heavily on Stroud's earlier work. The most recent biography of Brown, *The Omnipotent Magician* by Jane Brown, although aimed primarily at a general readership, is arguably a more useful and original work, summarising as it does a good deal of recent scholarship in readable form.[17] It has nevertheless come in for some criticism for the use of imaginative touches the author employs to flesh out the character of Brown. While in some ways a legitimate complaint, it should be emphasised that in writing a *biography* – and especially one for popular consumption – such imaginative flights are perhaps understandable in the case of Brown who, unlike Humphry Repton or John Claudius Loudon, left few written records and no published works. There are

The Capability Brown Column at Wrest Park. Image reference number N080242
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a few letters, a single surviving account book, records associated with his bank accounts at Drummonds, maps, plans and contracts – but nothing which explains the theoretical, aesthetic or philosophical underpinnings of his designs in detail.[18]

The rise to prominence of the Brownian landscape park has long been a central theme in garden history. Horace Walpole's *History of the Modern Taste in Gardening*, published in 1782, established the basis for much of the narrative which now underpins popular understandings of eighteenth-century garden design: one in which, under a succession of designers, geometric forms were progressively simplified and made more 'natural' – a progression which Walpole read in essentially Whiggish terms, as an inevitable progression towards the landscape park.[19] Walpole, moreover, sought to demonstrate that the 'natural' style of William Kent, who was 'succeeded by a very able master' in Brown, was in effect the national style of England. Most of the major works on garden history produced between the 1960s and the 1980s adopted elements of this narrative. Miles Hadfield placed the eighteenth-century landscape within the context of a long-term history of gardening in Britain, calling the natural style 'a revolution' in taste.[20] Similarly, David Jacques' comprehensive and scholarly study of Georgian landscapes, focussing on the period from 1733 to 1825, drew attention to the variety of landscaping in the eighteenth century, but nevertheless had as one of its central themes the development of the 'natural' style which 'reached its zenith in the 1760s with Lancelot Brown the dominant practitioner'.[21]

Recent research, while continuing to acknowledge the importance of Brown in the development of landscape design, has tended to reduce the extent of his pre-eminence. In particular, and as explained below, some have sought to emphasise the importance of Brown's 'imitators' as designers in their own right.[22] Others have stressed the debt owed to Kent and other predecessors, thereby questioning the originality of Brown's contribution. Tim Mowl has thus suggested that his formula for laying out a landscape park was limited in its inspiration and in its novelty, and that the various elements were already well established in landscape design before Brown's career took off.[23] He has also eulogised William Kent as 'the greatest designer of the eighteenth century' through a biography which highlighted the creativity and variety of Brown's most important predecessor.[24] Richardson has gone further, dismissing the landscapes created by both Brown and Repton as inherently 'meaningless', whilst acknowledging their commercial success,[25] and at the same time identifying the early eighteenth-century landscape garden of Kent and his contemporaries as 'the greatest art form ever to have been devised in the British Isles'.[26] A growing interest amongst scholars in the first half of the eighteenth century, which became particularly apparent in the last decade of the twentieth century and the opening one of the twenty-first, has thus to some extent triggered a backlash against Brown.

Alongside research into Brown, his contemporaries and predecessors at a national level has come a spate of local and regional studies, mostly taking the county as a unit for research.[27] Of particular note are the series of volumes produced by Tim Mowl and his colleagues on the garden history of individual counties, and the activities of numerous county gardens trusts, formed in order to research and preserve the heritage of parks and gardens.[28] The first such body – for Hampshire – was founded in 1984: there are

now thirty-six in existence, mostly sharing close links with each other and with the Garden History Society, founded with similar aims in 1966. This county-based approach has many benefits, but can also create problems when it comes to assessing the work of major designers like Brown on a national scale. During the eighteenth century the complex social and political networks which bound his wealthy patrons together were not always contained neatly within administrative boundaries. Descriptions of Brown's works contained in county-based volumes thus sometimes lack the framework of social and cultural links which feature prominently in much of the wider literature on Brown – the people that he worked for were closely interlinked, and his relationships with people like Pitt and Sanderson Miller were particularly important.

One major hurdle in any study of Brown's work and legacy is the challenge posed by the so-called grey literature – unpublished reports, conservation management plans, restoration plans, documents relating to Higher Level Stewardship schemes, Heritage Lottery grants and other similar applications for funding. This literature can be extensive for some sites, and can contain a great deal of original research and interpretation. Much of it is, however, currently inaccessible, and very little of it appears in the bibliographies of published academic work, so it is difficult even to gauge how much material of this kind exists, even in the hands of bodies such as English Heritage and the National Trust, both of whom have carried out extensive research into their own properties. Some reports of this kind are listed on the 'Parks and Gardens UK' website, and the Garden History Society are currently preparing a bibliography of conservation management plans (CMPs) for all designed landscapes across the UK, which will be published in September 2013.[29] This, and ongoing updates to Parks and Gardens UK, will certainly help considerably in the identification of recent and future research relating to Brown, and will be particularly helpful for those sites which have otherwise received relatively little academic attention. However, despite the obvious benefits that greater accessibility to this material will bring, we should sound a note of caution. Although much of this material undoubtedly is produced to high academic standards, some may not be. Furthermore, although the production of such reports generally involves a process of comment and revision between client and researcher, there is usually no form of wider peer review, in contrast to the situation with academic books and articles.

ATTRIBUTIONS: DEFINING BROWN'S CORPUS

One piece of research which urgently needs to be undertaken, and which would prove a particularly appropriate way of recognising Brown's tercentenary, would be the compilation of a reliable and graded list of his commissions. This cannot be achieved merely by consulting his own financial records. Only one of Brown's own account books survives, which listed current clients and the amounts of money received and expended in the years around 1764. Even this is not exhaustive – Jane Brown has noted that it fails to mention Petworth or Temple Newsam, all of which were 'active' at this time.[30] Brown's accounts with Drummonds Bank have been transcribed and published by Willis; they cover the years between 1753 and his death in 1783, but again do not offer a complete picture of his activities. Willis listed 90 individual sites mentioned in the accounts – less than half the number which can be reliably attributed to Brown.[31] The organisation of his business – which evidently, as we shall see, allowed money to be paid directly to contractors rather than via Brown – may in part be responsible for such omissions. This also ensures that it is not always possible to distinguish, on the basis of the size of bank payments, major commissions from minor ones. On the other hand, there is little doubt that a significant amount of expenditure points to an equally significant landscaping project – as at Benham (Berkshire) in the 1770s, where the work cost £7,650 but there is no surviving plan.

To date there have been three published gazetteers of Brown's work. The 1975 edition of Stroud's book provides a list of 214 sites;[32] in 1985 Turner's volume expanded this list, identifying 169 sites which had clear evidence of Brown's involvement and a further 59 where the attribution was doubtful, or where Brown's designs were not implemented.[33] Hyams' book of 1971 featured a gazetteer containing only 50 sites, being restricted to examples where Brown's work survived reasonably intact.[34] The Parks and Gardens UK database links Brown with 216 places, some of which do not appear in any of the published works on Brown.

In all, no less than 267 sites in England and Wales have been attributed to Brown by one authority or another (these are listed in Appendix 1). In some cases the basis for such identifications is entirely unclear. For example, Hunstrete House near Bath is listed as one of Brown's works by Parks and Gardens UK but is not identified as such in any of the published literature: the report of recent archaeological investigations by Wessex Archaeology on the site of the house, which was demolished in the nineteenth century, makes no mention of the involvement of Brown, despite discussing the landscape context of the house and estate in some detail.[35] In other cases mistaken attributions are due to understandable misinterpretations of the available evidence. The park at Elveden (Suffolk) was considered by Stroud to be by Brown on the evidence of an entry in his account book, an attribution repeated by Hinde and Turner, and still widely accepted.[36] The payment of £1,460 was made in 1765 by 'General Keppel', but this was not *Admiral* Augustus Keppel, owner of Elveden, but rather his brother General William Keppel of Dyrham in Hertfordshire, as the latter's bank account testifies. This misidentification was corrected in 2001 by David Brown, and more recently by Jane Brown in her biography, but the park is still identified as one of Brown's in local lists.[37] Some attributions are based on little more than hearsay and guesswork, such as Ditchingham (Norfolk),

which is listed as a Brown park by the revised edition of Pevsner's *Norfolk* and by Parks and Gardens UK, amongst others, even though – as Jane Brown correctly notes – this is no more than a 'family tradition'.[38] In fact the 'Brown plan' supposedly kept at the hall does not appear to have been seen by anyone within living memory. The park was laid out around 1764 but no reference to its owners, the Bedingfields, appears in Brown's account book. Furthermore, a plan of this date apparently showing the proposed 'deformalisation' of the grounds was surveyed by one Joseph Rudnall, not known as an associate of Brown. [39]

A slightly different, but nevertheless important, issue concerns the way in which, in a number of cases, Brown's involvement at particular places has simply been exaggerated. Holkham (Norfolk) is still widely accepted as one of Brown's parks but its key designer in the second half of the eighteenth century was unquestionably John Sandys, the head gardener, who came to Holkham with William Emes in c.1780.[40] Brown may have worked on the pleasure grounds, but even the alterations here were attributed by Repton to one of Brown's 'foremen', who had 'deservedly acquired great credit … by the execution of gravel walks, the planting of shrubberies, and other details belonging to pleasure grounds'.[41] Even where Brown unquestionably made a major contribution to a landscape it does not follow that he was responsible for every detail we see there today. He supervised the creation of the new park at Chatsworth (Derbyshire), west of the

UEA 'Lancelot 'Capability' Brown – A Research Agenda for the Future' workshop delegates at Kimberley Hall 10 May 2013 © English Heritage: Jenifer White

river Derwent, but the oft-repeated suggestion that he demolished the walled gardens to the east of the hall to create the sweeping 'Salisbury Lawn' in the pleasure grounds is incorrect: the lawn is clearly shown on Thomas Smith's painting of c.1743, and may well be the work of William Kent.[42]

Conversely, it is clear that a number, perhaps a large number, of Brown's commissions remain undiscovered and unrecognised – or are known to individual researchers but not widely publicised, and hidden away within the 'grey literature'. Several are suggested by references to Brown in correspondence or accounts, and would repay further investigation. To take just one example: Overstone (Northamptonshire) does not appear in any of the existing gazetteers, yet a letter from Brown to the owner, Sir Thomas Drury, dated 16th May 1758, survives in which he declares: 'I am sorry I was from home when you did me the honour to call at Hammersmith, I should have waited on you in Town but am obliged to set out on a journey into Sussex the morrow morning early, however shall take the first opportunity on my return'[43]. No estate accounts or other records for Overstone survive from this period, other than letters sent by Drury's estate steward, Edward Worley, which cover the period between March and December 1758. These, however, make it clear that a great deal of work was being carried out, including the removal of garden walls, extensive planting and the creation or alteration of ponds within the park.[44] An estate map of 1832 shows a landscape park with a distinctly Brownian air.[45]

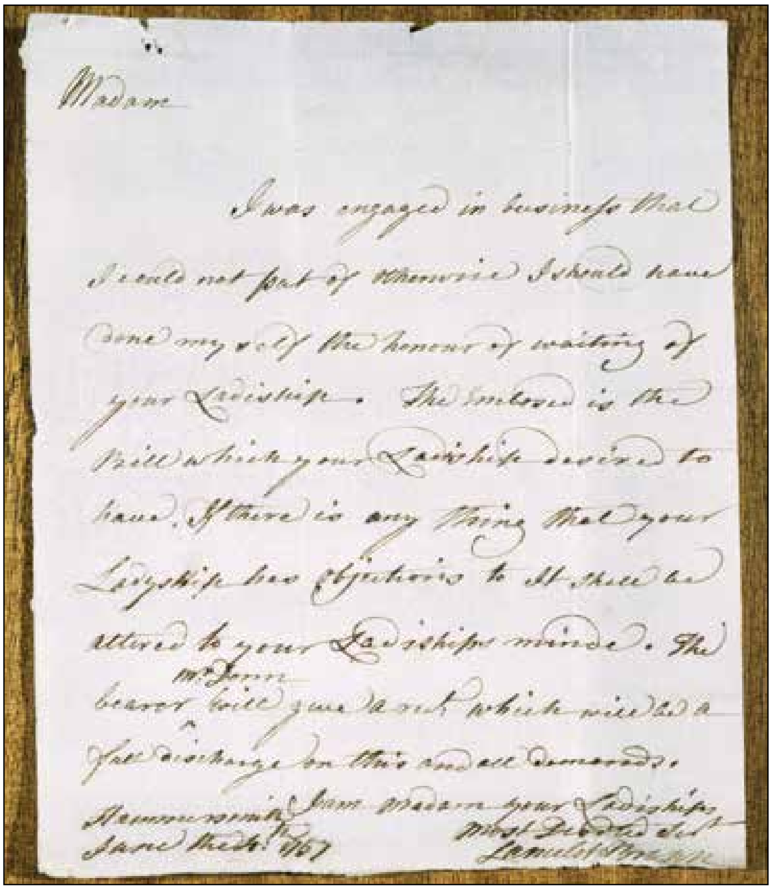
The list of Brown's sites thus needs a thorough examination in order to weed out spurious attributions. A refined gazetteer should also attempt to differentiate clearly between those sites which can be attributed to Brown with confidence and full supporting evidence; those where the balance of evidence strongly suggests Brown's involvement; and those for which there is simply no hard evidence. It should, in addition, attempt to assess the extent of his work in each case. The formulation of such a reliable corpus would greatly assist in understanding the characteristics of his style and the way in which this may have changed over the course of his career.

