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## FIELD SPORTS AND BROWNIAN DESIGN

*This paper considers shooting, fox- and deer-hunting, and hare coursing for their influence on Brownian design. Four conclusions are reached: that deer-hunting had no influence at all, and deer management was only marginal in its effect; that as a rule the influence of fox-hunting was only felt in 'hunting woods' at some distance from the parkland; that shooting may have encouraged the retention of rough parks but had no influence on the home park (the parkland most often associated with Brown); and that hare-hunting and coursing were very much the most influential of these sports.*

In the last fifteen years or so a good deal has been written about hunting and its effect on landscape. The impetus was the publication of Tom Williamson's *Polite Landscapes* (1995), a book in which, among many other ideas, he proposed that the familiar planting of belts of woodland around landscapes was stimulated by the developing sport of driven shooting.<sup>1</sup> A number of points, however, were not considered by Williamson, who has since acknowledged the more recent work of Jonathan Finch, John Fletcher and Stephen A. Mileson as the new authorities.<sup>2</sup> There is an extraordinary level of agreement between these authors, but this paper lays emphasis on ideas that they have not covered and queries some that they have discussed.<sup>3</sup> The present paper has also been prompted by the recent publication of Ben Lennon's fine article on Tottenham Park, which nurses an assumption that Lancelot 'Capability' Brown did not plant trees in straight lines, or make straight *allées* through woodland.<sup>4</sup>

### DEER

'Hunting park' is a phrase that seeps through a good deal of writing about landscape, scarcely acknowledged because it seems so obvious: forests were places where the monarch hunted deer; parks, in Horace Walpole's words, originated as 'contracted forests';<sup>5</sup> therefore parks were for hunting. There is some truth in this argument. Wakefield Lodge, Northamptonshire, might be mistaken for a park in the mature Brownian style: a house set in a large piece of grass with woods around it, but, as its name suggests, the house was a lodge and the 'park' was actually a forest launde (and in fact was landscaped by Brown at the beginning of his career, and no doubt had a great influence on his parkland style), and it was obviously a place for hunting in. Despite the obvious differences (the aim of the park is to confine the deer of the forest to give them their freedom), the forest and parkland traditions of deer-keeping were effectively identical. So a report on the management of the neighbouring Salcey Forest, written within ten years of Brown's death,<sup>6</sup> shows that Salcey had a lodge in the middle of its largest launde; that hay was made there;<sup>7</sup> that the laundes were surrounded by a large number of coppices; and deer were the only animal allowed to use the laundes freely.

Like forests, parks could have internal fences high enough to control the movement of farm stock without impeding the deer. John Leland had described this practice at Petherton: 'there ys a great numbere of dere longging to this Park, yet hath it almost no other enclosure but dikes to let the catelle of the commune to cum yn. The dere trippe over these dikes and feed al about the fennes and resort to the Park agayn'.<sup>8</sup> This surely was the system practised at Warwick Castle, which John Byng noted was 'kept in perfect order. ... The park is sub-divided into pastures, and few deer are left'.<sup>9</sup> So when Paul Sandby described Wakefield as 'properly railed' in 1777, he was being precise: the launde was not 'paled' but 'railed', in a style appropriate to a forest, designed to control farm stock but not deer.<sup>10</sup> To be blunt, therefore, deer were an optional extra in the management of Brownian parkland, which is better regarded as a modified form of agriculture, and it is for this reason that only the scale of the walls and ha-has distinguish the deer park from any other eighteenth-century parkland today.

Deer-hunting was equally irrelevant to Brownian parkland design. There were two forms of hunting, *par force* and *en battue*. Essentially, in the first the hunter is mobile and in the second he is stationary. Deer-hunting *en battue* is possible in a park and there are many records of it, particularly from the time of the Tudors,<sup>11</sup> but once *par force* hunting had been introduced, possibly by James I,<sup>12</sup> it gradually replaced *en battue* as the norm.<sup>13</sup> Deer might be culled from the park for venison, and this would be the keeper's work, but they were only hunted *par force* where the park was used as a preserve, as had become the general rule at Windsor by 1711, when the Duchess of Marlborough sought to keep the buckhounds from hunting in the Great Park because 'the Queen herself [Anne] never hunted in the park, but had the deer singl'd out to hunt in the forest'.<sup>14</sup>

From about 1728 increasing numbers of deer were carted for hunting,<sup>15</sup> and this may explain the re-emergence of the paddock in eighteenth-century design – here the best deer would be kept, on show, in sight of the house, and readily caught or let out into the countryside.<sup>16</sup> Carting was regarded as the 'dawn of civilisation' by hunting men, though sneered at by Oliver Goldsmith, who regarded deer carting and hunting wild deer as equally common in 1774:

In England, the hunting the stag and the buck are performed in the same manner; the animal is driven from some gentleman's park, and then hunted through the open country. But those who pursue the wild animal, have a much higher object, as well as a greater variety in the chase. To let loose a creature that was already in our possession, in order to catch it again, is, in my opinion, but a poor pursuit, as the reward when obtained is only what we before had given away.<sup>17</sup>

Carted deer were not often hurt, they were corn-fed and well treated. Peter Beckford recalled seeing buck-hounds and deer 'amusing themselves familiarly together on the same lawn'.<sup>18</sup> In the 1780s the Royal Buckhounds were officially forbidden from pulling down, worrying or killing the quarry,<sup>19</sup> and *The Sporting Magazine* routinely reported on the Royal Chase after carted deer.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, by the early 1790s, Highflyer was the King's favourite from the Swinley paddocks, replaced by Compton after the former's accidental death in 1793, and these deer might have a couple of outings each season.<sup>21</sup> Thanks to carting there were still 128 packs of stag-hounds in England by the end of the century,<sup>22</sup> and Goldsmith may have been criticizing a sport that had suddenly become vulgar and *nouveau riche*.<sup>23</sup>

To conclude on deer, besides one period of about six years at Richmond, they were not hunted *par force* in parkland in the eighteenth century, and one is left with only one abiding influence of the deer park: the extent of grass around the house, which is

Brownian and with which Brown was probably consciously trying to evoke an England of the Middle Ages, even if he was using it to cater for the increased demand for grass.<sup>24</sup> This conclusion is endorsed by Mileson's account of mediaeval deer park design as itself an attempt to recapture the landscape of the Western European Romance tradition, rather than, primarily, to make a deer farm.<sup>25</sup>

#### FOXES

They hunt either the fox or the hare. The former, being much the more expensive, is within the capacity only of the rich. I myself saw, and hunted with, the Duke of Grafton's pack. He has, I think, forty couple of magnificent hounds.<sup>26</sup>

The point to be made here is that, except in the special circumstances of a sporting seat,<sup>27</sup> foxes were unwelcome in eighteenth-century parks,<sup>28</sup> though they might be encouraged to breed elsewhere on an estate, where they could be bagged for hunting.<sup>29</sup> Nonetheless par force fox-hunting did influence English landscape beyond the parkland and once again Wakefield Lodge can introduce its effect. The 3rd Duke of Grafton was as celebrated a fox-hunter as the 2nd Duke, and appears to have been responsible for the formation of the Grafton Hunt in 1750.<sup>30</sup> Arthur Young visited in 1791 and admired:

the shade of a forest impervious to the eye; not the poverty of a limit planted to screen and deceive, but the deep recesses, the umbrageous gloom, in which you may wander without boundary, and roam as in the wilds of America, did not numerous ridings cut in strait lines, and very neatly laid to grass, facilitate a passage to every part.<sup>31</sup>

