

PATRICK EYRES

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## WENTWORTH WOODHOUSE AND THE YORKSHIRE COMMISSIONS OF HUMPHRY REPTON

*Wentworth Woodhouse was the first of the nine Yorkshire commissions of Humphry Repton that spanned the twenty years between 1790 and 1810. Many of his proposals for Earl Fitzwilliam were successfully implemented. Nevertheless, the Red Book was characteristic of the subsequent eight sites in the county in that the horticultural and silvicultural proposals were couched in generically unspecific terms. These landscapes are now vestigial, and it is useful to consider Repton's subsequent representations of them in print, both in Peacock's Polite Repository and his own Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening. In the illustrations for Peacock's, it was his sylvan improvements that he emphasized, while in Observations, Repton chose to include discussions of his designs for the aristocratic estates at Wentworth Woodhouse and Harewood. His illustrated review of the Harewood proposals is problematic because they had not been realized, and Repton appeared to be publicly reproaching Lord Harewood. However, his discussion of Wentworth Woodhouse reflected on achievements, was illustrated in colour and promoted the place alongside nationwide successes and certainly as the jewel in his Yorkshire crown.*

### THE YORKSHIRE RED BOOKS

In 1790, Humphry Repton was invited to consult with Earl Fitzwilliam at Wentworth Woodhouse, known then as Wentworth House, outside Rotherham, Yorkshire.<sup>1</sup> This consultation generated three sets of proposals between 1791 and 1794, which were gathered together in the single Red Book. The consultation also provided his *entrée* to other members of the Portland Whig circle in the county. He subsequently produced Red Books for Lord Loughborough at Rudding Hall, Harrogate, in 1791 and, in 1793, for Bryan Cooke at Owston Hall and Bryan Darwin Cooke at Bessacre Manor, both outside Doncaster, as well as for the Tory, Baron Mulgrave, at Mulgrave Castle, Whitby. After this flurry, his next Red Books were for the newly elevated Tory peer, Baron Harewood, at Harewood House, Leeds, in 1800, and, in 1806, for the gentry estate of another Portland Whig, Henry Gally Knight, at Langold Hall, Rotherham. His final Yorkshire Red Books were for two of the self-styled gentlemen-merchants of Leeds in 1810. These were the merchant banker John Blayds II at Oulton Hall and the textile manufacturer Benjamin Gott at Armley House. Unfortunately, the Red Books for Rudding, Bessacre and Langold are currently lost without trace.

These Red Books emphasized the importance of silviculture in Repton's designs and addressed the role of horticulture, which was to animate the immediate vicinity of the client's house. However, these Red Books will disappoint the reader anticipating proposals that identify the specific flowers, shrubs and trees to be planted. Indeed, those for Owston Hall and Oulton Hall exemplify Repton's chosen role as design consultant.

In the Owston Red Book, he makes it clear that the broad sweep of ‘ground, wood, water and buildings’ is the domain of the *landscape* gardener,<sup>2</sup> while in that for Oulton, he describes ‘the additional shrubs & flowers’ as ‘trifling circumstances’ for the professional landscaper.<sup>3</sup> The implication throughout these Red Books is that the detail of both silviculture and horticulture is the responsibility of the patron and, moreover, that the floral arrangements around the house are the province of the patron’s head gardener. It may well be that the details of planting had already been discussed by the designer and his client on the spot, and that this enabled Repton to take the generic approach characteristic of the Yorkshire Red Books.

In the case of Wentworth Woodhouse, it is possible to gauge how successfully Repton’s proposals were translated on the spot due to his subsequent printed reflections in which he promoted the place alongside other national successes. The observations in this paper are drawn from the recent bicentennial research into Repton’s Yorkshire commissions.<sup>4</sup>

#### EVIDENCE OF HORTICULTURE

Like the subsequent Yorkshire Red Books, Repton employed generic silvi- and horticultural descriptions in the volume for Wentworth Woodhouse, such as ‘plantation’ and ‘scattered single trees’. The only named species – thorn, woodbine and beech – appear in the quotation from William Mason’s poem ‘The English Garden’. Even though Repton’s watercolours of ‘The Garden’ show flowering shrubs, his description prefers the generalized ‘luxuriance of foliage’, while acknowledging the mood changing ambience created by plants:

I think too that the screen of beautiful trees whose branches sweep upon the ground, might be opened with great effect, and by singling out some leading plants, we may change the Character of this Garden from Gloomy Magnificence, to a scene of more cheerful dignity.<sup>5</sup>

Even though the Red Book for Langold is lost, there is evidence of Repton’s proposals being implemented. Bills record the massive programme of planting that took place during the autumn of 1809 and the spring of 1810. Over sixteen thousand five hundred trees were purchased from the Sheffield nurseryman John Littlewood, and these included ornamental shrubs, such as myrtles, briars and rhododendrons.<sup>6</sup> However, there is no evidence that Repton was involved in their choice. Indeed, these decisions are more likely to have been made by the Revd William Alderson, who seems to have taken on the role of project manager for the development of garden and landscape on behalf of Repton’s patron, Henry Gally Knight. The latter would later confirm his enjoyment of a wooded landscape by writing that he felt ‘wild with pleasure in gazing at my sylvan scenery – our old oaks and yews and our forest-like combinations of holly and thorn and fern, and all that is rough and picturesque in the way of foliage’.<sup>7</sup>

It is only in the Red Book for Harewood that Repton made two fleeting references to specific plants. His proposals included a number of ornamental buildings, which were designed to be seen from the realigned approach to the mansion from the main entrance beside Harewood village. These architectural drawings encompass a dairy that peeped out of woodland, a gothic screen to embellish the church and a conservatory for exotics. Each drawing is annotated in pencil. Beneath the elevation of the dairy, Repton noted that ‘This being built in the wood no part will be visible except this entrance into the Dairy and y<sup>e</sup> Windows may be enveloped in creepers and honey suckles’.<sup>8</sup> Although unillustrated, this solitary planting suggestion enables the reader to imagine the floral colour and scent.

The watercolour in the drawing of the gothic screen portrayed the pre-existing ivy that covered the facade of the church and emphasized the architectural detail of the screen. Repton noted beside the drawing: 'This skreen is so contrived as not to injure the Ivy and the same kind of vegetation should be encouraged to mix with it.'<sup>9</sup> Repton's next drawing illustrated the elevation of the 'Green House or Conservatory' garlanded with pots of flowering plants and climbers, and identified on the plan as the two 'Beds for flowers & flowering shrubs' but, characteristically, named no species.<sup>10</sup>

#### FLORAL DISPLAY FOR SUBURBAN VILLAS

The suburban villas of the gentlemen-merchants were smaller than the mansions of his aristocratic and gentry patrons. This may account for the floral displays that Repton recommended in the vicinity of the villa as an adjunct to a particular vista. For example, in the Red Book for Oulton, Repton observed that:

It is impossible to represent by drawings the full effect of improvement to be produced by trifling circumstances, such as the removal of walls & fences, or the addition of shrubs & flowers to enrich the foreground, as hinted in the Sketch of the View towards the East.

He went on to note that:

In like manner the View towards the north from the window in the dining room may be embellished by the few beds of flowers marked out on the Spot & this will be heightened by a trellis bower covered [*sic*] with creepers.<sup>11</sup>

Similarly, one of the watercolours depicted flowering shrubs by the lakeside and on an island, but there is no mention of them in the text.

In the Red Book for Armley House, one of Repton's proposals offered a magnificent example of his use of flowers and shrubs to frame the view of an appropriated landscape. The vista from Benjamin Gott's hilltop villa encompassed his industrial empire in the Aire valley below, and Repton chose to treat it as though it were a landscape painting. He drew the eye across the intentionally uninteresting foreground of the 'before' overlay, in which the park dropped sharply down to the middle distance where Gott's water-powered and gaslit Armley Mill stands a mile away between the river and canal. In the far distance, his Bean Ings Mills, which was the first fully industrialized textiles manufactory, stands three miles away on the edge of Leeds. Repton considered that the only problem with the readymade splendour of this vista was the foreground. So, the dramatic reveal of the 'after' view unveiled his proposal that:

since so small a portion of the foreground is in our power to be improved, we must endeavour to enrich it by the terrace with flowers and balustrades, which will become a source of ornament and comfort to the whole of the East front, as well as a frame worthy of the picture.<sup>12</sup>

Repton went on to propose the floral embellishment of workers' housing on the edge of Gott's park, doubtless as a means of camouflaging buildings that might seem to be unsightly to the client and his family. Alongside the watercolours, Repton commented that:

The profusion of flowers & trailing or climbing plants disposed with such neatness & attention as buildings of every kind admit, become embellishments equally applicable to the residence of Affluence & Elegance: or to the humble Cottage of its poor dependent.<sup>13</sup>



Figure 1. Harriet Gott, *Armley House*, c.1825. Drawing. Courtesy: Thoresby Society, 2 LIE Armley, Image 32

As we have now come to expect, in neither the landscape nor the cottages did he elaborate on the species to be planted. However, the enthusiasm with which Elizabeth Gott, the manufacturer's wife, interpreted Repton's millscape proposal can be seen in her daughter's subsequent drawing of the planted terrace at Armley House (Figure 1).

#### REPTON'S PUBLICATIONS

Through the Red Books, Repton proposed ways in which a client's property could be fashionably improved. The process of improvement, however, was usually left to the patron, as exemplified by Elizabeth Gott, above. Nonetheless, Repton became concerned that his proposals would not survive as landscapes due to the swingeing war taxes that diminished the resources his landed clientele had previously enjoyed for landscape gardening. Indeed, Repton is to be applauded for forging a successful career despite the vicissitudes of twenty-two years of war. This was known at the time as the Great War due to the longevity of the conflict with Revolutionary and Napoleonic France. A patron might be unable to implement fully the proposals in his Red Book. Worse still, Repton's designs might even be altered. These predicaments were compounded by the clients who had no intention of realizing his proposals because they were more interested in the cachet of owning the must-have Red Book.

Repton came to think that his reputation would have to rely on publications about landscape gardening rather than on actual landscapes. He noted that 'It is rather upon my opinion in writing than on the partial and imperfect manner in which my plans have sometimes been executed that I wish my fame to be established'.<sup>14</sup> This was a stimulus to the way that he punctuated his career with a series of commercially successful publications in which his discourse on the theory of landscape gardening was practically illuminated by extracts from selected Red Books. The first of these volumes was *Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening* (1795), which was followed by *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1803; repr. 1805). After *Observations* came *An Enquiry into the Changes in Taste in Landscape Gardening* (1806) as well as *Designs for the*





Figure 2. John Peltro after Humphry Repton, *Harewood House, Yorkshire – Seat of Lord Harewood*. Engraving; from *Peacock's Polite Repository* (1802), January illustration. Courtesy: The Collection of Nigel Temple, The Gardens Trust



Figure 3. John Peltro after Humphry Repton, *Mulgrave Castle, Yorkshire – Seat of Lord Mulgrave*. Engraving; from *Peacock's Polite Repository* (1801), July illustration. Courtesy: The Collection of Nigel Temple, The Garden Trust

*Pavilion at Brighton* (1808), and finally *Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1816).<sup>15</sup> In addition, between 1790 and c.1808, he capitalized on the popularity of the annual almanac-cum-diary known as *Peacock's Polite Repository* by providing drawings of his improved landscapes to be engraved as illustrations. The following examples will focus on Repton's printed imagery, first in *Peacock's* and then in *Observations*.

#### SYLVAN ILLUSTRATIONS FOR PEACOCK'S POLITE REPOSITORY

Repton's illustrations of his Yorkshire sites for *Peacock's* emphasized the silviculture of his proposals. For example, the houses at Rudding and Owston were embowered in woods and the parks punctuated with clumps of trees. To these sylvan features, lakes were added, as at Langold, though at Harewood the landscape had been designed a generation earlier by Lancelot 'Capability' Brown (Figure 2). This illustration is doubtless imbued with nostalgia for the hospitality of the aristocratic Lascelles family and the pleasure of sailing on the lake. As it was the header for January 1802 in the diary section of *Peacock's*, it has acquired the irony of predating his July visit to Harewood, when he saw the evidence that his proposals had been sidelined.

Similarly, the emphasis of Repton's illustration of Mulgrave Castle is on the woodland that he proposed across the estate and around the Georgian mansion (Figure 3). The vista overlooks the North Sea, which is busy with coastal shipping, and encompasses the architectural features of the place – the new mansion, which is complemented by the picturesque ruins of two medieval buildings: Mulgrave Old Castle and the distant cliff-top eye-catcher of Whitby Abbey. The Old Castle, which survives because Repton proposed that it should be partially restored, perches atop a wooded ridge between narrow valleys that propel cascading becks towards the sea. In the Red Book, Repton had staged a floral

spectacle deep within a wooded dell below the Old Castle. The vista's 'after' watercolour characteristically dramatized the transformative reveal – to unveil a tall flower of glowing pink embowered within the sylvan gorge. Needless to say, though suggestive of a foxglove, there is no mention of the flower in the text. At Mulgrave Castle, the process of improvement may well be characteristic of the times. Owing to the absence of Baron Mulgrave throughout the war – on active service abroad, and later through cabinet duties in London – Repton's proposals were implemented a generation later once hostilities had ceased.