BROWN'S CAREER AND BUSINESS

Most of the principal studies of Brown tend, to varying extents, to adopt a biographical approach, examining his work in the context of his life history. They thus trace his early beginnings at Kirkharle in Northumberland, describe his move to Stowe, and the development of his career as an independent 'place-maker' following his move to Hammersmith in 1750. The scale of Brown's achievement is often emphasised by concentrating on his lowly origins (although some, troubled by how such an individual could have acquired the requisite amount of sensitivity and 'taste', have hinted or argued that he was in fact the illegitimate son of his first employer, Sir William Lorraine of Kirkharle).[46] In fact, his 'lowly' origins can be exaggerated: the family were, in local terms, of middle-class yeoman stock, and Lancelot's brother John was able to marry, apparently without scandal or opposition, Jane Lorraine, Sir William's daughter.[47]

Recent research has served to fill out many of the gaps in our knowledge of Brown's career. Of particular note is Steffie Shields investigation into his travels and commissions in the period between leaving Northumberland in 1739 and becoming head gardener at Stowe in 1742 – a time spent in Lincolnshire, especially at Grimsthorpe, where he gained an important reputation as an 'engineer'.[48] Jane Brown's recent biography has been particularly useful in showing (as Stephen Daniels has done for Repton)[49] the hardships involved in the regular long-distance travel which underpinned Brown's career, and the extent to which patterns of travel may have structured the geography of his commissions. She has also, like a number of other writers, noted the social networks which may have brought Brown particular commissions, emphasising especially his early connections with Sanderson Miller and, above all, the importance of the longer-term connection with William Pitt, Lord Cobham.[50]

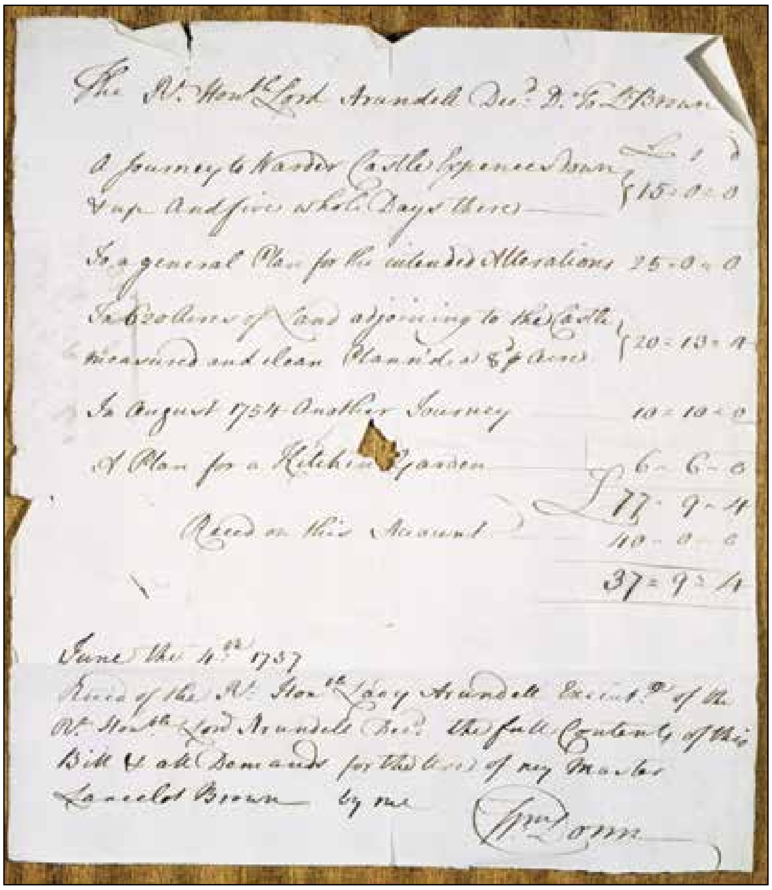
Rather different connections have been highlighted by David Brown's meticulous examination of Brown's bank account at Drummonds (itself developing work begun by Peter Willis).[51] From the 1750s Brown was making large, but 'intermittent and variable'[52] payments to a range of individuals, many of whom already had, or later developed, careers as architects or landscape designers in their own right, such as Nathaniel Richmond and Adam Mickle. Many of these people worked with Brown over several decades. In David Brown's words, the sums recorded in the accounts 'do not represent personal payments or salaries. They are more likely to represent subcontract payments covering the supply of supervision, contract labour and, in some instances, materials on a flexible *ad hoc* basis according to the needs of the project'.[53] This network of collaborators, who are better described as 'associates' than as 'foremen', underpinned the phenomenal expansion of Brown's business. In 1753, the first year of his account at Drummonds, his recorded receipts totalled £4,924; by 1768 this had risen to £32,279. The development of this sophisticated business structure reflects the increasing commercialisation of all aspects of society at this time, something which was also manifest in the shift in the character of garden designer from gentleman amateur or dependent client, to professional practitioner. David Brown's work has highlighted the huge potential for studying Brown and other eighteenth-century designers, which is contained with contemporary bank records – many of which have not been systematically studied. A programme of digitisation of such records, particularly those held by the Royal Bank of



Madam

I was engaged in business that I could not put of otherwise I should have done my self the honour of waiting of your Ladiship. The Inclosed is the Bill which your Ladiship desired to have. If there is any thing that your Ladyship has objections to It shall be altered to your Ladiships minde. The bearer Mr Lomm will give a rect which will be a full discharge on this and all demands.

Hammersmith June the 4 1757 — I am Madam your Ladiships most Devoted Servt Lancelot Brown



The Rt Honble Lord Arundell Decd Dr To L Brown

	£ s d
A Journey to Warder Castle Expences down & up and five whole Days there	15-0-0
To a general Plan for the intended Alterations	25-0-0
To 62 Acres of Land adjoining to the Castle measured and clean Plann'd at 8d p Acre	20-13-4
In August 1754 Another Journey	10-10-0
A Plan for a Kitchen Garden	6-6-0
	£77-9-4
Recd on this Account	40-0-0
	37-9-4

June the 4th 1757
Recd of the Rt Honble Lady Arundell Exectx of the Rt Honble Lord Arundell Decd the full Contents of this Bill & all Demands for the use of my Master Lancelot Brown by me Wm Lomm

Letter from Capability Brown to Lady Arundell 1757 (Old Wardour Castle) from the Arundell Family Archive. Image reference numbers K990245 and K990246 © English Heritage Photo Library with permission from Wiltshire & Swindon Record Office

Scotland which include a number of different eighteenth-century banks, would enable researchers to carry out such research easily and would, indeed, provide an invaluable resource to any student of the eighteenth century.

The system of flexible subcontracting highlighted by David Brown has implications for the way that Brown organised particular commissions, and also for the ways in which these are documented in estate archives and other records. Brown's association with particular places often extended over years, even decades, but his presence on site was usually fleeting and sporadic. The character of the design having been agreed, close supervision was frequently left to associates, and payments often went direct to them rather than via Brown himself, who in consequence may hardly feature in the records of particular estates. At Chatsworth, for example, where Brown 'improved' the landscape between 1759 and 1766, he is hardly mentioned in the estate accounts, which instead record numerous large payments to Michael Milliken or Millican for 'earth moving'. Milliken's name first appears in 1760, when he received £313 in twelve separate payments; in 1761 he received a further £637; from December 1761 to October 1762, £635; and from November 1762 to November 1763 no less than £710. In all, the accounts suggest that he received payments totalling around £3,010 over a period of five years, apparently covering the costs of a specialist team filling in the great complex of fishponds to the north and west of the house, and grading the banks of the river.[54] This pattern of organisation, plus the fact (as Jane Brown has argued)[55] that some payments were made in cash and never appear in bank accounts, ensures that it is often hard to reconstruct from the surviving documentary sources the true scale of Brown's activities, posing problems in terms of constructing a complete and reliable list of his commissions.

Yet it is also important to emphasise that there was much variety in the way that commissions were organised. Even at Chatsworth, while Milliken's men carried out major schemes of earth-moving, the estate workers were employed in the levelling of hedges, walls and ditches within the area of the new park, and for much of the planting. Elsewhere landowners appear to have carried out all of the work of 'improvement' using their own workers or, perhaps, local contractors. This certainly appears to have been the situation at Burton Constable (Yorkshire), where the late Elizabeth Hall discovered the minutes of meetings between Brown and the agent, Robert Raines, which clearly imply – in the detail of the instructions recorded – that supervision of the works was in the hands of the estate itself, using regular estate labour or local contractors.[56] The minutes shed considerable light on Brown's working methods, as well as on his style, showing for example how he designed the construction of the lake dam, and more generally modified his plans on successive visits to allow for unforeseen consequences of earlier decisions.

One facet of Brown's career which perhaps deserves more attention is his role as an architect. There has been a tendency to downplay this aspect of his activities, and in particular to emphasise the extent to which it was carried out in association with his son-in-law, the architect Henry Holland, with whom he worked in partnership from the early 1770s. But there is some evidence that Brown was already making alterations to the mansion at Stowe in the 1740s, while as early as 1754 the accounts at Newnham Paddox (Warwickshire) describe him as 'Mr Brown the architect'.[57] Holland himself praised his father-in-law's abilities in this field; while Repton famously noted that:

> Mr Brown's fame as an architect seems to have been eclipsed by his celebrity as a landscape gardener, he being the only professor of the one art, while he had many jealous competitors in the other. But when I consider the number of excellent works in architecture designed and executed by him, it becomes an act of justice to his memory to record that, if he was superior to all in what related to his particular profession, he was inferior to none in what related to the comfort, convenience, taste, and propriety of design in the several mansions and other buildings he planned.[58]

His repertoire included the design of entirely new country houses (Claremont (Surrey), Ugbrooke (Devon) (?), Redgrave (Suffolk)); the extensive remodelling and extension of others (Broadlands (Hampshire), Warwick Castle, Newnham Paddox (Warwickshire), Burghley (Northamptonshire), Corsham (Wiltshire)); the design of model cottages and farms (Milton Abbas (Dorset), Croome (Worcestershire)); chapels and churches (Compton Verney (Warwickshire), Croome); as well as ice houses and numerous garden buildings. While it is no doubt true that his activities were largely restricted to the overall concept of the building, with Holland or others working out the practical and structural details,[59] his work in this field would nevertheless repay further attention simply because of the various links which have been suggested between the 'natural' style of gardening, and developments in architecture: whether in terms of the emergence of circuit as opposed to formal plans for country houses, as suggested by Girouard (below, pp.24-5); or the impact of Neo-Classical architecture after 1770, as argued by Tait in 1983.[60] William Mason, among other contemporaries, emphasised the close connections between the two spheres of his activities:

> I am uniformly of opinion that where a place is to be formed, he who disposes the ground and arranges the plantations ought to fix the situation, at least, if not to determine the shape and size of the ornamental buildings. Brown, I know, was ridiculed for turning architect, but I always thought he did it from a kind of necessity having found the great difficulty which must frequently have occurred to him in forming a picturesque whole, where the previous building had been ill-placed, or of improper dimensions.[61]

One of the most striking things about Brown's career, and one which – in spite of recent research – is still not entirely explained, is the speed with which he acquired a wide range of skills, something noted by Repton and others even in the eighteenth century. Contemporaries in fact emphasised his ability to charm, his wit and social skills, as much as his abilities as a designer, Chatham describing how 'you cannot take any other advice so intelligent or more honest'.[62] Yet even allowing for the possibility that his real genius may have been his ability to act as 'front man' for a team, the fact that he was already designing lakes and dams at Grimsthorpe (Lincolnshire) by 1739, and was perhaps acting as an architect by 1745, suggests an individual able to learn a range of trades and skills with remarkable facility.

BROWN'S STYLE

Much of what the principal texts have to tell us about Brown's style of landscape design is essentially vague. There is much emphasis on how he 'swept away' existing geometric features, replacing them with 'natural' landscapes characterised by sinuous or irregular lines. We learn that he created lakes, serpentine in shape and usually with unplanted margins, in the middle distance (or, as at Chatsworth, widened rivers to serve this purpose); and that he planted large numbers of indigenous trees, such as oak, elm and beech, arranged as loose scatters, clumps, and perimeter belts. Most authorities also note how he created circuit drives (often running in and out of the perimeter belt) and, above all, systematically removed formal gardens from the vicinity of the mansion, replacing them with lawns and serpentine pleasure grounds which were separated from the grazed park by a sunken fence or *ha ha. Ha has* might also be used more widely to subdivide parkland, protect clumps or enclose churchyards isolated within parks, as at Corsham (Wiltshire).

Perhaps the key change in our understanding of Brown's style in recent decades has been the recognition, in the work of Mark Laird especially, that it was rather more 'garden-like' in character than an earlier generation assumed: Brown was the creator of pleasure grounds as much as landscape parks.[63] Given that the period between 1740 and 1770 was the golden age for the importation of flowering shrubs from America and elsewhere, as Laird and others have shown, it would indeed be strange if Brown's success had depended entirely on the composition of parkland scenes exclusively using indigenous hardwoods. This new emphasis represents a rediscovery of something widely accepted in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As Uvedale Price put it, 'Mr Brown has been most successful in what may properly be called the garden, though not in that part of it which is nearest the house', describing how the 'modern pleasure garden with its shrubs and exotics would form a very just and easy gradation from architectural ornaments, to the natural woods, thickets and pastures'.[64] But flowering shrubs were not only established in the pleasure grounds near the mansion. As Stroud was already aware in the 1950s, at places like Petworth (Sussex) laurel and other low-growing ornamentals were more widely planted, on the margins of plantations, and as 'plantations of low shrubs' in their own right.[65] This was one aspect of a wider phenomenon: although we usually think of Brown's parks as dominated by indigenous hardwoods, he evidently made much use of exotics such as American plane, cedar of Lebanon, weeping willow and evergreen oak, as well planting a range of conifers, principally Scots pine, spruce and larch. Indeed, the cedar has been described as his 'signature tree'.[66] It is easy to assume that the conifers, at least, were mainly used as 'nurses' in the plantations of hardwoods, and to some extent they were, but close examination of Brown's plans often shows them scattered across the parkland turf, as at Kimberley (Norfolk), while at Burton Constable (Yorkshire), according to Hall, they were used to vary the margins of plantations, and in general provide an element of variety.[67] To some extent the shorter lives of many of these exotic species has tended to accentuate the indigenous, 'natural' character of Brown's planting.