Young found these straight ridings disconcerting, but they would have been essential at a hunting lodge, to enable the hunt to ride out directly from the house. Even Philip Southcote, who generally concurred with Joseph Spence's comment of 1751 ('I should almost ever prefer serpentine walks to straight ones'), felt bound to add the rider that 'there are some few instances where Regularity may be practised; 'tis in Forests, where Stars and different Cutts are made for the Conveniency of Hunting'.<sup>32</sup>

Such designs for hunting woods can be found in the seventeenth century, for instance Spring Wood at Hackwood originated as a hunting wood for Basing Castle, and had straight tree-lined rides cutting like the spokes of a wheel through coppice woodland. Eighteenth-century examples are not hard to find either. Lord Bateman was at work cutting rides at Shobden Court in the 1740s,<sup>33</sup> and earlier still fox-hunting rides were cut on the Goodwood estate: 'the Duke of Richmond has a fine wood cut out into rideings, where there is a cover'd place, in which they some times used to dine',<sup>34</sup> while Thoresby had plantations with ridings through them for game by 1750.<sup>35</sup> Byng may have been right to castigate the practice of cutting ridings near Exton in 1791 for assisting poachers, chilling the timber and giving 'a very unfair advantage over the fox', nonetheless, his calling it 'the high fashion' demonstrates its popularity at the end of Brown's life.<sup>36</sup> The point is worth making at length because it is so often assumed that straight lines were foreign to the second half of the eighteenth century, and anathema to Brownian design, and therefore that the straight rides at Savernake Forest, which were cut in the 1760s, while Brown was working on the landscape, cannot have been suggested by him, even though there is a sketch by Henry Hoare of Savernake showing the *etoile* of rides and titled 'Sketch by Mr Hoare of what he understood to be Mr Brown's idea for improvements in the forest so as to make it one great whole'.<sup>37</sup>

The 'hunting park' then may be something of a nonsense as regards foxes, but the hunting wood, sliced up with rides like a Kraft cheese, is not, and it was associated



Figure 1. The straight drive to Brown's Gate at Dynefwr was lined with oaks that were planted in Brown's time. Photo: author

with another odd phenomenon: Redlynch in Somerset has its Coach Road, running in a straight line for over 2 miles from the hunting woods of Stavordale and Brewton. It is first shown on Samuel Donne's estate plan of 1761,<sup>38</sup> but the story goes that the road was built for a proposed visit by George II in the 1740s. The east end of the road is aligned on an Iron Age fort (Kenwalch's Castle) at the top of the greensand ridge, and St Peter's Church, Redlynch, is at its west. These straight rides between the great house and the hunting wood can be found at the grandest scale (linking Castle Ashby with Yardley Chase and Tottenham with Savernake Forest), but there are more modest versions (from Langley to Black Park, or between Cowdray Castle and Park, for example). Most telling of all are the most modest at Moccas and Dynefwr – at both these last, the avenues (all planted with trees that look of Brown date) are only a few hundred yards long. Dynefwr's King's Lodge Wood is linked to the park by a straight drive from Brown's Gate, while at Moccas it links the parkland around the house and the deer park, but neither relates to the house, nor is there any apparent benefit to amenity in either (Figure 1). It is assumed that some forgotten etiquette made such avenues desirable, and Paula Henderson, who has recorded the same phenomenon in sixteenth-century design, is also of this opinion.<sup>39</sup>

#### HARES

Like *par force* deer-hunting, hare-hunting is said to have been brought in from France by James I, who was reported in April 1603 as hare-hunting on Empingham Heath.<sup>40</sup> James Harrington of Exton and Burley engaged for the event 'a hundred high men that seemed like the Patogones', that is Patagonians – 'huge long fellows of twelve or fourteen feet high'.<sup>41</sup> It was rapidly taken up across the country. Hence there is the Hare Warren at Badminton, the Hare Park at Wilton, the Upper and Lower Hare Parks at Newmarket, still known as such; and the packs of harriers, kept by many noblemen.<sup>42</sup> Unlike fox- and deer-hunting, hare-hunting was the sport of all classes in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England (an essential prerequisite perhaps to its eighteenth-century popularity

among gentlemen of taste).<sup>43</sup> Like fox-hunting too it could involve horses and dogs, and it was ‘very good diversion in a good country: – you are always certain of sport; and if you really love to see your hounds hunt, the hare, when properly hunted, will shew you more of it, than any other animal’;<sup>44</sup> the hunting could be carried out in the relatively confined space of a park because of a hare’s tendency to run in circles (but hares were more often coursed with dogs);<sup>45</sup> and it was informal, inexpensive and utterly thrilling.<sup>46</sup>

Hares were a curse to the farmer, and yet were reserved until the Ground Game Act 1881 allowed farmers to shoot them. The Revd John Swete commented on the damage done by hares at Lord Howe’s place in Nottinghamshire:

Such protection as was here given to the games must be injurious to the Husbandmen, A thousand Hares would consume the food of a tolerable flock of sheep, and what must be still more detrimental, were incapable of having restrictions put on them as sheep, but ranging as they listed, would wanton at their pleasure among the stores of lain up grass, or the crops of corn: – the pleasures of the course, on a fair computation, must be dear bought! And the Farmer must be obnoxious to considerable damage.<sup>47</sup>

Hares are singularly well suited to the open, smooth terrain, firm and dry, with adjacent stubbles, that typifies parkland. They were regularly imported to Windsor Great Park (which itself implies that they were hunted so hard in the park that their numbers needed making up).<sup>48</sup> However, in the eighteenth century the terrain in which hares were to be hunted was woodland, or woodland edge, and hares were regarded as creatures of rough ground.<sup>49</sup> This may be, as Goldsmith suggested, because they had been hunted so hard that they had retreated to the woods:

many of these animals are found to live in woods and thickets, but they are naturally fonder of the open country, and are constrained only by fear to take shelter in places that afford them neither a warm sun nor an agreeable pasture.<sup>50</sup>

It is sometimes possible to work out which type of parkland hares were encouraged to breed in. It is helpful to distinguish three distinct types of Brownian parkland, all of which might co-exist on the same estate. In general these were known as the ‘Home’ or ‘Inner’ Park (around the house, usually with a lake, and traditionally associated with Brown himself); the ‘Sheep Walk’ or ‘Outer’ Park (grass land and clumps or woods, at some distance from the house, usually with their own ornamental buildings and drives); and the Rough Park or Warren. Rough parks can be discussed in the context of shooting because it is clear that hares were usually found in the first two types.<sup>51</sup> There is plenty of evidence for them around the house in the Home Park, particularly before Brown’s time, and despite their destructiveness these were a sign of prosperity rather than neglect. Thus in 1591 the surveyor and topographer Sir John Norden saw ‘greate store of Hares’ about the house at Holdenby,<sup>52</sup> and although the harriers at Badminton had been given up soon after 1740, John Parnell is only one of many tourists who found the abundance of hares there ‘vastly pleasing’ if surprising: ‘The Plantation is now so large as not to fear Injury from them but I am surprised how at the first it Escaped so many Enemies as it must have had to Encounter.’<sup>53</sup> On his visits to Blenheim, Byng always noticed and admired the hares in the park.<sup>54</sup>

Despite this evidence it might be proposed that Brown most strongly associated hares with sheep walks, at some distance from the house. One difficulty here is that technically hare parks were warrens, and hence they were often described as ‘warrens’, though this is a form of landscape most often associated with rough parks. In practice, however, these hare warrens were not rough or wild. Peter Beckford, that most sophisticated