#### THE HAREWOOD PROPOSALS REVIEWED

After fifteen years of professional practice, Repton produced his *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* in order to reflect on his achievements and, thus, to confirm his status as the principal landscape designer of the time. It says a lot for Repton's self-promotional panache that two editions sold out despite the simultaneous distraction of the great invasion scare of 1803–05, when Napoleon Bonaparte's army was camped at Boulogne while wooden barges were under construction to transport the invaders across the English Channel. In *Observations*, he chose to include the important aristocratic seats of Wentworth Woodhouse and Harewood among the illustrated landscape improvements. These Yorkshire seats were doubtless intended to impress readers and potential clients with his elevated patronage, which also embraced the Whig and Tory spectrum of parliamentary opinion. In addition, they were included as a compliment to his aristocratic patrons, and to offer his improvements of their estates as models for emulation.

Repton's discussions of Wentworth Woodhouse and Harewood were accompanied by up-to-date illustrations created especially for *Observations*. While three of the thirty monochrome pictures feature Harewood, the significance of Wentworth Woodhouse was emphasized by two of the ten colour plates. In the Red Book for Harewood, Repton had proposed improvements to the approaches to the mansion from London and Leeds, and it is the architecture of these features that he considered in *Observations*, rather than the horticultural flourishes already discussed.

The main entrance from London was situated at the crossroads within the new estate village designed by John Carr. Repton had designed the juncture of estate and village as a grand neo-classical triumphal arch with side screens, which he considered to be the pièce de résistance of his proposals. The grandeur of this arch was depicted in watercolour in the Red Book and represented in *Observations* by two of the monochrome pictures to illustrate his proposition that:

If the entrance to a park be made from a town or village, the gate may with great propriety be distinguished by an arch, as in that of Harewood, where [...] an arched gateway forms the entrance to one of the finest palaces in England.<sup>16</sup>

In one illustration, he highlighted the arch as the terminus of the view along the road from Wetherby and the Great North Road (now the A1M), which was framed by the perspective of the elegant terraced housing of Harewood village (Figure 4).<sup>17</sup>

As a complement to his architectonic entrance, Repton illustrated in *Observations* the way that he had proposed to enliven the revised approach from Leeds with a parkland tableau of cascade and bridge, where the drive approached the lake (Figure 5). In the manuscript that accompanied the Red Book, he had proposed to aggrandize and realign the approach from Leeds so that it would enter the park from the main road at a point high up the hillside across the valley from the mansion. The route was 'not to be along the Valley, thro' the wood by the Water [...] but at the Lofthouse Gate to shew the general *Coup d'oeille!!!*'. His proposal was succinct:



Figure 4. John Adey Repton, 'Harewood Village and Estate Entrance'; from Humphry Repton, *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1803). Courtesy: by kind permission of Leeds Library and Information Service



Figure 5. Humphry Repton, 'At Harewood, Yorkshire'; from Humphry Repton, *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1803). Courtesy: by kind permission of Leeds Library and Information Service

– plant out the Cottage as too mean for its situation – build a Lodge in the sweep near the gate – proceed along the present road [drive] – with occasional plantations mark'd to accompany the Approach & hide the house in those places which shew it to disadvantage – after Crossing the Water twice [over the Brownian Palladian and Rustic bridges across Eccup Beck] keep along the Walk to the bank of the Water till it is thrown off by the bay proposed to a bridge over a Rocky chasm – or Channel of a mountain stream in which the water is brought from the Middle pool with a fall of 20 feet in about 50 or 60 yds.<sup>18</sup>

The picturesque drama of the beck cascading through the archway of the bridge, which framed the waterfall beyond, would have been enjoyed from the carriageway, as well as from the mansion and from the lake in a sailing boat. Although captioned *At Harewood, Yorkshire*, Repton asserted that his illustration 'may serve as a specimen of architecture [...] for rock scenery, in the neighbourhood of a palace'.<sup>19</sup>