Some have argued a very different view: that Brown, from his time at Stowe onwards, consciously rejected the fashionable use of foreign trees and shrubs, because he was one

of a series of writers and designers who sought to develop a specifically English form of gardening, and to form the 'inchoate material of England into something definitively English and not French'.[68] Yet the evidence of the few surviving planting lists that we have leave little doubt that exotics were employed by Brown in both pleasure grounds and parks. At Petworth more than twenty shrubs were purchased for Brown's garden, including such American imports as 'Virginia Shumach' and 'Virginia Rasberry', while at Syon House (Middlesex) the long shrubbery walk – the Church Walk Wilderness – was planted with a range of shrubs which included evergreen honeysuckles, Alexandrian laurels, lilacs, laburnums, syringes and viburnums.[69] Six cedars – hardly an indigenous English tree – were also planted here, as they were at many other places. At Burton Constable, while indigenous trees formed the bulk of the planting, large numbers of conifers were purchased, together with sugar maples and scarlet oaks. Here, as elsewhere, other trees which – while indigenous – we would today perhaps associate more with gardens than parklands were widely planted, most notably silver birch, which were purchased in their thousands.[70] Here, too, it seems that the passing of time has served to change our perception of Brown's planting: birch trees seldom attain an age of more than a century. It might be argued that this kind of planting, when recorded in estate records, often reflects the tastes of owners rather than the desires of Brown himself, but we have no real evidence that this was the case.

If elements of Brown's parks were thus perhaps rather more like gardens, and less like traditional deer parks or the wider countryside, than we often assume, the extent to which he 'swept away' existing geometric landscapes also requires further examination.

A view of Petworth Park. Image reference number 24703_027 © English Heritage

At the kinds of exalted social levels at which he was employed few mansions probably retained walled, formal gardens by the 1750s or 60s: walls had already been removed and geometry softened and simplified under the influence of Bridgeman, Kent and their contemporaries. Superficially, Brown was not invariably hostile to the residual geometric features at such sites, retaining avenues at a number of places, although of course the preferences of individual owners were also important here. His patrons may have insisted on the retention of some much-loved established landscape features not least because – a fact all too easily forgotten – most avenues, wildernesses and other formal plantings were barely mature at the point when Brown arrived on the scene. Geometric planting might thus be softened, but not rendered entirely irregular and serpentine in character, as appears to have happened with the formal elements in the gardens at Petworth.[71] Sometimes it is clear that Brown was only employed to modify one relatively small section of a landscape, usually the immediate setting of the house, leaving wider geometric planting undisturbed. Such circumstances presumably explain the survival of the mesh of avenues in the park at Moor Park (Hertfordshire) long after Brown had landscaped the grounds there, and his retention of the avenues at Wimpole (Cambridgeshire) and Blenheim (Oxfordshire) (as Sarah Crouch has reminded us, 'many writers continued to give advice on planting avenues well into the latter half of the century and in fact many more avenues survived than the writers on taste in gardening would suggest'[72]). Elsewhere, in contrast, Brown evidently modified parklands but did less in the vicinity of the mansion, as at Wrest (Bedfordshire) where, some time after his activities, Horace Walpole was still able to describe the gardens as 'very ugly in the old fashioned manner with high hedges and canals'.[73]

A more interesting question is whether Brown's designs really eschewed formal geometry to the extent that most researchers have assumed. Some of the geometry underlying Brown's design at Blenheim was explored by Hal Moggeridge in the 1980s, but more important are the arguments advanced by John Phibbs, in a series of three challenging papers, that the overall layout of planting and other features in Brown's parks was, in fact, structured by an underlying, abstract, 'hidden' geometry.[74] The suggestion has not found wide acceptance, although it is paralleled, for example, by the recent arguments of Caroline Dalton regarding the geometry underlying Vanbrugh's landscape designs.[75] Both arguments arguably suffer from a lack of rigorous statistical testing: because it is possible to impose a pattern of geometry on a landscape this does not mean that the landscape was necessarily designed in this manner, or that other patterns of geometry would not also 'fit' the disposition of features equally well.[76] Lack of precision in the dating of the trees and earthworks allegedly forming the elements of such geometric patterns poses another potential problem, and there is a real danger of circularity of argument: poorly-dated features which form the pattern are deemed to be 'dated' by this fact alone, thus further justifying the validity of the pattern itself. We might also note how, in some circumstances at least, abstract geometrical arrangements, worked out on a plan, would have been hard to combine with visual effects intended at ground level, which depended on the use of clumps and belts to frame views or obscure less desirable prospects. All this said, Phibbs' ideas are important and challenging, supported by a wealth of experience of Brown's designs, and thus require further testing.

Other aspects of Brown's planting remains contentious, and many strongly expressed views concerning its character have again not been subjected to rigorous research or peer-review: an unfortunate circumstance, given that they underpin much current restoration work. There is, for example, disagreement over the character of Brown's perimeter belts. Most researchers have argued that these were intended to provide a screen of vegetation, forming a clear boundary between the park and wider landscape: where drives wound through these belts selective views out into the working countryside might be made at intervals, but overall the belt acted – as the alternative contemporary term suggests – as a 'screen'. Against this, Phibbs has strongly argued that Brown's belts lacked any form of understorey and were intended to be permeable: the wider countryside should be visible between the stems, and beneath the canopy, the trees if necessary being pruned to assist this aim.[77] This suggestion, which has major implications both for how we 'read' Brown's landscapes (as private and inward-looking, or as closely integrated with the surrounding countryside) and for how we restore them, is likewise in urgent need of rigorous testing. Many of Brown's belts unquestionably had a planted understorey, coppiced or otherwise, to judge from surviving remains. At Burton Constable the minutes of the meetings between Brown and Raines leave little doubt as to the character of such planting: 'Plantations, mainly the famed shelter belts forming enclosures on the boundary, were generally recommended to be 150-300 feet wide. For these Brown liked the underwood to be retained, thus creating a "woodland" rather than the "grove" that John Phibbs suggests Brown typically designed for this feature'.[78]

While the character of Brown's planting has received much attention, other aspects of his work have received rather less, in part because much research has been directed towards the restoration of particular sites, something which usually embraces planting but is less commonly directed towards earth-movement or the restoration of expensive water features. One area which would certainly repay further study is Brown's involvement in major schemes of water management. Many commentators, most notably perhaps Steffie Shields and Thomas Hinde, have discussed Brown's lakes – their shape, planting and construction.[79] Less attention has perhaps been paid to the fact that, at many of the places where details of his activities are known from contracts and the like, Brown's work included improvements to drainage, especially in the area close to the mansion (as at Croome, Bowood, Burghley, Claremont, Longleat, Corsham or Belhus).[80] The removal of existing areas of water close by – usually fishponds – was also a frequent occurrence.[81] One of the key features of Brown's designs was thus the provision of a dry environment for his patrons, and this emphasis is apparent from the very start of his career. The monument erected to his memory by Lord Coventry at Croome, one of his earliest commissions, praised the way in which he had 'formed this garden scene/ out of a morass'. Ensuring that water was in its proper place – away from the house, and relegated to the middle distance in the prospect from its windows – could almost be described as a defining aspect of his style.

While much has been written about Brown's landscaping style, little attempt has yet been made to examine systematically how this may have changed over time, something which is in marked contrast to the way in which art historians, in particular, usually consider the development of individual careers. Some writers have suggested that once devised, Brown's essential formula remained unaltered, Tom Turner for example suggesting that

'during the thirty-two years of his career as an independent designer Brown's style hardly changed and is easily represented by a single diagram'.[82] Yet it seems *a priori* unlikely that his designs for parks and pleasure grounds continued without significant alteration for more than three decades: indeed, significant changes can arguably be identified, especially in the character of his planting and his use of buildings, with a general tendency for design to become less complex, and less organised around a series of set 'views', framed by planting and focused on ornamental structures. Robert Williams thus noted how 'in the course of his career [he] gradually learned to think out his landscapes more in terms of ground, wood, and water', and with less of the 'enthusiasm for ornamental structures' which had characterised his earlier works, and that of predecessors like Kent and Miller.[83] Jane Brown's recent biography suggests in addition that, from the 1770s, elements of his work began to exhibit an appreciation of the 'picturesque'.[84] Developments in his style have thus been identified, but perhaps remain insufficiently explored.

One simple way of beginning to tackle this issue should be to collate and compare the various plans prepared by Brown (and his colleagues) for 'improving' particular sites. Many of these have been published but no attempt has been made to draw them together in a single collection, or volume, which leaves a serious gap in our knowledge. Rogge's recent analysis of Repton's Red Books has highlighted the benefits to be gained by art historical approaches to the study of landscape design.[85] Such plans can be analysed in forensic detail, by examining pencil marks, handwriting and paper quality to deepen our understanding of Brown's practice. Stroud included 24 plans in her monograph; Brown's recent biography reproduced only one (although it does include maps of several sites). Not all of 'Brown's' plans, it should be emphasised, were drawn by Brown himself, and many can be attributed to Samuel Lapidge or Jonathan Spyers. In addition, many contemporary views of Brown's landscapes have been published, including engravings, watercolours and drawings. Although we remain unsure as to what Brown's final intention was for the appearance of his landscapes, such illustrations do at least show the near-contemporary finished article. Systematic comparison and analysis of this material should therefore provide some indication of how Brown's style developed over his long career.

ORIGINS AND ORIGINALITY

A consideration of these issues shades imperceptibly into questions of origins and originality: of how novel Brown's style was, and where it came from. As we noted at the start of this report, some commentators and researchers – both in the eighteenth century, and today – have told an essentially teleological story. Brown's landscapes were the culmination of a gradual movement in taste away from geometry and formality which occurred in the early decades of the eighteenth century, marked by the writings of Pope, Switzer and Walpole and by the designs of a series of key individuals. Under Bridgeman and Vanbrugh gardens became more open and simpler in outline, less rigidly geometric, with more emphasis on grass, gravel and areas of shrubbery and woodland; while under Kent pleasure grounds became more irregular in layout, with temples, clumps of trees and other 'informal' planting echoing the disposition of elements in Claude Lorrain's idealised paintings of Italian scenery. Some of Kent's later designs – such as Euston (Suffolk) – already included the creation of such scenes at a parkland scale. Brown took these developments further, placing more emphasis on planting and less on ornamental buildings. But while in one sense continuing an established tradition Brown was also a pioneer, and his new style was widely copied by a mass of 'imitators', some of whom were his former employees.

Recent research has presented a more complex and nuanced picture. To begin with, while Brown may have been the most successful of mid/late eighteenth-century landscape designers, both in financial and in artistic terms, he was nevertheless one of a number of able practitioners, amateur and professional, who were involved in a wider stylistic movement in the 1740s, 50s and 60s. The stylistic debt he owed was not simply to Kent. As Mowl has argued, many of the elements considered characteristic of Brown's designs were already well established in landscape design before his career began. Similarly, Jennifer Meir has shown that key aspects of his style are already apparent in the designs prepared by Sanderson Miller at places like Farnborough or Alscot (Warwickshire) in the 1740s, in which 'lakes adorn the middle distance', belts of indigenous trees formed the perimeter of the design, clumps were extensively employed and much effort was put into the improvement of drainage.[86] 'Miller landscapes are much closer in style to the extensive plans of Brown than to the more artificial and smaller scale designs of … Kent'.[87] The two men were associated with each other in a number of ways at the start of Brown's career, and Meir suggests that Miller, as much as Brown, may have had a hand in the design of Croome. In the five years after Croome, moreover, 'practically all of Brown's commissions have connections with Miller or Miller's circle of friends'.[88] Other predecessors, or contemporaries, who have received attention over recent years, and into whose activities research is currently continuing, include Thomas Wright, whose activities clearly extended beyond garden buildings to the landscapes in which these were set.[89]

Other researches have thrown important new light on Brown's supposed 'imitators', most notably Fiona Cowell in her thesis and her book, *Richard Woods (1715-1793) Master of the pleasure ground*, and David Brown in his as yet unpublished thesis on Nathaniel Richmond.[90] Although still sometimes castigated simply as copyists such men had their own particular styles. Woods, for example – as the subtitle of Cowell's book suggests

– was more concerned with intimate pleasure grounds and gardens than with vast panoramas of parkland, although the latter did still feature significantly in his deigns. He also created *ferme ornées*, a form of landscape which arguably maintained its popularity in various forms throughout the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century, its importance obscured by later scholars' fascination with the landscape park, as well as by the fact that ornamental farmland can be less easy to identify, on maps and similar sources, than parkland of more usual form. The clients of both Richmond and Woods were not necessarily of lower social rank than those of Brown, although they were generally more socially diverse. Many of Woods' patrons were thus drawn from what Cowell has described as the 'established middling gentry', contrasting this with those of Brown, who came almost exclusively from the upper echelons of society. Nevertheless, men like Sir John Griffin Griffin at Audley End (Essex) were happy to employ him. At Wardour Castle (Wiltshire) the 7th Baron Arundel commissioned Brown to redesign the grounds but following his death his son the 8th Baron was happy to turn to Woods, employing him for more than a decade.[91] Repton at the start of his career named Richmond alongside Kent and Brown as key stylistic influences. Whether Brown was a 'pioneer', and his contemporaries merely 'followers' and 'imitators', is thus a matter for some debate: David Brown has gone to far as to argue that the work of men like William Emes, Richard Woods, Francis Richardson and Nathaniel Richmond:

> …is in a similar style but does not appear to have evolved from [Brown's] work. It seems that Brown's style was the style of his time rather than being his personal invention. Indeed, he may well have been as much the recipient of design ideas from some of his very able associates as he was the disseminator of that style.[92]

Certainly, a broad grammar of landscape style was widely shared in England, at least by the 1760s, and at most Brown can have been responsible for no more than 5% of the landscape parks created in the country during his lifetime. What remains unclear is whether there are identifiable 'signatures' to Brown's own particular version of the 'natural' style – idiosyncratic touches which were not shared by his contemporaries. Phibbs has drawn attention, for example, to the low mounds used to conceal Brown's drives at places like Himley (Staffordshire), but at present insufficient research into the landscapes created by others makes it unclear whether such touches really were indeed restricted to Brown himself.