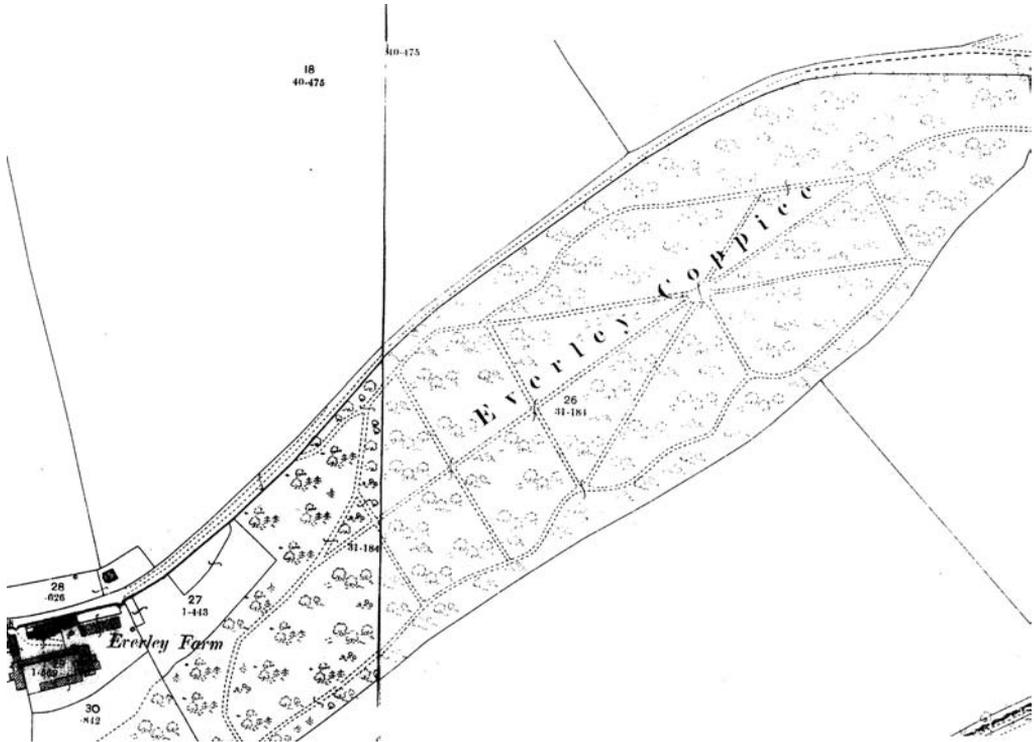


Figure 2. Everley Coppice, approximately 31 acres in the nineteenth century and 1 kilometre from the house, retains a 'union jack' of straight rides through the middle and a serpentine walk around the periphery. Photo: assembled by the author from Ordnance Survey plans

and sympathetic of huntsmen, described in detail Everley Coppice, which he planted at Steepleton Iwerne in Dorset (Figure 2). It was:

a wood of near thirty acres ... cut out, into many walks; a smaller warren should have only *one*, and *that* round the outside of it. No dog should ever be suffered to go into it: and traps should be kept constantly for stoats and polecats. – It is said, parsley makes hares strong; they certainly are very fond of eating it: It therefore cannot be amiss to sow some within the warren, as it will be a means of keeping your hares more at home.

Trap-hares, bred in these warrens, could then be caught and released for hunting like bag-foxes and carted deer. Beckford loved his warren:

What I should prefer to catching the hares in traps, would be, a warren in the midst of an open country, which might be stopped close on hunting-days. This would supply the whole country with hares, which, after one turn round the warren, would most probably run straight ... the number of hares a warren will supply, is hardly to be conceived; I seldom turned out less in one year than thirty brace of trap-hares; besides a great many more killed in the environs, of which no account was taken.<sup>55</sup>

All three tended to run straight and require little skill: 'they may give you a gallop, but they will shew but little hunting'. These had to be securely fenced, as Richard Surfleet put it in his translation from the French:

hares ... must not be put in a parke fenced only with postes and pales: for seeing they are small, they will easily passe through the gaping and open spaces, and having got through, run away: Their parkes therefore must be walled about.<sup>56</sup>

Hare warrens are most easily recognized today by the muses in these boundaries. Now used to describe an obstacle on a hare course, in the eighteenth century the muse was a hole in the wall of the warren, generally kept open, so that hares could forage outside it, and set with traps when hares were to be caught.<sup>57</sup> Among many examples, Nick Owen has found one muse in the wall at Rothley Park (built between 1740 and 1760) (Figure 3) and Philip Masters has found them in the north and west walls at Appuldurcombe (built after 1779, in Brown's time there). There are also a couple near the kennels in the park wall at Heythrop and another dozen or more against Foxberry Wood, but the best example is probably the racecourse at Sherborne, Gloucestershire, which has around a dozen, each, apparently, with a tree planted in front of it.<sup>58</sup>

To make the argument that Brown associated hares most with the 'outer' park or sheep walk, the sheer number of landscapes where he might be argued to have worked, and that include two quite separate stretches of parkland, one of them at some distance from the house and laid out in his day, should be noted. These include Hulne Park at Alnwick; the Sheep Walk at Blenheim (particularly around the New River);<sup>59</sup> Carlton Pastures at Chatsworth; Hare Park, Chillingham; New Park, Dunham Massey;<sup>60</sup> the Sheep Walk, Enville; New Park, Grimsthorpe; Warren Park, Peper Harow; Lumley Park, Stansted; Avenue Park, North Stoneham; Rothley Park, Wallington – a number of these appear so distinct that English Heritage did not initially include them within the boundaries of their historic landscapes (Figure 4).<sup>61</sup> These sheep walks enabled estates to carry more of the grass that was vital to their operation; they could also house the sheep when they were not grazing the home park; and were made integral to the parkland by their role in hunting. Many are characterized by follies, rolling ground, large, open pieces of smooth grass, circumambient drives, and more or less circular ponds – the paradigm must be Great Park at Wilton.<sup>62</sup>

This Park is an extensive piece of open countryside, out of sight of the house, with large tree clumps and the wooded Hare Warren, at its south end. Conveniently it was



Figure 3. A muse in a wall at Rothley Park. Photo: Nick Owen



Figure 4. The unregistered New Park at Dunham Massey, now a golf course, has the smooth grass, varied topography, circumambient drive and occasional seats that characterize the ‘outer’ park. Photo: author

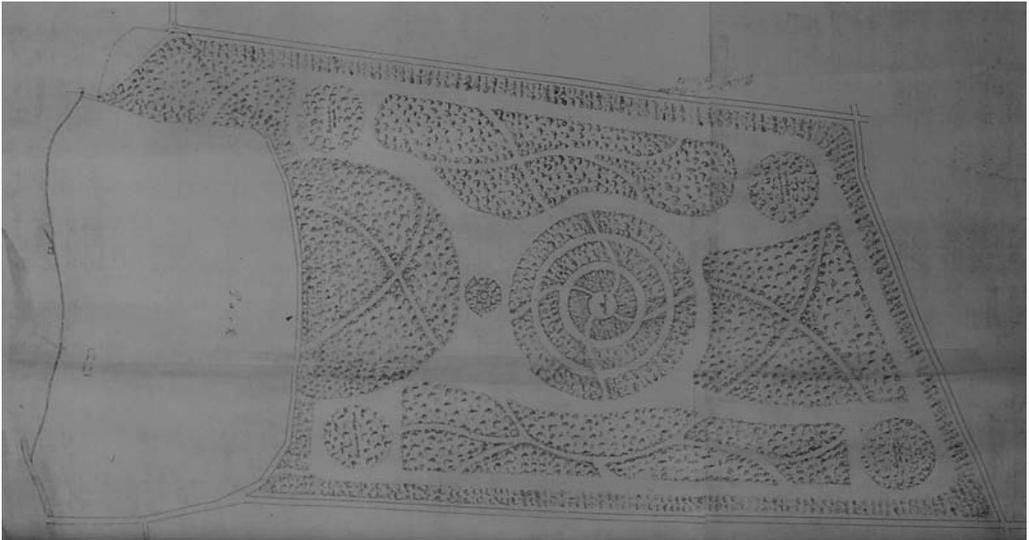


Figure 5. Untitled and unsigned design for the Great or Hare Park, Wilton; Wiltshire County Record Office P1/2. Each of the circular *rondels* in the corners was to be 100 yards across; the design is one that Rawstorne might have endorsed