The Lofthouse lodge and realigned Leeds approach were the only proposals implemented. Neither the parkland tableau nor the grand triumphal entrance over the London approach or any of the ornamental buildings were realized, even though Repton later claimed that these designs were 'complimented and flattered by "the immortal Pitt"', the prime minister, who, of course, was another of his illustrious patrons.<sup>20</sup> So it is curious that he published these unrealized proposals, complete with illustrations, and offered them as exemplars to his aristocratic readers.<sup>21</sup> During his visit to Harewood, in July 1802, he would have found out that the arch had been relocated from his proposed site,

because he would have seen where the dressed stone was piled ready for construction (to an amended design by Carr). Years later he complained that the arch had been ‘removed to an unmeaning distance, isolated and detached without any relation to the House or the village’.<sup>22</sup> However, it is unlikely that Repton, the consummate self-publicist, would have published in error. It is more likely that Repton, who was crestfallen at Lord Harewood’s lack of interest in his proposals, published them as a polite reproach, albeit moderated by the fulsome compliment to the building of the estate village.

#### REFLECTIONS ON WENTWORTH WOODHOUSE

Unlike his rather bullish review of the Harewood proposals in *Observations*, Repton could justly promote his achievements at Wentworth Woodhouse, where his consultations had proved to be a great success. The Red Book is a rarity because it contains three distinct sets of proposals dated January and April 1791 and October 1794. Those proposed in April 1791 addressed the Rockingham Monument and were not implemented. So, by way of reflection, he chose to reproduce in *Observations* most of the text for the other two sets of proposals. He also refashioned the relevant illustration of January 1791 as *Wentworth Yorkshire*, and created a brand new companion, *Water at Wentworth, Yorkshire*, to illuminate the 1794 proposals.

As with other colour plates in *Observations*, these two new illustrations were designed to replicate the hinged reveal of watercolours in Red Books, and they served to emphasize what had been achieved in the past decade. The first, *Wentworth Yorkshire*, promoted the way that, in 1791, Repton had endeared himself to Earl Fitzwilliam by solving the longstanding and costly problem of Temple Hill. The apparently unsightly hillock, that obscured views over the park and the lakes, is recorded in Repton’s ‘before’ image (Figure 6). This not only showed the Herculean task of removal that had been underway for half a century but also introduced a scene that was absent in the Red Book to salute the earl as the benevolent aristocrat who had provided paid work for the local poor.<sup>23</sup> Repton’s advice had been to stop digging. On lifting the hinged overlay, his proposals are revealed as realized (Figure 7). Instead of removal, the rugged rock face exposed through excavation has become a picturesque feature and, by planting the crown, the pre-existing Doric Temple has been highlighted. Moreover, the eye was now drawn more effectively to the terminating eye-catcher of the parkland vista – the brand new, three-storied Rockingham Monument, so elegantly designed by Carr.<sup>24</sup> The earl had been delighted and Repton was invited to return for further consultations.

The second illustration, *Water at Wentworth, Yorkshire*, promoted his competence in water management:

But the character of this water should rather imitate one large river than several small lakes. [...] To preserve the idea of a river nothing is so effectual as a bridge [...] provided the ends are well concealed, which is fortunately the case with respect to this water.<sup>25</sup>

Following his 1794 proposals, the size of the lake, known as Dog Kennel Pond, was doubled and a bridge-cum-dam installed, which continues to camouflage the fall in water level from the higher lake called Morley Pond. The bridge, as illustrated, acknowledges that it was built to the design of Carr.

As usual, Repton’s ‘before’ image shows the visually dull view of a field of cattle, though he has also featured the two existing garden temples as eye-catchers on the approach from Rotherham (Figure 8). The Ionic Temple (1735) can be seen peeking above the skyline on the left, while, in the centre, the Doric Temple (1746) caps the redeemed Temple Hill. The scene is framed within a proscenium arch of foliage, and the vista is





Figures 6 and 7. 'Wentworth Yorkshire', 'before' (with overlay) and 'after'; from Humphry Repton, *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1803). Courtesy: by kind permission of Leeds Library and Information Service

theatrically transformed when the hinged overlay is lifted to reveal the splendour of lake and bridge alongside the pleasures of sailing overlooked by sylvan hilltops enlivened by garden temples (Figure 9).