Various researchers over the last three decades have attempted to explain the origins of some of the characteristic features of Brown's parks – serpentine belts, lakes, clumps. Belts and clumps, for example, have traditionally been attributed to William Kent, and ultimately to the groups of trees in paintings by Claude and Poussin, but two separate writers in 1991 suggested that they were largely derived from the indigenous working countryside.[93] Belts were inspired by the wide hedgerows and the narrow linear woods found in some old-enclosed districts, such as the 'shaws' of Kent; clumps by a traditional coppicing system similar to the Scandinavian *loveng*, or meadow copse, comprising small clusters of trees scattered around areas of meadow or pasture (a form of planting for which there is, unfortunately, no actual evidence in England). Many in contrast have emphasised the place of the landscape park within the longer and broader tradition of the park in England. Deer parks – venison farms and hunting grounds – were established

in England from the eleventh century and comprised areas of woodland pasture sometimes interspersed with blocks of enclosed and coppiced woodland. Walpole famously noted the debt owed by eighteenth-century designers to these 'contracted forests, and extended gardens'[94] and, while many early deer parks lay in remote places, quite divorced from the homes of their owners, at the most important residences (castles and palaces) they were often in close proximity, and from the fourteenth century this became normal even at lower social levels. In 1986 Rackham forcibly restated the connection between deer parks and landscape parks: eighteenth-century designers were 'heirs to a long tradition', often adapted existing deer parks, and derived key elements of their designs from them.[95] The eighteenth century was simply the 'third age of parks' when 'their design became an art form in the hands of Lancelot 'Capability' Brown, Humphry Repton and their contemporaries'.[96]

These suggestions have been given a further twist by the growing acceptance, on the part of many landscape historians and archaeologists, that large-scale landscape design had, in fact, been invented in the Middle Ages, and that deer parks had often formed key elements of extensive and elaborate ornamental landscapes laid out around elite residences. In Michael Leslie's words, 'There was indeed a medieval landscape art … involving the modelling of substantial tracts of land, large-scale earthworks, water features and garden architecture with the aim of pleasing the eye …fundamental to their effect is the motion of the visitor or viewer'.[97] These designs featured large bodies of open water, parkland turf scattered with trees, and – allegedly – circuitous approaches and drives, all first clearly described by Wilson-North, Everson and Taylor at Bodiam Castle (Sussex) and since identified at numerous locations.[98] The similarities between such early

An aerial view of Audley End. Image reference number N071723 © English Heritage Photo Library

ornamental landscapes, and those designed by Brown and his contemporaries in the eighteenth century, are striking, and Leslie memorably described them as 'the English landscape garden before the English Landscape Garden', while Muir has asserted that 'It is clear that the medieval determinants of landscape taste were not greatly different from those of the 'great masters' of post-medieval landscape design'.[99] Muir indeed has drawn attention to the possibility that irregular, sylvan scenes have a *universal* appeal, associated with the kinds of wood-pasture savannah landscapes which, according to Frans Vera and others constituted (rather than closed-canopy woodland) the natural vegetation of pre-Neolithic north west Europe.[100]

We do not have the space here to discuss the problems with the concept of 'medieval designed landscapes', which have been dealt with elsewhere.[101] Suffice it so say that a good argument can be made that the claims made for complex and sophisticated landscape design in the middle ages – for the manipulation of perspective, the laying out of complex approaches involving a series of framed views, the creation of visual illusions – as well as for the establishment of carefully contrived 'naturalistic', sylvan scenes as the ideal setting for the residence – currently rest more on analogies with better-documented post-medieval landscapes than on direct evidence from the Middle Ages: and that the apparent similarities with Brown's style mainly arise from the way in which this has been imposed, by modern scholars, on the imperfectly preserved landscapes of the Middle Ages. This said, there can be little doubt that the 'Brownian' park owed much to the long deer park tradition, and that lakes, for example, were descended in part from the chains of large fish ponds (*vivaria*) which were often found within medieval and post-medieval deer parks. It is noteworthy that eighteenth-century writers like Whateley refer to parks not as a new type of landscape but as a long-established one transformed, like other aspects of the contemporary countryside, by the hand of taste: gardening was 'no longer confined to the spots from which it borrows its name, but regulates also the disposition and embellishments of a park, a farm, or a riding'.[102]

As well as the avenues and other formal planting which spread through parkland from the 1660s, but which appear to have been relatively rare before this date, certain aspects of 'Brownian' planting arguably appeared within them earlier than we might expect. The perimeter belt was present at places like Somerleyton (Suffolk) as early as 1652.[103] Small clumps of trees, apart from being a classic feature of Kent's designs, also feature on a number of illustrations in Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* of 1722 and as early as 1731 Miller could describe how oaks were suitable 'to plant in Clumps in parks'.[104] True lakes – often adapted from earlier fishpond complexes – were also fairly common features of parks by the 1730s, many with serpentine forms resulting from the difficulties of constructing large water bodies with rigidly geometric shapes. In the county of Norfolk alone – to take an area known to the writers – true 'lakes', covering an area of more than ten acres (c.4 hectares) and with outlines at least partly sinuous, were created in the parks at Raynham in the early 1720s; at Holkham between 1725 and 1731; and at Wolterton in the late 1720s. That in Kimberley Park was in existence by 1739, while the present lake at Blicking developed from a substantial body of water which was already in existence when the park was mapped by James Corbridge in 1729.[105] A number of the basic elements of the landscape park, in short, were familiar features of parks some time before Brown, or even Kent, began their careers.

THE MEANING OF THE LANDSCAPE STYLE

Many garden historians have been happy to 'explain' the rise of the landscape park entirely in terms of the history of garden design – as an autonomous discourse and practice – and have, as already noted, posited an effectively teleological argument, in which the works of Brown are the culmination of an inexorable shift towards more 'natural' styles of design which occurred in the course of the eighteenth century. A number of scholars, however, have sought to establish links between changes in garden design and developments in other intellectual and cultural fields. A long tradition, already well established by the 1770s, thus views the landscape style as an expression of political ideas, representing in physical form the balance inherent in the English constitution between tyranny and absolutism – expressed by the geometric garden – and anarchy – present in the chaos of 'unadorned nature'. It also expressed more generally a distinct English cultural and ideological identity (a suggestion which wilfully ignores how much the 'landscape' style owed to such foreign influences as the paintings of Poussin).[106] Some commentators have drawn parallels with contemporary developments in aesthetic theory, noting the similarities between Hogarth's 'line of beauty' and the sinuous curves of Brown's lakes or plantation belts.[107] A few have associated the rise of the 'natural' style with the growing influence of empiricist philosophy, against the Cartesian systematism and Neoplatonism which underlay the formality of the geometric garden;[108] or have connected Brown's 'belief in and search for an ideal beauty of form' with Neo-classical thinking.[109] Rather different to such approaches, although in some respects connected to them, are perspectives which link changes in garden design with changes in other aspects of the physical environment.

A long line of commentators has thus suggested an association between the rise of the 'landscape' style on the one hand, and the spread of enclosure, and the reclamation of commons and 'wastes', on the other. Keith Thomas, for example, while emphasising the importance of Italian landscapes, the poetry of Horace and Virgil, and the paintings of Claude, Poussin and Lorraine in the development of Brown's style, has argued that it was 'English agricultural progress which made these models so seductive'.[110] 'As Nature itself became regularized into a farm, and geometrized by the parliamentary surveyors' charts and chains, so artifice inevitably lost its compelling rationale. With Nature tamed, wildness itself could at last become aesthetically prized'.[111] Such ideas have a long ancestry. As early as 1783 William Marsden argued that:

> In highly cultivated countries, such as England, where property is all lined out, and bounded and intersected with walls and hedges, we endeavour to give our gardens … the charm of variety and novelty, by imitating the wildnesses of nature in studied irregularities … and the stately avenues, the canals, and the lawns of our ancestors, which afforded the beauty of contrast in ruder times, are now exploded.[112]

John Claudius Loudon in 1838 noted a similar connection:

> As the lands devoted to agriculture in England were, sooner than in any other country in Europe, generally enclosed with hedges and hedgerow trees, so the face of the country in England, sooner than in

> any other part of Europe, produced an appearance which bore a closer resemblance to country seats laid out in the geometrical style; and, for this reason, an attempt to imitate the irregularity of nature in laying out pleasure grounds was made in England sooner than in any other part of the world.[113]

More sophisticated social readings of such a relationship have been advanced by a number of modern scholars, most notably Anne Bermingham:

> As the real landscape began to look increasingly artificial, like a garden, the garden began to look increasingly natural, like the pre-enclosed landscape. Thus a natural landscape became the prerogative of the estate, so that nature was the sign of property and property the sign of nature. By conflating nature with the fashionable taste of a new social order, it redefined the natural in terms of this order, and vice versa.[114]

Unfortunately for so neat and attractive an argument, research into the chronology of enclosure over the last three decades or so has made such a direct connection harder to sustain. By the middle of the eighteenth century more than two thirds of England already lay in enclosures, and even in the Midland counties, where open landscapes persisted longest, the heartlands of the larger estates had usually been enclosed.[115] Yet we should perhaps be cautious in rejecting completely a connection between enclosure and the emergence of the Brownian park. The new method of enclosure by parliamentary act which developed in the eighteenth century created landscapes more regimented and geometric than most of those established by earlier forms, and ones perhaps more

Aerial view of the Stowe landscape. Image reference number 26048_010 © English Heritage

Old Wardour Castle in its Capability Brown landscape setting. Image reference N090397
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radically different in appearance to the landscape of the park. Instead of wide, multi-species hedges with abundant timber and pollards, they thus featured large straight sided fields defined by flimsy species-poor hawthorn hedges, often sparsely-timbered, straight roads and newly-built isolated farms. It is perhaps noteworthy that Brown's career coincided with the first 'wave' of parliamentary enclosure, between 1750 and 1780. In the 1740s just 39 parliamentary enclosure acts were passed, increasing to 117 in the 1750s, 393 in the 1760s and peaking at 640 in the 1770s. The following decade saw a more modest total of 237 acts, though this represented merely an interlude before the second and more dramatic wave of acts in the decades either side of 1800.[116] The first wave of enclosure was dominated by acts dealing primarily with open fields, and as such was particularly focused on the Midland counties where such landscapes were most extensive. This was also one of the main centres of Brown's activities.

Parliamentary acts represented an attractive way of enclosing land in two particular contexts: firstly, where the complexity of landholding precluded any form of enclosure by exchange or agreement; and secondly, where two or more rival landholders held sway and an act of parliament offered the opportunity to achieve what might otherwise take years or decades of negotiation.[117] It is in this second context that additional links may be drawn with the work of Brown and his contemporaries. Parliamentary enclosure offered opportunities to extend the acreage of parkland as well as that of cultivated fields; and schemes of agricultural and aesthetic improvement could progress in tandem as part of

wider projects of estate improvement. And in a more general sense, the idea that parks consciously rejected the landscape of agricultural production, and that a landscape devoid of walls or hedges was one redolent with elite status, remains a powerful one.

Others have posited connections between developments in architecture and changes in landscape design. Mark Girouard, in a remarkable contribution to the subject which has not perhaps been sufficiently followed up by scholars, suggested an association between developments in the plans of country houses and the disposition of their grounds. At the start of the eighteenth century great houses were still organised around a number of linear axes: the 'axis of honour' represented by the two main public rooms of the house – hall and salon – occupying its central areas and ranged one behind the other; and the 'enfilades' leading off these public spaces, into areas of increasing privacy.[118] In the 1750s, however, such 'formal' plans declined in popularity. Public reception rooms proliferated, each designed as a distinct experience, and they were now arranged as a circuit, an arrangement suited to more informal social encounters. Private apartments remained important but were no longer the key structuring principal of house plans, and in many houses the importance of the 'axis of honour' itself declined, as the hall itself became little more than a vestibule.[119] These changes in the design of large houses, according to Girouard, had a major impact on the layout of their grounds. People began to look at buildings in a different way: 'they no longer thought in terms of rigidly intersecting axial vistas, each neatly ending in a terminal feature. They liked to see buildings in a series and from a variety of constantly changing angles'.[120] Moreover, the flexible, informal social encounters for which the new plan forms were designed also required different arrangements of outdoor spaces.