also known as the Hare Park. Its contribution to the argument lies in a design drawn for it in 1773 which consists of a series of spirals and arcing rides in and out of woodland. It looks remarkable on paper, and it does seem to have been in part executed (Figure 5). The level of design on this plan shows that the Hare Park was to be an ornament to the estate, and, released from the projective geometry imposed on the Home Park by the house, it is also a singularly pure design. One wonders if this is the direction in which English design might have moved if Brown had not in most of his landscaping re-established the

house at the centre of the landscape. It is of a piece with the ‘keyhole’ and the circles of formal planting at Painshill (a design in which the house again plays little part). It might also be compared with other sheep walks mentioned in Brown’s *oeuvre*, or with William Emes’s plan for Oakedge. This last looks quite different but remains a scatter of planting, sprawling over the rising ground below Cannock Chase and with no relationship to the house.

It would be interesting to see the Wilton plan planted, but it fails as a pattern for landscape because the designer (who might after all have been Brown himself) has not found a purpose in the design, and as a result it is more or less a decoration, such as Matisse might have used for a wallpaper. One should not conclude that Brownian parkland aspires to the condition of the hare park and is constrained only by the presence of the house, but nonetheless in looking at the way the components of Brownian landscape were distributed, one might take the fluidity of the hare park as a starting point, and look at the house as introducing fixities into it.

### SHOOTING

Shooting is discussed last because, of all forms of hunting, it has most often been associated with parkland design.<sup>63</sup> The argument for this association relies on three simultaneously spun threads of evidence: enthusiasm for shooting flying and for driven shooting; improvements in gun design; and planting of coverts – and there should be no doubt that by the end of the nineteenth century, when pheasants rather than partridge or rabbits became the preferred sport because they suited the parkland habitat, the association had become close.<sup>64</sup> However, these changes cannot be traced back into the eighteenth century. Driven shooting in England was largely developed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries:<sup>65</sup> grouse driving is said to have been invented at Cannon Hall in 1805;<sup>66</sup> and partridge driving to have been introduced in Suffolk in 1845,<sup>67</sup> though Norfolk has a rival claim;<sup>68</sup> and pheasant driving was developed at about the same time.<sup>69</sup> Diaries and game books, kept on most estates from the early nineteenth century, make it clear both that the range of species shot by the gentry was limited, and that even on shooting estates such as Southill, there was no driven shooting for pheasants, or indeed for anything else.<sup>70</sup>

As for the practice of shooting high birds, clearly more testing for the guns and long associated with driving game over high woods and hence with belt planting, it is often said to have been given wings by Thomas Page in 1764.<sup>71</sup> However, the sport long predated Page’s publication. Richard Blome had recommended it as a successful way to shoot:

for when your Game is on the *Wing*, it is more exposed to danger; for if but one Shot hits any part of its *Wings* so expanded, it will occasion its fall, although not to kill it, so that your *Spaniel* will soon be its Victor; and if well disciplined to the Sport, bring it to you.<sup>72</sup>

John Vanbrugh threw it into his play *The Relapse* in 1696, and Joseph Addison mentioned it in Sir Roger de Coverly’s account of his ‘plain men’ in 1711.<sup>73</sup> In the 1730s it was still regarded as a rare accomplishment,<sup>74</sup> but by 1750 it was proposed that ‘the art of shooting flying is, within a few Years, come to such a Degree of Perfection, that few Fowls escape’.<sup>75</sup> However, it was not associated either with pheasants or with driven shooting.<sup>76</sup> Furthermore, paintings, as well as the evidence of the guns themselves, show that, as Williamson has put it, ‘most birds were shot on the ground, or else while flying close to it’ – a good gun in 1764 was only accurate at 30 yards, though it ‘may sometimes kill at forty yards’.<sup>77</sup> High woods would have hindered rather than helped shooting at such close range.

Finally, it should be noted that those who wrote about shooting in the eighteenth century described it as a solitary activity, rather than a sociable *battue* of the driven shoot. The ‘unwearing fowler’ of Alexander Pope’s *Windsor Forest* hunted the ‘lonely woodcocks’, and the new owner of Goldsmith’s deserted village was criticized for shooting precisely because it was one of the ‘solitary sports’.<sup>78</sup> Beckford’s comment may be taken as conclusive: ‘shooting, though it admits of a companion, does not allow of many: – both [shooting and fishing], therefore may be considered as selfish, and solitary amusements, compared with hunting’.<sup>79</sup>

Driven shooting and shooting flying are therefore irrelevant to eighteenth-century parkland design. As regards guns, it is true that they became progressively shorter, lighter and more accurate after 1760, as described by Page:

It is necessary for any gentleman who sports much to have two guns: the barrel of one about two feet nine inches, which will serve very well for the beginning of the season, and for wood-shooting; the other about three foot three inches, for open shooting, after Michaelmas: the birds by that time are grown so shy, that your shoots must be in general at longer distances.<sup>80</sup>

But these technological advances post-dated the establishment of the English landscape style in the 1750s. It was not shooters but poachers who would have benefited most from such improvements anyway: the new guns would have been more easily concealed, more likely to kill at first shot and quicker to prime – accuracy and a clean kill would not in themselves have been so important to a poacher. In legal shooting, on the other hand, particularly driven shooting with the ability to have a number of loaders and with more than one gun to a shooter, the speed of reloading and the length of the barrel would scarcely have been as important as a good shot. Finally, the speed with which Brownian design spread over the whole country makes it much more likely to have been driven by a single social change than by an accumulation of technical ones, such as revolutionized gun design.

The history of planting for game throws up equally strong arguments against the case for shooting as an influence on parkland design. Shooting did not take place in parks in the eighteenth century for a start. Addison observed that, ‘It is usual for a Man who loves Country Sports to preserve the Game in his own Grounds, and divert himself upon those that belong to his Neighbour’,<sup>81</sup> and this rule regarding the sanctuary of the park still applied at the end of the century:

general custom ... has established a mutual understanding between all who have a right to shoot where he likes without upsetting the owner of the property, provided that he does not trespass into a park; mutual courtesy forbids this absolutely. It is also forbidden to walk over sown fields.<sup>82</sup>

Robert Williams’s description of the Brownian park as ‘a private larder’ from which the keepers might provision the house is one thing, but a Colosseum, ‘a sylvan arena for blood sports’, is quite another.<sup>83</sup> In 1750 Thomas Knowlton was fully aware of the value of showing off a park full of game: ‘it will be a pleasant Ride down ... to the Closes to shew the Game with much advantage & will cost nothing’,<sup>84</sup> but François de la Rochefoucauld never found anyone actually shooting in the parkland and the lake at Holkham was a refuge for ‘as many as 10,000 Wigeon ... safe from persecution by the gunners’,<sup>85</sup> while the Cliffords kept ‘the safe and undisturbed retreat of the partridge, the pheasant, and the hare’ in a wood adjacent to Tixall.<sup>86</sup> This is Robert Castell’s distinction between the ancient Roman warren, or *Leporarium*, and the park, or *Vivarium*, ‘in which

were not only those several sorts of Beasts before-mention'd, but also the Fowls that were kept without the Walls of the *Villa*, as well as Fish-Ponds'.<sup>87</sup>