In *Water at Wentworth, Yorkshire*, Repton depicted the proximity of the temple and plantation that crowned Temple Hill. At the time of Repton's first visit in 1790, the Doric Temple was the solitary fulcrum of vistas that encompassed the three-hundred-and-sixty-degree panorama of parkland features. Repton had given a lot of thought to the silviculture of Temple Hill in his initial Red Book proposals (1791), and he reiterated his thinking in *Observations* (1803). By considering 'future uses', he positioned the Temple Hill plantation as the sylvan complement to the Doric Temple:





Figures 8 and 9. 'Water at Wentworth, Yorkshire', 'before' (with overlay) and 'after'; from Humphry Repton, *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1803).

Courtesy: by kind permission of Leeds Library and Information Service

Among the future uses of the [Temple] hill plantation it may be mentioned, that the shape which the ground most naturally seems to direct for the outline of this wood is such as will hereafter give opportunity to form the most interesting walk that imagination can suggest; because from a large crescent of wood on a knowl the views will be continually varying, while by a judicious management of the small openings, and the proper direction of the walks, the scenery in the park will be shewn under different circumstances of foreground with increased beauty.<sup>26</sup>

The interrelationship of the views through the arches of the temple and the 'openings'





Figure 10. Chris Broughton, *Overview of Wentworth Woodhouse* (with, in the distance, the landscape of the Georgian rival, Wentworth Castle). Drawing; from *New Arcadian Journal* 73/74 (2014). © Copyright artist/New Arcadian Press

in the plantation can be appreciated with the aid of Chris Broughton's bird's-eye view (Figure 10). Temple Hill and the Doric Temple can be seen in front of the mansion, with the Ionic Temple beyond on the lengthy prospect terrace. These are the two temples on the skyline in Repton's *Water at Wentworth, Yorkshire*. The views from the Doric Temple and hilltop plantation survey the riverine lakes, on the left, and embrace the distant parkland monuments, notably the Hooper Stand (1748), on the right and, on the left, Keppel's Column (1779) with, in the foreground, the Rockingham Monument (c.1790).

Repton's landscape has benefited from the conservation programme of the Fitzwilliam Wentworth Estate, which has sensitively restored the riverine lakes and reopened views from the Doric Temple. Although the Rockingham Monument is now embowered in woodland, the judicious 'opening' ensures that the building continues to be the principal eye-catcher on the park's horizon, just over a mile from the mansion. Moreover, the 'large crescent of wood' that crowns Temple Hill and garlands the northern slope continues to serve its historical function on the approach from Rotherham. The hillside wood continues to be the sylvan equivalent of the Red Book's hinged watercolour overlay that, when reached, folds aside to unveil the great reveal of the mansion's extensive neo-Palladian front. Repton's proposals for the 'future' uses of the Temple Hill plantation are under consideration.<sup>27</sup>

By comparison, the present visibility of Repton's other Yorkshire landscapes varies considerably from place to place. Bessacre Manor has vanished and, as we have seen, the designs for Harewood were largely unrealized. Langold Hall is long gone, but the lakeside walk survives.<sup>28</sup> Vestiges remain at the sites that are now golf courses: a single vista at Rudding and a fragment at Owston, though there is more to see at Oulton with some adroit hunting, while at Armley (now Gott's Park) it is the design of the golf course that has sustained Repton's view of Kirkstall Abbey. At Mulgrave Castle, the splendour of the romantic dells and coastal vistas are still to be enjoyed and the spirit of Repton lives on

in the forestry. However, it is at Wentworth Woodhouse that Repton's key proposals can still be seen today. The conservation programme of the Fitzwilliam Wentworth Estate is in the process of restoring Repton's parkland vistas.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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#### REFERENCES