> Axial planning, and straight avenues, canals or walks all converging on the ceremonial spine of the house disappeared in favour of circular planning. A basically circular layout was enlivened by different happenings all the way round the circuit, in the form of temples, obelisks, seats, pagodas, rotundas and so on.[121]

The earlier 'circuits' were around the pleasure grounds, and enjoyed on foot: but Brown's parks, with their extensive networks of drives, provided more extended routes which were experienced in one of the new light-weight chaises.

Girouard's argument, it should be noted, is not simply that garden design 'mirrored' changes in domestic architecture, but rather that both developed in forms which were appropriate to the new modes of social interaction which were emerging in the middle decades of the eighteenth century, with the rise of what Girouard has usefully labelled 'polite society'.[122] From the later seventeenth century the differences in status and lifestyle between the greatest landowners, and the broader group of the propertied comprising the local gentry and wealthy professionals, were being consciously played down. Social encounters – at country houses or, increasingly, at assemblies and similar gatherings – became more relaxed and informal in character, as emphasis was placed on easy affability, wit, conversation. The upper ranks of society began to coalesce into a single cultural group, and the landscape park can usefully be considered as its sign and symbol. Not only did it provide, with the mansion, an appropriate arena for 'polite' encounters. In addition, the very style of the landscape park helped to mark off the 'polite' clearly both

from the local farming community, and from more decidedly middle-class neighbours. When the garden courts were removed from the vicinity of the house, so too were all the productive features and enclosures – many of which had been semi-ornamental in character – in which the gentry had once delighted, and which had symbolised their active involvement in the productive life of their estates – orchards, nut grounds, fish ponds, dovecotes, farm yards. Removal of productive clutter arguably served to express a lack of involvement with the shared world of the agricultural community. At the same time, with the development of a more complex, commercial, consuming society – with a middle class growing in size and wealth and busy making elaborate gardens of their own – the new style prioritised the ancient symbol of the park, over elaborate gardens, as the main setting for the homes of the wealthy. Not only was the park a long-established sign of aristocratic privilege. It also required for its creation the commodity which only the established landed elite possessed – land in abundance.[123]

The landscape park also provided a measure of social isolation for the 'polite', privacy and seclusion from the wider communities around them, although it was not unique in this. Although many writers quote Goldsmith's poem *The Deserted Village* of 1761 – 'Have we not seen, at pleasure's lordly call/The smiling long-frequented village fall', so that the great house stood 'in barren solitary pomp' – most of the villages cleared to make way from parks in fact disappeared in the period before 1750, and while Brown himself is associated with the famous example of Milton Abbas, in general the great age of depopulation through emparking was over by mid century. Roads and footpaths were, however, frequently closed or diverted when parks were created, although perhaps most frequently after legal changes in 1773 established Road Closure Orders, cheaper and easier to affect than the writs of *ad quod damnum* or parliamentary acts which had formerly been required to change public rights of way. Perimeter belts also served to provide a measure of seclusion and privacy, as did the lodges which were erected at the gates of the larger parks.

The social determinants of the landscape park should not be exaggerated – privacy and seclusion could have been achieved in other ways, and the arenas for the new modes of social interaction would not necessarily have produced an informal, naturalistic landscape. This said, a social approach certainly encourages us to examine how the parks created by Brown and his contemporaries were experienced, used and consumed. Important work on this issue has been carried out by, in particular, Kate Felus: her PhD unfortunately remains unpublished but her exploration of the use of lakes, for boating and fishing, represents one of the most important contributions to the study of garden history to have appeared in recent years.[124] The use of Brown's garden buildings, including the menageries which he designed at Melton Constable (Norfolk), Ingestre (Staffordshire), Temple Newsam (Yorkshire) and elsewhere, would repay further research and in general terms the idea of landscape parks, not as empty spaces or carefully framed compositions, but as places busy with life and activity, is an important one not simply in terms of academic research agendas but also for the manner in which these places are presented to the general public.

Some of the ways in which parks were used by their owners are currently contentious. In particular, writers have generally accepted that landscape parks continued, like the

deer parks from which they in part developed, to be used for recreational hunting. To Robert Williams, the landscape parks was 'a private larder … a sylvan arena for blood sports'; more recently, Jane Brown has noted how the eighteenth-century park served 'the contented state of mind of the country sportsmen'.[125] The well-attested shift of sporting interest towards the pheasant – a bird of the woodland edge – in the second half of the eighteenth century has been linked to the emergence of the characteristic forms of parkland planting, the clump and the narrow belt.[126] But John Phibbs has recently argued strongly that Brown's parks were never used for hunting or shooting, except perhaps for the more distant recesses of the largest examples, and that their role in this respect can have had no significant impact on their design.[127] It is true that the smaller landscape parks and gardens were not important game reserves, or used regularly as hunting grounds; it is also true that there are dangers in hastening the arrival of highly-organised pheasant shooting, which was more a phenomenon for the last decades of the eighteenth century, than of the middle decades, when the landscape style was being forged. This said, the argument that Brown's parks had nothing to do with hunting and shooting is hard to accept, not least because it would suggest a very radical and sudden break with established practice. The various pieces of anti-poaching legislation passed in the first half of the eighteenth century, such as the Black Act of 1723, appear to assume not simply that game was kept in parks, but that it was *principally* to be found there.[128] Shooting was already an important aspect of country life and it is hard to believe that Brown transformed landscapes in ways that ensured that they could no longer function, in part, as game reserves for their owners. In many districts of England, especially the 'champion' areas of extensive open fields, owners may not have had a choice between shooting pheasants in the park and shooting them in the woods more widely scattered across the estate, because the latter did not yet exist to any significant extent. As late as 1796 Nathaniel Kent observed that while 'gentlemen of fortune' in the county of Norfolk had carried out much tree-planting 'in their parks and grounds', the planting of 'pits, angles, and great screens upon the distant parts of their estates, which I conceive to be the greatest object of improvement, has been but little attended to', a suggestion born out by the evidence of contemporary maps, which often show that game cover was only provided in parks.[129] When the Fisherwick (Staffordshire) estate was sold in 1808, to quote but one example, Brown's park was said to have been 'abundantly stocked with deer and game'.[130] It is possible, but perhaps unlikely, that this was a relatively recent development. Phibbs has certainly done an important service in highlighting the problems involved in too great an emphasis on the role of landscape parks in game shooting. Yet, as Brown himself put it, his landscapes provided 'all the elegance and *all the comforts* that mankind wants in the Country'. The extent to which their form was structured by recreational use, rather than by abstract aesthetics or philosophical ideas, certainly requires further research.

ECONOMICS AND LAND USE

The manner in which landscape parks were consumed, in terms of leisure and recreation, shades off without clear demarcation into how they were exploited in economic terms, for as several writers have argued they comprised arenas for particularly aristocratic forms of production. Stephen Daniels and others have noted how the rise of the landscape style, with its clumps and belts, in the early and middle decades of the eighteenth century was part of a more general upsurge in tree-planting.[131] Landowners were fired up by the writings of men like John Evelyn, whose book *Sylva, or a Discourse on Forest Trees* of 1664 was followed (and extensively plagiarised) by a rash of similar texts, including Stephen Switzer's *Ichnographica Rustica* (1718).[132] There was widespread concern that timber supplies were running dangerously low, Batty Langley in 1728 for example stating that 'our nation will be entirely exhausted of building timber before sixty years are ended'.[133] Men like Phillip Miller (1731), James Wheeler (1747), Edmund Wade (1755) and William Hanbury (1758) were also concerned about the military implications of a timber shortage, and throughout the century the government worried about how to provide the vast quantities of timber required by the Royal Navy dockyards.[134] There are grounds for believing that such concerns – especially regarding naval supplies – were to some extent exaggerated, relating more to questions of how the royal forests were managed and to problems of transportation, but in the present context this matters less than the fact that most educated people *believed* that the country was growing short of timber, especially for ship building, and that large-scale planting was thus seen as a patriotic act. It is noteworthy that the Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts awarded annual

Aerial view of the park at Chatsworth Image reference number NMR_23218.03
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medals for forestry between 1757 and 1835. And as Daniels has argued, there was a more general association of patriotism and planting in the period after 1660, for the planting of trees demonstrated confidence in the future, and thus in the new political dispensation brought about by the Restoration of the Monarchy, and by the Glorious Revolution of 1688.[135] Planting also expressed confidence in the continuity of ownership on the part of local dynasties – only those who expected to pass on a property to their children and grandchildren would plant over it. Landowners planted to beautify their estates, but also to demonstrate their extent. 'What can be more pleasant than to have the bounds and limits of your property preserved and continued from age to age by the testimony of such living and growing witnesses?', asked Joseph Worlidge in 1669.[136] They also planted to provide cover for game – and to make money. While it is true that the trees in the more visible areas of parkland would not have been managed primarily with economics in mind, money could nevertheless be made from the repeated thinnings of the nurse crop planted in clumps. The more remote areas of the larger parks were unquestionably managed as forestry enterprises.

The other key component of parks – grass – also had important economic functions, and once again ones with particularly aristocratic, elite connotations. As Repton noted in 1792:

> Labour and hardship attend the operations of agriculture, whether cattle are tearing up the surface of the soil, or man reaping its produce; but a pasture shows us the same animals enjoying rest after fatigue, while others sporting with liberty and ease excite the pleasing idea of happiness and comfort annexed to a pastoral life. Consequently, such a scene must be more in harmony with the residence of elegance and comfort, and marks a degree of affluence, so decidedly that we never see a park ploughed up, but we always attribute it to poverty.[137]

Parks provided, in addition, places where the gentry and aristocracy could indulge a fashionable interest in livestock improvement. It would be interesting to know how far – if at all – the need to manage the grazing of sheep and cattle may have ensured the physical subdivision of the parkland turf, and the extent to which the need to conceal such subdivisions may have affected the disposition of clumps or other aspects of design.

However, it should be noted that the precise manner in which the parkland turf was managed is currently a matter of contention. While most researchers have assumed that the parks created by Brown and his 'imitators' were grazed, by deer, sheep and/or cattle, Phibbs has cogently argued that parks as a whole, including the areas in close proximity to the house, were in fact usually managed as meadows: they were closed to livestock for most of the spring and summer, allowing the grass to grow long, so that it could be cut for hay. The sward would thus have boasted the range of tall wild flowers characteristic of this form of management. Some parts of some parks were certainly managed in this way, as named subdivisions such as 'The Hay Park' testify, and in some examples areas of irrigated meadow were even installed (as at Woburn).[138] But the suggestion that most or all of the area, of the majority of parks, comprised meadow rather than pasture, and that this was the dominant and intended aesthetic of Brown's parklands, is more difficult to sustain. Some parks were simply too large to have been managed in this way – hay-

making is a labour-intensive and weather-dependent business, and there would never have been enough manpower to mow the entire area of Blenheim or Petworth, for example. Repton on one occasion wrote of the need for 'judicious lines of demarcation' separating 'the grounds to be fed from the grounds to be mown', suggesting a mixture of management regimes; but he usually implies that parks were primarily (and sometimes exclusively) grazed, as when he urged that parkland 'of course, should be grass, whether fed by deer, by sheep or by other cattle' and that subdivisions, 'if any', ought not to be permanent. But above all, if parks were supposed to function as meadows it is surprising that eighteenth-century paintings of country houses seldom, if ever, show them standing in a sea of long, uncut grass; and odd that landscapes created in Brown's style could be castigated by Knight and other critics as 'bare', 'smooth' and 'bald'.[139]

Although there are thus differences of opinion concerning precise forms of management, there is no doubt that parks, while being primarily aesthetic landscapes, also had important economic functions, and constituted part of the wider economy of the landed estate: and it is important to know how far their form and structure may have been modified by such practical roles. In a wider sense, moreover, the nature of the relationship between designed landscapes and the wider productive countryside would repay further investigation. Many landowners undoubtedly wanted their parks to appear distinct and different from the surrounding countryside, but it does not necessarily follow that they found all aspects of the wider rural environment aesthetically unappealing.

Compton Verney © English Heritage:John Critchley

Straight-sided fields, model farms and estate plantations all contributed to an air of rational improvement and might be considered visually pleasing in their own right. Recent research on the landscapes of landed estates has emphasised the importance of examining them as a whole, rather than drawing too sharp a distinction between the designed core and surrounding farms and plantations.[140] Many aspects of estate landscapes served both functional and aesthetic purposes, uniting the two contemporary aims of 'beauty and utility', albeit to differing extents and in different ways in different locations.[141] A fuller understanding of the parks created by Brown and his contemporaries thus arguably requires an appreciation of change in the wider countryside, particularly through enclosure, tree planting and the progressive remodelling of estate landscapes.

Afforestation, enclosure, reclamation and park-making were all described by contemporaries as forms of 'improvement' -'that ultimate Georgian buzzword'.[142] "'Improvement" was a label often applied to the land, serving as a code word for capitalist farming, notably enclosure, while also being applied to landscape gardening'.[143] Stroud herself emphasised that Brown's 'place-making' could usefully be considered as only one aspect of a wider phenomenon:

> The passing of Acts for the enclosure of large areas of hitherto common land, new methods of reclamation and husbandry, the making of better roads, and the importation of new species of trees and shrubs, all…came under the general heading of "improvement". While improvement did not necessarily imply landscaping, no landscape could hope to flourish unless due attention had been paid to the ground on which it was to be formed, and the proper cultivation of trees with which it was to be planted.[144]

Jacques, amongst others, has also emphasised the connection between landscape design and the more general 'improvement' of the landscape, especially through tree-planting.[145] In the eyes of some researchers, 'improvement' is the key to understanding many other aspects of the landscapes and material culture of the period:[146] activities described in this manner in the eighteenth century include large-scale water management schemes – wetland drainage, the improvement of rivers and (ultimately) the development of a canal network – as well as the improvement of roads, especially through proper surfacing, usually under the aegis of turnpike trusts.[147] It is almost superfluous to note the parallels between these kinds of endeavours, and the creation of lakes, installation of land drainage schemes, and laying out of networks of gravel drives, which typified Brown's own 'improvements'. His landscapes, looked at in this way, embodied many of the wider concerns and interests of the period.