In 1772 William Constable described his park at Burton Constable before Brown's alterations as 'a wilderness ... full of all kinds of game', implying that at the time of writing, with the parkland firmly under Brown's sway, it was neither.<sup>88</sup> Constable was right, Brownian design was actually indifferent to the needs of shooting and, furthermore, it did not take any great account of game. In 1742 James Wheeler had proposed 'checkering' the outer borders of an estate with 'platoons' of oak, such as one can find in Charles Bridgeman's designs for Houghton, Norfolk, and Lodge Park, Gloucestershire.<sup>89</sup> These were to be 'peaceful' and 'nurseries of game'; they were not intended for the warlike practice of shooting, so, if parkland was primarily intended as a game reserve, then a model existed in Bridgeman's work, and had been published, but Brown did not take it up. Instead he planted belts that Humphry Repton regarded as too narrow for game.<sup>90</sup>

In fact Repton was in no doubt that hedgerows and coppices outside the park provided the best game covers. Hence his comment that the park wall should enclose the park so as to protect the woods, and only secondarily to protect the game, which would be better preserved by retaining the hedgerows.<sup>91</sup> The best game reserve was not a park but a farm, and Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough's request of 1727 to convert part of Great Park, Windsor, into arable was approved by the Surveyor General because it 'would increase and preserve the game'.<sup>92</sup>

For this reason the Keeper's Cottages that Repton frequently recommended, in his earliest as well as his later works<sup>93</sup> were almost always close to the edge, and often actually outside the parkland, 'to protect the Game on the hills, and very ornamental when seen from the park'.<sup>94</sup> The representative site must be Wimpole where Repton followed Brown and described Cobbs Wood in 1801 as 'one of the principal game covers' and so advised against putting the Orwell Approach through it. In the same Red Book he also advised making a keeper's lodge at the folly, inside the park – 'a purpose for which from its lofty and central situation it is admirably calculated'. Cobbs Wood is well out of the park, but readily visible from the top of the folly. The two points implicit in this account are that in Brown's day the game cover at Wimpole lay outside the parkland, and that the parkland then had no keeper's lodge in it. In Repton's day, and without his entire approval, the Orwell Approach was put in (risking interference with the principal game wood) and the folly (within the parkland) was adapted to take a keeper's lodge.<sup>95</sup> Whether Repton liked it or not then, keeping at Wimpole moved into the parkland at the turn of the century and Cobbs Wood lost some of its importance for game.<sup>96</sup> This move is consistent with the general trend for shooting to move into the parkland after about 1790.

Rough shooting was the norm in the eighteenth century – a man or two and a few dogs, scratching round in the stubbles and hedgerows for whatever they could get<sup>97</sup> – and it is the third of the three types of Brownian landscape, the Rough Park, that was more suited to it. North Stoneham has a good example of the acquisition of rough ground, where the common immediately adjacent to the park was enclosed, but left more or less unimproved and even called 'Rough Park' – it is now a golf course, but still has gorse and broom growing on it.<sup>98</sup> The practice was noted by Young:

Among other very extensive estates, are those which have been formed by buying up all the wastes around ... not with a view to cultivate them, but for the increase of their domaine – for elbow room – for hunting ground, (imitating therein the Mohawks and Cherokees) – for shooting moor-game.<sup>99</sup>

However, one does not often find Brown making provision of that kind for game and shooting, because at North Stoneham and a few other parks aside, Brown and Brownian landscape must be associated with the improvement, often the afforestation, of warrens.

Finally, but most tellingly, there is the evidence of Laurence Rawstorne, who complained that none of his predecessors in writing about planting, not even Sir Henry Steuart and William Cobbett, ‘touched upon covers for game. The delights of a battue, contingent on such a creation, seem never once to have entered into their calculations’.<sup>100</sup> While conceding that ‘the old fashioned [Brownian] belt, dull and monotonous as it is in character, often makes a good preserve’, he insisted that there should be ‘plenty of ploughed land adjoining it’ and concluded that ‘generally speaking, the park and home district are not favourable for the encouragement of game’.<sup>101</sup>

Rawstorne made his own recommendations for a designed landscape that would take account of the game: covers for pheasants should be ‘five or six acres or even considerably less’ (i.e. with a diameter of over 100 metres); and ideally there should be ‘a central preserve with two or three smaller [covers] around it’. An understory of hazel and bramble, with privet on the edge of a cover to beat the birds over, was more important than timber trees:

of no use except for the pheasants to perch in. ... They want the coarse herbage, the thistles, the docks, the multitudinous weeds that bad farming produces ... Covers in the midst of fields are much the best, not only as affording the greatest variety of food, but from the highest and thickest hedges creating shelter, and the roughest crops the most secure breeding ground. These should be so connected with each other throughout the whole preserves that there should be a chain of them from one extremity to the other.<sup>102</sup>

Astonishingly, what he was describing, with its wildlife corridors, patches of arable, thick hedges and central woodland, is a *ferme ornée* – it could even have been The Leasowes. So one is led to conclude that, far from encouraging game, Brownian design actually replaced a newly established and successful tradition which encouraged game around the country house with a different agricultural impulse – one in which grass production was to play the leading role and which would tend to limit field sports to hare coursing.

#### REFERENCES

<sup>1</sup> Tom Williamson, *Polite Landscapes: Gardens & Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1995).

<sup>2</sup> In particular: Jonathan Finch, ‘Grass, grass, grass: hunting and the creation of the modern landscape’, *Landscapes*, 5/2 (2004), pp. 41–51; *idem*, ‘What more were the pastures of Leicester to me? Hunting, landscape character and the politics of place’, *International Journal of Cultural Property*, 14/3 (XXXX), pp. 361–83; John Fletcher, *Gardens of Earthly Delight: The History of Deer Parks* (Oxford: Windgather, 2011); and Stephen A. Miles, *Parks in Mediaeval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). I would add to these the excellent Donna Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside. Hunting, Walking and Ecology in English Literature, 1671–1831* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).

<sup>3</sup> This paper is extracted from the author’s unpublished manuscript ‘First steps in ha-ha theory’ and was given as a lecture at the Garden History Society Oxford Conference,

2008.

<sup>4</sup> Ben Lennon, ‘Burlington, Brown and Bill: the landscaping of Tottenham Park and Savernake Forest in the eighteenth century’, *Garden History*, 39/1 (2011), pp. 3–34.

<sup>5</sup> Isabel Chase, *Horace Walpole: Gardenist, an Edition of Walpole’s ‘The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening’* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1943), p. 13. *The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening* was printed in 1771 and first published in 1780.

<sup>6</sup> ‘Report of the State of Salcey Forest’ (1792), Northamptonshire County Record Office (CRO), XYZ 1939. For notes on Salcey, I am greatly indebted to D. Hall, *Salcey Forest, Northamptonshire Archaeological Interpretation Survey* (Northamptonshire Heritage, 1996); and to Laura Beattie.

<sup>7</sup> The account book of George Morland, agent or deputy ranger to the warden, the Hon. George Montagu, 1776–9; Northamptonshire CRO, ML114.