- <sup>1</sup> Owing to the rivalry with another branch of the Wentworth family at Wentworth Castle, Wentworth Woodhouse was known as Wentworth House from the late 1720s to the mid-nineteenth Century; Patrick Eyres, 'The Georgian monuments of Wentworth Woodhouse', *New Arcadian Journal*, 73/74 (2014), pp. 13–49.
- <sup>2</sup> Humphry Repton, *Oulton [sic] in Yorkshire, A Seat of Bryan Cooke Esq:.*, Red Book (1793), n.p. Doncaster Heritage Services.
- <sup>3</sup> Humphry Repton, *Oulton near Leeds in Yorkshire, A Seat of John Blayds Esq:.*, Red Book (1810), n.p. West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds.
- <sup>4</sup> Patrick Eyres and Karen Lynch, *On The Spot: The Yorkshire Red Books of Humphry Repton, Landscape Gardener* (Leeds: New Arcadian Press, 2018), reproduce the six surviving Red Books, with commentaries.
- <sup>5</sup> Humphry Repton, *Wentworth House in Yorkshire, A Seat of the Right Hon:ble Earl Fitzwilliam & Co.*, Red Book (1791–94), n.p. Private collection.
- <sup>6</sup> Bills, April–December 1810; Eyres and Lynch, *On The Spot*, pp. 91–2.
- <sup>7</sup> M. H. White, *Memoirs of the House of White of Wallingwells* (Edinburgh: printed for private circulation, 1886), p. 73; Eyres and Lynch, *On The Spot*, p. 92.
- <sup>8</sup> Humphry Repton, 'Design for the Dairy and Dormitory proposed in the Wood', Red Book for Harewood House (1800), n.p. Harewood House Trust.
- <sup>9</sup> Repton, 'Design for an ornament to the Pleasure Ground forming an entrance to the Church'; *ibid.*
- <sup>10</sup> Repton, 'Design for a building in the Flower Garden to contain exotic plants'; *ibid.*
- <sup>11</sup> Repton, *Oulton near Leeds*.
- <sup>12</sup> Humphry Repton, *Armley House near Leeds in Yorkshire, A Seat of Benjamin Gott Esq:.*, Red Book (1810), n.p. Oak Spring Garden Library, Upperville, Virginia.
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>14</sup> Humphry Repton, 'Preface', in *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (London, 1803), p. 13; *idem*, *An Enquiry into the Changes in Taste in Landscape Gardening* (London, 1806), p. 171. See also Eyres and Lynch, *On The Spot*, pp. 143–51.
- <sup>15</sup> Humphry Repton, *Designs for the Pavilion at Brighton* (London, 1808); *idem*, *Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (London, 1816).
- <sup>16</sup> Repton, *Observations*, p. 144.
- <sup>17</sup> Wartime anxieties about French invasion stimulated Repton's promotion of cottage building, as in *Observations*. He encouraged the practice of aristocratic benevolence, whereby a portion of estate profit was disbursed for the well-being of the workforce by catering for their housing and provisioning; Eyres and Lynch, *On The Spot*, pp. 156–60.
- <sup>18</sup> Humphry Repton, *Mem: of the Several Improvements hinted, or staked out by M<sup>r</sup> Repton during his Visit at Harewood August 1800*, n.p. West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds.
- <sup>19</sup> Repton, *Observations*, p. 44.
- <sup>20</sup> Ann Gore and George Carter (eds), *Humphry Repton's Memoirs* (Norwich: Michael Russell, 2005), pp. 86–7.
- <sup>21</sup> This cannot have escaped Lord Harewood's notice as a copy with his bookplate remains in the library at Harewood. Accounts show Lord Harewood paid the four guinea's subscription for the book on 30 April 1803; Eyres and Lynch, *On The Spot*, p. 76.
- <sup>22</sup> Gore and Carter, *Humphry Repton's Memoirs*, p. 87.
- <sup>23</sup> Repton would have admired Earl Fitzwilliam on account of his benevolent provision for estate workers of housing and allotments, as well as dairy produce from estate farms; Eyres, *Georgian Monuments*, pp. 106–121; Eyres and Lynch, *On The Spot*, p. 157.
- <sup>24</sup> John Carr was consultant architect to both the Wentworth Woodhouse and Harewood estates.
- <sup>25</sup> Repton, *Observations*, pp. 40–1.
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.
- <sup>27</sup> The Land Agent, Anthony Barber-Lomax, in conversation, on the spot, with the author and Karen Lynch, 8 August 2018.
- <sup>28</sup> One of the achievements of the bicentennial research project is that a hitherto unrecognized place, Langold, has been established as a Repton site. Another is that the Red Book for Harewood has been both rediscovered and reconstructed from the original contents that had been split between two archives after the binding was removed in the 1950s. Five are in the collection at Harewood House and three are deposited on loan with the West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds; Eyres and Lynch, *On The Spot*, n. 13, p. 77.