SITE RESEARCH, FIELDWORK AND RESTORATION

Research into what Brown actually carried out on the ground at particular places, and how extensive that work may have been, has been based in part on an examination of documentary and cartographic sources and in part on fieldwork – that is, on a systematic analysis of the surviving remains of his landscapes. Documentary sources include comments by travellers and visitors like Horace Walpole, and the records of particular families and estates, including maps, accounts, diaries and letters. Information can also be gleaned from the official documents attached to road closure orders and *Inquisitiones ad quod damnum*, and from a systematic analysis of extant bank accounts – both those of Brown himself, and of clients – a source already extensively examined by David Brown.[148] The use of some, but not all, of this material in the study of garden history more generally has been discussed by David Lambert and others.[149] There can be little doubt that, in spite of the research carried out over many decades, much documentary material relating to Brown's activities remains to be discovered, and Hall's discussion of the minutes of meetings held between Brown and the estate steward concerning the improvements at Burton Constable, already noted, shows the importance of the new insights which can be produced by a single previously unknown source.[150]

In terms of assessing the contribution that Brown may have made at particular sites, a major problem is that for a significant number there are no maps or illustrations surviving from the period immediately following (or preceding) his activities, and in some cases none dating to before the nineteenth century. Researchers are thus obliged to rely on the evidence of such sources as the draft Ordnance Survey 2": 1 mile drawings, made between 1798 and 1836; tithe award maps (mainly c.1838-1845); and the First Edition Ordnance Survey 1: 10,560 (6": 1 mile) maps (c.1860-1890). These sources, and especially the first two, have their own particular problems of interpretation but more importantly the landscapes they depict will have undergone often far-reaching change in the two or three generations which have passed since Brown was active. We have already noted the possibility that some of Brown's parks were already being 'restored' by the 1830s, and such modifications may not always have been faithful to his original designs. More importantly, fashions changed rapidly in the early nineteenth century, and it is clear that Brown was not necessarily held in such high esteem, even by the 1790s, that owners were unhappy to see his work extensive modified or even swept away. Where we have only one source – such as a map of 1840 – we are often obliged to assume that much or all of what we see there was created by Brown but in most cases such a view will be wrong. Perhaps one of the greatest difficulties in evaluating the character of Brown's work is the fact that confident interpretations are too frequently based on sources dating to five decades or more after his involvement at a particular place.

To supplement documentary sources, and also to provide some test of their reliability, much use has also been made of fieldwork evidence – the analysis of standing structures, of earthworks and other archaeological features, and of surviving planting.[151] Again, the use of such evidence in the more general study of garden history has been discussed elsewhere, with particularly useful analyses of the archaeological approaches provided by Taylor and Currie.[152] In terms of mid/late eighteenth-century landscapes, and especially those created by Brown, field archaeology has its own particular difficulties. It has been

employed effectively to identify the sites of ornamental buildings, and the layout of circuit drives and pleasure ground paths;[153] but in general the physical remains left by landscape design in this period are less robust and definable than those of earlier phases of walled, geometric gardening, and even less than those of the simplified geometry of Charles Bridgeman and his contemporaries.[154] Phibbs has ably emphasised the practical difficulties involved in recording – in conventional terms of hachure plans and the like – the archaeology of Brown's earth-moving, which he has aptly described as the archaeology of 'what isn't there'.[155] Minor debates surround the interpretation of the earthworks of pre-park landscapes preserved in the turf of Brown's parks, with some insisting that many of the remains of shifted roads and settlements, or of former hedges fields or ridge and furrow, were *intentionally* left in the landscape by Brown and others, for symbolic or philosophical reasons; while others point to the spatial distribution of such remains (usually surviving best in the more remote areas of the landscape, and banished from the immediately vicinity of the house), as well as the abundant documentary evidence for systematic levelling, to argue that such remains were residual elements, of little or no significance to contemporaries.[156] Future research in this area should make use of LIDAR to explore the very slight earthworks found within landscape parks; this may be of particular use when exploring issues such as drainage and planting.

Rather different issues concern the interpretation of surviving planting. Rackham and others have noted the extent to which pre-existing trees, principally from hedgerows, were retained by Brown and other eighteenth-century park-makers, and can usually be readily identified by their disposition (in lines), growth pattern (a significant proportion are former pollards) and archaeological associations (with the earthworks of former field boundaries).[157] Many of Brown's parks contain fine collections of veteran trees, retained from the earlier landscape in this way, such as Croome (Worcestershire), Blenheim (Oxfordshire) and Kimberley (Norfolk).[158] It is the trees which he and his contemporaries (and successors) added to the landscape, those which were deliberately planted as part of the design, that can cause problems. Where documentary evidence is meagre the importance of establishing a date for individual trees, or for belts and clumps, becomes critical, especially in cases where complex geometric schemes of design are deduced from the disposition of trees confidently identified by 'surveys' as being of Brownian date.[159] Researchers have been obliged to make use of the various methods of dating trees from girth measurements which have been developed by arboriculturalists, principally the simple (but rapid) estimates produced by Alan Mitchell's rough rule-of thumb; and the more complex method, involving time-consuming calculations, developed by John White.[160] Awareness that trees grown in clumps, avenues and the like may put on girth at very different rates, a consequence of the varying extents to which they are over-grown by neighbours, has led to the formulation of even more complex methodologies. Lennon for example has argued that the *average* girth of trees growing in features like clumps and avenues ought to be a reasonable guide to the age of the planting as whole:[161] but this would only work if we could be sure that the extant specimens constitute the majority of those once planted rather than – as is often the case – a small minority of survivors. And in a more general sense research has demonstrated that marked variations in the growth of trees planted within a single feature, having once been established in the early years of its existence, do not appear to diminish in subsequent decades or centuries.[162] Both White and Mitchell, it should be emphasised, have been at pains to stress the

limitations of their dating methods, and the manner in which the rate at which trees put on girth depends not only on species but on variety, soil type, drainage, and location in regard to other specimens. Any suggestion that trees planted in (say) 1770, by Brown, in a particular landscape can be confidently distinguished from those established in 1745, or 1795, should on the available evidence be treated with extreme caution, especially given the possibility that quite mature trees might on occasions be moved and replanted in this period.[163] Like Hooper's method of 'hedge dating', by counting the numbers of species present in a set length, the dating of trees by measuring their girth appears ripe for critical appraisal. Dating by ring-counting felled specimens, or by coring standing examples, can usually be used only sparingly, and may in some cases be less reliable than often assumed.

In a more general sense, as Currie has warned, reconstructions of the history of particular designed landscapes based heavily on field evidence – integrating tree surveys with earthwork evidence – can often prove to be misleading when additional independent evidence, from documents or archaeological excavation, is employed.[164] There is a real danger of imposing what we think we know about Brown and his works on our understanding of the poorly-dated remains – in terms of planting and earthworks – found at particular sites, and of assuming that these can thereby be dated with confidence, even in the absence of independent reliable dating. Detailed reconstructions of such things as how Brown's landscapes were explored or negotiated, based largely or entirely on fieldwork evidence, should perhaps be proposed with more caution than has sometimes been the case.[165]

However we employ field survey evidence for reconstructing the history of Brown's landscapes, it cannot be over-emphasised that much of this evidence has an importance in its own right. In arable areas of England especially, eighteenth-century parks often provide the only areas of unploughed ground in otherwise intensively arable landscapes, and thus the only places where extensive collections of earthworks – of medieval and post-medieval date, but occasionally earlier – can survive. They also generally contain more 'veteran' trees – that is, tree old for their species, and thus of particular importance for biodiversity – than the surrounding countryside, where aesthetic or sentimental concerns took precedence over economic ones in tree management. Many parks, moreover, comprise or include areas of unimproved or minimally-improved grassland. Although landscape parks are usually valued for their aesthetic qualities and cultural and historical importance, we should not forget what Ian Rotherham has termed the 'ecology of Capability Brown'. This has recently been the subject of an important report produced by Natural England, which has also emphasised the role of parks in ecological connectivity, and their contribution to ecosystem services through such things as the regulation of water quality and water flows.

A brief comment needs to be made about restoration, something which owners of Brownian landscapes – private or institutional – may well be considering as Brown's tercentenary approaches. We do not need to rehearse here the familiar debates relating to the restoration of historic landscapes (such as how additions made subsequent to what might be perceived as the 'most important' period of their history should be treated). But one issue particularly relevant to Brown's designs should be highlighted.

Their 'naturalistic' character ensures that trees, individually or in groups, constitute their most important elements. Some thought therefore needs to be given to how these landscapes can be 'future proofed' against the possibility of climate change and, in particular, the threat of increasing levels of tree disease resulting in large measure from globalisation. As well as ash *chalara*, a host of new diseases, pests and parasites have been recorded in England over recent decades, including red band needle blight in Corsican and Scots pine, oak processionary moth, sweet chestnut blight, horse chestnut leaf miner and bleeding canker, a spate of phytopthera, and above all sudden oak death and acute oak decline.

Those involved in the restoration of historic landscapes have been obliged to substitute other species for the elms so widely planted by Brown and others in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and which have been destroyed by Dutch elm disease (as with the great avenue at Wimpole). To what extent should we now be considering anticipatory diversification of planting, to assist long-term survival of restored landscapes? Should for example plantings of indigenous beech be augmented with specimens of exotics like Lengua beech (*Nothofagus pumilio*) or Raoul beech (*Nothofagus alpine*), or plantings of indigenous oak by examples of Hungarian oak (*Quercus frainetto*) or downy oak (*Q. pubescens*), in order to provide trees more tolerant of a warmer and drier climate and, more importantly, to provide a more diverse population with higher potential resistance to particular pests? Is there also an argument that planting in eighteenth-century parks should be more generally diversified by the use of certain indigenous species not much used by Brown or other eighteenth-century designers, in part perhaps because they were not an established element in contemporary forestry practice? Hornbeam, seldom encountered in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century countryside other than as a pollard,[166] was planted comparatively rarely in parks but makes a fine specimen tree and does not (as yet) suffer from major diseases or pests. To some extent, the character of the planting adopted in restorations should depend on a fuller understanding of Brown's style, and in particular on the extent to which conifers like larch, Scots pine or spruce were employed as design elements, rather than simply as 'nurses': the use of such species would further diversify planting and help ensure robustness of restored landscapes in the face of future threats.

To some purists, ideas like this may seem philosophically suspect: 'restoration' employing alien species is a contradiction in terms. They may well be right: but against this there seems little point in scrupulous accuracy in restoration if the planting in question is likely to die within a short period of time. The issue certainly requires further debate.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing discussion has highlighted a number of key issues relating to Brown and his landscapes which urgently require attention from researchers.

- We need a reliable list of the landscapes which Brown designed. Current gazetteers include numerous spurious attributions, omit a number of sites at which he was very probably active, and fail to distinguish effectively the scale of his involvement in particular cases. The Parks and Gardens UK website may offer a good platform on which to build this, as it already includes entries for many Brown sites (although these need to be carefully reviewed to remove errors). The work of collating material and references could be carried out by volunteers, perhaps with the support of the Garden History Society and the Association of Gardens Trust, and with a multi-disciplinary team of academics and professionals to interpret and finalise a new, definitive gazetteer of Brown's work. A 'crowdsourcing' approach – subject to a measure of academic peer review – would help to raise public awareness of Brown and his works, and might well be deemed an appropriate target for funding by key grant-giving bodies, given the current emphasis on engagement. The recent work of the Public Catalogue Foundation, which aims to digitise and catalogue the national collection of oil paintings using crowd-sourced information, offers an interesting model for how large and complex datasets, including visual material, can be handled online – http://www.thepcf.org.uk/.

- All the information relating to the better-documented examples of these sites – especially all the known Brown plans, maps and near-contemporary illustrations – needs to be collated and examined together, in a systematic manner, in order to ascertain the precise characteristics of Brown's style and the extent to which this changed over time. This has the potential to be a serious multi-disciplinary project including a number of academic and non-academic partners, with the potential to create a high quality digital archive which can be used for research purposes by a variety of researchers. Such a project would also highlight aspects of Brown's activities, such as land drainage and attitudes to earlier landscapes, which have so far received insufficient attention from garden and landscape historians. It would also help in testing some of the suggestions made over the last few decades about the character of his designs, especially the extent to which they embody hidden geometric principles.

- To assist this, a central repository of 'grey' literature – reports on particular sites compiled as part of Conservation Management Plans or to support schemes of restoration – needs to be created. The Parks and Gardens UK website may provide a potential opportunity for hosting digitised reports and a database of references to the grey literature. Organisations such as English Heritage and the National Trust can play a leading role here, in making their own research on properties in their care publically accessible.

- Research over the last few decades has thrown much light on Brown's contemporaries (or 'imitators'): we now need more information about fashions in landscape design at the start of Brown's career, in the 1740s and 50s. Recent work on Sanderson Miller

and Thomas Wright has advanced our knowledge considerably in this area. Further research would be helpful in ascertaining how far Brown's style was indeed novel, and how far it formed part of a more general fashion, widely shared, which came to be particularly associated with him as a consequence of his success and ability as an artist, and as a businessman.