<sup>8</sup> Noel D. G. James, *A History of English Forestry* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981), p.

95. Petherton Park was adjacent to North Petherton Forest in Somerset.

<sup>9</sup> C. Bruyn Andrews (ed.), *The Torrington Diaries*, 4 vols (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1938), I, pp. 229–30 (8 July 1785).

<sup>10</sup> Paul Sandby, *A Collection of Landscapes drawn by P. Sandby, ESQ. R. A. and engraved by Mr. Rooker and Mr Watts, with descriptions* (London: G. Kearsley, 1777).

<sup>11</sup> There are many accounts of the *battue*-style hunt in England; *inter alia*, see G. Kenneth Whitehead, *Hunting and Stalking Deer in Britain through the Ages* (London: Batsford, 1980), p. 19; and Mileson, *Parks in Mediaeval England*, pp. 4, 16ff.

<sup>12</sup> Ligneville and de Maricourt reported that a few years after his accession ‘the English were [sufficiently] instructed ... with [the rule] of stag hunting’, cited in Violet E. M. Bathurst (Lady Apsley), *Bridleways through History* [1936] (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1948 edn), p. 233.

<sup>13</sup> *En battue* hunting of this kind continued into the eighteenth century at home and abroad; Evelyn Philip Shirley, *Some Account of English Deer Parks* (London: John Murray, 1867), pp. 40, 46, 49. John Fletcher has also pointed out the tradition of painting mounted hunters with hounds in parkland settings, which must shed some light on eighteenth-century practice; Fletcher, *Gardens of Earthly Delight*, p. 179. Lady Apsley remembered that until 1914 deer were still coursed with hart-hounds at Eridge, and shot at by the field at the standings; Bathurst, *Bridleways through History*, p. 228.

<sup>14</sup> British Library (BL), Add. MS 61471, ff.1–6, cited in Jane Roberts, *Royal Landscape: The Gardens and Parks of Windsor* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 23–4. Timothy Thomas was to observe of Clumber in 1725: ‘we turned off ... into the Forest of Merry Sherwood, and after riding about a mile in it, saw some red Deer, which were the first stags I ever set my Eyes on ... We passed through a New Enclosed Park, which was taken out of y<sup>e</sup> Forest by the late Duke, who fenced it round with a good high Pale; it is said to be 12 miles in Compass, & to have in it about 400 Head of red Deer, & this the duke designed as the chief Nursery for his Stag-Chase’; BL, Add. MS 70435, f.50.

<sup>15</sup> *Inter alia*, see Henry Lister, Lord Ribblesdale, *The Queen’s Hounds and Stag-hunting Recollections* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1897).

<sup>16</sup> It is striking that where parks had paddocks attached, such as Chilham, Moccas and Uppark, these are always in sight of the house, and (in those three cases at least) at point blank.

<sup>17</sup> Oliver Goldsmith, *An history of the earth, and animated nature* (London: J. Nourse, 1774), III, p. 112.

<sup>18</sup> Peter Beckford, *Thoughts upon hare and fox hunting in a series of Familiar Letters to a*

*Friend* (Salisbury: E. Easton, 1781), p. 245.

<sup>19</sup> By 1737 the Royal Buckhounds were hunting a good number of carted deer, and the practice had certainly been adopted by 1733; John Philip Hore, *The History of the Royal Buckhounds* (London: Remington & Co., 1893), pp. 296, 318, 397.

<sup>20</sup> There are excellent accounts of carting the red deer from Swinley and of the hunt in *The Sporting Magazine*: 1 (October 1792–March 1793), p. 276; and 9 (1797), pp. 4ff.

<sup>21</sup> *The Sporting Magazine*, 3 (1793), p. 159. Also, Lister, *Queen’s Hounds*, p. 39.

<sup>22</sup> Bathurst, *Bridleways through History*, p. 338.

<sup>23</sup> Mileson does not refer explicitly to carting, but sensibly assumes that parks were necessary to maintain stocks of deer in the Middle Ages; Mileson, *Parks in Mediaeval England*, p. 28. Jean Birrell has noted the proliferation of parks around forests, which make it likely that deer should have been bred and fed there in the Middle Ages for hunting in the forest; Jean Birrell, ‘Deer and deer farming in mediaeval England’, *Agricultural History Review*, 40/2 (1993), p. 120.

<sup>24</sup> Brown’s medievalism was not antiquarian nor I think was it intended to add extensions to the lineage of his clients; rather, it was part of a widespread search for a pure aboriginal Englishness. Humphry Repton’s reinstatement of the deer park at Scrivelsby, by contrast, was explicitly intended to restore the air of venerable importance that the place warranted; Humphry Repton, *Red Book for Scrivelsby* (10 October 1790).

<sup>25</sup> Mileson, *Parks in Mediaeval England*, p. 83.

<sup>26</sup> François de la Rochefoucauld, *Mélanges sur L’Angleterre* (1784), trans. by S. C. Roberts as *A Frenchman in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933), p. 52.

<sup>27</sup> Repton only once suggested planting for foxes in parkland at Culford, in his *Red Book* of May 1792, and he regarded Culford as a sporting seat rather than as a country house. The Ordnance Survey mapped areas of gorse in Milton Park, Peterborough, in 1886. These look like coverts but they were not mentioned by Repton in his *Red Book* and are assumed to have been planted in the nineteenth century during the celebrated heyday of the Fitzwilliam hunt.

<sup>28</sup> Worlidge described parks as places from which vermin (i.e. foxes) were excluded to benefit the game; John Worlidge, *Dictionarium rusticum & urbanicum* (London: J. Nicholson, 1704), *PARKS and Warrens*.

<sup>29</sup> At Thoresby in 1750, for example, Richard Pococke found ‘a cover of ferne for the foxes, which are kept here for breed for hunting’; James Joel Cartwright (ed.), *The Travels through England of Dr. Richard Pococke* (London, 1888), I, p. 73. John Byng noted measures taken to protect foxes at Newenham Priory, Bedford; ‘this castle

ground was famous for breeding foxes [and] the miller, below, was fee'd to preserve them, and could bring in a bill of their damages'; Andrews, *Torrington Diaries*, II, p. 314 (18 June 1791). This rough country lay beyond the game woods. Jonathan Finch's articles on the influence of fox-hunting on the wider countryside (beyond the designed landscape) are authoritative, but he does not discuss these hunting woods nor the straight drives that connected country house and hunting ground. In particular, see Finch, 'Grass, grass, grass', and *idem*, 'What more were the pastures of Leicester to me?'

<sup>30</sup> NMRC, NBR file 61889. Philip Masters, for whose help I am always grateful, provided all the background material on Wakefield Lodge.

<sup>31</sup> *Annals of Agriculture*, 16 (1791), p. 522.

<sup>32</sup> Revd Joseph Spence, *Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters of Books and Men Collected from Conversation*, ed. James M. Osborn, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966), p. 647. Also, R. W. King, 'Joseph Spence of Byfleet – Part II', *Garden History*, 7/3 (1979), p. 29.

<sup>33</sup> Stephen Daniels and Charles Watkins (eds), *The Picturesque. Landscape Visions of Georgian Herefordshire* (Nottingham: Department of Geography, University of Nottingham in association with Hereford City Art Gallery and University Art Gallery, 1994), p. 20.

<sup>34</sup> Cartwright, *Travels through England*, II, p. 111 (23 September 1754).

<sup>35</sup> 'To the north are two woods planted for the game, with ridings in them'; *ibid.*, I, p. 73.

<sup>36</sup> Andrews, *Torrington Diaries*, II, p. 18 (30 May 1791).

<sup>37</sup> Wiltshire and Swindon Archive, 1300/358; a brilliant but contrary interpretation is offered by Lennon, 'Burlington, Brown and Bill'.

<sup>38</sup> Dorset CRO, D/FSI Box 1A/11 D124.

<sup>39</sup> For an introduction to these avenues, see Paula Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 128–37, 174–6. The deer-hunt certainly began with a procession out to the meet to be presented with the fewmits; John Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1988), p. 64.

<sup>40</sup> Bathurst, *Bridleways through History*, p. 233. However, Harrison had written in 1587 that some gentlemen 'do make an enclosure for them' for their pleasure; William Harrison, *The Description of England*, ed. Georges Edelen (New York: Cornell University Press, 1968), p. 327.

<sup>41</sup> Samuel Daniel, *A Panegyrike Congratulatory to the King, The Complete Works in Verse and Prose* [1883], ed. Alexander Balloch Grosart (New York: Russell & Russell, 1963), I, pp. 139–67.

<sup>42</sup> A letter from William Somerville referred to Lord Coventry's harriers at Croome, cited

by Cecil (i.e. Cornelius Tongue), *Records of the Chase* [1854] (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1877), p. 156. Bathurst, *Bridleways through History*, p. 226, referred to the Hare Warren at Badminton, and the Newmarket warrens.

<sup>43</sup> For example, 'The King of Bavaria has been known himself to kill two hundred hares in a day, and his attendants at the rate of one hundred each'; Laurence Rawstorne, *Gamonia: or, the Art of Preserving Game* (London: Rudolph Ackermann, 1837), p. 164. De la Rochefoucauld wrote of Euston, Suffolk: 'all the farmers are well mounted and most of them enjoy hunting with the harriers three or four times a week'; cited in John M. Robinson, *The English Country Estate* (London: Century/National Trust, 1988), p. 74.

<sup>44</sup> Beckford, *Thoughts upon hare and fox hunting*, p. 161.

<sup>45</sup> '[W]hen Puss is started, she seldom fails to run a Ring, the first is generally the worst (for Horse of Foot) that may happen in the whole Hunt. For the Fences once leaped, or the Gates once opened, makes a clear passage oftentime, for every Turn she takes afterward'; John Smallman Gardiner, Gent., *The Art and the Pleasures of Hare-Hunting. In Six Letters to a Person of Quality* (London: printed for R. Griffiths, 1750), p. 3, cited by Landry, *Invention of the Countryside*, p. 158.

<sup>46</sup> Byng gave several accounts of hare-hunting in his diaries, and it is clear from these that the dogs were mixed packs, out for anything they could get, and readily diverted if not well trained; Andrews, *Torrington Diaries*, II, p. 291 (8 August 1793).

<sup>47</sup> Revd John Swete, Devon CRO, Z19/2/19 f. 182.

<sup>48</sup> In December 1782, Lord Ailesbury, the Queen's chamberlain, 'made a present of 30 brace of wild hares ... turned into Windsor Park for the amusement of the Royal Family'. A further seventy brace were sent by Ailesbury in the following year; *Reading Mercury* (2 December 1782, 3 November 1783).

<sup>49</sup> For example, *The Country Gentleman's Companion* (London: T. Trye, 1753), II, p. 37; William Blane, *Cynegetica* (London: John Stockdale, 1788), p. 163; G. Eland (ed.), *The Purefoy Letters 1735–1753*, 2 vols (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1931), I, p. 4.

<sup>50</sup> Goldsmith, *History of the earth*, IV, p. 12.

<sup>51</sup> An association recognized by Repton himself in his Red Book for Stoneaston (March 1793): 'This flat lawn may still be preserved as a desirable plain without hedges for the purpose of coursing.'

<sup>52</sup> Emily Sophia Hartshorne, *Memorials of Holdenby* (Newcastle: John J. Forster, 1868), p. xxxiii. Also Henderson, *Tudor House and Garden*, pp. 29, 88.

<sup>53</sup> Bathurst, *Bridleways through History*, pp. 321–2; John Parnell, 'Journal of a Tour thro' England and Wales' (1769); London School of Economics Coll. Misc. 38, vol. 3, f.54. Also,

James Dugdale, *The New British Traveller and Modern Panorama of England and Wales* (London: Robins, 1819), IV, p. 37.

<sup>54</sup> Andrews, *Torrington Diaries*: I, p. 326 (14 August 1787); III, p. 159 (5 July 1792).

<sup>55</sup> Beckford, *Thoughts upon hare and fox hunting*, pp. 158–61. Switzer too recommended parsley as ‘very good Food for your Hares’; Stephen Switzer, *Ichnographia Rustica, Or the Nobleman, Gentleman, and Gardener’s Recreation*, 3 vols (London: D. Browne, 1718), III, p. 89.

<sup>56</sup> Richard Surfleet, *Maison Rustique, Or, The Countrie Farme Compyled in the French Tongue by Charles Stevens, and John Librault ... and translated into English* (London: 1600), p. 671.

<sup>57</sup> Beckford, *Thoughts upon hare and fox hunting*, pp. 158–61.

<sup>58</sup> The Bibury races were inaugurated by Dutton (Lord Sherborne) in 1799; *The Sporting Magazine*, XIV (1799), p. 61.

<sup>59</sup> The enormous ‘woodwork’ at Blenheim, levelled by George London and Henry Wise and lawned by Brown, was a sheep walk; Revd William Mavor, *New Description of Blenheim ... to which is prefixed, Blenheim, a Poem* (London: T. Cadell, 1789), pp. 92–5. The Shepherd’s Cot, near the cascade, added to the animation provided by the sheep.

<sup>60</sup> The Brown-era phase of work on the New Park may have begun about 1759; e.g. John Rylands Library, Manchester, EGR 11/5/47.

<sup>61</sup> Even in Brown’s day by no means all sheep walks were to be found in secondary parks. At Wimpole Brown’s alterations included the creation of a sheep walk. This was beyond the water, but around the folly, at the north end of the parkland, and within the belt; National Trust, WIM/D/451. The parkland around Black Pond at Trentham may provide a second example.

<sup>62</sup> ‘Here is ... an Hare-Warren and a Park’; Sarah Markham, *Loveday of Caversham* (1731); repr. (Salisbury: Michael Russell, 1984), p. 99.

<sup>63</sup> For example, James, *History of English Forestry*, p. 190; Williamson, *Polite Landscapes*, p. 133; Timothy Mowl, *Gentlemen & Players: Gardeners of the English Landscape* (Stroud: Sutton, 2000), p. 154.

<sup>64</sup> As the Royal Commission on Coast Erosion and Afforestation commented, with reference to the evidence given by the head forester on a well-known estate: ‘so intimate is the association in the United Kingdom between sport and forestry that even on an estate that is considered to possess some of the best managed woods in England, the silvicultural details have to be accommodated to the hunting and shooting’; cited by James, *History of English Forestry*, p. 215, n. 14.

<sup>65</sup> ‘What would the “reasonable sportsmen” of those days say to the battue-shooting of hand-fed pheasants and the driving of grouse now so fashionable? It is good *Shooting*, but it

is hardly *Sport*’; John Nisbet, *Our Forests and Woodlands* (London: J. M. Dent, 1909), p. 305.

<sup>66</sup> Anna Maria Pickering, *Annals of a Yorkshire House from the Papers of a Macaroni* (London: Bodley Head, 1911), II, p. 73; A. Done and R. Muir, ‘The landscape history of grouse shooting in the Yorkshire Dales’, *Rural History*, 12/2 (2001), pp. 195–210.