- A deeper understanding of Brown as a *garden* designer, as opposed to a landscape and parkland designer, may well result from some of the suggestions made above, and discussed in this review. In particular, more work needs to be done on Brown and walled kitchen gardens, an element of his landscapes which does not appear to have been studied in any depth.

- The detailed and systematic examination of sources such as eighteenth-century bank records has enormous potential for the study of the period, including the identification of Brown's sites, and the work of other designers. Such records could be digitised and made available online, alongside other resources and transcriptions, again employing a crowd-sourcing approach and utilising the help of volunteers. The Royal Bank of Scotland holds the archives of Drummonds, Brown's own bank, but also records from a number of other contemporary banks, including Coutts. These constitute an outstanding set of resources whose full potential has yet to be realised.

- More research is required into precisely how Brown's parks were used and experienced – what went on in them in terms of both recreational and economic activities – and how such use contributed to their structure and layout. As will be apparent from the above review, there are a number of major disagreements on these issues which require examination and discussion. There are also areas which have been under-researched in this regard, particularly the role of gender in understanding Brown's landscapes.

- Further research into contemporary reactions to Brown and his landscapes is needed – both positive and negative. The question of his reputation and legacy in an international context also needs to be explored in more depth. In the context of the celebrations in 2016, this could be achieved by bringing together an international and multi-disciplinary group of scholars together for a conference or workshop.

- Some attention needs to be paid to how Brown's landscapes were regarded, and treated, in the period between his death and 1783 and his return to fashion in the twentieth century, not least because this period may have witnessed important changes in their structure and planting through age, neglect, or even 'restoration'.

- Critical appraisal is needed of the various fieldwork techniques employed by researchers, and which often form the basis for both academic discussion and programmes of restoration. The extent to which individual trees, or planting features, can be dated by non-intrusive methods is in particular need of objective examination.

- More thought and discussion is required concerning the restoration of Brown's landscapes, and in particular to the kinds of trees employed in new planting, with

particular attention being paid to 'future-proofing' restorations against climate change and infections. Ongoing research into the long-term effects of climate change will undoubtedly throw up new ideas about management and sustainability in the future, and researchers and professionals working with Brown's landscape should remain alive to future possibilities. Good management, and examples of best practice, will be key to sustainability and resilience over the next century.

- Future research could address the social and economic value of Brown's landscapes, and other eighteenth-century designed landscapes, in the UK, both to domestic and international visitors. Demonstrating their importance in this regard may help to safeguard their long-term future. At the same time, more research is required into the effects which significant numbers of visitors might have on these often fragile landscapes.

Although the group which has peer-reviewed and discussed the findings of this review was a multi-disciplinary one, encompassing social and landscape historians, landscapes architects and ecologists, there is a need to engage with other academic and professional disciplines, including forestry and agriculture, architectural history, the tourism sector and heritage bodies (both public and private).

Many of the suggestions and recommendations made here can only be achieved if funding is secured. Research council funding, from the Arts and Humanities Research Council and similar bodies, is an obvious starting point for academic institutions working in partnership with non-academic organisations. Other funding bodies, such as the Heritage Lottery Fund, the Arts Council and a range of charitable trusts (such as the Getty Foundation or the Paul Mellon Centre), could also be a source of funding for some elements of future research. The support of the owners of Brown's landscapes themselves, both charitable and private, will be critical – particularly in cases where parks are not regularly open to the public, and where archival material has been retained in private ownership. Owners could have a role to play in terms of funding and sponsorship of some research outcomes, such as a publication on Brown's plans, or as sponsors of scholarships for students researching Brown and landscape design in the eighteenth century.

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APPENDIX 1: GAZETTEER OF BROWN SITES

This gazetteer has been compiled from the principal secondary literature and existing gazetteers. Counties are based on the 1851 county boundaries.

	Name	County	Date	Attribution	Secondary Bibliographic References
1	Adderbury	Oxfordshire	?1768	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Mowl 2007.
2	Addington Place	Surrey	1781-82	Definite	Stroud 1975; Hyams 1971; Turner 1985.
3	Allerton/Stourton	Yorkshire	1781	Attribution Only	Stroud 1975; Hyams 1971; Turner 1985.
4	Alnwick Castle	Northumberland	1760	Definite	Stroud 1975; Hyams 1971; Tyne and Wear 1983; Turner 1985; Hinde 1986; Brown 2011.
5	Althorp	Northamptonshire	1780	Attribution Only	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
6	Ampthill Park	Bedfordshire	1771-1772	Definite	Stroud 1975; Hyams 1971; Turner 1985.
7	Ancaster House, Richmond	Surrey	1772/3	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
8	Appuldurcombe Park	Isle of Wight	1779	Not implemented	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
9	Ashburnham Place	Sussex	1767	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Hinde 1986.
10	Ashridge	Hertfordshire	1754-68	Definite	Stroud 1975; Hyams 1971; Turner 1985; Hinde 1986; Brown 2011.

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	Name	County	Date	Attribution	Secondary Bibliographic References
11	Aske Hall	Yorkshire	1770s	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
12	Astrop	Northamptonshire	Undated	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
13	Audley End	Essex	1763	Definite	Stroud 1975; Hyams 1971; Turner 1985; Hinde 1986; Brown 2011.
14	Aynho Park	Northamptonshire	1760-63	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
15	Badminton Park	Wiltshire	Undated	Not implemented	Stroud 1975; Hyams 1971; Turner 1985; Mowl 2002.
16	Basildon Park	Berkshire	1778	Attribution Only	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
17	Battle Abbey	East Sussex	1772-4	Definite	Willis 1984.
18	Beaudesert	Staffordshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
19	Beechwood	Hertfordshire	1754	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Hinde 1986; Brown 2011.
20	Belhus Park	Essex	1753	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
21	Belvoir Castle	Rutland	1779	Not implemented	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
22	Benham Park	Berkshire	1773-5	Definite	Stroud 1975; Hyams 1971; Turner 1985; Hinde 1986.

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	Name	County	Date	Attribution	Secondary Bibliographic References
23	Benwell Tower	Northumberland	1738	Attribution Only	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Hinde 1986.
24	Berrington	Herefordshire	1776; 1781-2	Definite	Stroud 1975; Hyams 1971; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
25	Birdsall Hall	Yorkshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Parks and Gardens UK
26	Blenheim Palace	Oxfordshire	1764-8	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Hinde 1986; Mowl 2007; Brown 2011.
27	Boarstall	Buckinghamshire	Undated	Not implemented	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
28	Bowood	Wiltshire	1761-8	Definite	Stroud 1975; Hyams 1971; Turner 1985; Hinde 1986; Brown 2011.
29	Branches	Suffolk	1763-5	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Hinde 1986; Brown 2011.
30	Brentford	Middlesex	1773	Not implemented	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
31	Brightling Park	East Sussex	Undated	Attribution Only	Stroud 1975.
32	Broadlands	Hampshire	1764-8	Definite	Stroud 1975; Hyams 1971; Turner 1985; Hinde 1986; Brown 2011.
33	Brocklesby	Lincolnshire	1771-3	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
34	Buckingham House (Palace)	Middlesex	1762-3	Not implemented	Brown 2011.

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	Name	County	Date	Attribution	Secondary Bibliographic References
35	Burghley House	Lincolnshire	1754-82	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Hinde 1986; Brown 2011.
36	Burton Constable	Yorkshire	pre 1760 and 1773	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
37	Burton Park	Sussex	1758	Definite	Turner 1985.
38	Burton Pynsent	Somerset	1765	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
39	Byram	Yorkshire	1782	Not implemented	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
40	Byrkley Lodge	Staffordshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Mowl 2009; Brown 2011.
41	Cadland House	Hampshire	1775	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
42	Capheaton	Northumberland	Undated	Attribution Only	Turner 1985.
43	Cardiff Castle	Glamorganshire	1775-1777	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
44	Castle Ashby	Northamptonshire	1761	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
45	Caversham Park	Oxfordshire	1764	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
46	Chalfont House	Buckinghamshire	1760	Definite	Turner 1985.
47	Charlecote Park	Warwickshire	1757-71	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011; Mowl 2011.

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	Name	County	Date	Attribution	Secondary Bibliographic References
48	Charlton Park	Kent	1767	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
49	Chatsworth	Derbyshire	1760	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
50	Chenies Place	Buckinghamshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Parks and Gardens UK.
51	Chevening	Kent	1777	Attribution Only	Stroud 1975; Brown 2011.
52	Chilham Castle	Kent	1777	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
53	Chillington	Staffordshire	1760	Attribution Only	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
54	Church Stretton	Shropshire	1770s	Attribution Only	Stamper 1996
55	Chute Lodge	Wiltshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
56	Clandon Park	Surrey	1781	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
57	Claremont	Surrey	1769	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
58	Cliveden	Buckinghamshire	1778	Attribution Only	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
59	Clumber Park	Derbyshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Park and Gardens UK.
60	Cole Green	Hertfordshire	1756	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
61	Compton Place	Sussex	1766	Definite	Park and Gardens UK.

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	Name	County	Date	Attribution	Secondary Bibliographic References
62	Compton Verney	Warwickshire	1768	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011; Mowl 2011.
63	Compton Wynyates	Warwickshire	1765	Not implemented	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
64	Coombe Abbey	Warwickshire	1771	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
65	Coopershale	Essex	1774	Not implemented	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
66	Copped Hall	Essex	Undated	Not implemented	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
67	Corsham Court	Wiltshire	1760	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
68	Cowdray House	Sussex	1769	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
69	Crewe Hall	Cheshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
70	Croome Court	Worcestershire	1750	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Mowl 2006; Brown 2011.
71	Cuffnalls	Hampshire	Undated	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
72	Dacre House	Kent	1767	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
73	Danson Park	Kent	Undated	Attribution Only	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
74	Denham Park	Buckinghamshire	1773	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.

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	Name	County	Date	Attribution	Secondary Bibliographic References
75	Digswell	Hertfordshire	1771-3	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
76	Ditchingham	Norfolk	Undated	Attribution Only	Brown 2011.
77	Ditchley	Oxfordshire	1777	Attribution Only	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
78	Ditton Park	Buckinghamshire	1762-74	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
79	Doddington Park	Cheshire	1770	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
80	Dodington Park	Wiltshire	1764	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
81	Dornford	Oxfordshire	1775	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
82	Down, Blandford St Mary	Dorset	1770s	Attribution Only	Brown 2011.
83	Downham House	Suffolk	Undated	Attribution Only	Brown 2011.
84	Dynevor (Newton) Castle	Camarthenshire	1775	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
85	Dyrham	Hertfordshire	1765	Definite	Brown 2011.
86	Ealing Place	Middlesex	Undated	Attribution Only	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
87	Eaton Hall	Cheshire	1761	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
88	Edgbaston	Warwickshire	1776	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.

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	Name	County	Date	Attribution	Secondary Bibliographic References
89	Elvaston Castle	Derbyshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Parks and Gardens UK.
90	Elvedon	Suffolk	1765-9	Attribution Only	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
91	Enville	Staffordshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Stroud 1975; Brown 2011.
92	Euston Hall	Suffolk	1767	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
93	Eywood	Herefordshire	1775	Not implemented	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
94	Fawley Court	Buckinghamshire	Undated	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
95	Fawsley Hall	Northamptonshire	1763-6	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
96	Finmere Rectory	Buckinghamshire	1748	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
97	Fisherwick	Staffordshire	1768	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
98	Flambards	Middlesex	1756-70	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
99	Fornham St Genevieve	Suffolk	1782	Not implemented	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
100	Garrick's Villa	Middlesex	1756	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
101	Gatton	Surrey	1765	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
102	Gatton Park	Surrey	1762-8	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.

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	Name	County	Date	Attribution	Secondary Bibliographic References
103	Gayhurst	Buckinghamshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
104	Gibside	Durham	1750	Attribution Only	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
105	Glympton	Oxfordshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Turner 1985.
106	Gosfield Hall	Essex	Undated	Attribution Only	Parks and Gardens UK.
107	Grey's Inn Walks	Middlesex	1755-70	Definite	English Heritage listing.
108	Grimsthorpe	Lincolnshire	1772	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
109	Grove House	Surrey	Undated	Attribution Only	Parks and Gardens UK.
110	Hackwood Park	Hampshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Parks and Gardens UK.
111	Hainton	Lincolnshire	1780	Attribution Only	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
112	Hallingbury	Essex	1758; 1778	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
113	Hampton Court	Surrey	1764	Not implemented	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
114	Hanwell	Midl	Undated	Not implemented	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
115	Harewood	Yorkshire	1772	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
116	Harleyford	Berkshire	1755	Attribution Only	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.

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	Name	County	Date	Attribution	Secondary Bibliographic References
117	Hartwell	Northamptonshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
118	Haynes (Hawnes)	Bedfordshire	1778	Not implemented	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
119	Hesleyside	Northumberland	1776	Attribution Only	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
120	Heveningham	Suffolk	1781	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
121	Hewell Grange	Worcestershire	1768	Definite	Turner 1985; Mowl 2006.
122	Highclere	Hampshire	1770	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
123	Highcliffe	Hampshire	1770s	Definite	Turner 1985; Mowl 2003; Brown 2011.
124	Hill Park (Valons)	Kent	1772-5	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
125	Hills Place	Sussex	1769-71	Definite	Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
126	Hilton	Huntingdonshire	1777	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
127	Himley	Staffordshire	1780-82	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
128	Hinchingbrooke	Cambridgeshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Parks and Gardens UK.
129	Holkham	Norfolk	1762	Not implemented	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
130	Holland Park	Middlesex	Undated	Attribution Only	Parks and Gardens UK.

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	Name	County	Date	Attribution	Secondary Bibliographic References
131	Hornby Castle	Yorkshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Parks and Gardens UK.
132	Howsham	Yorkshire	1770s	Definite	Parks and Gardens UK.
133	Hunstrete House	Somerset	Undated	Attribution Only	Parks and Gardens UK.
134	Hurlingham Club	Middlesex	Undated	Attribution Only	Parks and Gardens UK.
135	Hyde Park	Middlesex	Undated	Attribution Only	Parks and Gardens UK.
136	Ickworth	Suffolk	1769-76	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
137	Ingestre	Staffordshire	1756	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
138	Ingress Abbey	Kent	1760-72	Not implemented	Turner 1985.
139	Kelstone	Somerset	1767	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
140	Kiddington	Oxfordshire	1740	Attribution Only	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
141	Kimberley	Norfolk	1763	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
142	Kimbolton Castle	Cambridgeshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Parks and Gardens UK.
143	Kings Weston, Gloucs	Gloucestershire	Undated	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Mowl 2002.
144	Kirkharle	Northumberland	1732	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.

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	Name	County	Date	Attribution	Secondary Bibliographic References
145	Kirtlington	Oxfordshire	1751-7	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
146	Knowsley	Lancashire	1775-6	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Mowl 2007; Brown 2011.
147	Kyre	Worcestershire	1750s	Attribution Only	Parks and Gardens UK.
148	Lacock	Wiltshire	1755-6	Definite	Turner 1985.
149	Laleham	Middlesex	post 1763	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
150	Langley	Norfolk	1765	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
151	Langley	Buckinghamshire	1760s	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
152	Latimers	Buckinghamshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
153	Leeds Castle	Kent	1771-2	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
154	Little Grove, East Barnet	Hertfordshire	1768	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
155	Lleweni	Denbighshire	1781	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
156	Longford	Wiltshire	1778-8	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Mowl 2004; Brown 2011.
157	Longleat	Wiltshire	1757	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Mowl 2004; Brown 2011.

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	Name	County	Date	Attribution	Secondary Bibliographic References
158	Lowther Castle	Westmorland	1763-81	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
159	Luton Hoo	Bedfordshire	1764	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
160	Madingley	Cambridgeshire	1756	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
161	Maiden Earley	Berkshire	Undated	Not implemented	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
162	Mamhead	Devon	1772-3	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
163	Melton Constable	Norfolk	1763-4	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
164	Milton Abbey	Dorset	1763	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Mowl 2003.
165	Moccas	Shropshire	1778	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
166	Moor Park	Hertfordshire	1753	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
167	Mount Clare, Roehampton	Surrey	1772	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
168	Navestock	Essex	1763-73	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
169	Newnham Paddox	Warwickshire	1745-1753	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011; Mowl 2011.
170	Newton Park	Somerset	1761	Attribution Only	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
171	North Cray Place	Kent	1781	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.

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	Name	County	Date	Attribution	Secondary Bibliographic References
172	North Stoneham	Hampshire	1775-8	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
173	Nuneham	Oxfordshire	1778	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Mowl 2007; Brown 2011.
174	Oakly Park	Shropshire	1772	Not implemented	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
175	Packington	Warwickshire	1750-1	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
176	Park Place	Oxfordshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Parks and Gardens UK
177	Patshull	Staffordshire	Undated	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
178	Paultons	Hampshire	1772-4	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
179	Peper Harrow	Surrey	1757-8	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
180	Peterborough House	Middlesex	1774	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
181	Petworth	Sussex	1751	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
182	Pirton	Worcestershire	1764	Attribution Only	Brown 2011
183	Pishiobury	Hertfordshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
184	Porters, Shenley	Hertfordshire	1773	Not implemented	Brown 2011
185	Prior Park	Somerset	1760	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.

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	Name	County	Date	Attribution	Secondary Bibliographic References
186	Pulls Court	Worcestershire	Undated	Attribution Only	Turner 1985.
187	Pusey House	Oxfordshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Parks and Gardens UK
188	Putney Heath	Surrey	1774	Not implemented	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
189	Radley, Oxon	Oxfordshire	1770-1	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
190	Ragley	Warwickshire	pre 1758	Attribution Only	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Mowl 2011.
191	Ranelagh House	Middlesex	1774	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
192	Redgrave Hall	Suffolk	1763-8	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
193	Revesby Abbey	Lincolnshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Parks and Gardens UK
194	Richmond and Kew	Surrey	1764-83	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
195	Richmond Hill	Surrey	1770	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
196	Ripley Castle	Yorkshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
197	Rise	Yorkshire	1775	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
198	Rothley	Yorkshire	1765	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
199	Rycote	Oxfordshire	1770	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.

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	Name	County	Date	Attribution	Secondary Bibliographic References
200	Sandbecks (Roche Abbey)	Yorkshire	1765-6	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
201	Sandleford	Berkshire	1781	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
202	Scampston	Yorkshire	1772	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
203	Scrivelsby Court	Lincolnshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Parks and Gardens UK
204	Shardeloes	Buckinghamshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Parks and Gardens UK
205	Sharpham	Devon	Undated	Attribution Only	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
206	Sheffield Place	Sussex	1776	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
207	Sherborne Castle	Dorset	1753 and 1774	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Mowl 2003; Brown 2011.
208	Shortgrove	Essex	1758	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
209	Shugborough	Staffordshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Parks and Gardens UK
210	Sion Hill	Middlesex	pre 1758	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
211	Sledmere	Yorkshire	1777	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
212	South Audley Street	Middlesex	1770	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
213	South Stoneham	Hampshire	1772-80	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.

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	Name	County	Date	Attribution	Secondary Bibliographic References
214	Southill	Bedfordshire	1777	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
215	Springhill	Worcestershire	1760	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
216	St John's College	Cambridgeshire	1772	Not implemented	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
217	Stansted Park	Sussex	1781	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
218	Stapleford	Leicestershire	1770s	Attribution Only	Parks and Gardens UK
219	Stoke House	Buckinghamshire	1750	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
220	Stoke Park	Buckinghamshire	1765-7	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
221	Stowe	Buckinghamshire	1741-51	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
222	Stratfield Saye	Hampshire	1756-7	Definite	Turner 1985
223	Swynnerton	Yorkshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
224	Syon House	Middlesex	1754	Definite	Brown 2011
225	Talacre	Flintshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Brown 2011.
226	Taplow Court	Buckinghamshire	1776	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
227	Tatton Park	Staffordshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Parks and Gardens UK

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	Name	County	Date	Attribution	Secondary Bibliographic References
228	Temple Newsam	Yorkshire	1762	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
229	Testwood	Hampshire	1764	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
230	Thame	Oxfordshire	1758-9	Definite	Turner 1985
231	The Backs	Cambridgeshire	1776-8	Not implemented	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
232	The Hoo	Hertfordshire	1758	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
233	Thoresby	Nottinghamshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
234	Thorndon	Essex	1766-72	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
235	Tixall	Staffordshire	1773	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
236	Tong Castle	Shropshire	1765	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
237	Tottenham	Wiltshire	1763	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Mowl 2006; Brown 2011.
238	Trentham	Staffordshire	1759	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
239	Tusmore House	Oxfordshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Parks and Gardens UK
240	Ugbrooke	Devon	1761	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
241	Uppark	Sussex	1750	Attribution Only	Parks and Gardens UK

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	Name	County	Date	Attribution	Secondary Bibliographic References
242	Valence	Kent	Undated	Attribution Only	Parks and Gardens UK
243	Wakefield Lodge	Buckinghamshire	1748-55	Definite	Stroud 1975; Brown 2011.
244	Wallington	Northumberland	1765	Attribution Only	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
245	Wardour Castle	Wiltshire	1773	Not implemented	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
246	Warnford	Hampshire	Undated	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
247	Warwick Castle	Warwickshire	1749-50	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Mowl 2011; Brown 2011
248	Wentworth Castle	Yorkshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Parks and Gardens UK
249	West Hill, Putney	Surrey	pre 1787	Attribution Only	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
250	Weston	Staffordshire	1765	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
251	Whitley Beaumont, Yorks	Yorkshire	1779	Not implemented	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
252	Widdicombe	Devon	1750s	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
253	Wilton	Wiltshire	1779	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
254	Wimbledon House	Surrey	1767	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
255	Wimbledon Park	Surrey	1764	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.

continued ▸

	Name	County	Date	Attribution	Secondary Bibliographic References
256	Wimpole	Cambridgeshire	1767	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
257	Woburn Abbey	Bedfordshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Parks and Gardens UK
258	Wolterton	Norfolk	Undated	Attribution Only	Parks and Gardens UK
259	Woodchester	Gloucestershire	1782	Not implemented	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
260	Woodsome Hall	Yorkshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Parks and Gardens UK
261	Worksop Manor	Derbyshire	Undated	Attribution Only	Parks and Gardens UK
262	Wotton	Buckinghamshire	1742-6	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
263	Wrest Park	Bedfordshire	1758	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
264	Wrotham	Middlesex	1765	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.
265	Wycombe	Buckinghamshire	1762	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985; Brown 2011.
266	Wynnstay	Flintshire	1769-77	Definite	Turner 1985; Brown 2011
267	Youngsbury	Hertfordshire	Undated	Definite	Stroud 1975; Turner 1985.

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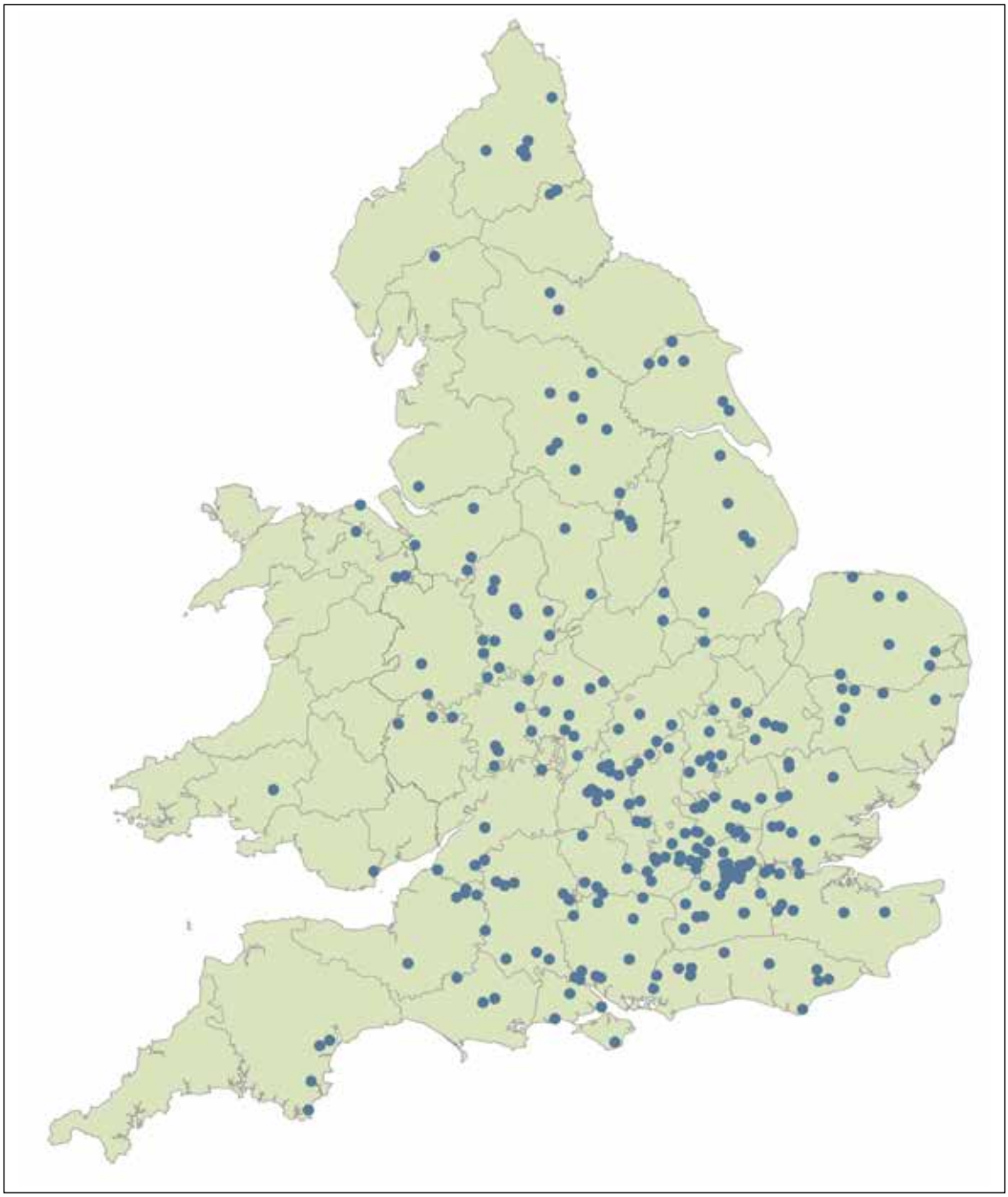
MAP 1



Map 1: Distribution of all sites attributed to Lancelot Brown – all are listed in the gazetteer. The county boundaries shown on this map are as they were in 1851.

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ISSN 0246-98002 (Online)