<sup>67</sup> Patricia Bell (ed.), *Southill and the Whitbreads* (Bedford: privately printed, 1995), p. 44.

<sup>68</sup> ‘In Norfolk they have been long a favourite amusement, but they have not been common amongst us generally until of late years’; Rawstorne, *Gamonian*, p. 163. The Holkham estate claims to have pioneered driven shoots in England, and Scarborough Clump in the park there (planted about 1790) is reputed to be the first place where partridges were driven over the guns; Robinson, *English Country Estate*, p. 123.

<sup>69</sup> The Southill game book for the 1864/65 season records for the first time a day in January when 270 pheasants were shot by a team of ten guns; Bell, *Southill and the Whitbreads*, p. 44.

<sup>70</sup> As late as 1820, William Henry Whitbread’s game book (kept at Southill) shows that although in September alone he was out on thirteen days, his bag for the whole year was only 346 pheasants, 719 partridges and 358 hares. Bags of up to twenty-five brace of partridges suggest they were both more plentiful and more often the quarry than pheasants; *ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>71</sup> Thomas Page, *The Art of Shooting Flying* (Norwich: J. Crouse, 1764).

<sup>72</sup> Richard Blome, *The Gentleman’s Recreation* (London: S. Rotcroft, 1686), p. 125.

<sup>73</sup> Joseph Addison, *The Spectator*, No. 122 (20 July 1711).

<sup>74</sup> Pickering, *Annals of a Yorkshire House*, I, p. 93, records an account of about 1835 that at Horsforth, a century earlier, John Stanhope had been ‘fond of setting, for in his time shooting flying was an unusual and extraordinary accomplishment’. The family was still setting in 1785.

<sup>75</sup> Anon., *Thoughts on the Present Laws for Preserving Game* (London, 1750), p. 12.

<sup>76</sup> An authoritative account of 1792 makes it clear that it was still deemed sporting to shoot pheasants at the roost, or to suffocate them there with lighted matches; *The Sporting Magazine*, I (1792), p. 34.

<sup>77</sup> Page, *Art of Shooting Flying*, p. 30. A picture like George Allen’s *Pheasant Shooting* shows the birds shot around 10 metres from the ground.

<sup>78</sup> John Scott, ‘On Goldsmith’s Deserted Village’, *Critical Essays on some of the Poems of several English Poets* (London: James Phillips, 1785), p. 281.

<sup>79</sup> Beckford, *Thoughts upon hare and fox hunting*, p. 205.

<sup>80</sup> Page, *Art of Shooting Flying*, pp. 7–8.

Also Michael Brander, *The Hunting Instinct: The Development of Field Sports Over the Ages* (London: Oliver & Boyd, 1964), pp. 87–101; Charles Chenevix Trench, *A History of Marksmanship* (London: Follett, 1972), pp. 103–26.

<sup>81</sup> Joseph Addison, *The Spectator*, No. 131 (31 July 1711).

<sup>82</sup> De la Rochefoucauld/Roberts, *Frenchman in England*, p. 54.

<sup>83</sup> Robert Williams, 'Rural economy and the antique in the English landscape garden', *Journal of Garden History*, 7/1 (1987), p. 88.

<sup>84</sup> Blanche Henrey, *No Ordinary Gardener. Thomas Knowlton 1691–1781* (London: British Museum (Natural History), 1986), p. 213. Letter to John Ferret, the Earl of Burlington's London agent, re: Londesborough.

<sup>85</sup> Sir Ralph Payne-Gallwey, *The Book of Duck Decoys their Construction, Management, and History* (London: J. van Voorst, 1886), p. 136.

<sup>86</sup> Sir Thomas and Arthur Clifford, *A Topographical and Historical Description of the Parish of Tixall in the county of Stafford* (Paris: M. Nouzou, 1817), p. 82.

<sup>87</sup> Robert Castell, *The Villas of the Ancients Illustrated* (London: R. Castell, dated 1728; published posthumously 1729), p. 67.

<sup>88</sup> Bodleian Library, English Letters 229, f.18.

<sup>89</sup> James Wheeler, *The Modern Druid, containing instructions for the much better culture of young oaks* (London: C. Davis, 1742), pp. 178–9. Also Peter Willis, *Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape Garden* (London: A. Zwemmer, 1977), pl. 82; reprint with supplementary plates and catalogue (Newcastle upon Tyne: Elysium, 2002), pl. 209.

<sup>90</sup> 'Add. to this, that two narrow slips of plantation will neither grow so well, nor be such effectual harbours for game, as deeper masses; especially where the game is liable to be disturbed by a drive betwixt them'; Humphry Repton, Red Book for Woburn (January 1805), published in *Fragments*, republished in John Claudius Loudon (ed.), *Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the late Humphry Repton, Esq.* (London and Edinburgh: Longman & Co. and A. & C. Black, 1840), pp. 555–6.

<sup>91</sup> 'The park wall must be continued around the farm ... for the preservation of game, but I do not advise the destruction of any hedges in that part which I consider as the farm: on the contrary, the fields will be more sheltered, & the game more plentiful, by encouraging hedge-

row timber and brushwood'; Humphry Repton, Red Book for Plas Newydd (January 1799).

<sup>92</sup> *Calendar of Treasury Papers 1720–28*, pp. 455–6. Also, Roberts, *Royal Landscape*, pp. 27, 90.

<sup>93</sup> For example, the Red Book for Claybury (20 July 1791): 'a keeper's lodge or cottage would have a good effect, serving to mark the distance and continuity of property'; and the Red Book for Sheringham (July 1812), where he recommended a keeper's lodge to double as a prospect house at a crossroads outside the park.

<sup>94</sup> Repton, Red Book for Scrivelsby (10 October 1790).

<sup>95</sup> See the 1891 Sales Particulars for Wimpole: 'Wimpole Tower and Ruins: These are very picturesque and occupy an elevated and pleasant position in the Park. A portion of the Tower is now occupied by the Head Gamekeeper on the Estate, and contains 3 Bed Rooms, Sitting Room, Kitchen, and Cellar. In close proximity are the Dog Kennels and Pheasant Aviaries substantially built of brick and slated, with extensive runs and breeding houses. Nag Stable and Poultry House'; cited by David Adshead, *Wimpole Architectural Drawings and Topographical Views* (London: National Trust, 2007), p. 117.

<sup>96</sup> In Repton's Red Book for Warley (March 1795) the quarry gets an illustration. There he paints a man 'shooting from the boat' in the lake but comments that this may indeed be 'a circumstance that may look well in a picture' but that in practice 'the gun will frighten away' the wild fowl that are so desirable in a park scene.

<sup>97</sup> Byng's 1790 tour has numerous accounts of fishing and hunting with a couple of dogs; Andrews, *Torrington Diaries*, II, p. 219.

<sup>98</sup> A warren might be planted with 'great store of brambles, mulberrie trees, and sloe trees, strawberrie plants, wild pine trees, hurtleberrie bushes, gooseberrie bushes, mirtle trees, and great store of juniper, for the conie loveth the juniper berrie above all other things'; Surfleet, *Maison Rustique*, p. 805.

<sup>99</sup> Arthur Young, *Observations on the Present State of the Waste Lands of Great Britain* (London: W. Strahan, 1773), pp. 42–3.

<sup>100</sup> Rawstorne claimed, perhaps rightly, to be the first book to give dedicated advice on planting trees to promote the preservation of game; Rawstorne, *Gamonia*, p. xiv.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xiii, 109.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 118, 120.